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'Stelae as vehicles of expression. A regional study of gravestones from inland Asia Minor during the first and early second century AD.'

by

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I certify that:

a) The following dissertation is my own original work.

b) The source of all non-original material is clearly indicated.

c) All material presented by me for other modules is clearly indicated.

d) All assistance received has been acknowledged.

Abstract

This thesis investigates the expression of identity on funerary gravestones from 3 inland regions of Asia Minor during the early Imperial period. I focus on how the stela form functioned as a vehicle through which meaning was articulated and explore what was significant to contemporary inhabitants in the articulation and projection of their identity. My examinations consider the context behind this expression, accounting for a variety of influencing factors, in addition to self-agency. Through this analysis, I aim to determine how and why there appears to be homogeneity in appearance and expression across the catalogue (over definable areas), and what this suggests about the details communicated.

To start, this study will review current and previous approaches to funerary commemoration, viewer interactions with memorials, provincial, cultural exchange, and the construction (and negotiation) of identity. Next, I ascertain what was significant in the projection of identity for contemporary inhabitants and analyse the visual components on the stelae, identifying how they communicated with the viewer (what is transmitted, how, and why). I then consider the impact of contemporary production processes in defining the expression made.

Acknowledgements

Due thanks are owed to those who have guided me along this journey. I wish to acknowledge my PhD supervisors for their continued support, assistance, and encouragement, and especially their constructive discussions and feedback. To that end, I am grateful to Prof. Katerina Lorenz and Dr Andreas Kropp for guiding my focus and inspiring my approach and am obliged to Dr William Bowden and Dr Chrysanthi Gallou for their support, enabling me to complete this project. I appreciate their time, dedication and professionalism. I thank my internal examiner Dr Mark Bradley and external examiner Prof. Maureen Carroll for their insight. Above this, I benefitted greatly from discussion and advice from Prof. Doug Lee and Dr Tiziana D'Angelo.

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Abbreviations

MAMA – Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua.

RECAM – Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor.

FS.G. – Figural Stela from Galatia.

FS.PHR. – Figural Stela from Phrygia.

FS.PIS. – Figural Stela from Pisidia.

OS.G. – Motif-Stela from Galatia.

OS.PHR. – Motif-Stela from Phrygia.

OS.PIS. – Motif-Stela from Pisidia.

N/R – Not Recorded.

Chapter 1 – Introduction: 'Stelae as vehicles of expression. A regional study of gravestones from inland Asia Minor during the first and early second century AD.'

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Map 1: Map of Asia Minor with the regions of Galatia, Phrygia and Pisidia highlighted. Produced by author using Google Maps.

This thesis is a study of early Imperial period gravestones from inland Asia Minor, studying the role of stelae as vehicles of expression, to determine what was significant to contemporary inhabitants in the articulation and projection of identity.[1] A regional analysis will be conducted addressing evidence from three interconnected, central regions of Asia Minor – Phrygia, Pisidia and Galatia (Map 1) – situated within the province of Asia.[2] The

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[1] Gravestones shine a spotlight on the people they represent, their achievements, aspirations and identity (Rothe 2013, 243).

[2] Iconium (Pisidia) was in *provinciae* Galatia until AD 297 (Ramsey 1924, 194); The proconsular province of Asia remained unaltered until around AD 250 (Mitchell 1993, 5).

chronology (the early Imperial period) spans the late first-century BC through mid-second century AD (30 BC – AD 150). This epoch encompassed significant social and political change across Asia Minor following the region's annexation into the Roman Empire.[3] Simplified, this process was a demonstration of imperial authority by Rome, from the command of the Emperor's agent and provincial governor[4], through to (defined) military presence and the existence of Roman roads (functional, and a visual symbol).[5] Unlike in the west, relatively few colonies were founded in inland Asia Minor (examples include Pisidian Antioch, Germa and Iconium)[6] and auxiliary troops were stationed at a variety of strategic locations, outside of the provincial metropoleis; for example, the garrison at Gordion near Ancyra.[7] Aside from defined military decisions, universal factors such as the growth of urban settlements, new forms of exploitation of the land, and a monetarised economy, had a deep and lasting effect on the structure of provincial life.[8]

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[3] Southwest Anatolia and the province of Asia were annexed into the Roman Empire in 133 BC, remaining cities were appropriated during the first-century AD (Mitchell 1993, 30); Gruen 1984, 604-610.

[4] Two senior senatorial officials had ultimate responsibility for the whole of central Asia Minor, governing in an ad-hoc manner (Mitchell 1993, 69); Roman officials in the provinces were concerned primarily with commanding troops, leaving the administration to local notables (Hopkins 1983, 186).

[5] Mitchell 1993, 63; Jiminez 2016, 18.

[6] Kelp 2015, 42; Eumenea (Phrygia) was home to a substantial Roman auxiliary garrison from the late first-century AD (Thonemann 2011, 133); Antiochea (Pisidia) was re-founded as a Roman colony in 25 BC, becoming a garrison city; Strong military presence resulted in the foundation of a network of veteran soldiers, and construction of a major highway – the Via Sebaste (Mitchell 1993, 9).

[7] Units stationed in the inland regions in the Imperial period included: *cohors I Hispanorum* (mid first-century AD, stationed at Olbasa, Pisidia); *cohors I Bosporanorum* (mid first-century AD); the *ala Augusta Germaniciana* (Flavian period, Pisidian Antioch); and the *cohors I Augusta Cyrenaica* (second/third century, at Ancyra) (Goldman 2010, 139).

[8] Michell 1993, 69; By valuing the Greek past and permitting Greek to operate as an official language throughout the early empire, Roman rule did not entrench upon Greek identity while the diversity and flexibility of Hellenism allowed Greeks to accept, and even embrace, changes in the political life of their cities and material culture, without feeling any threat to their identity (Woolf 1994, 131); Dalaison 2014, 152; Local elites played a central and continuous role in negotiating mainly positive relationships with their Roman equivalents, at regional and community level. One must not discount the use of violence or repression; elites were not necessarily doing good by those below them (Alcock 2009, 228).

For the day-to-day of affairs, civic leaders served as the main agents and cities remained municipal and administrative units.[9] These benefactors organised and manipulated civic spaces and structured urban landscapes, reflecting the differentiated socio-political arrangements between civic elites, the imperial government, and ordinary people.[10] Acts of euergetism by local elite figures provided opportunities for status enhancement; for example, a notable benefactor to the city of Ephesus, Ti. Julius Celsus Polemaeanus, was given an intramural burial (the Library of Celsus, Ephesus) deemed appropriate for a *euergete*.[11] Similar to imperial period Greece, elites may have prioritised local, communal concerns – i.e. the maintenance of the *polis* unit and sense of local community[12] – rather than upon private assimilation to a wider imperial world.[13] However, empowered local elites were not averse to 'greasing their own hands.'[14]

Central Asia Minor saw the growth of urban institutions, accompanying a network of new cities.[15] For example, Aezani, Narcolea, Cotiaeum, Mideaum, Dorylaeum, and Cadi became Phrygian cities in the Imperial period[16], and Ancyra, Pessinus and Tavium major cities in Galatia.[17] The *polis* module endured during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, with the agricultural hinterland acknowledged as part of the city for tax purposes and, without the

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[9] The Roman empire's lack of a formal bureaucracy is well known - a ratio of one official for every 350-400,000 provincials (Alcock 1993, 18); Hopkins 1983, 183; In early Roman Asia Minor, the typical decision makers were local elite families, well integrated in political networks. For example, two elite Aphrodisian families sponsored the imperial cult centre (the Sebasteion) in the first-century AD (Seifert 2018, 4).

[10] Seifert 2018, 5.

[11] König 2012, 1; Kleiner 2010, 253; Colvin 1991, 57.

[12] Alcock 1997, 110.

[13] The early Imperial period saw the continuation and accentuation of a preference to live in a city or village, over dispersed rural dwelling (Alcock 1997, 110).

[14] Hopkins 1983, 187; The central authorities decided the amount of money desired, leaving local authorities (*decuriones*) to assess the worth of all property, set taxation rates, and collect the dues (Alcock 1993, 21).

[15] Mitchell 1993, 4; By the end of the Julio-Claudian period most of North Galatia, Phrygia, Lycaonia, and Pisidia was divided into contiguous city territories (Mitchell 1993, 98).

[16] Levick et. al. 1988, xxiii.

[17] One would expect garrisons here (Goldman 2010, 129); Galatian cities were fewer in number but had larger territories (Kelp 2015, 41).

creation of new institutions which excluded the countryside, village life flourished in the substantially larger civic units.[18] Much of the inland regions were characterised by rural spaces, set aside as villas and estates of the elite with a handful of large, connected cities (above) interspersed with towns and many villages, themselves located about communication routes.[19] The regions are vast, with ranges of mountainous highland and fertile lowland zones (see below). For this study I classify Pisidia and Lycaonia as one region (these were combined in the Imperial period), separate from Galatia to the north.[20] To maintain consistency I produce my own regional maps, supplemented by the Barrington Atlas of the Ancient World. A brief overview of each region explains their respective boundaries.

a) <u>Galatia</u>

Despite both regions remaining one unit until around AD 115, Cappadocia (bordering southeast Galatia) is not included in my classification of Galatia, given its vast geographical expanse and the relative scope of this study.[21] Map 2 displays the extent of Galatia, bordering Phrygia to the north and east of the Sangarius river, the western boundary ranging from Pessinous southwards to Philomelion. Ancyra is situated to the north of the region, with the eastern border travelling from Sarmalius (north), past Parnassus, including

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[18] Alcock 1993, 117; Processes of the Hellenistic period such as the *poleis*, cities and monumental architecture were enhanced in the Imperial period. Villages remained and increased in the Roman period (Woolf 1997, 3-4); There is little evidence for centre-periphery relations either within or between individual Phrygian *poleis* (Thonemann 2013, 36).

[19] While villas were outside of towns, these were often clustered around major thoroughfares (Pearce 2011, 137).

[20] Frequently altered provincial boundaries in the early Imperial period, and different definitions according to scholarly preference, are a central challenge to studies in Roman Asia Minor.

[21] Ramsey 1924, 194; Rather, Cappadocia is worthy of study on its own merit.

the Tatta Laccus Lake, to the Southeast border about Comitanassus (bordering Pisidia and Lycaonia). The southern boundary of Galatia sits just north of Claudiolaodicea.

- b) Phrygia

Map 3 displays the geographical range of first-second century AD Phrygia. Its eastern border is south and west of the Sangarius River (bordering Galatia), running southwards from Pessinous, past Amorion, to Antiochia Colonia Caesaria. Apamea, the southern-most site, is situated on the Pisidian border. The region's western boundary is parallel with Mokadene; settlements west of here are in the regions of Lydia and Caria. To the north, the border follows the Tembris River, reaching Dorylaeum, with highlands situated east and west. The growing olives and cereal crops, viticulture, sheep rearing, and horse breeding were occupations of rural, early imperial Phrygia.[22]

- c) Pisidia

Pisidia (Map 4) is separated from Phrygia to the north by the Sultan Dağlari mountain chains, the western border extends from Apamea to Termessus and the eastern (with Lycaonia) is marked by Pappa-Tiberiopolis (modern Yunuslar) and Etenna. The region of Pamphylia is south of Etenna and Termessos.[23] Situated between the Taurus mountain chains, Pisidia is a mixture of basins and high plateaus, containing numerous lakes and three great rivers – the Cestrus (modern Aksu Çayi), Eurymedon and Melas (modern Manavgat Çayi).[24] Lycaonia (combined with Pisidia in this study) extended from Tatta Limne (Lake Tuz) in the north, to the Taurus Mountains to the south, and from the Coralis Limne (Lake

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[22] Kelp 2015, 44.
[23] Brandt 2006.
[24] Brandt 2006.

Beyşehir) in the west to Mount Karaca (east). Most of the area was taken up by steppe-like plateaus (used for sheep-rearing) about Iconium (Konya) and Tatta Limne (south and southwest).[25]

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Map 2: Map of Galatia as studied in this thesis. Produced by author using the Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire.

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[25] Belke 2006.
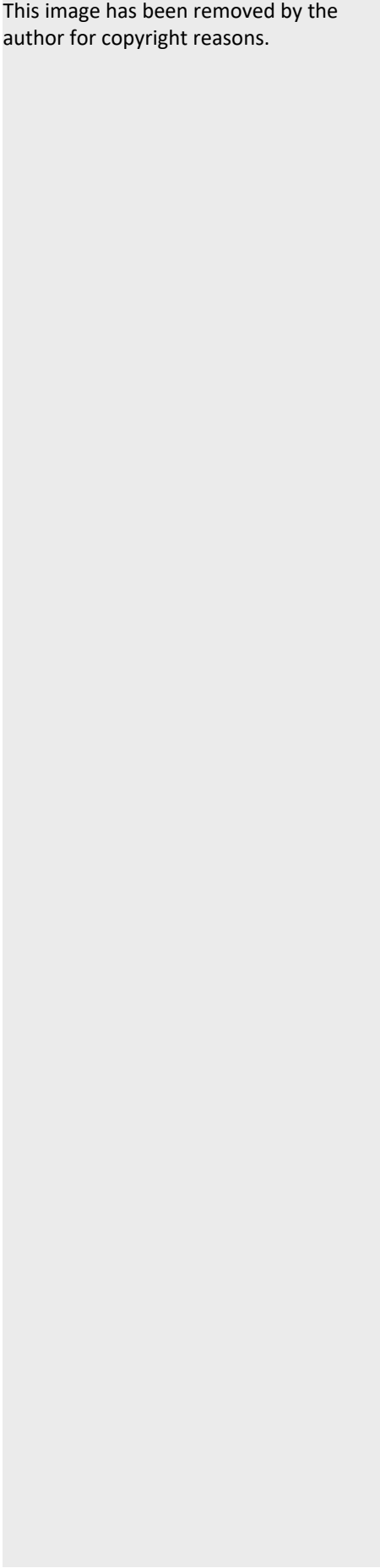
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Map 3: Map of Phrygia as studied in this thesis. Produced by author using the Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire.

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Map 4: Map of Pisidia as studied in this thesis. Produced by author using the Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire.

Section 1. Funerary evidence within Asia Minor and the inland regions

a) Hellenistic and earlier traditions in funerary commemoration, in Asia Minor

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Figure 1.1: Xanthian memorials, Archaic and Classical period, Xanthos (Lycia). Cavalier 2018, Fig. 24.3.

The typology of funerary monuments from the city of Xanthos from the Archaic and Classical periods (Figure 1.1) exemplifies popular tomb types in Asia Minor before the Imperial epoch; the pillar, house and temple tomb (i.e. the Nereid Monument), and sarcophagi.[26] Monumental mausoleum type tombs, with a high and large podium (and lighter superstructure above this) were especially popular in Asia Minor.[27] Burial mounds were prevalent in the landscapes of northern Ionia[28] and their use was widespread throughout the Mediterranean, western Asia Minor and Attica, in the Archaic period.[29] These large mounds (diameters ranging 10-50 metres, several metres tall) consisted of heaped up earth covering a burial chamber (in a variety of compositions, i.e. built walls, wood etc.) containing (several) cremation burials.[30] While not frequent by the Imperial period, the first-

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[26] Cavalier 2018, 266.

[27] Fedak 1990, 23; The temple tomb with a barrel-vaulted entrance was a variant specific to the Olba region in the Hellenistic period (Durukan 2005, 108-109); In Hellenistic Asia Minor the construction of 'heroa' became a burial fashion, with temple tombs emulating the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (350BC) (Cormack 1997, 139); Cormack 2004, 24.

[28] Smyrna, Klazomenai, Ephesos and Kolophon possess burial mounds as marked and recognisable elements of their necropoleis and general landscape (Grammer 2018, 215).

[29] Grammer 2018, 219; The earliest tombs in the region are tumulus structures (Cormack 2004, 17); Tumulus tombs were most prominent in the Achaemenid period (Dusinberre 2015, 145).

[30] For example, Phrygian burial mounds had a wooden burial chamber (Grammer 2018, 215-220).

century BC/AD Kocakizlar Tumulus at Eskisehir (Galatia) is an example from the inland

regions.[31] The tumulus is structured into two consecutive *dromoi* and three vaulted

chambers (see Figure 1.2); the mound is 80 metres in diameter and measures 6 metres in

height.[32]

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Figure 1.2: Plan of the EW sections of the Kocakizlar Tumulus, Eskisehir. 1st Century B.C.-1st Century A.D.
Atasoy 1974, ill. 4.

In western Asia Minor, the fourth century witnessed the development of entire necropoleis

of rock-cut tombs, all reflecting Greek architectural influence.[33] Rock cut sarcophagi, cist-cut

graves and inhumation burials (covered by tiles) provided other means of burial across the

---

[31] There are no parallels among tombs of the Roman period in Anatolia (Atasoy 1974, 261).
[32] Atasoy attributes the tomb to an aristocratic family, across several generations during the first-century (Atasoy 1974, 261-262).
[33] Fedak 1990, 96.

region.[34] From the sixth-century BC into the Imperial period, doors are a feature on a variety of funerary monuments; on tumuli, Lycian pillar and house tombs, and upon Lycian sarcophagi from the sixth to the third centuries BC[35]; from the Hellenistic into the Imperial period, doors embellish ash urns or chests, funerary altars and grave stelae (see below).[36] Indeed, round and rectangular altars were popular as funerary monuments from the Hellenistic period, decorated with garlands and bucrania.[37]

Funerary stelae were prevalent in Hellenistic period Asia Minor, many carrying portraits.[38] Frontality in representation was commonplace from the third-century BC[39]; figures stand side by side and face the viewer, comparably to the gravestones in this thesis' catalogue.[40] Married couples and family groups appear as in Classical funerary art but are presented like separate portraits; no visual connection is articulated due to frontal gaze.[41] Men are generally presented like fourth-century BC Classical Athenians, wearing a mantle (chiton and himation)[42], or as seated old men (Figure 1.3) – a widespread image in Hellenistic cities of the east – continuing precedents of Classical Attic grave stelae.[43] Women were depicted fully clothed, in *pudicitia* or small Herculaneum iconographies and stand, or are seated on a chair) next to male figures[44]; youths, male and female, were depicted clothed and in the role of a future citizen (depicted head lowered, gazing at the ground).[45]

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[34] Cormack 1997, 139; Dusinberre 2015, 141.
[35] Hülden 2011, 496.
[36] Haarlov 1977, 18-21.
[37] Coulton 2005, 130.
[38] A brief overview provides a point of reference for subsequent chapters, denoting traditions in the funerary commemoration of Asia Minor prior to the Imperial period.
[39] Masséglia 2013, 102.
[40] Zanker 1993, 215.
[41] Zanker 1993, 226.
[42] Zanker 1993, 216; Puddu 2011, 102.
[43] A figure of authority comparable to third century BC philosopher statues (Zanker 1993, 219-220).
[44] Zanker 1996, 222; Puddu 2011, 104.
[45] Zanker 1993, 221.

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Figure 1.3: Stela with a seated male figure, Smyrna,
Hellenistic period. Leiden, Rijksmuseum. Puddu 2011, Fig. 4.

Attributes feature in the background, on shelves (Figure 1.4), and in many cases more than one item adorns the same stela.[46] Women are referenced by traditional iconographical attributes such as open jewellery boxes, mirrors, combs and wool baskets.[47] For men (and youths), the book roll was an important attribute (linked to education, literacy and philosophical interests)[48] and imagery associated with weaponry was popular, relating to symbolism associated with the cult of heroes, heroic valour and notions of elevated status (see chapter 4).[49] Late Hellenistic stelae also began to depict the occupation of the deceased.[50]

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[46] On Hellenistic grave stelae from Smyrna, an assortment of attributes are symbols of praiseworthy qualities of the deceased (Zanker 1993, 216); Puddu 2011, 108.
[47] Linked to feminine virtue, status and socially expected feminine behaviour (Zanker 1993, 222).
[48] Zanker 1993, 218.
[49] I.e. weapons and weapon friezes, horses etc. (Cormack 2004, 81-88).
[50] Cormack 1997, 147.

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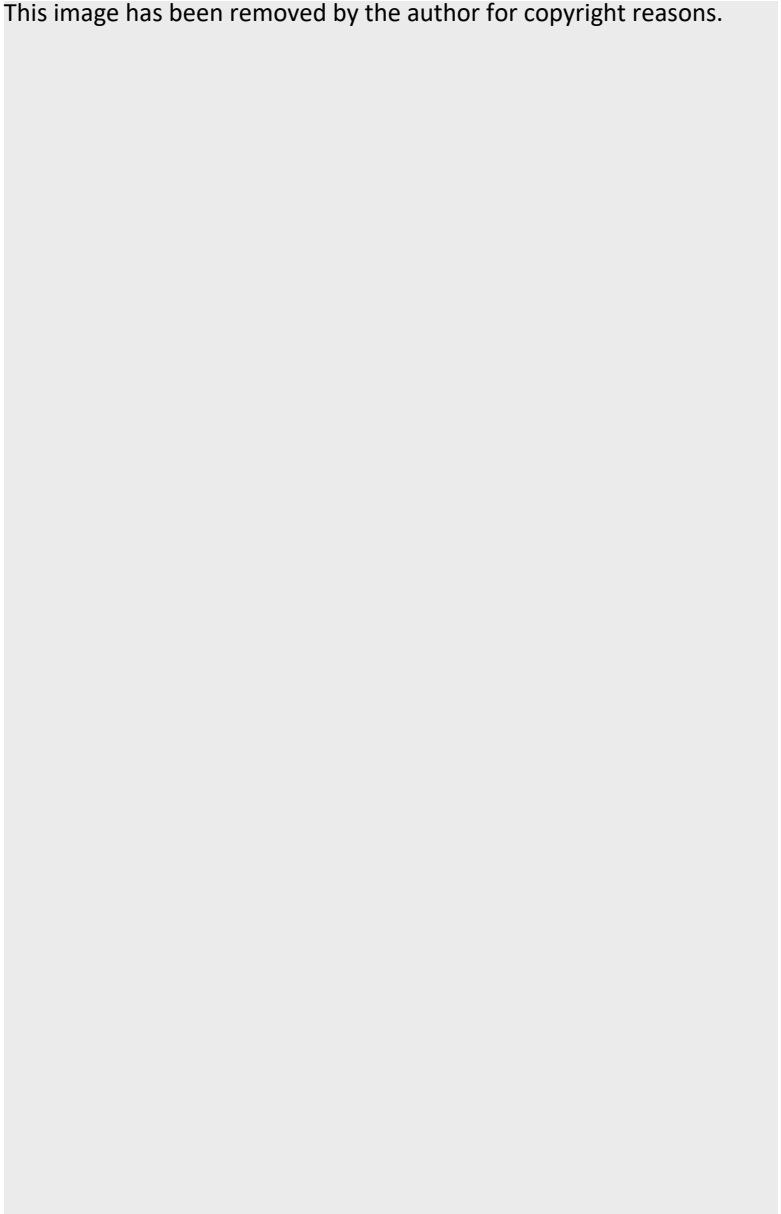
Figure 1.4: Stela of Menophila, Sardis, Hellenistic period. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Puddu 2011, Fig. 5.

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Figure 1.5: Funerary stela dating to the Hellenistic period. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 4845; P.-M. no. 2034. Courtesy of Deutsches Archaologisches Institut, Berlin. Zanker 1993, Fig. 10.

The banquet motif was frequent on grave stelae in the eastern Aegean (and Asia Minor) in the Hellenistic period.[51] Figure 1.5 exemplifies the most widespread composition of the banquet type (monoposiast), with central reclined male accompanied by a woman and attendants/children.[52] The large number of small funerary relief stelae of Hellenistic Asia Minor associate the memorialised to a higher social level than which they belonged to in life, by imitating the world of the elite.[53] Totenmahl reliefs of this period will be analysed in chapter 4.

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[51] Pedersen 2018, 237; Cormack 1997, 147; Pfuhl, E. and Möbius, H. (1977); (1979); Puddu 2011, 102.
[52] Pedersen 2018, 237; A key feature of Hellenistic banquet scenes is the number of slaves, used to emphasize the commissioner's wealth (Puddu 2011, 107).
[53] Pedersen 2018, 239.

b) Imperial period funerary commemoration within the inland regions and across Asia Minor

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Figure 1.6: Burial house 05.11, Ephesus, West Necropolis, Imperial period. Steskal 2018, Fig. 21.5.

From the mid-Imperial period the range of burial types in Asia Minor decreased, shifting from ostentatious single burials to an increase in uniformity; burial houses and freestanding sarcophagi were especially common in the second-century AD, as were doorstones, altars and stelae.[54] House tombs, like Figure 1.6 from the Ephesian cemeteries, covered an average area of 8m^2 and were composed of dressed stone masonry (*opus vittatum*), plastered inside and out.[55] The façade had a single wooden door while the inside, decorated with wall paintings, contained niches and (sometimes) sarcophagi (Figure 1.7).[56]

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[54] Steskal 2018, 234; By the end of the first-century AD the interior of the tomb became the primary locus of funerary display, with stuccoed walls and ceilings and the dead placed in marble sarcophagi (Pearce 2011, 135); Statues of the dead could adorn the interior of the cella or be placed within sepulchral precincts/on podia outside the tomb (Cormack 2004, 64).
[55] Steskal 2018, 229.
[56] Steskal 2018, 229.

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Figure 1.7: Sarcophagus situated in burial house 01.05, Ephesus, West Necropolis. Steskal 2018, Fig. 21.7.

Imperial period sarcophagi were also freestanding, or cut into bedrock as *chamosoria* and then covered with stone slabs.[57] Often, portraits were carved in relief on the façade and/or an image of the deceased, reclining on a *kline*, adorned the monument's lid.[58] Other examples are simple (i.e. open-air, Imperial period sarcophagi from Xanthos), undecorated aside from inscriptions on the *tabula ansata* and, in some cases, with lions heads on lids.[59] At Hierapolis, sarcophagi were placed back-to-back on top of funerary structures (altar-shaped tombs, platforms, or house-formed memorials).[60]

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[57] Steskal 2018, 229-230; Open-air sarcophagi were the main type of memorial at Xanthos (Cavalier 2018, 273); In mountainous regions, far from quarries, sarcophagi were cut into limestone outcrops or freestanding (Cormack 1997, 146).

[58] Cormack 2004, 72; For example, in the necropoleis of Sagalassus (Pisidia) (Cormack 1997, 146).

[59] More elaborate sarcophagi are displayed in temple-like mausoleums, but infrequent (Cavalier 2018, 274).

[60] Ögüs 2014, 118; Tombs with flat roofs serving as platforms for sarcophagi were a regional feature (Cormack 2004, 55).

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Figure 1.8: White Marble Doorstone, Gokceler, First-Century AD, MAMA 1993, Vol. X. Pl. 232.

Also frequent across the inland regions during this epoch, especially Phrygia, was the representation of doors carved in relief on funerary monuments, and gravestones mimicking doors (doorstones, see Figure 1.8).[61] Rather than classifying these as a grave type of their own, door facades can be conceived as a motif, adopted and used across a variety of funerary monument forms.[62] Funerary altars (Figure 1.9) also offer an appropriation of another format, in this instance votive altars.[63] Not intended for making (sacrificial)

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[61] See Levick et al. 1988; Creating the allusion of a functional doorway and a subsequent entrance, in most cases the representation served no architectural function and was a symbolic feature (Roosevelt 2006, 65).
[62] Grave types with door facades or motifs (Kelp 2013, 70).
[63] Altar tombs were simply grave monuments that imitated altars (Fedak 1990, 25)

offerings, funerary altars were generally set up as part of the furnishings of a larger

tomb/walled grave terrace, in front of a tomb structure, and could be a standalone

marker.[64]

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Figure 1.9: Marble altar with upper and lower moulding and acroteria. Near Hatunsaray. Imperial Period. Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. 1990.18.1. Mclean 2002a, Fig. 127.

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[64] Cormack 2004, 118; Kelp 2015, 47; The altar may have been a more expensive option to stelae, often functioning as the focus of a funerary enclosure (Hope 2001, 32); Funerary altars were intended for placing offerings, pouring libations, supporting other monuments (ossuaries, sarcophagi) and even as memorials (Haarløv 1977, 19); Stewart 2004, 56.

Stelae were a frequent means of commemoration within Asia Minor (both funerary and votive)[65] – their floruit in the second and third-centuries AD[66] – used standalone to demarcate a burial, or functioning as a marker of other funerary monuments.[67] They feature regularly in the Necropoleis' of inland Asia Minor[68] and along main thoroughfares about smaller villages.[69] In other instances, gravestones (and/or other funerary monuments) were built on the rural estates (villas or farms) of the elite.[70] Their predominance within the visual record reflects the form's accessibility; stelae more obtainable than larger, contemporary funerary forms (i.e. house tombs, sarcophagi etc.).[71] Further, a stela was "flexible" (relative to a built tomb); its use not limited by topography, smaller dimensions allowed for easier transportation, and assembly was not particularly labour intensive (set directly into the ground or placed into bases). A gravestone could be positioned in areas of high visibility[72] even if the space was already somewhat crowded.[73] For example, OS.G.31 was discovered at a position close to a Roman highway between Colonia Germa (modern Babadat) and Ancyra[74] in a manner attested in Gräberstrasse of the Roman west.

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[65] Tombstones are a form of material culture, a non-essential, commodity item, subject to personal choice and to an extent mobile (relative to larger funerary monuments).

[66] Comparable to tombstones in Pannonia (Boatwright 2005, 294).

[67] Stelae were popular in north-western regions of Asia Minor including Mysia and Bithynia (Cormack 1997, 147); Similarly, grave stelae were widespread in the western provinces from the first-century AD (Carroll 2006, 9); Masséglia 2013, 95; Catalogues such as the *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* volumes contain hundreds of stelae dating to the Imperial period.

[68] Stelae were freestanding (not in the architectural fabric of a tomb) in Mysian and Bithynian necropoleis (Cormack 1997, 148); When associated with other funerary structures stelae were positioned by doorways or flanking walls to achieve increased visibility (Mander 2013, 148).

[69] Graves lined the main thoroughfares into the city of Xanthos (Cavalier 2018, 273); The extra-urban context was also a hygiene measure, removing a corpse from the domestic space (Steskal 2018, 232).

[70] A trait observable in western provincial cities from the second-century AD onwards (Pearce 2011, 136); In the Roman countryside the cemeteries associated with villas and farms also stood in visible and busy places, along well-travelled country roads or near inhabited buildings on the estates (Carroll 2008, 39).

[71] Stelae are found within a 'loosely definable social level' (Smith 1988a, 349); One needed to be moderately well-off to buy stones of these sorts (Stewart 2004, 56).

[72] A widespread concern to ensure the visibility of tombs by their setting in prominent positions/by major communication routes can be established (Pearce 2011, 138); Carroll 2006, 48.

[73] Placement and orientation were carefully considered and usually toward the direction of best visibility; a stela may also mark intended access to a tomb (Roosevelt 2006, 76).

[74] Goldman 2010, 121.

c) Overview of the evidence – stelae in the catalogue

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Height greater than 1 metre (when

Relief
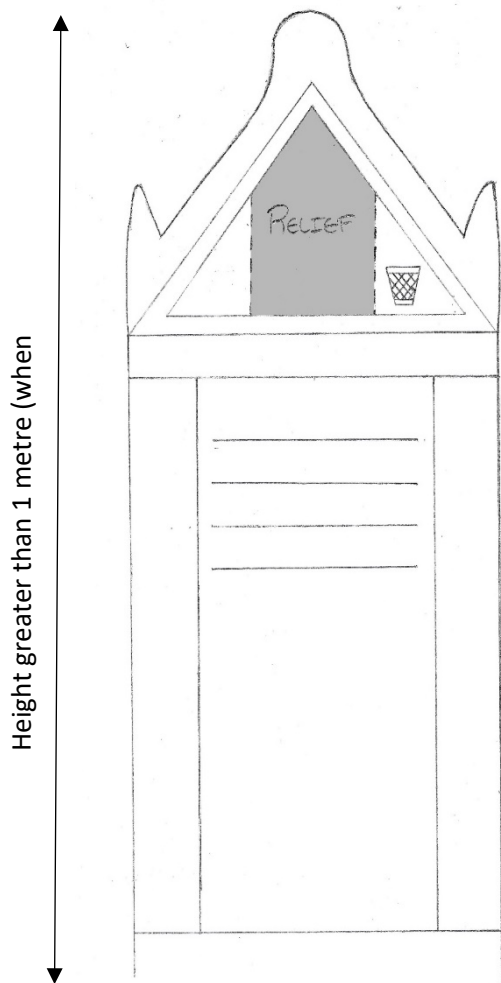
Figure 1.10: Figural Stelae Template A. Produced by author.
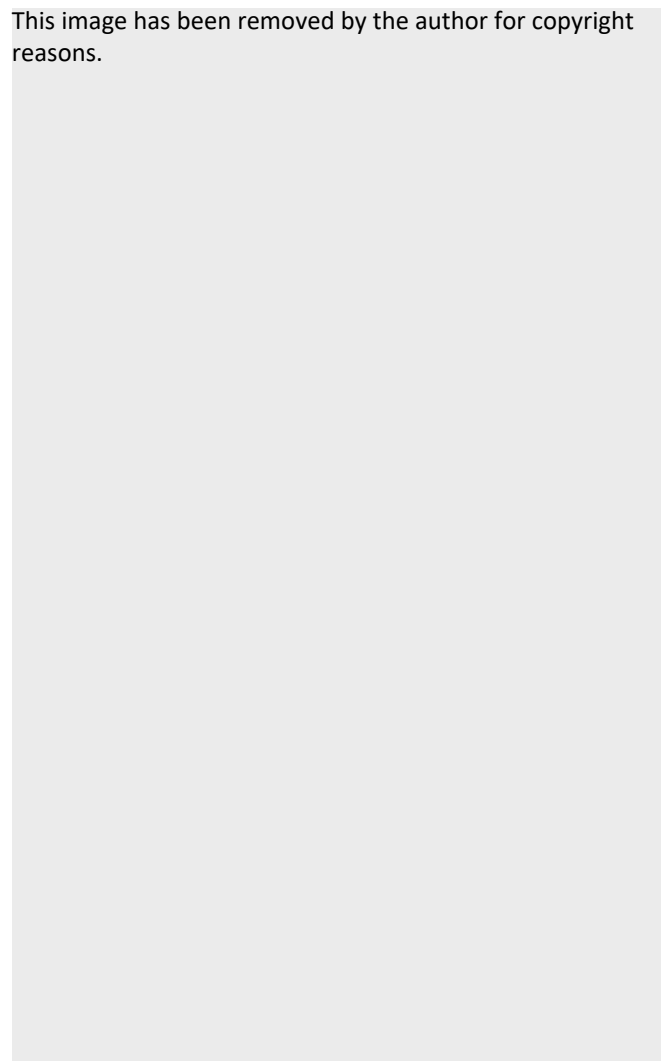
Figure 1.11: FS.G.01 as representative of Figural Stelae Template A, Çeşmelisebil, Imperial period. Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 204.

Stelae in the catalogue have consistent types/formats enabling (in chapter 5) the classification of the corpus into 6 groups of design templates.[75] Figures 1.10 and 1.11 are an example of one of these designs.[76] Across the catalogue there is both standardisation in iconographic components – body types, figural frontality, dress depiction, attributes as a

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[75] Incorporating regular decorative elements including antae/pilasters, lintels, pediments, mouldings and finials (Mclean 2002, 8).

[76] Variety exists within this classification, on a case-by-case basis.

common iconographic language/cultural reference points[77] – and in overall stela

style/formats, with differentiation within these wider categories.[78]

1) Portraiture

Figural portraits are all encompassing and non-specific. A limited range of body types

appropriated from public sculpture – male and female arm sling, *pudicitia*, Large and Small

Herculaneum Woman type (explored in chapter 3) – feature in figural portraits. Likewise,

standard Greek dress behaviour is generally adopted in the representation of both males

and females (chapter 3). Such standardisation suggests commissioners wanted to be

associated with a civic lifestyle and project adherence to expected social and cultural norms.

Like Hellenistic stelae (above), portraits are represented with distinct frontality[79], figures

gazing directly out at the viewer with frontal, static and straight bodies (even on those

representing activities, i.e. FS.PIS.22).[80] This results in a degree of disconnect between

individuals represented, despite the majority being set side-by-side.[81] For the stonemason,

maybe even patrons, interaction with the viewer was paramount to the relief[82], with

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[77] Revell 2016, 36; Hijmans 2016, 87; Zanker 1993, 213; Frequency in visual message over space implies contact between a group or area (Kelp 2015, 17).

[78] A focus upon regional context can allow local stylistic traits to be explored, showing how these might be the product of regional decisions (Revell 2016, 208).

[79] Figural representations in Phrygia are distinctive, with 'strong, unclassical frontal renderings' (Smith 2015, 741); Unlike elsewhere in the empire, frontal rendering cannot be ascribed to the impact of Rome upon the region - in Roman Macedonia frontal-figure portraiture appeared on stelae from the Julio-Claudian period through funerary conventions inspired by the west (Risakis and Touratsoglou 2016, 126).

[80] Any movement is minimal be it through slight *contrapposto*, arm placements, or gestures.

[81] 'When the gaze of sculpted figures comes directly out of the picture plane a direct link is established with the viewer, but at the expense of forming links between the sculpted figures themselves' (Osborne 1998, 119).

[82] On freedman reliefs from metropolitan Rome, frontal renderings were intended to confront the passer-by directly, drawing the viewer in to contemplate the likenesses and read the epitaphs (Ewald 2015, 392).

frontality consistent across Galatia, Phrygia and Pisidia[83] (as upon other monument types

with portraits – see Figures 1.12-1.14).[84]

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Figure 1.12: Rectangular Marble Ostotheke for a wife, detail. Unknown provenance, first-early second century AD. Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 4281. Horsley 2007, Pl. 205.

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This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Figure 1.13: Doorstone, detail, Sinanli, Imperial Period. Mama 1956, 313. Pl. 19.:

Figure 1.14: Funerary altar with inscription in verse (detail), Yağlıbayat, first-second century AD. Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 345.

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[83] The evidence is suggestive of interconnectivity between the three regions and travelling designs (i.e. in workshop capabilities, skillsets and stonemason training (see chapter 5).

[84] Figure 1.12 is a funerary altar from Phrygia, Figure 1.13 a doorstone from Sinanli (Galatia), and Figure 1.14 an ostotheke from Pisidia.

2) Attributes

Attributes feature both as a sole marker or in tandem with figural reliefs, located within the pediment or upon the field. As demonstrated in Figure C.1 the most frequent attributes are the basket and spindle-and-distaff (gender/status markers, see chapter 3) and wreaths (with honorific/heroizing function, chapter 4). The range of items in Figure C.1 are, for the most part, undistinguishable from those used across the larger Greek world and Roman west[85] and can be assigned to three categories: items of material advantage/social ideals of the *polis* citizen[86], markers of livelihood/status, and heroizing/divine connotations.[87] A proportionally large frequency of attributes associated with material advantage (and ideals of civic life) feature on figural stelae – eating, drinking and luxury items, writing implements, scrolls, beauty utensils for women.[88] A narrower range of attributes feature on motif-only gravestones (lacking figural portraits) – 19 attributes versus 30 on the former.[89] I expected a broader range of attributes in the absence of a figural relief, given the perceived loss of expression connected to figural representations. Considering the ambiguity of figural portraits, other visual elements were necessary to articulate an identity for the memorialised, each working in tandem, with no strict hierarchy in the articulation of values.

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[85] Comparable to funerary evidence from contemporary Roman Macedonia (Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2016).

[86] Functioning as markers of status, linking the memorialised to civic life by referencing urban values (Kelp 2015, 80).

[87] Reliefs on gravestones of smaller poleis – such as Akmonia and Sebaste (rural areas with some urbanisation) – are dominated by agriculture, small craft, and the Greek ideals of the *polis* citizen. In more urbanised areas (e.g., Aezani or Phrygia Paroreios) rarer objects are depicted, matching those used in the west of the empire (Kelp 2015, 80).

[88] These items are a frequent component of doorstones (Kelp 2015, 79).

[89] Figure C.1 shows attributes absent on motif-only stones include animals (dogs, pigs, sheep, and horses), items associated with leisure or education (*volumen*), and soldierly items.
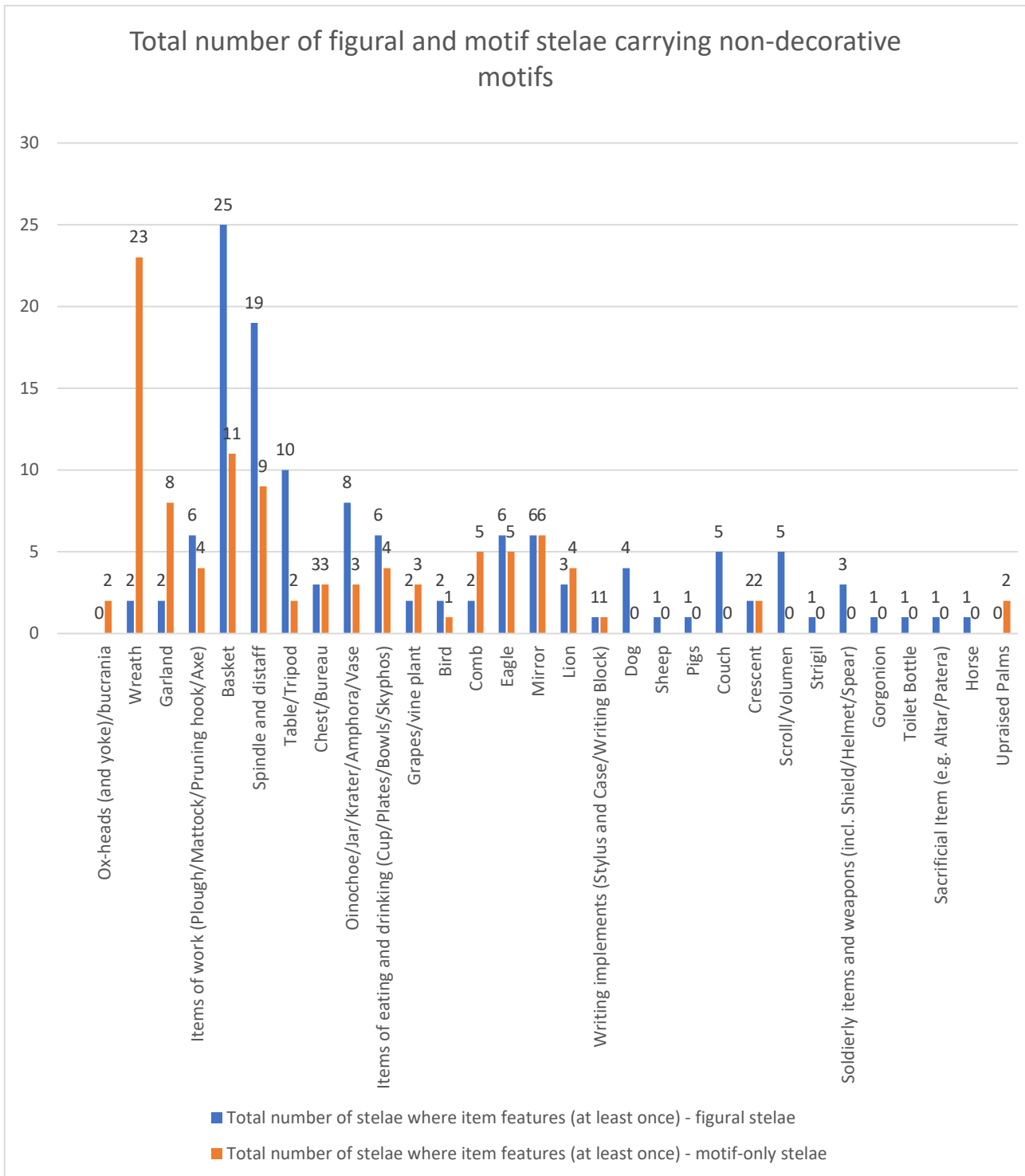
Figure C.1: The total number of stelae within each catalogue that carries non-decorative motifs.

c) Epitaphs

Inscriptions in the catalogue are predominantly composed in Greek and established

variants/dialects; Latin text is infrequent (see chapter 2). Epitaphs utilise formulaic phrases

and function as an additional visual element (for literacy and accessibility, see section 2).

Most texts adhere to the following template: naming the patron as having 'set up' the

monument – *ἀνέστησαν* – to the memory of one or more family member and, regularly, to

themselves.[90] Phrases such as *μνήμης χάριν* (in memory) and *χαῖρε* (farewell!) are used to

close inscriptions.[91] In addition, acknowledgment of the passer-by is frequent – *παροδειτ[α]*

χαιρε (passer-by farewell) – implying the enhanced visibility of these stelae to viewers over-

and-above the family.[92]
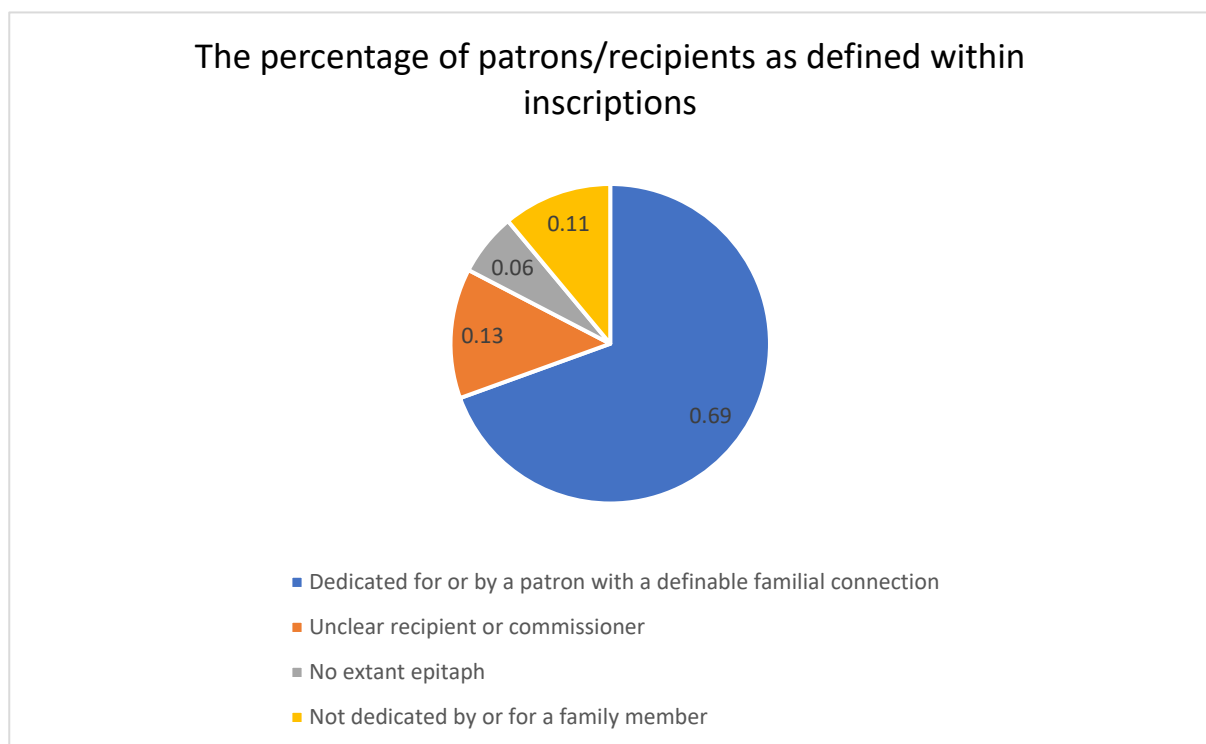
Figure C.2: The percentage of patrons/recipients as defined within inscriptions.

Other formulaic phrases are less frequent, but no-less significant to our understanding of

contemporary society within the three inland regions. These include statements that the

deceased/patron was alive at time of commission, date of commission or production, age of

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[90] Van Nijf 2010, 171.
[91] The standard funerary formulae of inscriptions on Macedonian funerary stelae are similar (Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2016, 130).
[92] Such phrasing is implicit of repeated visual contact with the monument (Carroll 2006, 53).

the deceased, religious beliefs, and curse formulas (analysed in the following chapters). The recording of familial ties and bonds was significant to identity expression for inhabitants of the inland regions (chapter 2); 69% of the catalogue's stelae were erected by and commemorated family members (including those celebrating the patron, see Figure C.2).[93]

d) Limitations

    1. Challenges of scale

A systematic study of Roman funerary monuments from Asia Minor – even across Phrygia, Pisidia and Galatia alone – is an unrealistic task.[94] To reduce the potential for generalisation I assess one type of funerary monument across both a defined chronology and expanse (three connected, inland regions).[95] This permits me to discern continuities and contrasts in projections of identity within that evidence, over time and space, allowing for potential consistencies in expression across borders.[96] For example, the influence, if any, of Roman interaction upon funerary self-representation within the inland regions and evidence of cultural negotiation (i.e. use of Latin text, specifically Roman iconographical markers etc.); did the developments in the region (above) influence the contemporary inhabitant's daily life?[97] Impacts of change may not be *that* clear within the funerary record, especially given the continuation of Hellenistic traditions in the funerary sphere (above), in addition to wider

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[93] This number was likely higher as 19% of inscriptions are unclear or missing, meaning only 11% of epitaphs were not dedicated by or for a family member; In the Greek East erection of epitaphs was a family affair, underscoring family ties and extended relationships. (Cormack 2004, 136).

[94] 'Too great are the variations across time and space, the social and gender differences, and the discrepancies observable in the funerary habits and contexts from one city to the next, with exceptions to almost every rule.' (Ewald 2015, 390).

[95] Based around current scholarship on material culture and globalization, I appropriate a concept of expression across varying scales within my methodology (see sections 2 and 3).

[96] A regionally based study adds nuance to more general statements made on the region (Edmondson 2005, 189); Systematic analysis over a defined chronology enables patterns to be visible that may have occurred over decades (Ahrens 2015, 187).

[97] Mitchell 1993, 69; Woolf 1997, 4.

processes from the Hellenistic period – such as the *poleis*, cities and monumental

architecture.[98]

2. Difficulties assigning dates.

Funerary monuments are dated via consistent means in scholarship; using contents of

inscriptions (honorary titles, movement of troops, references to specific emperors);

epigraphic conventions associated with definable time periods; nomenclature indicating

chronology; sculpture and typology; and archaeological evidence.[99] Caution must be

exercised as a degree of subjectivity is involved in the process. Uncertainty accompanies a

high proportion of catalogued grave stelae in Asia Minor with only approximate dates

discerned – broad date ranges are common due to a lack of markers (letter forms, design

features etc.).[100] Where specific dates are recorded, many are taken from previous

publications and it is possible their dating criteria was erroneous. This is not aided by the

extant state of some evidence (below) and a restricted knowledge of each region; only a few

sites have been completely excavated, such as Gordion (Galatia), Pessinous

(Phrygian/Galatian border) or Sagalassus (Pisidia).[101] A lack of precision in dating results in

subtle changes over time (i.e. iconographical components, designs etc.) becoming obscured

by the inability to distinguish between evidence from the first, second or third-century

AD.[102]

Acknowledging approaches to dating and respective pitfalls, I provide specific dates (where

possible) or classify evidence in the catalogue to more defined time periods (e.g. the first-

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[98] Woolf 1997, 3.
[99] Hope 2001, 101-103.
[100] Kelp 2013, 71; Hope 2001, 12.
[101] Kelp 2013, 71.; Thonemann 2013a, xvi.
[102] Hope 2001, 70.

century AD), according to stylistic features, palaeography and details of the inscription. It remains that for some stelae classifications are broader and span the first-second century AD or even the Imperial Period (up to the third-century AD).[103] I utilise these broader periods where a lack of comparable evidence in current scholarship prevents more precision. In doing so, I avoid making subjective or inaccurate classifications.

3. Extant state of evidence

Many surviving funerary stelae are fragmented or damaged making analysis difficult. Other challenges include loss of original context, material re-use (altering and displacing the visual record), and grave robbing (valuable stones continually lost to private collections).[104] Indeed, there may be quite a volume of architecture that has never graced scholarship.[105] For those examples that have, a lack of information is a hindrance and, despite collation in catalogues, it remains impossible to assign some monuments to their original origin.[106] A lack of images for many, aligned with the poor quality of a large majority (even lack of a an inscription squeeze), prevents or inhibits evidence analysis with no clear path to improve the visual record. In addition, many recorded inscriptions are incomplete and the potential exists that catalogue entries may be inaccurate. Furthermore, stones included in earlier catalogues are now missing, many stelae feature in museums but previous data collection lacks inventory numbers and, in cases where inventory numbers are provided, these do not necessarily match those of the museum.

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[103] Approximate classifications and flexibility combat potential for error.
[104] Inscriptions were destroyed through war, vandalism and natural catastrophes, and to reconstruct buildings or erect protective walls (Mclean 2002, 21).
[105] Pearce 2011, 136.
[106] Published inscriptions are dispersed across hundreds of obscure journals and intractable corpora (Thonemann 2013a, xvi).

To combat some of these challenges I do **not** include examples that are too damaged or fragmented to add value to this thesis. Additionally, I **only include stelae recorded with an image** as this visual element is necessary to enable detailed analysis of iconography and form, without subjectivity in classification.

4. Breadth of evidence

The stelae in the catalogue are funerary monuments and **not** (votive) dedications. I stress this at the outset as a significant number of votive stelae (from each region) feature within catalogue publications. While I refer to dedications where relevant within my analysis and discuss the religious nature of some motifs, both religion and votive stelae **are not** part of this thesis' remit. In addition, I **do not** examine decorative motifs (i.e. bosses) – used by artists to fill space – or architectural markers such as pilasters or niches, with space constraints preventing adequate analysis of these features. However, I want to acknowledge their role upon the stelae as a means of enhancing the sensory experience for the contemporary viewer.

Moreover, I do **not** include funerary altars and doorstones within the catalogue as this would make my focus too broad. I conceive of funerary altars as a separate monument form to stelae – associated with built tomb environments (see above) – that necessitate their own study. Doorstones have received significant scholarly attention, typological analysis and are primarily prevalent in Phrygia (not across each inland region); I feel there is not the scope in this thesis to cover new ground.[107] However, as a point of reference and comparison I include both monuments within my analysis.

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[107] Paz De Hoz 2007, 121; Pfuhl, E. and Möbius, H. (1977); (1979); (Levick et. al., 1988); Kelp (2015). Lochman (2003. Cited by Kelp 2015); Waelkens (1980. Cited by Kelp 2015).

Section 2 - Informing my approach; scholarship review

My analysis enters significant themes of scholarly debate including: the role of funerary

commemoration, viewer interactions with stone monuments (and literacy), approaches to

provincial art and the negotiation of identity and cultural exchange. It is essential at the

outset to align my approach with scholarship upon these themes, to facilitate and informed

and relevant study.

a) Funerary commemoration – Preserving memory

Sepulchral monuments were vehicles for remembrance carrying the name of the deceased

and details of their former life in text (and image).[108] They consoled the living by ensuring

the survival of the family name[109] and through reminiscence (images of the

memorialised).[110] To the wider community, the physical appearance of funerary

monuments (and their texts) enabled the display and negotiation of status, belonging,

public careers, professions and complex family ties.[111] Sepulchral evidence occupies a

special status, combining the private and public sphere in a unique manner[112] – as private

property within a public space, sepulchral monuments offer insight into the lives of

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[108] Inscribed words on gravestones were a mnemonic aid for future generations (Carroll 2006, 31); Stating the commemorator's discharge of duty (Meyer 1990, 78); Roman legal texts define a memorial (*monumentum*) as a means of preserving memory and a vehicle for representing the essence and dignity (*substantias et dignitas*) of an individual *(Digest* 11.7.2.6; 35.127. Cited by Carroll 2008, 39); Publishing statements on stone (the epigraphic habit) was a characteristic activity within the Roman way of life (MacMullen 1982, 238).

[109] The survival of one's name was of great importance to Roman society (Carroll 2011, 68); Obligations of *sacra* (rites for the deceased) fell onto those bound to the deceased by legal ties of heirship, and not family ties (though these did overlap) (Meyer 1990, 76).

[110] Carroll 2011, 68.

[111] Carroll 2011, 65-66.

[112] While marginal, the funerary sphere was an active component among contemporary society (Hope 2007, 129); Cemeteries serve as ideal reflections of the cities of the living (Steskal 2018, 232); Tombs were among the most public monuments of Roman settlements across the empire (Carroll 2008, 38).

inhabitants that *may* be less idealised, or politically loaded, than public sculpture.[113] Of course, funerary sculpture *did* adopt the models and iconographical language of public sculpture (by consequence tapping into the value-systems of the public sphere[114]), *were* exploited as a status marker and *did* project idealistic renderings of the deceased (functioning as quasi-public sculpture within the private sphere).[115] That patrons present the memorialised (and themselves) in the best possible light (irrespective of truthfulness) is to be expected on both public and private sculpture.[116] However, this does not discount potential for a more balanced representation, relative to public art. Patrons of public and private monuments were different, and so were the intentions behind public and private representation[117]; not discounting that funerary monuments *did* follow public monument models. The funerary sphere bestowed opportunities for expression absent to many in life.[118] Consequently, funerary monuments *can* emphasise what was significant to those memorialised[119] and studying a series of sepulchral memorials exemplifies pertinent aspects of communities' conscious, and subconscious, conventions and beliefs.[120]

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[113] Funerary practices bespeak status/status aspirations but not simply as extensions of commemorative practices in the public sphere (Van Nijf 2010, 168); Seifert 2018, 4; Steskal 2018, 233; See also Herring and Wilkins 2003, 24; Smith 2015, 737.

[114] Tombs were an extension of the public and private architecture inside the town (Carroll 2011, 65).

[115] The burial record may reflect relative status held whilst alive, or idealised rôles for both the living and deceased, created at death (Hope 2001, 6); Bodel 2008, 193; The cemetery was an arena for social competition and competitive display (Carroll 2006, 35).

[116] Funerary monuments were determined by a need to show off, presenting an ideal representation of social persona – an inhabitant's perceived role and identity in life – which anticipated an audience for this display (Stewart 2004, 54); Susini 1973, 5.

[117] Sepulchral monuments were insular, built by the individual/family; public sculpture, commissioned by the people, served large audiences in prominent positions.

[118] Carroll 2006, 33; Epigraphic patterns in Asia Minor include a tradition of living commemoration of self and others (from the third century BC) as well as more general deceased-commemorator pairings (Meyer 1990, 75).

[119] Bereavement and commemoration bring issues of self-definition to the fore (Gleason 2010, 135).

[120] The sepulchral sphere was a part of life, created by the living for the living (Feraudi-Gruénais 2015, 664); Colvin 1991, 56); Care is required to avoid over-analysing or emphasising significance purely based on surviving funerary evidence (Saller et. al. 2008, 4).

b) Viewer interactions with memorials in the Roman world

Comprehending viewer experience is a substantial challenge accompanying the study of

memorials from a different socio-cultural context. A range of protagonists were (and

remain) involved – i.e. the memorialised, commissioner, and the viewer (both ancient and

modern) – and each may interpret a monument differently.[121] By virtue of distance, a

modern viewer may not observe contemporary nuances (i.e. readings of motifs long since

lost) let alone historical contexts (original burial site, archaeological context etc.), or the role

of the visitor in ritual activity.[122] In addition, as one bears no connection to the

memorialised, any sense of loss or emotional connection to the memorialised is not

transmitted.[123] One must appreciate this distance when analysing artefacts.[124] To

comprehend viewer experiences of grave stelae one must consider the engagement of the

living with monumental writing and its messages, addressing concepts of language and

literacy.[125]

Literacy in the Roman world encompassed the ability to read and write, as well as degrees

of cultural refinement.[126] Literacy levels in contemporary society were low; in the first two

centuries AD less than 10% of adult males in western Roman provinces, and 20-30% in Rome

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[121] Hope 2001, 15; Whoever composed the inscription had a significant role as these words addressed the whole community and/or posterity itself (MacMullen 1982, 244).

[122] It is difficult to reconstruct patterns of behaviour or religious attitudes (Hope 2001, 9).

[123] Commissioning a tombstone was a component of sepulchral rites, part of the culturally determined response to bereavement through which relatives adjust to their individual loss and seek consolation (Mander 2013, 11).

[124] These customs were governed by grief and emotion and therefore it is difficult to determine whether the individual present was in documentary form (Mander 2013, 11).

[125] Literacy was a defining element of Roman culture; the ability to read and write was significant to the elite through ideological concepts such as *paideia* and *humanitas*, to commerce, the military, and the administration of the Empire (Eckardt 2018, 9).

[126] Eckardt 2018, 3; Whilst not necessarily linked to an individual's actual capacity, literacy (and learning) was a symbol and representation of status on wall paintings and funerary monuments (Eckardt 2018, 12).

and Italy, were literate.[127] Many in the eastern Mediterranean were unable to read Latin.[128]

However, inhabitants of the Roman world were surrounded by monumental writing

(especially in urban areas) through public inscriptions (i.e. on buildings, the bases of

honorific statues etc.)[129] and in the private sphere through funerary inscriptions.[130] This

epigraphic habit was defined by sense of an audience[131] and texts were read aloud,

influencing both the literate and illiterate.[132] An audience reading aloud epitaphs

engendered an intimate connection between the written and the spoken word – enabling

words pronounced at death (and burial) to survive for posterity.[133] Given the propensity and

formulaic manner of monumental writing, a limited degree of literacy can be assumed –

standardised combinations of letters featured in the same contexts (i.e. in cemeteries),

becoming widely understood – with abbreviations and formulae being read like

pictograms.[134] This is evident in the catalogue through consistency in phraseology and

language.[135] Texts are inclusive, repetitive and non-individualising, functioning as an

iconographical component through building blocks that, both individually and in

combination, articulated standardised projections of identity.[136] That epitaphs in the

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[127] Harris 1989: 259, 272. Cited by Carroll 2008, 40; Rates of literacy in Rome were potentially as low as 10-15% (Petersen 2006, 106); Literacy levels amongst women are generally thought to have been below men and higher in Rome and amongst the provincial elite (Eckardt 2017, 27).

[128] Carroll 2006, 56.

[129] The epigraphic habit was taken very seriously by a large part of the population (MacMullen 1982, 244); Eckardt 2018, 11.

[130] Funerary inscriptions reached their zenith in the first and second centuries AD (Meyer 1990. 95); See MacMullen 1982.

[131] Macmullen 1982, 246; Carroll 2006, 55.

[132] Eckardt 2018, 7; Funerary inscriptions were 'speaking stones', no less public and visible than public monuments which prompted frequent reading (and listening to reading) (Carroll 2008, 42); Carroll 2006, 57.

[133] Carroll 2011, 67; Many funerary inscriptions in Italy, Spain and Germany ask the viewer to give a spoken greeting to the deceased (*dicas sit tibi terra levis*) (Carroll 2006, 53).

[134] Carroll 2006, 55-56; Carroll 2008, 44.

[135] Funerary stelae from across the three inland regions display a deeply rooted and widely practised epigraphic habit (Masséglia 2013, 96); The frequency and repetitiveness of formulae and abbreviations (and wider iconographic forms) increased the ability for people to decipher lapidary writing (Carroll 2008, 45).

[136] The epitaph in Asia Minor acted as an aesthetic (Cormack 2004, 143).

catalogue express other expected social concerns/values furthers their accessibility to the viewer.[137]

Imagery was also essential to viewer experience in a semi-literate society[138] and observers conducted a visual reading of these monuments rather than a comprehensive appraisal.[139] Iconographical elements were presented for clarity – for example, enlarged heads and hands on figural representations within the catalogue. Many portraits heads are unrealistically represented, overly large in scale relative to bodies,[140] likewise hands.[141] These are further emphasised by their smooth rendering, contrasting heavily textured drapery folds.[142] This draws the viewer's gaze and trains focus on gesturing, or items held (i.e. both male figures hold a *rotulus* in overly large hands on FS.PIS.13). Rather than reflecting workshop incompetence (see below) this was a deliberate decision on the artist's part[143]; with space at a premium upon a stela, sculptors prioritised iconographical aspects which communicated values above naturalism – figural representation, clothing, motifs, and inscriptions were made to be *legible* rather than *realistic.*[144]

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[137] Epitaphs were a deliberate and enduring commemoration of a dead person's most significant characteristics (Van Nijf 2010, 165).

[138] Enabling most viewers to grasp the outline of dedications (Mander 2013, 145).

[139] Petersen 2006, 216; A concept of cultural literacy is relevant, whereby understanding cultural concepts and histories through a visual literacy (ability to interpret and decode the complex visual iconography of the Roman world) was more important than being able to read (Eckardt 2018, 10).

[140] Phrygian relief heads are almost universally oversized with round faces and sometimes no neck (Masséglia 2013, 102); Noteworthy examples include: FS.G.7, 12-13, 17, 20, 22-23, 25, 38; FS.PIS.01-02, 09, 21-22, 25, 27-28, 31 and 37.

[141] Hands are strikingly large with broad palms and elongated fingers, held out straight (Masséglia 2013, 103); See FS.G.1-2, 4, 8, 10, 12, 18, 20, 25, 38, 42; FS.PHR.03, 07; FS.PIS.01-05, 09, 13, 16, 21-22, 27-29, and 31-32.

[142] Masséglia 2013, 107.

[143] This is not evidence of provincialism (inability to produce accurate proportions) (Masséglia 2013, 107).

[144] Including as much information as possible about one's self in as little space as possible meant including proportional distortion of form, and perspectival illogicalities, for practical reasons according to the context of the monument itself (Welch 2010, 508-509).

c) Approaches to provincial art

Until recently, scholarship would have deemed the above as evidence of provincialism.[145]

Provincial art was habitually ignored, deemed inferior to high art of imperial centres[146] and

model sculpture of chronological periods (the Classical, Hellenistic period etc.).[147] Provincial

artists were reckoned unable to incorporate a mimetic prototype and differentiation from

this attributable to incompetence, rather than intention.[148] In transmitting significant details

over-and-above realism, examples of reduced naturalism in provincial art (like above) may

represent an extension of practices of Roman art[149] or mirror regionally defined

interpretations of Roman art.[150] Furthermore, artists may have been capable of producing

Classical forms but actively selected not to endorse them. For example, on late Etruscan

cinerary urns and sarcophagi from Italy the monument sides carry naturalistic renderings of

mythological scenes, yet their respective lids feature disproportionately rendered reclining

figures.[151] For these patrons articulating a noticeably Etruscan identity was preferred to

sculpting the deceased in an aesthetically Hellenizing style.[152] This reaffirms the significance

of assessing examples based upon contextual terms,[153] and suggests the frequency of un-

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[145] Provincialism (a lack of consistency in quality of finish, carving and reliefs) was not limited to the provinces (Stewart 2010, 10).

[146] Scholarly focus on provincial material began in the 1960's and 70's through the *arte-populare* debate (Mladenović 2016, 104); Similar to Romanization debate (below), this retains a centre—periphery model, eliding provincial and non-classicising perspectives into one (Hijmans 2016, 93).

[147] Stewart 2010, 4; Provincial artists lose perspective, the third dimension and proportionality; relying on schematisation, regular patterns and standardised figures (Mladenović 2016, 109); Mattingly 1997, 11.

[148] Mladenović 2016, 107; Provincial artists lacking the 'classical eye' required to generate naturalistic figures of Greek models (Stewart 2010, 2-10).

[149] Hölscher 2004, 91.

[150] Basic designs were interpreted (and applied) in a multitude of manners (Hope 2001, 11).

[151] Hijmans 2016, 88-89.

[152] As the primary audience was internal, issues of ethnic identity are rendered moot (Hijmans 2016, 89).

[153] The quality of an artwork can only be assessed vis-a-vis expectations related to appropriate artistic idioms, and these must be viewed in the context of the time of creation (Mladenović 2016, 105).

natural representations in the catalogue (irrespective of material of composition, scale and standard of finish) was not simply the result of incapable stonemasons.[154]

d) How has provincial, cultural exchange and the construction (and negotiation) of identity been tackled in scholarship?

Studies of Roman provinces have traditionally focused on the cultural and social changes brought about by incorporation into the political system of the Roman Empire.[155] The Romanization model was an attempt to understand cultural exchange (and the spread of material) across the empire as a dual process; 'the values of Greek culture are first absorbed by the Romans (Hellenization) and then diffused through Roman conquest across the western Mediterranean.'[156] In its original incarnation scholars studied the western provinces (mainly Roman Britain)[157] where impacts of Roman rule are more visible.[158] For example, Millett argued that the adoption of Roman material symbols by local, western elites represented a deliberate choice, and a trickle-down effect then carried symbols of

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[154] Comparable to the stone sculpture of Moesia Superior (Mladenović 2016, 106).

[155] Edmondson 2005, 189; This study considers the late Republican and Imperial composite 'Roman' culture, with all its complex implications: from the diffusion of new ideas and straight acculturation to cultural resistance, conservation, and the bricolage of old concepts (Keay and Terrenato 2009, ix).

[156] (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 10); The evolution of provincial society through the adoption of the conqueror's culture by the conquered, traced through Roman artefacts, styles and practices (Alcock 1997a, 1); D'Ambra 1998, 9; Papaioannou 2016, 32; Alcock detests the word Romanization largely due to its over-exposure and the still on-going debate on the term's meaning (Alcock 2009, 277); Romanization can be used as a term in a weak sense, as a convenient label referring loosely to events involved in the creation of a new and unified political entity; it should not be used to describe the occurrence or direction of acculturation between Romans and non-Romans (Keay and Terrenato 2009, ix).

[157] British Roman archaeology and NW Europe (Versluys 2014, 3).

[158] Influences are more difficult to observe in the eastern empire – Greek cultural continuity and the superiority of 'high culture' masked appreciation of the impact of Rome upon the east (Alcock 1997a, 1).

Romanitas down the social hierarchy.[159] He advocated a concept of 'free choice whereby a non-Roman was elected to follow Roman custom or practice or aspects thereof.'[160]

Likewise, Madsen defined the process as 'cultural influence from Rome on native culture' in which provincial inhabitants adopted elements of Roman public/private customs to present themselves, and be recognised, as Roman.[161] In promoting Rome as the conquering culture imparting its ways onto a completely receptive (barbarian or even primitive) society,[162] both examples illustrate how applying Romanization theory is fraught with complications.[163] It creates a model with a 'unidirectional flow of power and influence from core to periphery'[164] and presents a wholly inaccurate perception of cultural interaction.[165] Furthermore, Romanization theory was not applied in a balanced fashion; a wholesale adoption of Roman culture was perceived in the west and only piecemeal in the east, where effects of Roman rule are less visible.[166] Value-laden terminology categorising provinces on notions of success encouraged scholarly neglect of regions deemed unsuccessful (such as

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[159] See Millett 1990, particularly 98, 117, and 212; As Roman culture was valued as superior to Iron Age, changes in the archaeological record were inevitable to achieve civilisation. Millett challenged the model of social evolution in the western provinces and brought forward the question of changing ethnic identity, putting cultural change centre stage (Revell 2016a, 7); Alcock 1997a, 2; Woolf 1994, 116.

[160] Papaioannou 2016, 32.

[161] Madsen 2002, 95; See also Papaioannou 2016, 36; When an element from the Roman form of cultural expression appears and is integrated within local culture, it is a reaction to cultural influence from Rome and an example of Romanization (Madsen 2002, 95-96).

[162] The stereotypical representation of homogenous ideals of 'Roman' and 'native' and a move (or not) from one to the other (Revell 2016, 207); A gradual process of convergence under Roman guidance culminating in a politically and culturally unified whole (Stek 2013, 341); Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 16; Woolf 1995, 10; The silence of the silent majority, of the non-elite, cannot be confused with either their consent, or their unimportance (Alcock 2009, 229).

[163] Hoff and Rotroff 1997, ix; Romanization debate became tied to colonial discussions of the 20th and 21st Century (Hingley 2003, 111); Versluys 2014, 2.

[164] Alcock 1997a, 1; Cultural imports like gladiatorial combat, baths and gymnasiums are well attested in SW Asia Minor (Woolf 1994, 126); Jiménez 2016, 28; Implying a unilateral transfer of culture as a single, standardised process (Mattingly 1997, 9); Mathisen and Shanzer 2011, 4; In Northern Europe adoption of Latin provided individuals with a common language that heightened communication (Hingley 2010, 68).

[165] Non-adaptation of Roman culture was not necessarily resistance likewise, immigrant Roman citizens (and the centre of the empire) were not impervious to accepting ways and means of indigenous cultures (Risakis and Touratsoglou 2016, 131); Woolf 1994, 118; Kelp 2015, 22.

[166] Archaeological exploration of Roman Greece has fallen behind the western empire which disproportionately emphasised at the expense of the east (Alcock 1993, 3).

early imperial period Greece), perpetuating a centre-orientated view of the Empire.[167] For

example, the adoption of Latin and the stela form by inhabitants in western provinces was

regarded as suggesting the adoption of Roman identity, and integration into the Roman

world.[168] In contrast, relative ignorance to Latin on stone monuments within the Greek

world implies no Romanization occurred and yet, stelae existed in the east prior to Roman

interaction.

Countering the challenges of Romanization theory, post-colonial debates of the 1980s and

1990s shone a spotlight on provincial art as a means of observing the varying experiences of

Roman imperialism and identity expression.[169] Acculturation recognised reciprocal

exchange, allowing for cultural traits and aspects of resistance or rejection;[170] instead of

adopting Roman ways, cultures coalesce and create a new, hybrid culture.[171] The value in

the model is the allowance for agency and independent action on the part of the subject

cultures.[172] Nevertheless, acculturation concepts too easily presuppose a model whereby

the 'superior' culture (Roman or European) spreads by osmosis over a 'native' culture.[173]

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[167] Rather than an index of depopulation, economic distress and moral decline in the region, political and economic restructuring in the wake of imperial annexation explains the disappearance of Aeliaian cities (Alcock 1997, 103-104); Differences in interaction with Roman culture, between east and west, originated from regional discrepancies in urbanisation, not Greek scepticism, or strong pro-Roman sentiment in the western provinces (Madsen 2002, 87).

[168] Hope 2001, 22; A Latin name (or Roman motif/iconography) on a gravestone explicitly presented individuals as Roman and, in doing so, fellow citizens would view him/her as Roman (Madsen 2002, 94).

[169] Mladenović 2016, 104; Acculturation, resistance, exploitation, and changes in economic and social behaviour offered new archaeological techniques (Alcock 1993, 5).

[170] Papaioannou 2016, 38; Acculturation avoids the appearance of prioritising Rome, allowing for reciprocal integration, resistance and rejection (Geagan 1997, 28); Alcock 1997a, 2.

[171] Hybridity allows for cultural differences between communities (Hodos 2010, 21).

[172] Hybridity is a space for mediation acknowledging the interdependence of coloniser and colonised (Antonacchio 2010, 36).

[173] Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 11; Revell 2016a, 46.

Indeed, concepts of hybrid cultures have come under increased scepticism from scholars, being deemed non-reflective of the process of cultural exchange.[174]

Creolisation moved the Romanization debate forward by advocating the maintenance of established culture rather than its removal, adopting a bottom-up approach to the study of material culture of the non-elite.[175] Original identities were overwritten by the formation of a new ethnic group (a third space identity).[176] In such a viewpoint, a common culture and identity can develop in a context of cultural and ethnic diversity, with no ethnicization and original identities, based on heritages, remaining intact.[177] However, translating this modern theory into studies of Roman period civilisation risks engendering the concept of imperialism.[178] Furthermore, terminology used in the model (creole) is case specific to slave and colonial societies, to individuals displaced from their original home and living in a foreign society characterised by dominance and subjugation.[179] Applying this same definition to inhabitants living in Imperial period Asia Minor is erroneous. Nonetheless, the model's understanding that old boundaries dissolve and lose meaning while new one's form, within a new social and local environment is beneficial.[180]

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[174] Acculturation assumes the result to be a single, 'blended' culture derived from two 'pure' parents (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 12); Cultural interplay prevents acculturation and hybridity from being a stable model – cultures and people are always shifting and acclimatising to new circumstances (Hales 2010, 240).

[175] Creolisation is a finite process, a hybrid collective identity is articulated through partial appropriation and subversion of the colonist culture (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 11); Gardner 2013, 5; Creolisation is not the dissolution and overcoming of ethnic, national, and other boundaries in a continual process of cultural intermingling (Knörr 2008, 4).

[176] In social anthropology creolisation is a linguistic space between the standard and creole language which remains after the creole language has established (Knörr 2008, 8).

[177] Knörr 2008, 13.

[178] Post-colonial perspectives of imperialism are frequently criticised for simply replacing one set of socio-political stereotypes with another (Mattingly 1997, 7).

[179] Knörr 2008, 3.

[180] Creolisation promotes the dissolution of ethnic, racial, and national boundaries (or ties): their significance reduced, gradually being replaced by identification with a place and its specific cultural representations (Knörr 2008, 10).

Discrepant experience/identity tackled the uniformity in identity presented by the

Romanization model. It reflects that the multiple life experiences of peoples in the provinces

created cultural diversity, and that expression of difference was likely as important as

signalling similarity in the construction of identities.[181] Such an approach allows for

individual autonomy by considering all individuals involved in cultural change.[182] Mattingly

applied the concept to material culture and looked for differences in the material record

(and use) to determine if this could be attributed to the expression of distinct identities.[183]

Again, as with the postcolonial studies above, discrepant experience theory is associated

with concepts of imperialism, focusing upon resistance to imperial power and the display of

this opposition.[184] While I do not discount the potential for such representation upon the

evidence of the catalogue, direct sentiments against Roman rule are absent.[185]

Material culture studies have emerged at the forefront of scholarship upon cultural

integration/exchange and identity in the past couple of decades.[186] Materials and their

relationships with people, actively incorporated within the practices and routines of daily

life (stelae part of rituals associated with the memorialised),[187] channelled expression (itself

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[181] Carroll 2012, 282; 'We must be able to think through and interpret together experiences that are discrepant, each with its own particular agenda and pace of development, its own internal formations, its existing coherence and system of external relationships, all of them co-existing and interacting with others.' (Said 1993, 36. Cited by Mattingly 1997, 12).

[182] Mattingly 2006, 17; Mattingly 2011, 22. Cited by Papaioannou 2016, 37; Gardner 2013, 5.

[183] Mattingly identified differences in the material culture used across region or site type in Britain, implicit of discrepant experiences of being Roman (Revell 2016a, 14); The model's focus upon identity, social structures and human relationships within the material world have never been more salient (Gardner 2013, 3).

[184] Versluys 2014, 8; 'The language of the theoretical literature is utterly incompatible with the needs of public archaeology' (Gardner 2013, 3).

[185] It also implies tension or conflict between cultural groups in a manner not supported on a large scale by the historical record in first-second century AD Asia Minor (Papaioannou 2016, 38).

[186] Gosden 2005; Revell 2016; The material record is formed through contestation and reflects cultural exchange (Dougherty and Kurke 2003, 1. Cited by Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 16).

[187] Ritual is a strategy that incorporates all actions performed and thoughts expressed in connection with a dying or dead person (Brandt et. al. 2015, vii).

a performative act), and offer a perspective to advance cultural exchange discourses.[188] As an active agent in its relationship with people, materials (capable of movement) provide evidence of cultural exchange and represent cultural meaning.[189] Correspondingly, expression upon funerary stelae demonstrates values and daily interactions pertinent within contemporary society, both amenable to negotiation and exchange.[190] Criticisms of material culture studies reflect that materials were not value-free, and often implicated by people in the past to maintain their position of power.[191] Furthermore, the availability of goods and their degree of penetration may replicate what products could be supplied rather than what was preferred.[192]

Concepts of bilingualism/multilingualism have also moved Romanization debate forward. Considering spoken languages and the adoption of Latin in the provinces, recent research on multilingualism has highlighted the complex and dynamic ways languages and identities interacted and developed in the fluid contact zones created by the Empire; introducing the concept of code-switching rather than creolisation and hybridization.[193] Bilingualism theory has been applied to archaeological evidence, exploring multiple identities within epitaphs, and how dress and funerary art demonstrated cultural integration.[194] Based on cultural

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[188] Revell 2016a, 16; Hodos 2010, 18; Along with globalism theory (Versluys 2014, 7).

[189] Versluys 2014, 17; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 15; For example, as a particular way of doing things (a form of social practice) the Kline burial form in Asia Minor was actively involved in the process of expression and identity construction (Baughan 2013, 13).

[190] Active participation in ritual creates a sense of structure for its participants, generating meanings and relationships; each ritual event was an opportunity for transformation and re-production of change, even if only incredibly slight. This can be intentional/direct, or gradual, unintentional, and almost invisible (Stutz 2015, 7); Brandt 2015, xii.

[191] Potentially stressing an elite, adult male perspective (Revell 2016a, 4).

[192] Madsen 2002, 94.

[193] Eckardt 2018, 10.

[194] Wallace-Hadrill compares Romanization and Hellenization processes to the circulation of the blood to and from the heart, with both processes necessary to one another (Wallace-Hadrill 2008. 26-27); This continues Greg Woolf's formative change and cultural transformation model in provincial cultures (Woolf 1995, 9-10; Woolf 1994; Woolf 2010).

identity and social memory in the Roman East, the new social and political order – with new

tensions between imperial, regional and local loyalties – led to increased mobility in

individual identities and attitudes.[195] Van Nijf's study of epigraphic evidence from

Termessos in Pisidia illustrates bilingualism effectively; how Termessian inhabitants juggled

multiple identities in the same instance – Greeks, Roman citizens, and proud descendants of

established warriors[196] – through nomenclature.[197] It illustrates that the criteria for

identifying communities, much like identity over time, was not fixed; all human groupings

and their geographical connections are fluid and change through time as categories of

relatedness encroach upon one another.[198] By considering potential plurality in expression

and acknowledging that identity projection was a selective process, from village to city, I

expect to observe bilingual expression across the interior of Asia Minor.[199]

e) Overview of scholarship on identity and cultural exchange

Multiple aspects such as ethnicity, gender, age, sexuality, class or caste, ideologies and

religion are now recognised in Roman archaeology and the study of local, complex and

plural identities lies at the heart of much recent work.[200] Studies in Roman archaeology

successfully acknowledge the complexities of group identities, and the impact of their

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[195] People could shift in self-perception and self-representation depending on their specific contingent need and social context (Alcock 2009, 229),

[196] Van Nijf 2010, 166.

[197] A Termessian individual could present themselves as a composite of cultural affiliations and attachments which was not immutable, but changeable with time and context (Van Nijf 2010, 186); Lomas 2003, 204.

[198] Ellis 2011, 241; There is an inherent conflict between essentialist understandings of identity, stressing the sameness of a group and the power of identity politics, and constructivist arguments highlighting the fluid and constructed nature of identities (Eckardt 2018, 14).

[199] Lomas 2003, 193; In generating self-identity individuals defined themselves through key values and socially accepted norms, even if these expectations were not attained in life (Bodel 2008, 193).

[200] Eckardt 2018, 14.

interactions.[201] Elite expression of ethnicity and heritage (namely in urban centres) and its

articulation through nomenclature, have received significant attention, enhancing scholarly

understanding of what constituted identity in the ancient world. In addition, increasing

influence from other disciplines (sociology and anthropology) has assisted archaeologists in

re-thinking the expression of Roman imperial identities.[202] However, there remain

significant aspects of the wider debate yet to be sufficiently tackled, *major* categories

including gender (particularly the identity of women), non-elites, and age remain under-

explored.[203] Remote regions of the Empire – provinces and non-urban areas – are under-

studied, as are the fundamental relationships between people and changing material

cultures, the dynamics of self-identity, agency and personhood, in relation to materials.[204]

Specifically, within scholarship examining inland Asia Minor during the first-second century

AD, no current study assesses the funerary stela form, and/or its function as a marker of

identity.[205] That is not to say these topics have not been addressed by the scholar. One

cannot conduct analysis on funerary stelae from Asia Minor (especially their typology)

without referencing the seminal study of Pfuhl and Möbius.[206] Their typological assessment

of funerary reliefs (especially standing figure, family portrait groups and Hellenistic funerary

banquet reliefs) is comparable to my own approach in chapters 2 and 4. Lochman studied

proportions and the reduction of plastic forms upon linear surfaces (including stelae) within

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[201] Gardner 2013, 5.
[202] These approaches broaden and challenge earlier interpretations (the centrality of imperial civilisation) and explore identities through a focus upon the locality (Hingley 2010, 61); Hodos, 2010, 12.
[203] Revell 2016a. See Chapters 6 and 7.
[204] Gardner 2013, 5.
[205] Older reports of visits made in the 20th century by historians such as Ramsey, Calder and Bean detail the authors' travels through inland Anatolia. For example, Bean 1959, 67-117. These, and newer discoveries, have been catalogued within *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*. More recently, the *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor* record evidence from Phrygia and Pisidia, incl. Horsley (2007); Mclean (2002).
[206] Pfuhl, E. and Möbius, H. (1977); (1979). A catalogue of pre-Classical to Roman period funerary reliefs from the east coast of the Aegean and inland Anatolia.

Phrygia, identifying two key trends: 1) positive – a conscious implementation of Hellenistic models in cities (ornate decoration, flat relief, frontal figures, body parts emphasised); and, 2) negative – relief in plastic-like woodcut, rigid figures, long bodies and disproportionately short legs – a characteristic style of rural areas, mimicking urban sites.[207] Comparability between urban and rural characteristics is worthy of consideration however, Lochman's positive and negative interoperative parameters nonetheless instigate a value judgement that may be misleading. More recently, Ute Kelp's surveyance of identity expression within the funerary monuments of Phrygia (including stelae) was an inspiration for my investigations.[208] So too were Cormack's examinations of the funerary sphere across Asia Minor, though her explorations namely centre on second century AD house tombs and larger monuments.[209] Other authors dip into the pool of identity research, expressly its construction/articulation through the visual record. Smith's research projects in Asia Minor consider identity and expression within elite society, in urban centres[210]; Thonemann analyses identity through visual evidence, relative to geography and heritage (including nomenclature), within Phrygia[211]; Stephen Mitchell's extensive research in Asia Minor discusses identity through visual evidence.[212] However, given that scholarship has only recently started to focus on Galatia, Phrygia and Pisidia there is much to be learnt about contemporary inhabitants and provincial life through analysis of the funerary evidence from each.[213]

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[207] Lochmann 2003, 129. Cited by Kelp 2015, 75-76.

[208] Kelp 2015.

[209] Cormack (1989); (1997); (2004).

[210] Smith (1988a); (1993); (1998); (2015); (2015a).

[211] Thonemann (2011); (2013).

[212] Mitchell, Owens and Waelkens (1989); Mitchell, S. (1993); Horsley and Mitchell (2000).

[213] Cormack 1997, 138; An examination of each (understudied region of this thesis) through objects enhances understanding of the transfer of ideologies and ideas of cultural interactions (Mladenović 2016, 116).

Section 3. Methodology

My approach befits current scholarly discourse by focusing upon the relationship between people and material culture. Bringing context to the fore enables an appreciation of how visual materials communicated and instantiated the foundations, setting, and backdrop of social discourse.[214] Considering both the historical context of stelae and their relationship to contemporary residents[215] ensures I am objective, comprehending their impact upon the expression made, inclusive of gender, status (including non-elites), and ages.[216] In line with current scholarship (bilingualism/multilingualism) my interpretation reflects that expression and identity are fluid, multiple, and situational.[217] I continue discussion on themes of identity and cultural interaction and investigate identity projection.[218] While a study of identity is not the primary focus of this thesis, I investigate its articulation and significance through the material culture of funerary texts and images.[219]

Focus upon components of expression aligns my method with current art history, concerned with meanings, communicative power, and reception.[220] Further, by investigating identity projection within and across the rural hinterlands of a remote eastern province (and in a new Roman era) this study advances discourses in Asia Minor.[221] This regional study focuses on varying scales of expression, simultaneously, for each stela, analysing constituent

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[214] Hijmans 2016, 100; Material culture provides perspective of experiences at all levels of society (Antonacchio 2010, 37).

[215] Burials only demonstrate continuity to the past when considered in isolation, reading them against a changing material and social world allows a different perspective (Pearce 2015, 224).

[216] Material agency acknowledges that objects were not passive reflections of people and societies but challenged, changed, and shaped both (Eckardt 2017, 24); Wootton 2016, 63; Stek 2013, 347; Revell 2016, 208.

[217] Eckardt 2018, 14-15.

[218] Understanding funerary art as Selbstdarstellung allows insights into group ideologies (Pearce 2015, 236).

[219] This approach enables analysis of the negotiation of identities of groups in mobile and changing communities (Carroll 2012, 281).

[220] Opposed to form and aesthetics (Hijmans 2016, 87); See also Risakis and Touratsoglou 2016, 120.

[221] Studying expression within provincial regions places my approach at the precipice of publications investigating the dynamics of the Roman Empire, through micro-identities and the local (Jiminez 2016, 16).

iconographic components and designs with numerous potential influences.[222] By regarding

the Roman world as one cultural container I can track the results of cultural and social

interactions (connectivity at a micro and macro level), through stelae.[223] I will consider

networking and communication, consumption, identity and interaction between small and

large-scale phenomena[224], balancing out the picture by introducing glocalisation/localism

theory into my approach.[225]

My investigations will ascertain context through consistent means, assuming that normative

mechanisms of expression can only be fixed and determined at a given point.[226] Three

strands of analysis – social structures, social and cultural norms and production – offer an

effective template through which to interpret the context of expression and cultural

exchange.[227] Each factor (alone or in combination, simultaneously) influenced the

contemporary inhabitant and the visual message, offering an investigative framework to

consider context, allowing for individual agency in relation to wider circumstances and social

discourses.[228]

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[222] Gardner 2013, 11.

[223] Versluys 2014, 12; Gardner 2013, 7.

[224] Gardner 2013, 7.

[225] Glocalisation emphasises exchange (political, symbolic, material) as the common mechanism connecting individual regions with the wider world (Gardner 2013, 7); Hodos 2010, 24; Naerebout 2007, 155; Goldhill 2010, 46-50; Woolf 1995, 14; Jiménez 2016, 27; Even if someone intended to represent themselves on a local platform, their place within a complex web of local, regional, and imperial culture manifestations bound them to an imperial stage (Hales 2010, 240).

[226] Knowledge of social and historical contexts is essential to identify performative aspects of identity projection, and to recognise resultant characteristics that serve as identity constructs (Hodos 2010, 16-17).

[227] One must impose artificial divisions to understand ideologies and social practices of identity (and its expression) (Revell 2016a, 16).

[228] Like Gidden's Structuration Theory, when analysing context neither the individual nor social structures are considered primary (Revell 2016a, 9).

1) Social structures

By social structures, relative to expression and identity projection, I refer to the internal and external circumstances influencing cultural interaction (i.e. forced or natural migration, military recruitment, colonies, enslavement).[229] Did the active imposition of (and interaction with) Roman culture affect the projection of identity on funerary stelae in the inland regions? Instead, was Roman interaction an enabler – not for expressing integration into imperial society – but for cultural interaction?[230] Social structures also include the practices which maintained and internalised identity (and its articulation) acknowledging that groups were different.[231] Are these stelae markers of socially competitive display? Were stelae aspirational (and did this matter)? Analysis of features (scale, material of composition) and iconographical markers may demonstrate social exceptions, reflecting attained (or aspired to) social position.[232] In what ways did gender, age, or occupation influence identity projection? I will explore whether specific components were used based on social status, including gender specific attributes, the memorialisation of the young, and livelihood.

2) Social and cultural norms

Social and cultural norms reflect core, contemporary social expectations (what was pertinent to contemporary inhabitants at any specific time and space) and instigated the normative framework defining identity articulation upon stone monuments. This may explain homogeneity in the projection of identity across the inland regions; regularity in

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[229] Scholars must acknowledge the commonplace imposition of order, enslavement and enforced military recruitment (Hingley 2010, 63).

[230] It may be that inhabitants had nothing more in common than being located with the same borders imposed by a new Roman world (Hales 2010, 234); Both 'interventionalist Roman state' and 'responsive population' acted alongside one another (Hingley 2010, 70).

[231] Revell 2016a, 17.

[232] Heterogeneity implying enhanced social status and relative wealth, homogeneity reflecting lower status/lesser means.

iconographic language was based within shared knowledge and placed the individual's

expression into a wider cultural *koine* and group identity.[233] What were the significant

aspects of inhabitants' identity projected by the catalogue? Was success in public life

significant, the maintenance of the family name, or displaying the conduction of funerary

ritual? What about emotional response, associated with death and attitudes to death

itself?[234] To what extent is there consistency in the projection of identity (and the means

through which this was achieved) over time and space? Did inhabitants at urban centres

define social expectations and guide the expression of identity?

       3) Production processes

Was there an expectation of how a grave stela should look and was this consistent across

defined spaces, even regions? Social and cultural norms influenced workshop production;

social expectations channelling consumer demand (or vice-versa) and workshops

responding to this.[235] I want to explore the role of the patron[236] as the driving force behind

the stela product, within different areas.[237] How much influence did the commissioner have

upon the visual elements of the gravestone? Did they purchase a prefabricated monument,

merely requiring minor amendment, or were these stelae specifically defined by respective

patrons? What role did the atelier have upon expression in the catalogue and was the range

of available designs limited by production capability? For example, local workshops may

have specialised in one design of tombstone with limited atelier capability. Given

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[233] Revell 2016a, 36.

[234] Hope 2001, 6-7.

[235] Consumption entails the selection, adoption, and use of goods (Hodos 2010, 19).

[236] Contemporary buyers had access to a multifaceted spectre of funerary rites, connected to practical considerations, personal preferences, traditions, fashions, and migrations (Brandt 2015, xiv).

[237] The material record is an active choice reflecting an individual during a certain time and context; artists and sculptors were subject to specific demands placed upon their work according to its function (Mladenović 2016, 105).

consistency in stelae designs and features, a situation whereby workshops received prefabricated stelae from the quarry (possessing pre-determined components and necessitating only minor finishing) seems feasible and will be explored.[238]

Outline of thesis

I will answer these questions across four central chapters, examining key themes of expression within the catalogue and the role of production processes in channelling this expression. **Chapter 2** assesses to what extent the family and maintenance of the family name was significant to inhabitants of the inland regions, investigating the rationale behind a consistent focus on family in the catalogue. It looks in detail at how the family unit was visualised on tombstones, analysing images of the family in the wider funerary sphere (and within Asia Minor) and familial presentation in texts of the catalogue. Who was visualised and how? Were images 'portraits' of family members and did this matter? I determine which bonds/relationships were pertinent to contemporary identity expression) and question viewer experience of these monuments, bonds of affection and emotional response.

Chapter 3 analyses the expression of status and livelihood. For example, multivalent motifs can denote *polis* ideals and pride in work depending on context – e.g. tools of work are indicative of pride in livelihood and a marker of status (skill in craft). I question whether both were combined as a component of identity articulation among inhabitants, or instead provided means for socially competitive display. I examine markers of status, the

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[238] Revell 2016a, 36.

construction of a desired identity, and how inhabitants distinguished themselves on funerary stelae – comparing this with projections of livelihood (in text and image) as manifestations of occupational identity/pride in work – both in the catalogue and wider Roman world. Were these representations of reality of an allusion to an elevated status and is the approach consistent across the three inland regions? **Chapter 4** addresses a third key theme of expression in the catalogue, exploring belief in the concept of an afterlife. It investigates the heroization of inhabitants in both pose and attribute; hero statements in text, banqueting and sacrificial portrait scenes, the use of divine attributes and their role in honouring the memorialised. To what extent did the concept of an afterlife exist amongst contemporary inhabitants? What role did the funerary monument play in funerary ritual? How did the surviving family perceive dead relatives? Were family members celebrated as heroes and/or was heroization another means of elevating the deceased, and socially competitive display?

With this series of detailed case studies completed – examining and explaining core aspects of identity expression, relative to social and cultural expectations – I next set out to further define consistency within the identities projected. **Chapter 5** investigates whether production processes defined or affected expression within the catalogue. Is there consistency in approach over space, as is implied by the markers used and, if so, why might this be?[239] Could prefabricated working of stelae prior to purchase/order influence, even define, stela appearance and identity expression? Chapter 5 will test this theory by reviewing how identifying off-the-shelf acquisitions has been tackled in Roman archaeology before putting it into practice, creating design template classifications grouping the

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[239] I.e. presenting an association with social expectations in definable areas, a commonly accessibly message etc.

catalogue according to similarities in approach. What was the role (and impact) of the workshop in defining the stela product in contemporary inland Asia Minor, and of the patron when commissioning these stelae? I explore the movements of designs and materials across the inland regions to observe standardisation in approach within definable areas. Do groups of stelae project a sense of regional association between villages, or connectivity at a more regional level?[240]

The final chapter assumes a consolidation of the preceding investigations to survey wider issues. **Chapter 6** returns to discussions from this chapter, considering what inhabitants aimed to achieve when commissioning a grave stela – including perpetual memorialisation, consolation for the family, a point of communication between the living and departed. I affirm which themes were significant to their identity projection, before considering the impact of Roman interaction on identity projection within the catalogue. I specify how stelae functioned as vehicles of expression, outlining the symbiotic relationship between cultural and social norms, the requirement to project a desired identity, agency, production processes, and interconnectivity and shared knowledge within the three inland regions. Last, I return to wider debates and consider my contribution to scholarship in the field, indicating necessary next steps to further enhance scholarly comprehension of expression within the inland regions of Asia Minor.

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[240] Whether urbanised areas were differentiated from rural, or if trade and occupation about a site, even the physical environment, were fundamental conditions affecting an individual's representation (Thonemann 2011, xiii).

Chapter 2. To what extent was the family and the maintenance of the family name significant to inhabitants of inland Asia Minor?

'One of the most compelling characteristics of stelae is their effort to keep the family intact and to maintain communication in the face of death.'[241] Certainly, by utilising standardised group portraits and formulaic inscriptions, recording family ties over-and-above individual status distinctions, the monuments of the catalogue match both traits. These stelae provide a window into the presentation of family structures within early Imperial period, inland Asia Minor which may reflect reality as much as aspiration (articulating the family ideal, befitting of social expectation). With rituals of burying and commemorating the dead one of the few opportunities many had to act in public as a family unit and make a statement to their fellow citizens about that unit, one must be prepared for the latter.[242] However, funerary commemoration is the most common context for picturing the Roman family and the catalogue engenders insight into contemporary family issues, from place in Roman society to emotional reactions to personal loss.[243]

The concept of family was perceived differently in the ancient world. The Greek term for family (*oikos*) embraces three different notions: 1) the structure of the household; 2) the household and all property (including slaves); and, 3) a social relationship built on kinship.[244] Likewise, there is no Roman term for "family" in any modern sense.[245] Rather, family relations are to be understood in terms of household organisation and structure.[246] Studies

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[241] Cohen 2011, 477.
[242] Edmondson 2005, 187.
[243] Huskinson 2011, 522.
[244] Cohen 2011, 468.
[245] No Latin word corresponds to family; closest are *domus* (the physical structure itself/people within it), and *familia* (a legal term incorporating all under the *paterfamilias'* jurisdiction) (Mander 2013, 65).
[246] The term *familia* meant household rather than biological family to the Romans (George 2005, 2); Cicero outlines a hierarchy in family obligations, based on position (Cic. *Off*. 1.58); The social unit from which one

of the Roman family in the funerary sphere have centred, primarily, on identifying family relations and structures. Saller and Shaw published a series of interrelated articles on family relations in the Roman west, based on epitaphs from Italy and the western provinces[247], concluding that commemorations in Roman western civilian families were mostly made by members of the nuclear family (husbands, wives, children).[248] However, this type of family structure is not necessarily applicable to all areas of the empire (or across all periods of time) as variations in family practice can exist (within accepted social values) from province to province. For example, the demography of Roman Egypt shows many households had non-nuclear family members.[249] Likewise, funerary epitaphs from Asia Minor place emphasis on the extensive family, rather than the nuclear.[250]

There is not scope to enter scholarly debate on defining the Roman family in this thesis. Instead, in this chapter I focus on an area of the evidence which has received less attention; how the family unit was *visualised* on tombstones.[251] As a medium, funerary portraiture reveals the *perception* of typicality and the ideals which drove how the family group was constructed and presented.[252] It is this *visualisation* I explore below, investigating familial representation in the catalogue to ascertain the pertinent social expectations influencing contemporary Anatolian families. Section 1 considers images of the family (and the presentation of children) in the wider funerary sphere to determine how family structures

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received what was due and through which wealth, status, name and property were often transmitted' (Mander 2013, 65).

[247] Edmondson 2005, 187.

[248] These being the emotional bonds at the heart of family relations and obligations (Edmondson 2005, 187-188); Treggiari 1991, 411.

[249] George 2005, 2-7.

[250] Martin 1996. Cited by George 2005, 3.

[251] This area is understudied as monuments of Rome have relatively few images of families and, familial portraits that do exist lack accompanying inscriptions (Mander 2013, 66).

[252] Mander 2013, 122.

were communicated in the Greek and Roman world. From here, I look to the catalogue in sections 2 and 3. Section 2 assesses how the family are presented in inscriptions; 2.A analyses nomenclature for its role in expressing familial identity; 2.B details the importance of articulating kinship ties, focusing in detail on who is memorialised. I ask to what extent the immediate family were the centre of focus, how inhabitants perceived the extended family, and how often were these family members memorialised? I then assess the visualisation of both immediate and extended family in section 3, postulating why wider family members are more prevalent within inscriptions and the implications of this? My analysis then focuses on two key themes articulated by the representation of the family in the catalogue: the significance of marriage (3.A), and the high value of children (3.B). Why are these consistent in portraits and/or text? How does this compare to elsewhere in the empire? May it be reflective of affectionate bonds (section 4), or is there more to the picture (i.e. social expectations/status expression)?

Section 4 studies the display of affection and the emotional response (or experience) of the viewer of these memorials (such as consoling the surviving family). How were these gravestones experienced and can this influence our interpretation and understanding of the visual record? I conclude the chapter by evaluating to what extent the family and maintaining the family name was significant to inhabitants of the inland regions.

Section 1. The representation of family in the funerary sphere – figural monuments

Attic grave stelae, set up by families in public cemetery grounds, depict a variety of figural groups; fifth and fourth century BC stones typically portray one or two figures in lower relief while later fourth century examples incorporate more participants, high relief, and

communicate emotions through gesture and pose.[253] Abstract, snapshot scenes resembling

moments in the deceased's life are generally depicted and simplified, idealised familial

relationships portrayed.[254] For example, the Xanthippos stela (Figure 2.25, see section 4),

presents a father, wife and daughter(?) in profile, with insular gaze between figures.

Hellenistic funerary stelae nonetheless depict married couples and family members as

separate portraits looking outwards at the viewer (see chapter 1, section 1).[255]

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Figure 2.1: Funerary relief of the Maelii, Raleigh, NC. George 2005a, Fig. 2.2.

In Rome and Italy, from the beginning of the first-century BC, families were represented (in

frontal facing groups) on portrait reliefs[256] communicating the ideal, closely knit family,

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[253] Cohen 2011, 477.
[254] Cohen 2011, 477.
[255] Zanker 1993, 226.
[256] George 2005a, 37; Children and adults (family scenes) dominate on tombstones from Italy, Narbonensis and the Danube provinces while monuments featuring lone children predominate at Rome, Iberia, and Gaul (Mander 2013, 68); Portraits were set into the façade of the family tomb and on ash chests and grave altars of the first and early second centuries AD (Davies 1985, 632).

centred upon a devoted married couple and, where applicable, their children.[257] At Rome

the genre was predominantly used by late Republican freedmen.[258] As typified by Figure 2.1,

these portraits commonly consisted of two/three figures side by side (facing the viewer)[259]

and used the core family unit as a motif, accentuating social and cultural values tied to

familial iconography.[260] The portraits are unashamed expressions of status and legitimacy,

born out of slave experience, articulating the formation of autonomous families with

legitimate children, born with full Roman citizenship and to whom an inheritance could be

left.[261] Each motif is underscored in its expression to the viewer, carrying poignancy given

both previous circumstances[262] and the liminal status of the freedman in Roman society.[263]

Dress and the *tria nomina* functioned as key signifiers of citizenship, the *dextrarum iunctio*

gesture between figures demonstrated a legitimate conjugal bond (see section 3)[264], and

children (if included) demarcated the family's status and future potential, notwithstanding

presumable parental affection.[265]

Across Italy in the first-century AD, the iconography of the core family unit was also utilised

as a marker of status. Unlike at the capital where freedmen reliefs often adorned the

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[257] Treggiari 1991, 504.

[258] *Libertini* and slaves were the most prominent groups of dedicators of funerary family imagery at Rome (Mander 2013, 71).

[259] Representing predominantly the husband and wife or parents and a child, respectively (George 2005a, 37).

[260] The iconography of core family was an effective image displaying social ascendency and laying claim to a culturally limited public profile (George 2005a, 37).

[261] A legitimate marriage and family were a crucial achievement for freedmen (George 2005a, 39-40).

[262] Behind every advantage a reminiscence of one's servile past could tarnish the brilliance of that opportunity; for example, *libertini* could vote but not stand for elected office and remained tied by bonds of obligation to their former owners (Petersen 2006, 1).

[263] A freedman both belonged to and was separate from, the citizen body (Petersen 2006, 125).

[264] Mander 2013, 72.

[265] Huskinson 2011, 533; Political aspirations would be passed onto a son who could enjoy the privileges of Roman citizenship and the prestige of office holding (Petersen 2006, 18).

exteriors of chamber tombs, these portraits featured primarily on grave stelae adopted by both the freeborn and *libertini*.[266]

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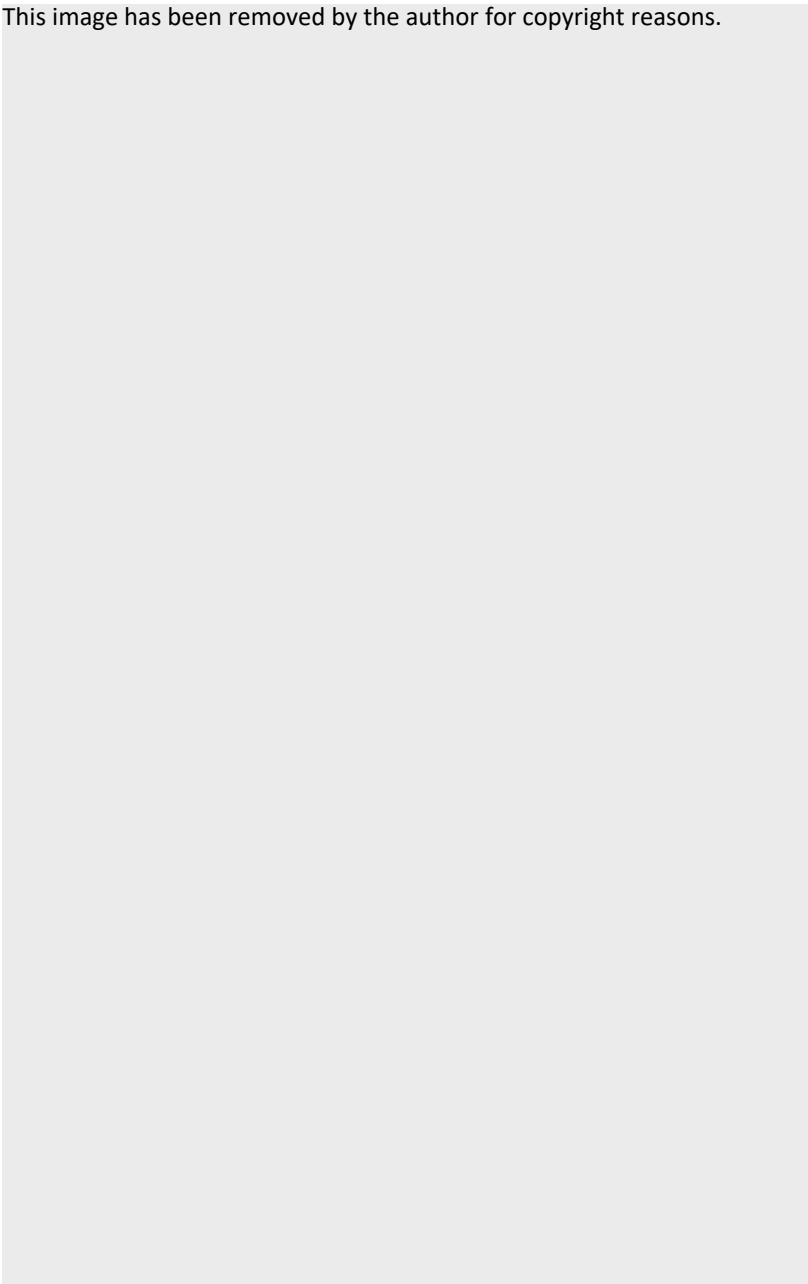
Figure 2.2: Funerary relief of the Montani, Ravenna, AD 50-75. George 2005a, Fig. 2.8.

Family reliefs from central and southern Italy are similar in form (horizontal groups) to those in Rome whereas at Cisalpine Gaul, vertical compositions feature from the first-century BC-

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[266] Both diverse social groups used common imagery as a status symbol (George 2005a, 37); Mander 2013, 83.

late first-century AD.[267] Figure 2.2 demonstrates how Cisalpine reliefs (with rows of busts

one above the other) perhaps imitate elite *armaria*, and enabled families with adults of

ingenuus status to visually rank position within the household.[268] Such representation may

reflect monument function; stelae from Cisalpine Gaul constituted a complete, self-

contained commemoration of modest scale family tombs.[269]

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Figure 2.3: Stela of M. Aurelius Rufinianus and Aurelia Rufina. Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, inv. 22.1905.13. Mander 2013, Fig. 65.

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[267] Membership to a wider family household was a marker of social status at Cisalpine Gaul (George 2005a, 56).

[268] Mander 2013, 72.

[269] Potentially affording the only opportunity for an inscription, or image of the family (George 2005a, 62).

Outside Rome and Italy, Roman Pannonia (on the northern frontier) is renowned for its large tombstones carrying family portrait reliefs and Latin inscriptions.[270] The earliest examples in the region commemorated soldiers from northern Italy and the Rhineland.[271] A compositional arrangement of female left, male right and a row of children in front is frequent throughout the Danube provinces[272] (exemplified by Figure 2.3); a limestone stela from Intercisa, dedicated by a soldier to his wife to their children. Pannonian stelae were utilised by Roman and non-Roman alike and construed the family through affectionate bonds between husband and wife, parent and child, etc.[273]

North of the Danube, the family scene was also popular.[274] Here, gravestones emphasise the immediate family – husband and wife, parent and child(ren) – in varying configurations of grouped individuals.[275] This compares to elsewhere in the western empire in the early Imperial period.[276] Within Lusitania members of the nuclear family predominate over extended kin as commemorators of the dead[277] and, should no spouse survive, parents or children, and then siblings were drawn in; in their absence wider kin commissioned a memorial.[278] Limestone stelae from early Imperial period Ravenna, meanwhile, often depicted extended family.[279]

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[270] The most common funerary type from the second half of the first-century AD into the fourth century (Boatwright 2005, 294).

[271] Boatwright 2005, 294; By the mid-first-century AD Claudius established Savaria as Rome's first veteran colony in northern Pannonia (Boatwright 2005, 291).

[272] Mander 2013, 84.

[273] Boatwright 2005, 289.

[274] Mander 2013, 68.

[275] Boatwright 2005, 295; Over 70% of Pannonia's stelae commemorate family units and were raised by the husband, wife, son, daughter, or parent of the deceased (Saller and Shaw 1984, esp. 139. Cited by Boatwright 2005, 303).

[276] Commemoration of wife by husband and vice versa was common in all strata of society in the west (Treggiari 1991, 492).

[277] Edmondson 2005, 197.

[278] Edmondson 2005, 213.

[279] Huskinson 2011, 524.

Section 1.1. Representing children

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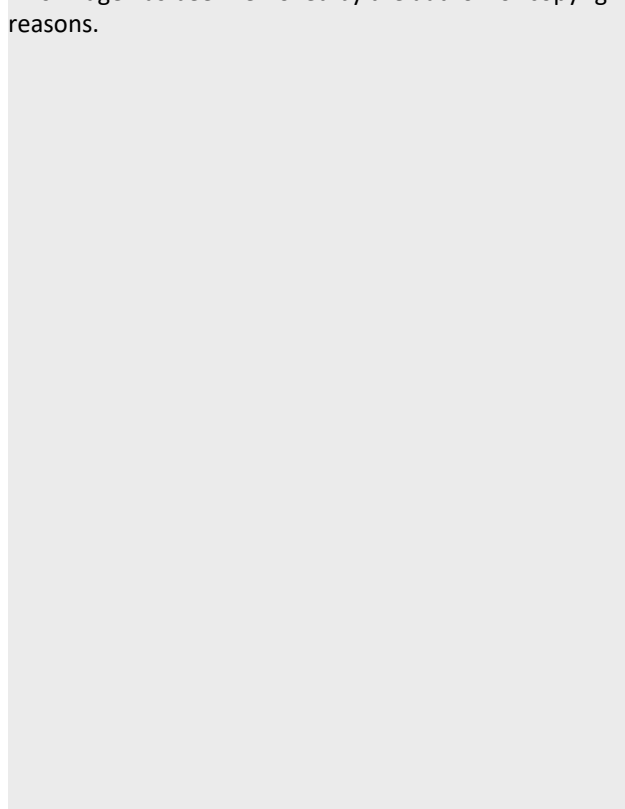
Figure 2.4: Marble funerary stela showing mother, baby, and female attendant, from Athens, ca. 425-400 BC. London, British Museum GR 1894.6-16.1, Sculpture 2232. Cohen 2011, Figure 28.5.

The representation of children can be considered an iconographic tradition with roots in the Classical Greek period.[280] Babies and infants feature on Greek votives (*kourotrophoi*) and funerary stelae (Figure 2.4, above) – depicting standing or seated nurses cradling a baby – and appear in a host of Mediterranean cultures, being especially frequent of terracotta's.[281] The depiction of nursing women was popular in Italy but rare in Greece.[282] On stelae (and Classical vases outside the funerary sphere) empty space is utilised between mother and

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[280] At various points between 530 and 300 BC children appear on stelae, naoskoi, lekythoi and loutrophoroi from Athens, Thessaly, the Aegean islands, and parts of eastern Greece (Mander 2013, 2).
[281] Cohen 2011, 473; Breastfeeding *kourotrophoi* are especially common in the archaeological record of Italy and Cyprus (Cohen 2011, 474).
[282] In Greece, Classical period considerations of social decorum kept such scenes away from expensive funerary stelae in Attica (Cohen 2011, 474).

baby (the latter gesturing towards the former) to communicate the emotional intensity of

the change in circumstances brought about by death.[283]

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Figure 2.5: Stela of Claudia Julia, Scarbantia (City Museum, Wiener Neustadt, CIL III. 4548. Boatwright 2005, Fig. 10.9.

Scenes of mother and baby are rare in Roman art[284] and children appear infrequently,

mostly in the public and private sculpture of the second-century AD.[285] In state art, children

are absent before the late first-century BC.[286] Infants appear on the Ara Pacis (both

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[283] Cohen 2011, 481.
[284] Boatwright 2005, 315.
[285] Examples of interaction include children on their father's shoulders on the Arch of Trajan at Benevento, coinage of Faustina the Younger and Marcus Aurelius, and sarcophagi displaying nursing scenes (i.e. the AD 150-160 sarcophagus of M. Cornelius Statius from Ostia, now in the Louvre) (Boatwright 2005, 306-307).
[286] Carroll 2018, 118.

mythological and allegorical) with the maternal-infant bond portrayed strongly on the east side of the altar, to convey fertility and prosperity.[287] The most extensive group of depictions of children (and non-Roman families) in Roman state art date to the reign of Trajan; on the *Tropaeam Traiani* at Adamklissi (Romania), Trajan's Column and the Arch at Benevento respectively.[288]

In the private sphere children are a feature of first-century BC freedman funerary reliefs from Rome (above), idealised as adults in prospective images.[289] At Rome in the second-century AD, biographical sarcophagi carry vignettes of family life, representing children at different stages of infancy (i.e. baby's first bath, nursing, toddler playing) through to their socialisation at the end of *infantia*.[290] Most commissioners were likely members of the middle and freedmen classes and therefore, such scenes may allude to/emulate the world of privilege (as they imagined it).[291] Outside the capital, Pannonian stelae represent children at all ages and alongside other family members, interacting with parents through affectionate gestures[292] – for example, the intimate nursing scene on Figure 2.5.[293] These group portraits can include numerous children, implying tangible attitudes towards offspring and their integral role in family structures far from the centre of the empire.[294]

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[287] Carroll 2018, 118; On the north and south sides of the Ara Pacis procession, Roman children range from a toddler to boys and girls aged between 4-10 years, clothed in Roman dress (tunic and *toga praetexta*, and *bulla* for boys; 2 boys wear non-Roman attire) (Carroll 2018, 125).
[288] Carroll 2018, 129-132.
[289] Mander 2013, 3.
[290] Carroll 2018, 132-134.
[291] Carroll 2018, 135.
[292] Boatwright 2005, 300.
[293] Images of mother and baby on monuments (usually stelae and altars) are distributed in Italy, Roman Gaul, Pannonia and occasionally in Greece (Carroll 2018, 219).
[294] Carroll 2018, 237.

Children may have held similar significance to inhabitants at Olisipo (modern Lisbon) based on the high proportion of parent-child commemoration about its territory.[295]

Section 2. How are family structures presented on the stelae of inland Asia Minor? Assessing the inscriptions.

2.1. Nomenclature – expressing family identity

Funerary monuments allowed inhabitants an opportunity to record their family name for eternity. Both personal and family names act as projectors of identity (directly or indirectly) and developments in appellation use over time indicate that expression, through naming, was flexible.[296] Below, I consider the impact of appellation and language on the expression of familial identity (i.e. presenting the family as Greek/Roman), starting with Greek and established nomenclature.

a) Greek and established nomenclature

Greek names are common within the catalogue – in particular: Apollonios, Alexandros, Asklepios, Dionysios or Diogenes (among others)[297] – and feature on 92 inscriptions (49% of the catalogue).[298] This result is unsurprising considering the proliferation of the Greek language in the region (chapter 1, section 1). Greek names express a Greek identity, with

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[295] Implicit of strong nuclear family bonds with children, closely in touch with parents and natal kin even after marriage (Edmondson 2005, 200-201); Potentially linked to Olisipo's agriculturally promising land: maintaining nuclear family ties ensured children could stake a claim to inheritance (Martin 1996. Cited by Edmondson 2005, 201).

[296] Personal names are important facets of identity, a powerful signal of social integration and group identity; names both differentiate individuals and categorise them within society (Lomas 2003, 204).

[297] Many Greek and established names, not listed here, are included in the catalogue.

[298] Van Nijf 2010, 179; In some cases, Greek names consist of a personal name, a patronymic, and sometimes an ethnic name (Lomas 2003, 195). See FS.G.02-03, 08-09, 11, 14-15, 19-21, 23, 25, 28, 31, 33-35, 37-38, 41; FS.PHR.02-03, 08; FS.PIS.04, 07, 09-10, 12, 16, 18-19, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30-32, 35-36 – OS.G.01-02, 03-05, 09-11, 21-23, 25, 29, 32, 34-35, 37, 39-40, 42-43; OS.PHR.02-03, 05, 09-10, 13-15, 17, 19-21, 25-27, 29-30, 31-33, 35, 40; OS.PIS.01-02, 04-06, 08, 10-12.

classicising nomenclature a reference to Greek cultural tradition.[299] Nomenclature

associated with established dialects remain significant, appearing in 82 epitaphs at least

once[300] – names including Tatia, Manes, Papas, Mania and Sosos (again, among others)

appear in multiple inscriptions.[301] Their frequency reiterates how the influx of Greek and

(later) Roman culture, through the microcosm of onomastics at least, occurred concurrently,

not replacing established cultures (bilingualism, chapter 1).

I do not dismiss the potential for naming practices to be linked to familial tradition, or to be

a statement of ethnicity; after all, naming was a free choice and should be assessed on a

case-by-case basis. For example, while Roman and Greek naming cultures are in evidence on

other examples from Kunderaz (Galatia), on FS.G.07 two generations are recorded with only

established dialect appellations (perhaps linked to familial/historical/ethnic tradition).

Certainly, the continuation of epichoric nomenclature on FS.PIS.11 is significant, connecting

the recipients to their ancestors and the priesthood of Artemis Ephesia cult (see chapter

4).[302] Nonetheless, it is a stretch to perceive examples such as these as evidence of

provincial families refusing to conform to change.[303] Equally, arguing that adoption of Latin

names influenced how inhabitants presented themselves (i.e. their family as Roman) is

questionable.[304] Rather than functioning as distinct familial identity statements, the variety

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[299] Van Nijf 2010, 179.

[300] By established dialects, I refer to names in the catalogue of Phrygian, Galatian, Pisidian, Macedonian, Celtic, Arabic and Persian origin. See FS.G.01, 03, 05-10, 13, 15, 16-19, 21, 24, 27-28, 33, 35, 40-42; FS.PHR.02-03, 06, 08, 12; FS.PIS.01, 05, 09, 11, 14, 18, 21, 23-24, 26-28, 31, 33, 35-36 – OS.G.03-04, 06-07, 10, 12-13, 15, 23-24, 26, 29, 32, 34, 37, 39, 42-43; OS.PHR.03, 05, 08, 10, 12, 15-17, 20, 28, 30, 31, 36, 39; 0S.PIS.01-02, 06-07, 10-11.

[301] A dominance of Phrygian or Celtic elements exists throughout Galatia (Coskun 2012, 60); Established personal names were a significant means of emphasising family relationships (Edmondson 2005, 221).

[302] Trokondas is a Pisidian name (Van Nijf 2010, 182).

[303] Hales 2010, 234.

[304] Hales 2010, 233.

and extent of established nomenclature within these epitaphs suggests Roman and Greek names were incorporated through an indirect process, led by individual taste, over time.[305]

b) Roman onomastics

Consequentially, Latin names were not solely the preserve of Roman citizens, appearing at least once on 69 stelae (37% of the catalogue) from the first-century AD onwards.[306] Latin names such as Lucius, Gaius, Marcus, Tiberius and Domna (among others) feature on multiple occasions[307], predominantly mixed with Greek, Phrygian or other established onomastics.[308] Across the western Mediterranean a similar process of cultural interaction is demonstrated by stelae from Naples.[309] Unsurprisingly, stelae carrying exclusively Roman names in the *tria nomina*[310] – designating Roman citizen status and signifying (consciously or subconsciously) a western familial identity[311] – are infrequent (14 examples, 4% of the catalogue).[312] A small number of these are composed in Latin (discussed in chapter 1) with the remainder Greek. While Latin text, appellations and the *tria nomina* distinguish these

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[305] Neither the individual nor social structures were primary; the individual had agency, and choice of names was one-way inhabitants could make a difference to their situation through the resources (both literal and metaphorical) allocated to them within social structures (Revell 2016, 9-10).

[306] FS.G.04-05, 08-09, 12, 14-15, 16, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 30-32, 34; FS.PHR.03-04; FS.PIS.10, 13, 16-17, 19-22, 24-26, 30, 32, 37 – OS.G.04, 06, 09-12, 14-20, 24-25, 27-28, 31, 34, 36, 39, 43; OS.PHR.01, 06, 09, 11, 13, 19, 21, 27-28, 33, 39; OS.PIS.03-04, 08.

[307] Many other Roman names are included in the epitaphs but not discussed in this chapter due to space constraints. MAMA and RECAM volumes provide excellent discussions concerning names and their origins.

[308] Combinations of names may reflect the receptivity of Anatolian elites, who responded to an influx of cultural influences from both east and west by adapting them to their own specific uses (Roosevelt 2006, 82); The presence of non-local names was a product of intermarriage because nomenclature in many parts of the Greek world was localised and static (Lomas 2003, 204).

[309] A comparably gradual encroachment of Latin names, alongside continuing use of non-Roman names, occurs from the first-century AD into the Imperial period (Lomas 2003, 194).

[310] Quintessentially Roman types of name (*tria nomina*) underline the importance of patrilineality in Roman family organisation and the transmission of property (Edmondson 2005, 22).

[311] Even if illiterate, the viewer recognised the *tria nomina* and comprehended its significance (Petersen 2006, 109).

[312] OS.G.14, 17, 19-20, 28, 44; OS.PHR.06, 24; OS.PIS.03 and 09; FS.G.12; FS.PIS.13, 20 and 25.

families among the catalogue, no Roman citizen stela appears markedly Roman in appearance. Take FS.PIS.13 (late first-early second century AD) wherein the patron presents his *tria nomina* – Lucius Varius Neos – and his father's Roman *praenomen* (Quintus). Nomenclature aside, the remainder of the inscription and iconographical components match the standardised appearance of the catalogue. Seemingly, Roman citizens with connections to the west (see also OS.G.16, below) approached their stelae in the east differently to others, such as M. Calpurnius Rufus at Antalya.[313] Specifically Roman expression is downplayed and only extractable through the epitaph. However, it remains that Latin nomenclature demarcated citizen status, defining these inhabitants and their families as Roman.

The presence of Roman citizens is significant, providing valuable evidence of enfranchised Roman families living within the inland regions in the early Imperial period.[314] OS.G.16 names a Roman patron with full *tria nomina* (Titus Flavius Valention) at Karahamzali, enfranchised during the Flavian era (following the reign of Titus according to their *praenomen*), while the citizen recorded on OS.G.20 likely migrated to Karadikmen in the early first-century AD. Other examples demonstrate inhabitants from the inland regions achieved citizen status: FS.G.31 records a *tria nomina* for P. Aelius Sosthenes, whose *cognomen* reflects his family *gens* of established heritage, and both OS.PHR.33 and 40 memorialise citizens with non-Latin *cognomen*. The Roman citizen patron of FS.G.03 – Γάιος Καλπούρνιος Σέργιος – proudly displays his *tria nomina* to outline his completion of military

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[313] The Hidirlik Kidesi tomb monument at Antalya appears as a direct importation from the west (Cormack 1997, 141).

[314] The presence of Tiberii Claudii at Termessos indicates that Roman onomastic habits were adopted in Pisidia in the first-century AD (Van Nijf 2010, 181); Roman citizen memorials are indicative of Roman activity about respective find sites: e.g., OS.G.17 (northeast Galatia), FS.G.14 (Zengen), FS.PIS.16 (Konya) and, OS.PHR.06 (Pessinous).

service. Even without a *tria nomina*, families memorialised may have had connections to the west. For example, the patron of FS.PIS.10 might have been among the first Roman colonists at Kremna.[315] These examples express a familial connection (no matter how small) to Roman life, perhaps resulting from urbanisation/cultural interaction about their respective find-sites under Roman administration.[316]

c) Nomenclature and family identity

The evidence of the catalogue illustrates that naming was an individual choice for families of the inland regions, within a diverse onomastic pool that, during the Imperial period, had swollen to include new names – inhabitants could (deliberately or indirectly) demonstrate their familiarity with Greek, Roman, Galatian, Phrygian or Pisidian culture.[317] New names were adopted in a natural process[318] with selections potentially representative of social and cultural norms, themselves in a constant and active dialogue with the surrounding world.[319] Certain names may have been significant as political statements, or inspired by contemporary public figures (i.e. Emperor and Empress names) or national heroes.[320] Others may signal continuation of tradition, or represent an expression of the families' identity. Nomenclature thus provides an effective microcosm of cultural interaction within the three inland regions.[321] Combinations of personal appellations within the catalogue's texts reveal that cultural interaction and bilingualism were active processes in the early Imperial

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[315] Horsley 2007, 138.

[316] For example, the find site of FS.G.31 (Laodicea) was renamed Claudiolaodicea under Roman administration.

[317] Van Nijf 2010, 185.

[318] Not as deliberate statements of Roman dominion (Romanization theory) Masséglia 2013, 123.

[319] Identities at the singular level are static or immured against change but in constant dialogue with the trans local (Whitmarsh 2010, 3); Hales 2010, 240.

[320] Perhaps the Stoic philosopher Epictetus was a favourite of the patron bearing the same name on OS.G.39.

[321] Much can be gleaned from patterns of nomenclature not least because personal names were bestowed within a familial context (Edmondson 2005, 220).

period.[322] While Roman interaction *did* enhance the range of nomenclature in the inland

regions, specific change is difficult to measure as Roman ways were not integrated

consistently over time and space, even at a localised level.[323]

2.2. Articulating family ties

The percentage of patrons/recipients as defined within inscriptions

0.05

0.23

0.72

- Dedicated for or by a patron with a definable familial connection
- Unclear recipient or commissioner/no extant epitaph
- Not dedicated by or for a family member
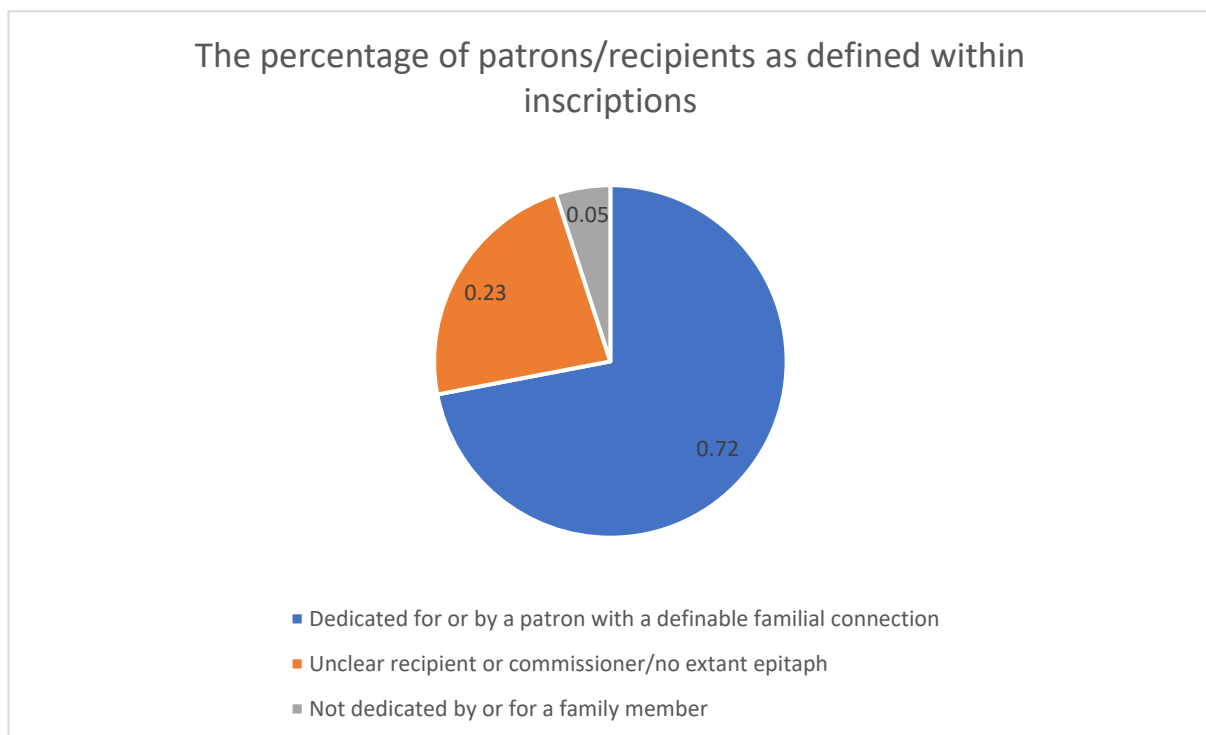
Figure C.3: The percentage of stelae commissioned by patrons and recipients within and outside the family, as defined by the texts of the catalogue.

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[322] Retention or re-introduction of a name may reflect the desire of inhabitants to project a specific identity (Van Nijf 2010, 178); Bilingualism permitted the accommodation and mixtures of different cultural names across the catalogue; Van Nijf's study of inscriptions from Termessos (Pisidia) identifies, comparably, that Termessian inhabitants juggled multiple identities (Van Nijf 2010, 166).

[323] For example, in the western empire a wholesale or partial adoption of Latin names occurred whereas in the German and 4 of the Gallic provinces, established appellations remained prevalent in villages, small towns, and mountainous areas (up to 75%) (Carroll 2006, 257). A divide in the adoption of Roman onomastics between rural and urban centres may be expected, centred upon increasing interaction and cultural negotiations about urban sites: a comparative example, only 10% of established names remained in the large cosmopolitan cities of Narbonne, Arles, and Lyon (Carroll 2006, 258).

Recording familial ties was a pertinent function of inscriptions in the catalogue and continues Greek traditions.[324] Figure C.3 illustrates how stelae dedicated to/commissioned by family members account for 72% of the catalogue.[325] A primary focus on memorialising kin suggests that family relations in Roman Asia Minor operated differently to Rome's western provinces[326], and this importance of achieving a burial (stating relatives) is emphasised by stelae incorporating multi-familial groups. Inscriptions combined more than one commissioning family member/group seemingly without issue, enabling individuals to achieve a burial naming their family, while potentially sharing the cost.[327] That accompanying reliefs do not always correspond with texts implies specificity was not a requirement in ancient contexts.[328] For example, two husband and wife pairs are amalgamated in FS.G.20's inscription but represented by a single male and female, universal portrait. FS.G.15 also memorialises two different patrons; the first dedicates the stela to his spouse – the inclusion of $i\delta i\alpha$ separating her from the subsequent wife (making Neike specific to Diadochos) – and the second to his wife and daughter. Accordingly, three women are depicted in relief but neither husband.

Similarly, FS.G.25 was dedicated by separate commissioners and merges their two epitaphs into one. The placement of $\mu\nu\dot{\eta}\mu\eta\varsigma\,\chi\dot{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu$ after the initial dedication separates it from the remainder of the text; a second, independent section has the designation $\dot{\varepsilon}\alpha\upsilon\,\tauο\ddot{\iota}\varsigma\,\zeta\dot{\omega}\nu\tau\varepsilon\varsigma$ $\dot{A}\nu\dot{\varepsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ (set this up for themselves whilst still living) and a successive closing remark,

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[324] In the Greek East erection of epitaphs was a family affair, underscoring family ties and extended relationships (Cormack 2004, 136).

[325] Presumably, this number would be higher given that 20% of the inscriptions are unclear, damaged, or no longer extant.

[326] A broader emphasis on maintaining links and emotional ties with more distant kin (Edmondson 2005, 216-217).

[327] Recording multiple recipients on one tombstone made it more financially accessible (Mander 2013, 112).

[328] Given the cost of stone monuments many would have been pleased simply to afford any piece, no matter its relevance (Mander 2013, 23).

μνήμης χάριν. With no signs of re-working to incorporate new recipients this stela was likely

commissioned by two patrons, combining to alleviate the cost of their memorial.

<u>Which familial ties are recorded?</u>

Dedicants/recipients in the catalogue, based on familial connection

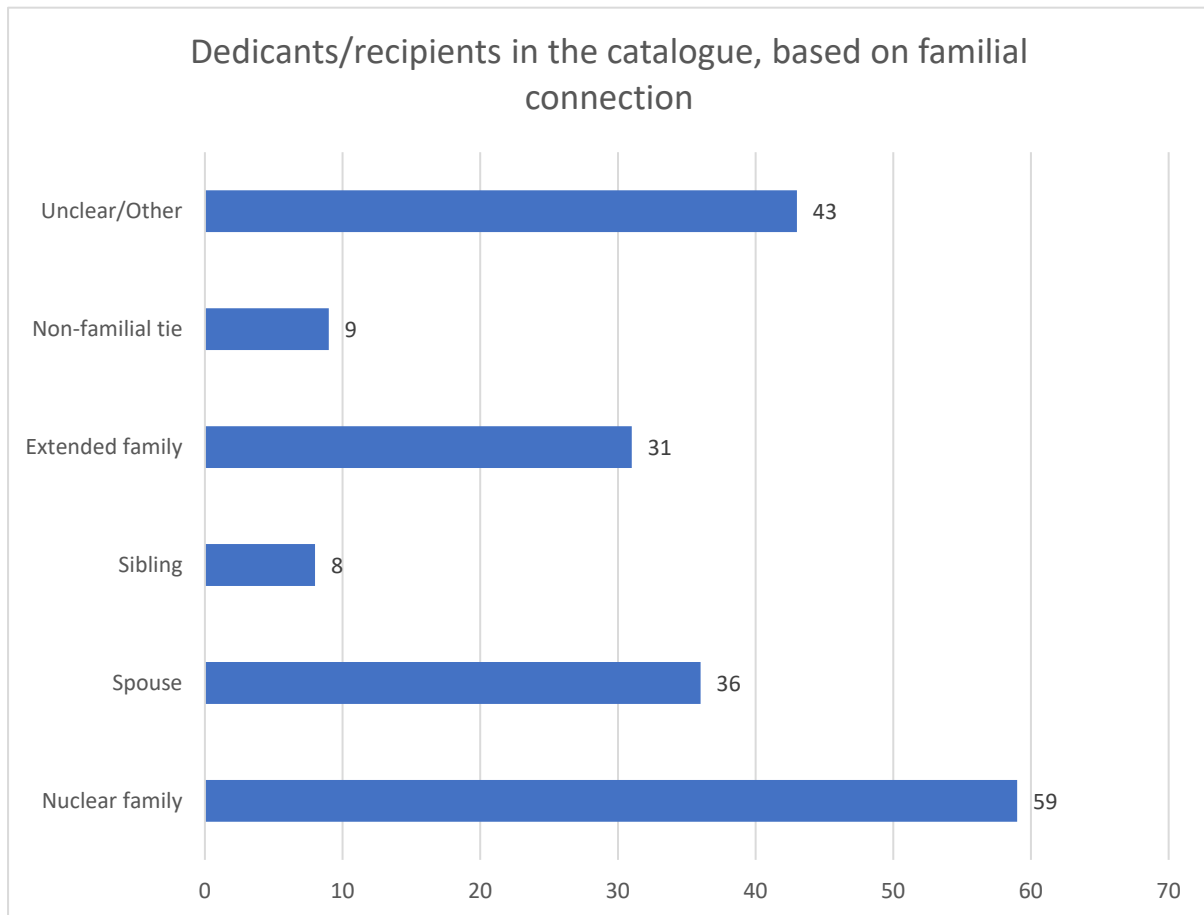| Category	Value
Unclear/Other	43
Non-familial tie	9
Extended family	31
Sibling	8
Spouse	36
Nuclear family	59

Figure C.4: Recipients/patrons of the catalogue's inscriptions based on familial bond.

a) Immediate family

Members of the immediate family (mother, father and child/children, spouses, in any

combination – Figure C.4) are most frequently recorded as recipients/patrons (51% of

inscriptions).[329] This is comparable to neighbouring regions, at Termessos (Lycia, bordering

Pisidia) and Bithynia (Nicomedia, northwest of Phrygia) the majority of portraits reflect a

conjugal couple (husband and wife alone) or the nuclear family.[330] Memorialisation of and

by the immediate family is also analogous to elsewhere in the western Empire.[331] However,

there are differentiations at a regional level. Immediate family members and spouses

account for 71% of patrons and recipients in Galatian inscriptions (Figure C.5), comfortably

higher than in Phrygian (Figure C.6) and Pisidian (Figure C.7) epitaphs.[332] The high agrarian

potential of parts of Galatia may have encouraged the maintenance of immediate family

ties, as observed at Olisipo (section 1).[333]
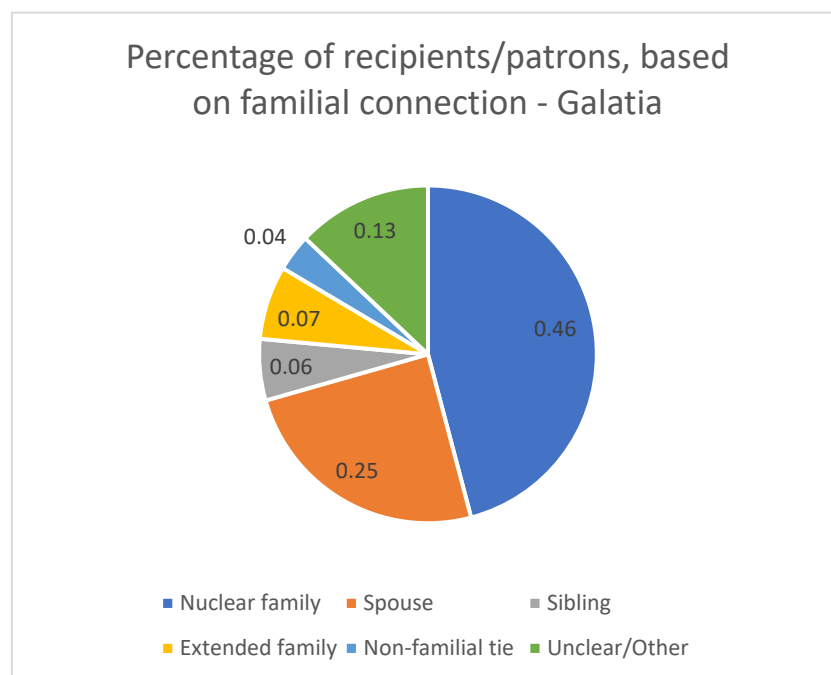
*Figure C.5: The percentage of stelae recipients/patrons, based on familial
connection, in Galatia.*

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[329] I have classified the spouse and nuclear family categories in Figure C.4 as immediate family (95 examples).
[330] Martin 1996, 47.
[331] Edmondson 2005, 197; At Lusitania, the immediate family were predominantly responsible for commemorating the dead (Edmondson 2005, 213); Over 70% of Pannonia's stelae commemorate family units, being commissioned by the husband, wife, son, daughter, or parent of the deceased (Saller and Shaw 1984, esp. 139. Cited by Boatwright 2005, 303).
[332] 31% in Phrygian and 38% in Pisidian texts.
[333] Children staking a claim to inheritance (Edmondson 2005, 201); As discussed in chapter 1, Galatia consisted of many imperial estates.
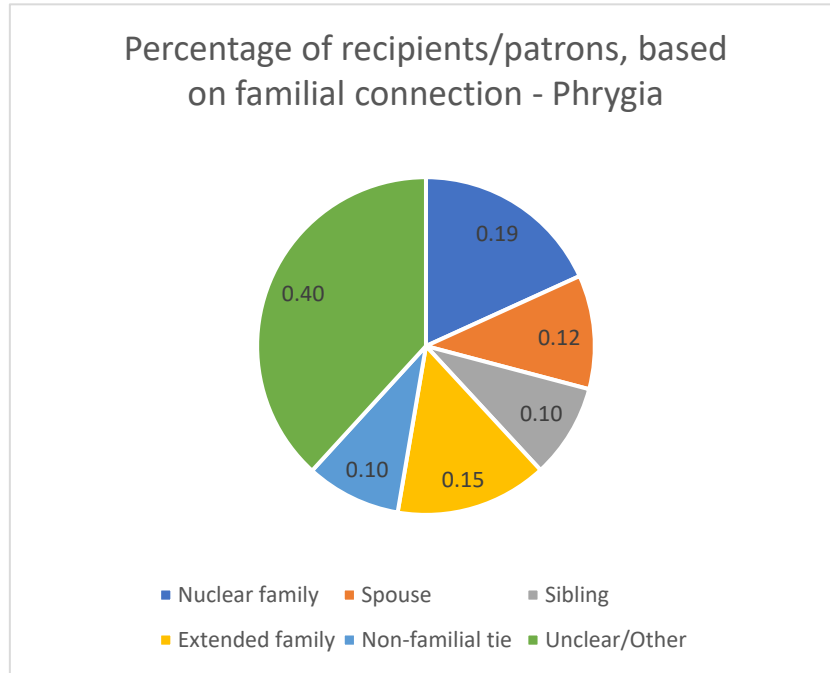
Figure C.6: The percentage of stelae recipients/patrons, based on familial connection, in Phrygia.
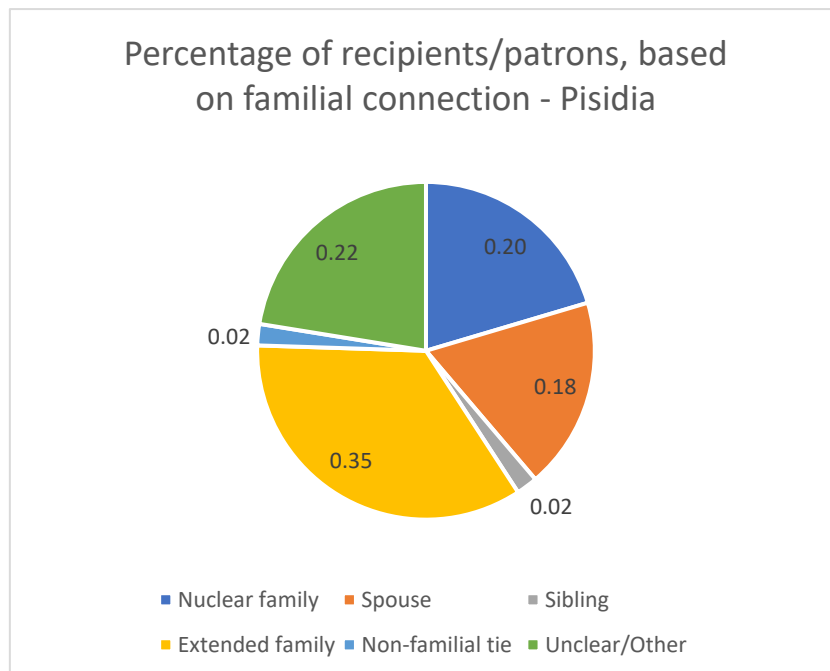
Figure C.7: The percentage of stelae recipients/patrons, based on familial connection, in Pisidia.

Male commissioners within the immediate family predominate, accounting for 79% of examples.[334] Husbands (30 patrons, 40%) and a husband and father (19 instances, 25%) are the most frequent commissioners of stelae, followed by sons (16 examples, 21%), fathers (8 occurrences, 11%), and a husband and son and father and son (1 each, 2%).[335] At 21% (20 stelae), female family members feature as patrons more than expected, especially within Galatian evidence (12 instances).[336] FS.G.05 for example, is a distinct marker of status for its female patron, recording that Dometia set up the memorial to herself and her husband while still living (for 'while still alive' statements as status markers, see chapter 3). Comparable statements are made on FS.G.32, FS.PIS.16 and OS.PHR.32 and standout given the relative status of women in Roman society (see below). A mother features as patron of 7 examples (see above) where no father is named (perhaps their husband had a separate funerary memorial, was predeceased, or had divorced). In these instance, female patrons were responsible for maintaining the family name, enhancing their status.

According to this evidence, 'middle class' women (those able to afford such a memorial) are presented as possessing a higher social standing within the family than in traditional Roman and Greek ideology. A comparable scenario is observable elsewhere in Roman Asia Minor[337] and, seemingly, women may have enjoyed some form of 'head of the household' position,

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[334] I consider inscriptions naming a father, husband, or son first (ahead of a spouse, for example) to be male commissioned based on standard gender conventions in the funerary sphere.

[335] Husbands: FS.G.02, 10-12, 14-16, 20, 25, 31, 34; FS.PHR.03; FS.PIS.19, 23, 25-26, 30, 35-36; OS.G.03, 22, 25, 27, 29, 35, 42; OS.PHR.02-03, 37; OS.PIS.08. Husbands and fathers: FS.G.03, 21, 30; FS.PHR.02; FS.PIS.07, 13, 15, 20; OS.G.02, 04, 06, 10-12, 14, 23; OS.PHR.06, 21, 25. Sons: FS.G.01, 08-09, 19, 23, 37; FS.PHR.08; FS.PIS.21; OS.G.01, 09, 15, 43; OS.PHR. 01, 09, 26, 39. Fathers: FS.G.13, 27-28, 41; FS.PIS.18, 28; OS.G.16; 0S.PIS.09. Husband and son: FS.PIS.10. Father and son: OS.PIS.03.

[336] Mother: FS.G.24, 33; FS.PIS.32; OS.G.24, 28, 30; OS.PHR.38. Wife: FS.G.05, 32; FS.PIS.37; OS.G.18, 34. Wife and mother: FS.PHR.04; FS.PIS.16, 17; OS.PHR.32. Daughter and sister: FS.G.07, 18; OS.G.21. Daughter, wife, and mother: OS.PHR.27. 15 single figure portrait stelae depict a female figure: Wife and daughter - FS.G.03; Wife - FS.PIS.26, 35-36; Daughter - FS.G.13, 24, 41; FS.PIS.15, 20; Mother - FS.G.20, 40; Sister - FS.G.35 a sister. No extant inscription on FS.PHR.01, 06, 10 preventing classification.

[337] In inscriptions from Olympus, Termessos and Bithynia women were providers of memorials while their husbands were alive and following their death (Martin 1996, 55).

even though that was not ideologically or legally possible for them in the Roman Empire.[338] I do not consider this to be as marked as in contemporary Spain[339], where daughters and mothers appear to have been more highly valued culturally than in other regions of the western empire.[340] For a start, in the catalogue memorials commissioned by females remain comfortably in the minority. I am only scratching the surface of gender imbalance here and basing tentative analysis on a small number of inscriptions; this topic necessitates further research (chapter 6). Acknowledging these limitations, however, there is scope to suggest women within family structures of Roman Asia Minor may have held a higher social standing than in the west. I shall return to this analysis in chapter 3 when considering the representation of women in portraits.

b) Extended family

Extended family members (including siblings, slaves, and an heir – OS.G.31) are commissioners/recipients in 21% of the catalogue (39 examples, see Figure C.4). The recording of wider familial ties mirrors their existence and importance in everyday life.[341] Inscriptions in the catalogue are all-encompassing and commemorate a wide range of extended bonds – some relations going beyond blood-ties – reinforcing how family was inclusive during the Imperial period.[342] Family members recorded include:

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[338] Martin 1996, 55-56.

[339] In Spain wives, and especially mothers, outnumbered fathers as commemorators by 73% to 27% (Edmondson 2005, 203); At Olisipo mothers are patrons in 40% of inscriptions (Edmondson 2005, 201).

[340] Edmondson 2005, 205.

[341] Inscriptions likely reflect what the providers considered to be the boundaries of their families (Martin 1996, 53); The Romans conceptualised the structure of the family stretching up, down and sideways from each individual - at various stages of a person's life siblings, aunts and uncles, grandparents or grandchildren constituted an inner group and had a claim on affection, social duty, inheritance, and commemoration (Treggiari 1991, 412).

[342] This opposes relief portraits in the catalogue that are (mostly) centred on the immediate family as a visual cue (see section 2); It is possible that the households commemorated displayed a great degree of flexibility in their composition (Masséglia 2013, 121).

- Grandparents – OS.PHR.27 includes 3 generations of one family.

- Uncles and nephews – a patron for his brother, their uncle (*πάτρως*) and nephews
  (*[αν]νψιω* a variant of *ανιψιός*) – see OS.PHR.08.

- Grandson – (*εγγονος*) as upon OS.PIS.11 and FS.PIS.35, based upon Horsley's
  translation.[343]

- Cousin – a dual-recipient on FS.PIS.22, Mania a cousin (*άνυψιά*).

- In-laws – the final named recipient on OS.PIS.07 is daughter-in-law of the patron
  (*νυνφην*). A variant of *νύμφη* appears upon another inscription and can also mean
  bride; FS.G.16 names a father-in-law (*έκΰρός*) and his bride-to-be (*νύν-Φη*).

- Slave and master – a familial tie among the elite and representative of standard
  societal roles across the empire. FS.G.29 was commissioned by a pair of slaves for
  their master. Without the ability to have their own legitimate family, this may have
  offered the commissioner's an opportunity for remembrance.[344] FS.PIS.33 and
  OS.G.16 also commemorate a slave (δουλοc). By drawing on family imagery
  individuals from the same, or different, *familia* could claim for themselves the
  associated normative values of social respectability.[345]

- Foster-parents – The recipients of FS.PHR.08. The same term (*ϑρεψαντι*) is
  incorporated within the epitaph of OS.PHR.14, memorialising foster-parents. A
  singular foster/stepfather is named as a parent upon FS.G.08 (*πάτου πατρὶ*).

- Foster-children – The patron of FS.G.42 commissioned the stela for his foster-child
  (θρεπτψ). An adoptive son is implied in the epitaph of OS.PIS.10 based on the
  inclusion of the term "natural son" (*φύσι δέ*) for the second named descendant in
  the inscription.

- Foster-siblings and foster-parents of the commissioning patrons are both named as
  recipients on FS.G.11.

Wider family feature on 37% of Pisidian stelae (18 examples), around a fifth of Phrygian

(19%, 10 instances) and a minority of Galatian inscriptions (13%, 11 cases). Excepting Galatia

– and accounting for the high proportion of unclassifiable examples in Phrygia, 20 stelae,

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[343] No. 314. Trans. Horsley 2007.
[344] The imagery of the family was relevant to domestic, and many manumitted, slaves; these individuals were
linked to their (former) master and his family in the context of family life (George 2005a, 40).
[345] George 2005a, 51.

38%[346] – this regularity of extended family inscriptions compares with neighbouring

Termessos (28%) and Bithynia (25%).[347] Diverse familial relations also appear on Termessian

and Bithynian inscriptions, including siblings and offspring together, in-laws, slaves

alongside blood relatives and transgenerational burials.[348] The representation of larger

families may be a status marker (chapter 3) in addition to expressing pride in family bonds,

ancestry and the family name. The higher proportion of extended familial commemorations

in Pisidia may be indicative of the influence of surrounding areas, for example, at Olympus

(eastern Lycia, bordering Pisidia) of 218 mostly second and third century tombstones, 75%

are extended family inscriptions.[349]

c) Remembering friends

Outside of familial bonds, a handful of examples showcase the significance of friendship to

some contemporary inhabitants (9 stelae, 5% of catalogue):

- OS.G.32 is set up by a husband and wife, for their friend (see chapter 3).
- OS.G.05(?) and 07; OS.PHR.10, 12, 19, 30 and 31; and FS.PIS.05 are dedications to friends.

That acquaintances received expensive stone monuments is significant and may suggest

these recipients/commissioners remembered friends in lieu of family. Phrases like

"accustomed friends" and "companions" are also suggestive of communality; perhaps those

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[346] Unclassifiable familial ties based on missing/no longer extant text: FS.G.22, 26, 36, 39, 42; FS.PHR.01, 05-07, 09-13; FS.PIS.02, 04, 06, 08, 29, 34; OS.G.08, 13, 33, 41; OS.PHR.04, 07, 11, 13, 18, 22-24, 29, 33, 36; OS.PIS.01, 04-05, 12.

[347] Martin 1996, 47.

[348] Martin 1996, 53.

[349] Martin classifies extended family members as those of blood or marriage related ties, outside the nuclear family: parents of parents, in-laws, cousins, slaves or freedpersons (their spouses and children) and persons unrelated by any legal or blood connections (Martin 1996, 42).

memorialised were members of a funerary guild in an arrangement comparable to *collegia*

in the West.[350]

Section 3. How are family structures presented on the stelae of inland Asia Minor? The visualisation of the family in portraits.
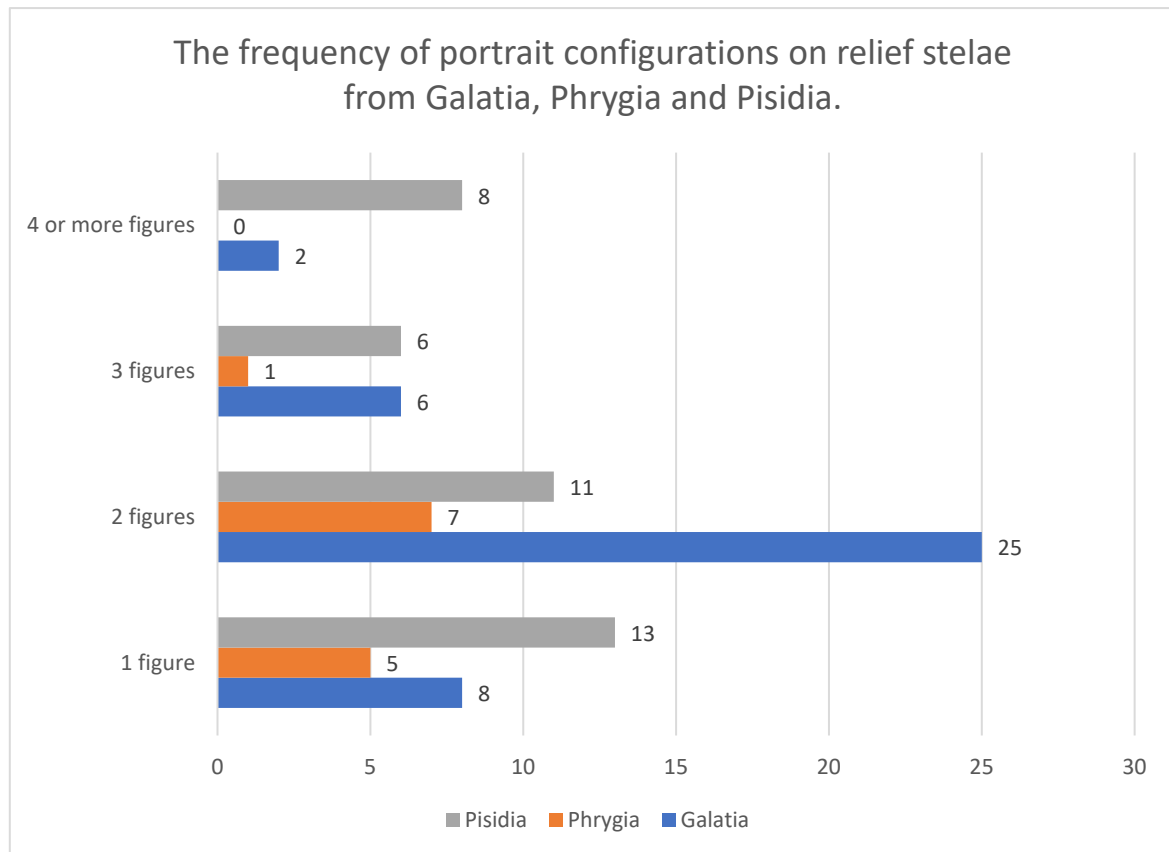
Figure C.8: The frequency of portrait configurations on relief stelae from the inland regions.

Core members within the nuclear group (i.e. mother or father and child, spouses, parents

and child) predominate in portraits of the catalogue. These images work in tandem with

accompanying epitaphs and designate (not necessarily all) those individuals named

(seemingly not necessary to fulfil their intended purpose in ancient contexts).[351] Without

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[350] *Collegia* ensured members, connected by a shared value (i.e. occupation), received a burial (Kleiner 2010, 153).

[351] See footnote 328.

text it is difficult to identify family members[352] as figures are idealised, unspecific representations functioning as visual markers of social status (through pose and dress, chapter 3).[353] Gender relations are represented equally; male and female figures the same height, side by side[354], potentially continuing precedents from family depictions in Greek art.[355] Imagery of the immediate family was an iconographic motif resonating core ideals of the Roman value system[356], tying the memorialised to key societal notions (irrespective of whether achieved and maintained, or not).[357] The accessibility of the imagery to viewers (chapter 1) – linked to the paradigm of the citizen family –allowed those represented to identify with a widespread set of social and cultural ideals and aspirations.[358] T

The most frequent family composition is the 2-figure portrait (47% of all configurations, see Figure C.8), an arrangement dominant on Galatian figural stelae[359] and in Phrygia, where 92% of examples are 1 (39%) or 2-figured (54%) configurations. Aligned to this, 76% of the Galatian figural stelae were commissioned by, or commemorate, nuclear family members.[360] This is not to state that extended family are not recorded but that the imagery and commissioners of these stelae were both centred on the immediate unit; likewise

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[352] Unless inscriptions explicitly articulate familial relationships, certain assumptions must be made when categorising a pictorial group (Cohen 2011, 467).

[353] Generalised family members appear in the iconography of the family (Mander 2013, 132. Cited by Carroll 2018, 235).

[354] Masséglia 2013, 114.

[355] The inequalities of power that governed the structure of the family (by age and gender) were suppressed in family imagery of Greek art: for example, the reduced subordination of women to their husbands and fathers (Cohen 2011, 467); Perhaps this is the representation of marriage as an equal partnership (*koinōnia*) as advocated by Xenophon? (Treggiari 1991, 185-186).

[356] The nuclear family was central to the Roman experience (Treggiari 1991, 410).

[357] Virtues of special significance in the family context - the *auctoritas* of the *paterfamilias*, the *castitas* of the *matrona* - are highlighted, providing the moral backdrop against which these reliefs should be set (George 2005a, 41).

[358] Huskinson 2011, 526.

[359] The frequency of 2 figure portrait stelae is skewed by Galatian evidence - 60% of the region's figural reliefs (25 examples) are of this composition.

[360] FS.G.01, 03, 06-07, 09, 13, 15, 17-19, 21, 23-24, 27-28, 30, 33-34(?), 37-38, 40-41.

Pannonian stelae present larger family units in relief more frequently but were generally nuclear family commissioned.[361] Family imagery in the catalogue is centred on the immediate unit (parents and children, in any combination), with additional family members often recorded within the inscription, similarly to portrait genre depictions in Rome and Italy in the first-century AD.[362]

Larger compositions are less frequent[363] and the majority feature on evidence from Pisidia – 38% of Pisidian portrait stelae include 3 or more figures and 80% of gravestones with 4-or-more figures are from the region.[364] The potential to express wider familial connections through an image may explain the inclusion of larger figural compositions however, the evidence does not correlate; 77% of three-figured compositions in the catalogue depict the immediate family group.[365] Instead, showcasing the immediate family in portraits – using standard portrait combinations not too dissimilar to memorial types from contemporary Italy – and naming the wider family in text, was the standard approach taken by workshops.[366] Perhaps increased figural layouts were not in demand for stelae (particularly in Galatia and Phrygia) in the early Imperial period or, as increased figural compositions feature upon larger funerary monuments (e.g., doorstones or sarcophagi), their infrequency was a direct result of space constraints on the stela format.

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[361] Of the 160 figural stelae in Boatwright's study, 50 are dedicated by a wife, 51 a husband, 37 a father (in 5 cases, also a husband), 28 a mother (and wife in 13 cases); 36 include images of children (Boatwright 2005, 303).

[362] George 2005a, 63; Joint commemorations where one adult or child is shown in relief and parents are named in accompanying text, were common in early Imperial period Rome (Mander 2013, 81).

[363] 13 examples of 3figure compositions (14% of figural portrait stones). In Galatia: FS.G.06, 15, 18, 22, 25-26; Phrygia: FS.PHR.07; Pisidia: FS.PIS.02, 10, 12-13, 22, 24.

[364] 8 stelae from Pisidia carry four or more portrait figures (22% of Pisidian figural stelae), 2 from Galatia and none from Phrygia.

[365] FS.G.06, 15, 22, 25-26; FS.PHR.07; FS.PIS.02, 12-13, 25.

[366] Where the man/woman or man/woman/child composition was a frequent choice (Carroll 2006, 114); Mander 2013, 123.

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Figure 2.6: FS.G.18, detail of portrait relief.

Kindred ties outside the immediate family are expressed rarely in portraits.[367] On FS.G.18 (Figure 2.6) 3 female figures are depicted, a mother and two sisters based on the inscription. This example demonstrates how non-nuclear links can only be detected when inscriptions survive as no separate visual model distinguishes natal and non-natal ties.[368] The relief is non-specific, yet the text identifies the siblings had different mothers; their association (i.e. foster/stepsister, cousin) is not specified. Other examples incorporate larger compositions as status markers (but sadly lack text to identify the figures).[369] In addition to a potentially heroizing function (see Totenmahl scenes, chapter 4), FS.PHR.07 and FS.PIS.02 (Figure 2.7) articulate the family's relative wealth through dining utensils of expense, the capacity to banquet, and ownership of domesticated dogs (for attributes as status markers, see chapter

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[367] A cousin is memorialised in text on FS.PIS.22, with relief portraying a sacrifice scene (see chapter 4).
[368] The iconography of the family was inclusive (Mander 2013, 132).
[369] Many provincial dedicators in parts of the Danube region, Gaul, Iberia, Germany, and Britain were wealthy families, with or without citizenship with family portraits focused on stressing property, aspirations and standing in the community (Mander 2013, 89).

3). Furthermore, the smaller male and female figures in front of the *kline* on FS.PHR.07 may

portray slaves of the family (reinforcing relative wealth).

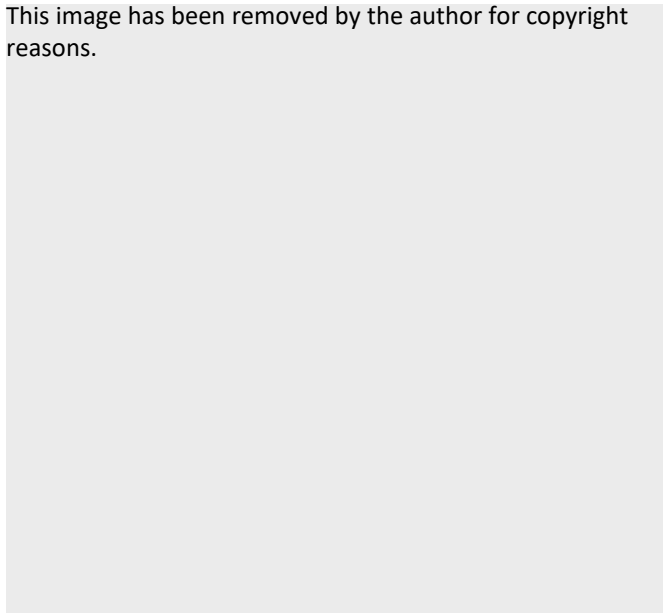This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Figure 2.7: FS.PHR.07, a funerary banquet scene.

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Figure 2.8: FS.PIS.17.

Although many 3-figured portraits in the catalogue are not status symbols in this manner, 4 figured compositions are. FS.PIS.01 is another example of reclined dining[370] with 2 seated children either side of a *kline*, the girl (right) holds a plate or wreath(?) with table carrying utensils in front. On FS.PIS.17 (Figure 2.8) the reclined figure is presumably the recipient of the monument, the mother at the foot of the *kline*, two extra adult figures at either side, and slaves of the family below the couch.

Multifigure portraits (those in Pisidia incorporating banquet scenes, chapter 4) articulate status through wider family ties (including freedmen/slaves), communicating relative wealth necessary to enable a lifestyle of leisure activities and slave ownership. For example, on FS.PIS.25 the female figure to the left of the portrait is a slave (considerably smaller than the main group) while FS.G.11 uses a larger portrait composition to memorialise foster brothers and sisters (perhaps nurses) and their foster parents. Only 2 figures are shown due to damage but space for 4 (presumably the unnamed recipients of the patron pair) and the patrons were potentially represented above, in another register. Similarly, status within the family is demonstrated by hierarchical portrait structures on FS.PIS.19 and FS.PIS.25, where a second register (below the primary portrait) incorporates dependents (children, freedmen or slaves) of the husband and wife in the upper register. Additional figures may represent adult children, uncles and aunts, or grandparents as evident on tombstones from Pannonia and the Danube provinces.[371] Multifigured works like these were linked to representing the family and may have been connected to a family tomb monument.[372]

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[370] See also FS.PIS.30.

[371] Mander 2013, 135-136.

[372] In Roman Macedonia multifigured reliefs acted as markers for the entire family (Risakis and Touratsoglou 2016, 126); Similarity in appearance between figures may represent a 'family look', acting similarly to *imagines maiorum* of aristocrats in the west (Ewald 2015, 393).

Section 3.A - The visualisation of key familial bonds

The desire to marry and raise a family was felt in every stratum of Roman society.[373]

Evidence in the catalogue is no different with two key themes standing out as significant in

familial representations; a) the significance of marriage as the foundation of the family and,

b) the value of children resulting from this union.

1) The representation of spouses and marriage

Marriage was a cornerstone of Greek and Roman ideology[374], the start of the household and

foundation of the family – in contemporary Roman law a legal marriage (*matrimonium

iustum*) was necessary to have legitimate children.[375] It was a significant achievement to be

celebrated for perpetuity[376] and the bond important, even to those denied a legally binding

marriage (e.g., slaves).[377] In the catalogue, the showcasing of marital bond is marked or

implied in a total of 79 texts (43%).[378] *Γυναῖκα* (wife/woman) and *ἄνδρα* (husband/man) are

the terms used to designate spouses in texts.[379] 16 figural relief stelae were specifically

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[373] Hersch 2010, 63.

[374] Treggiari 1991, 184; The Romans regarded marriage as an institution designed to produce legitimate children (Treggiari 1991, 8).

[375] The requirement for *conubium*: spouses were Roman citizens, lacked a close blood relationship, and were of sufficient age/physical maturity (Hersch 2010, 20).

[376] The sharing of love may be another motivation, present in Roman idealisation of marriage of tombstones, but neglected by philosophers (Treggiari 1991, 222).

[377] If a couple lacked a necessary requirement of *conubium* the union was considered a marriage, but not legally valid - *matrimonium iniustum* (Hersch 2010, 27); These individuals commemorated one another in the manner of the legally married (Hersch 2010, 33).

[378] Direct assertion on: FS.G.02-03, 05, 10-12, 14-16, 20-21, 25, 28, 30-32, 34; FS.PHR.10, 13, 16, 20, 23, 26-27, 30, 35-37; FS.PIS.07, 10, 13, 16, 20, 23, 26-27, 30, 35-37; OS.G.03, 06, 09-12, 18, 22-23, 25, 27, 29, 32, 34, 40, 42; OS.PHR.02-03, 09, 21, 27, 32, 34, 37; OS.PIS.02, 06-08, 10. Spouse implied on: FS.G.07-09, 38; FS.PHR.08; FS.PIS.12, 15, 25; OS.G.02, 04, 13, 36 ("for my own" wife?), 39 (for "his woman"), 43; OS.PHR.06, 14 (married foster parents?), 25; OS.PIS.03.

[379] In the west *coniunx* - describing either husband or wife - is common in sepulchral inscriptions (Treggiari 1991, 6).

dedicated by one spouse to another, with 69% of these examples from Galatia.[380] A portrait

was not a precondition when demonstrating conjugal bond; 17% of figural stelae have solely

a spouse as patron/recipient, relative to 19% in the catalogue. Outside spouse-to-spouse

classifications, marital couples are memorialised on stelae dedicated by (or to) other family

members being, in some cases, also showcased in relief.[381] Including these examples 36

figural stelae (39%) commemorate spouses.

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Figure 2.9: Detail of portrait relief on FS.G.01 depicting a husband-and-wife pair.

Figure 2.9 illustrates the representation of conjugal pairs in the catalogue; side by side, male

to the left and female right, comparable to representations of couples, standing or seated,

on Aquileian stelae of the Imperial period.[382]

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[380] See FS.G.02, 05, 10, 12, 14, 16, 20, 25, 31-32, 34; FS.PHR.03; FS.PIS.23; a wife is represented on FS.PIS.26, 35, 36.

[381] Mothers and fathers (likely a conjugal pair) on FS.G.01, 08 (step father and mother), 09, 18 (potentially the commissioning siblings) and 37; FS.G.23 depicts a possible conjugal pair though one parent is named and, similarly, FS.PHR.02 is dedicated to a son but shows parents (spouses); wives and children are joint recipients on FS.G.03, 15, 21, 30 (accompanying reliefs potential spouses); conjugal pair are shown with children on FS.PIS.07 (and a brother), 12-13, 17, 19, 25, 27 and 30. Mother and wife alongside husband on FS.PIS.10.

[382] Hope 2001, 18.

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Figure 2.10: Detail of portrait relief on FS.PIS.30, husband-and-wife pair to the right (and their children?).

On larger group configurations (Figure 2.10) conjugal pairs remain consistent to two-figured compositions, being depicted as the largest figures at the centre or side of the portrait, emphasising their position/status at the heart of their family.[383] Dress can designate bond, especially for women – female figures are veiled and sport the chiton and himation, comparable to the *stola* in the west[384] (I will discuss garments as markers of status in chapter 3). Figures are standardised and accompanying items (when included) are both typical and gender specific, accentuating male and female values/role as the ideal spouse (e.g., the wool basket of an industrious wife – see chapter 3). It does not necessarily follow that accompanying motifs imply nuptial bond between both figures (rather their societal role in the family).

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[383] In the Greek world the formation of the household began with the paring of 2 people in marriage (Cohen 2011, 469).

[384] The *stola* denotes the married woman in a public context (Treggiari 1991, 35); Mander 2013, 62; Perhaps a visual translation of a woman putting on a veil for her husband to be (Hersch 2010, 16).

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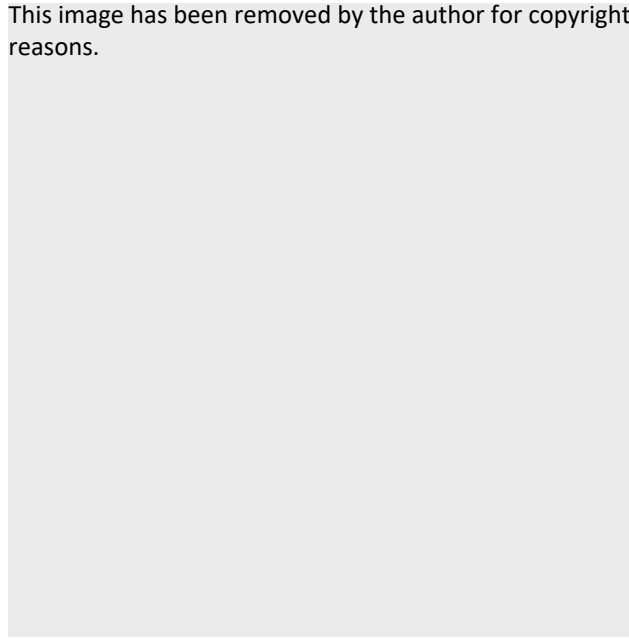
Figure 2.11: FS.PIS.09, detail of right of relief; female figures holding the veil.

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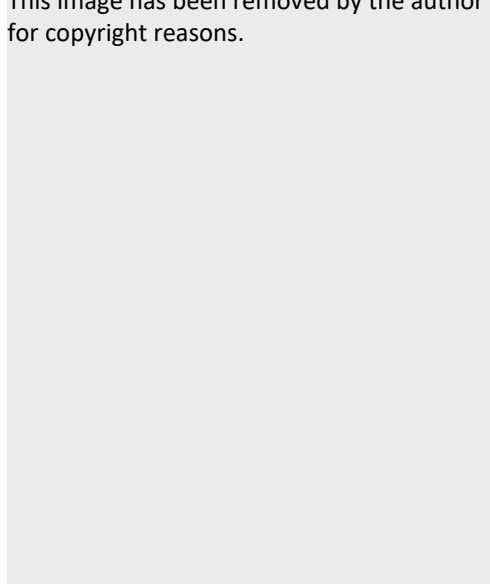
Figure 2.12: Hellenistic stelae detailing the fortiori gesture (female figure). *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 1052; P.-M. no. 567. Zanker 1993, Fig. 24.*

FS.PIS.09 and FS.G.18 may mark future marital bond between female figures through

gesture. The back of the left hand is represented in both portraits, holding, or supporting

the veil (see Figure 2.11) in an action implicit of a *fortiori*, associated with wives-to-be in the

Hellenistic period (Figure 2.12).[385] Both may appropriate this gesture (figures are seated in

FS.PIS.09 and of lower relief) although neither inscription refers to matrimony or name a

bride (while other stelae name a bride in the epitaph but do not include this gesture).

Perhaps these examples possessed specific meaning for the immediate family.

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Figure 2.13: Detail of the dextrarum iunctio, marble sepulchral relief, first-century AD. British Museum, Inv. no. 1973,0109.1. Image from British Museum online: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=392510001&objectid=394264. Accessed 10:50am 21/02/2018.

Another example may utilise gesturing to designate marital bond similarly to freedmen

portraits. A central component of freedmen reliefs is the *dextrarum iunctio* gesture between

a male and female (Figure 2.13), a clear visual cue that gathers the eye of the viewer.[386]

Figure 2.14 demonstrates the successful union of a pair of freed slaves (see below) with the

dextrarum iunctio at the very centre of the composition.[387] FS.PIS.33 represents two figures

clasping hands in a gesture comparable to the *dextrarum iunctio*, with the centrality of the

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[385] Smith 1991, 203 (fig. 224); See also Zanker 1993, figs, 1; 19; 20; 24.

[386] In art, the moment the couple joined their right hands had immense significance (i.e. pledging faith) (Treggiari 1991, 164); The handclasp was a metaphor in both literature and art; the moment of marriage (spiritual, emotional, and legal joining) was depicted as the physical handclasp and referred to in literature by the verb of joining (Hersch 2010, 205).

[387] A handclasp of spouses in funerary art may suggest an abbreviated wedding ceremony or the moment a couple bids farewell in death (see *dexiosis* gesture, below) but most likely reflects marital harmony (Hersch 2010, 206).

interaction emphasising its significance. It is, perhaps, not accidental that the

commemorator of FS.PIS.33 was a slave.

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Figure 2.14: Funerary relief of the Gratidii, Vatican. George 2005a, Figure 2.1.

The handclasp motif visually signified who was married on reliefs, love and affection

between spouses and the grant of *conubium*.[388] The latter was granted to a slave on

manumission, making the handclasp an especially powerful visual translation of the bond

established in *matrimonium iniustum*, which had circumvented the uncertainty of servile

status, and was now legally distinct.[389] Away from Rome, comparable conjugal

commemoration was frequent in Emerita which had a higher proportion of slaves and

freedmen among its population (compared to other cities in Lusitania).[390] That freedmen

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[388] Mander 2013, 73; The gesture symbolised *concordia* plus the related marital values of *fides* and *comitas* (George 2005a, 44).

[389] All uncertainly during servitude was removed, inheritance rights gained, and children would be of *ingenuus* status (Mander 2013, 73).

[390] 43% of epitaphs are dedicated by a spouse to their partner (Edmondson 2005, 198).

emphasised both family and marriage to position themselves within contemporary society reflects that both were core elements of cultural and social norms.[391]

References to marriage in the catalogue are muted relative to freedmen reliefs of the west, likely resultant of the different social circumstances of these inhabitants. The handshake gesture on FS.PIS.33 (Figure 2.15) is also different to western examples; figures do not face one another or clasp right hands. Instead, it is closer to the portrait on Figure 2.16, a contemporary doorstone from Galatia – both are more like appropriations of a *dexiosis.*[392] The handshake gesture was commonly utilised on Classical period Athenian grave stelae[393], late Etruscan funerary monuments, Alexandrian painted loculus slabs, occasionally in South Italian tomb paintings and on grave stelae across the Hellenistic world.[394]

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Figure 2.15: FS.PIS.33 with portrait relief depicting two figures holding hands.

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[391] Slaves were kinless and advertised their emergence within local society by emphasising the strength of their conjugal bond (Edmondson 2005, 200).

[392] The origin of the *dextrarum iunctio* was in the Greek gesture of *dexiosis* (Hersch 2010, 209).

[393] In non-funerary contexts the *dexiosis* appears in mythological scenes, on many vases of the Archaic and Classical periods (Davies 1985, 627).

[394] Davies 1985, 630.

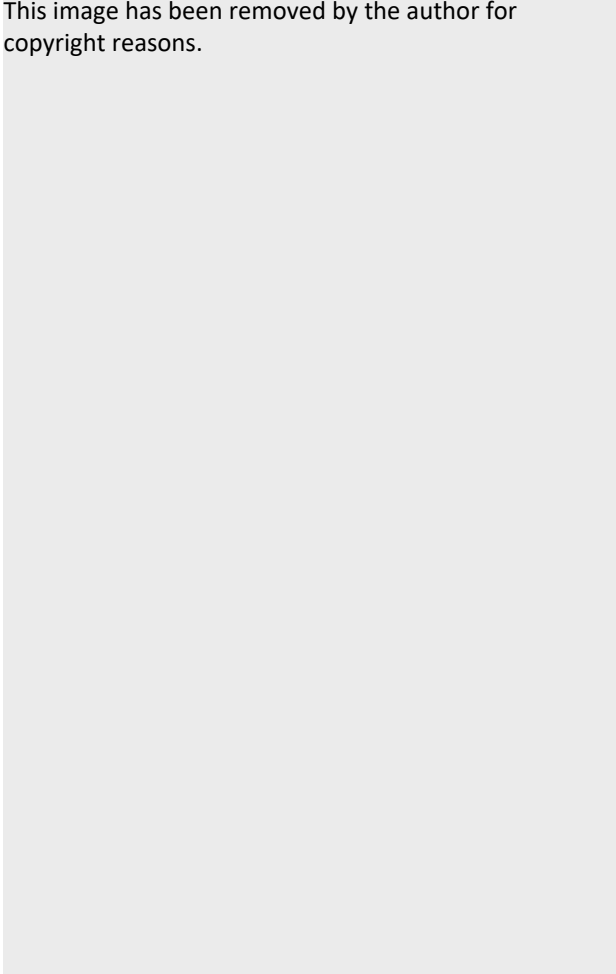This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Figure 2.16: Doorstone, Sinanli, Imperial Period. Mama 1956, 314. Pl. 19.

Dexiosis scenes function as a motif that is ambiguous and flexible, allowing for multiple interpretations[395]: as a farewell, reunion in the afterlife or communion.[396] Both Greek and Etruscan applications of the motif concern the strength of family ties (especially marital bond) bridging the gap between living and the dead.[397] Returning to FS.PIS.33, the *dexiosis*

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[395] In comparison, the *dextrarum iunctio* does not always signify marriage; on some funerary stelae from Attica, it was used between an adult and a child, and once between sisters (Huskinson 2011, 536); When couples holding hands are of the same gender a *dextrarum iunctio* cannot be interpreted as a symbol of marriage (Davies 1985, 632).

[396] Each aspect is part of the same concept of family unity (Davies 1985, 629-30); Cohen 2011, 477; The handshake motif on ash chests and sarcophagi from southern Etruria express afterlife beliefs (Davies 1985, 630).

[397] Davies 1985, 632; Davies compares stelae which express more general concepts to the specificity of mourning scenes on ground lekythoi (representing recognisable events) and relates this to their active role in the cult of the dead as tombs offerings (Davies 1985, 629).

style gesture represents the bond between two slaves, perhaps marking unattained

manumission at death, marital connection and/or familial bond (or friendship).

Outside of texts, no distinct marker of marriage is used in the catalogue.[398] However, given

the standardised nature of figural depictions (associated with social expectations), the

viewer would perceive a male and female adult pair, side-by-side, as indicative of marital

status.[399] The frequency of 2 figure, male and female portraits in the catalogue (especially

Galatia) suggests that expressing marital bond was a social expectation and a component of

identity for inhabitants of inland Anatolia in the early Imperial period.[400] I do not suggest

marital bond was any less significant outside Galatia, as much as cases solely memorialising

a conjugal pair do not necessarily preclude children; instead, inscriptions solely naming the

marital pair, linked to a portrait, had to do with epigraphic fashion and funerary custom.[401]

Likewise, the infrequency of gestures signifying marriage in the catalogue does not mean

that expressing conjugal bond was less significant to Anatolian inhabitants. Conjugal bond,

as an achievement and ideal, was at the centre of familial representation among

contemporary inhabitants.

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[398] There are no distinct marital ritual scenes as upon Archaic and Classical Greek vases that represent the marital procession to the groom's home (Cohen 2011, 470).

[399] The passer-by was expected to accept the close relationship between husband and wife, making the married pair the basic unit of commemoration among the civilian population (Treggiari 1991, 248).

[400] These examples expand on Masséglia's discoveries in Phrygia, that having a partner was a desirable part of social identity in Galatia (Masséglia 2013, 114); The expression on these stelae compares to funerary banquet scenes of couples within Byzantium: nuptial tie was more important than family bonds or origin (Puddu 2011, 106).

[401] As with conjugal inscriptions in Bithynia (Martin 1996, 49).

2) The value of children within the family

Frequent representation of children in text and imagery is indicative of their importance to contemporary inhabitants.[402] Of the 186 inscriptions in the catalogue, 40 (22%) are dedicated by parents to their children[403] and 68% of these memorialise daughters (many in isolation, some alongside other family members).[404] This result implies the value of daughters to contemporary inhabitants and supports considerations of potentially increased social value of women (section 2). In many cases children are represented as adults, linked to their unattained future; for example, on FS.PIS.18 a daughter is memorialised but a male and female are shown in relief (perhaps implicit of the daughter's future marriage, or a depiction of the father).[405] Prospection offered a means of consolation for untimely deaths.[406] On FS.G.03 (Figure 2.17) the single figure portrait presumably represents both the daughter and wife named in the inscription or, given the wife is unnamed, solely the daughter, depicting an idealised contemporary woman surrounded by gender specific attributes (see chapter 3).[407]

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[402] Presumably, families viewed children as a strengthening of the family, both a vital continuation of the bloodline and an insurance policy (i.e. inheritance) (Treggiari 1991, 11).

[403] Considering 23% of the catalogue's texts are no longer extant or their commissioner/patron is unclear, this frequency may have been higher.

[404] 27 instances: FS.G.03, 06, 13, 15, 24, 27-28, 30, 41; FS.PHR.04; FS.PIS.07, 15-18, 20, 25; OS.G.02, 11-12, 16, 24, 28, 30; OS.PHR.06; OS.PIS.03, 09. Sons are memorialised on: FS.G.21, 38; FS.PHR.02; FS.PIS.13, 28; OS.G.01, 04, 14, 19, 40; OS.PHR.25, 32. A son and daughter are remembered on FS.PIS.27.

[405] Mander 2013, 59; Children in family imagery as the promise of future family glory (George 2005a, 41.)

[406] Mander 2013, 62.

[407] The deceased presented with all the trappings of the ideal wife: marriage appearing as a trope in death related contexts - in the case of virgins, death as a substitute for marriage (Draycott 2016a, 261).

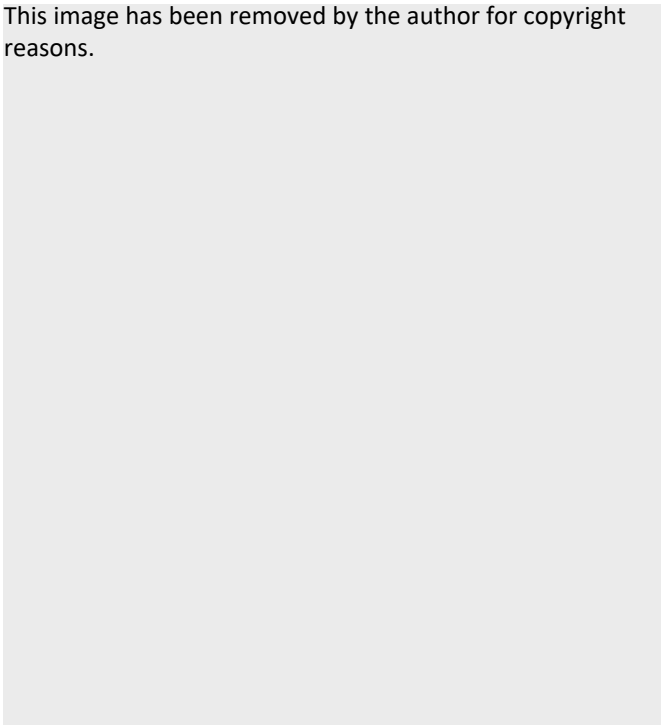This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Figure 2.17: FS.G.03, detail of figural relief of a female surrounded by attributes.

Statements of age at death are infrequent and only feature on inscriptions dedicated to children – OS.G.01 and 19, OS.PHR.36, OS.PIS.03 and FS.PIS.20 – connected to the high social value attached to offspring and the comparable sense of loss among contemporary inhabitants.[408] Excepting premature deaths, the absence of age assertions illustrates this was not a defining factor of identity articulation.[409] OS.G.19 and FS.PIS.20 are exceptions (both Latin texts following Latin funerary customs[410]); stating age at death and civic positions[411] was not applicable to much of the catalogue.[412] On OS.PIS.03 the inclusion of age was based on this individual's connection to others in Roman army and funerary

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[408] Hope 2001, 19.

[409] This mirrors Roman civilian communities of Imperial period Italy recording age mostly for children and youths, suggesting the grief of parents and the high social value attached to children (Hope 2001, 19); Recording of age can be expected within a few specific groups – soldiers, gladiators, and children; for the majority, age was not a significant aspect of their identity definition (Hope 2001, 21).

[410] Feraudi- Gruénais 2015, 683.

[411] Clarke 2006, 183.

[412] Unlike western practices, social connections, and statement of age at death are avoided in Asia Minor (Cormack 2004, 124).

traditions in western Dacia (potentially using Latin mechanisms of representation).[413]

Instead, age is implied based on familial connections (i.e. wife, daughter, mother etc.).[414]

Portraits do, in some cases, designate younger children using scaling.[415] In these instances the patron/stonemason deliberately offered a visual insight into the age of the recipient, emphasising the social worth of children through specification. FS.PIS.02 (Figure 2.18) is significant in portraying a toddler being held by its mother; both the age of the child and their interaction (insular gaze between the pair, closeness of intimate bond) stands out amongst the catalogue. The scene is reminiscent of nursing and childhood representation on altars and stelae elsewhere in the empire, as noted in section 1.[416]

Age-differentiation is clearly visible through the side-by-side layout of portraits, and scaling is essential given in no obvious iconography separates children from their parents (e.g., FS.G.26 represents a child, smaller than the adult pair); their appearance mimics adult figures and borrows from the Hellenistic repertoire.[417] On FS.PHR.04 a mother is shown on the right with a smaller female to her left; the daughter named of the female patron. Her husband, recorded in text, is not depicted. FS.G.22 depicts two small boys either side of their mother with the patron (the father and husband) not represented. Incongruities between text and image may reflect the artistic capabilities (or lack thereof) of

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[413] At Mainz (which had a strong military presence) most inscriptions refer to individuals connected to the army with standardised information on rank, unit of service, age at death and number of years served (Hope 2001, 10).
[414] Hope 2001, 20.
[415] Age-differentiation through placement *alongside* parents is something new (Masséglia 2013, 119).
[416] See footnote 293.
[417] Masséglia 2013, 116-117.

contemporary stonemasons or a situation whereby gravestones were purchased

prefabricated and were non-specific (see chapter 5).[418]

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Figure 2.18: FS.PIS.02.

Upon FS.PIS.19 (Figure 2.19) individuals become progressively smaller as the viewer reads

left to right, on the lower composition (depicting the extended family, potentially children,

not named in text). The upper register represents the husband-and-wife at the summit of

the hierarchal composition with the lower relief functioning in a subordinate manner; a

point emphasised visually given the upper depiction is enclosed in an *aedicula* and the same

size as the 4-figure group.[419] FS.PIS.25 uses scaled figures to represent age and potentially

---

[418] Ambiguities may result from purchasing pre-carved 'stock' pieces with standardised portraits (or details thereof) carved long before the identity of the eventual recipient(s) was known (Mander 2013, 23).
[419] Hierarchical compositions with multiple figures in numerous registers, within *naiskos*, are a distinctive design feature of Phrygian funerary reliefs - the most complexed hierarchical scenes, located one above the other, are common in the Tembris Valley (Masséglia 2013, 97).

as a status marker should the very small figure (far left of the composition) be a slave.[420]

Likewise, FS.PIS.37 (Figure 2.20) depicts an overly small-scale child relative to the adult

figure, potentially denoting a slave.

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Figure 2.19: FS.PIS.19.

FS.PIS.27 sees the second and fourth figure taller than the first and third; presumably, this is

the husband (and patron wife?) represented with their children/slaves. A comparable

approach is evident upon FS.PIS.30 with smaller figures representative of the patron's

children.

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[420] On Hellenistic stelae minute scale was indicative of servile status, youths were clothed (Zanker 1993, 220); Care must be taken as smaller figures may also depict slaves or freedmen within the extended family: small scale on Phrygian reliefs did not *necessarily* indicate a child (Masséglia 2013, 116).

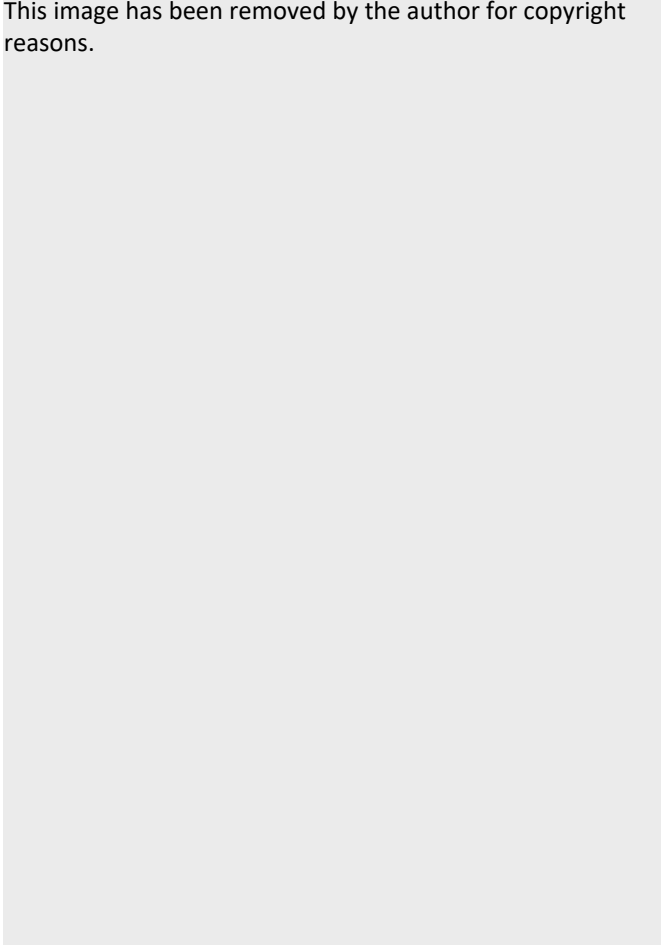This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Figure 2.20: FS.PIS.37.

There is similarity in composition to vertical portraits from Cisalpine Gaul (Figure 2.2, section 1), the composition replicating differing forms of social hierarchy within the domestic context. Another example (Figure 2.21) is a stela of a *libertinus* from Bologna depicting the family unit ordered in vertical registers, according to familial status (based on age and rank).[421] The approach is the same irrespective of whether dedicants were freedmen or freeborn (i.e. parents before children, male child above female, freeborn children before dependent freedmen etc.).[422]

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[421] The freedman couple in the upper register, two freeborn sons below, then their daughter and a freedwoman (George 2005a, 56).

[422] George 2005a, 56; Throughout the Danube provinces the most senior child would be positioned before the father on the right of the portrait (Mander 2013, 85); The extended household of *ingenui* from the north of Cisalpine Gaul, including dependent freedmen, are represented in this manner (George 2005a, 60).

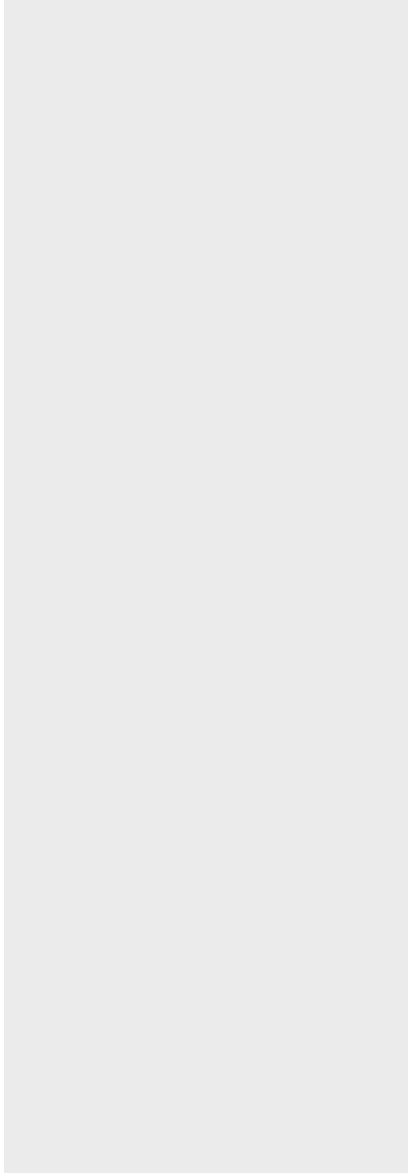This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Figure 2.21: Funerary relief of the Alennii, Bologna, mid-first-century AD. George 2005a, Fig. 2.6.

While children are regularly memorialised, younger children are rarely represented in relief within the catalogue; memorials to the youngest members of the family may have featured elsewhere within the tomb, or on/within other contemporary funerary monuments.[423] It may also be that, while impossible to measure, premature deaths were also recorded as

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[423] Statues of young children were set up as part of funerary assemblages in tombs at Rome: plaster moulds of the death masks of two children were left in the second century family mausoleum of the freedman C. Valerius Herma, under St Peter's Cathedral (Carroll 2018, 140-143).

older children to console the family.[424] Certainly, FS.PIS.02 aside, the affectionate nature to

the portraits is limited (children like adults, a lack of interaction) relative to Pannonian relief

stelae.[425] However, this does not negate the emotional bond within the family and the very

fact a stela was set up (at great cost) commemorating a child/children is indicative of love

and affection.[426] Anatolian children in the catalogue are recorded in terms of social status

for posterity, leaving emotional bonds to be experienced solely by family members at the

tomb itself.[427] These memorials therefore imply the value of offspring to the family in terms

of social status and future potential, not dismissing displaying affection between the parents

and their children.[428] A comparable depiction of children as a status marker, albeit it in a

different social context, can be found on monuments of freed slaves, such as Figure 2.22, a

second century AD altar from Rome. The social advancement of the family is expressed by

the status of the child (with *ingenuus* status) and the monument had a combined purpose

(not necessarily in any hierarchical order) as a loving memorial to a cherished son, a marker

of social advancement of the family and the commemoration of the loss of an heir,

economic security, and support for the parents in their old age.[429]

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[424] On Roman biographical sarcophagi older children are shown on deathbeds, illustrating young family members as the focus of the family's investment and aspirations for at least a few years (Carroll 2018, 136).

[425] Boatwright 2005, 317.

[426] The decision to spend large amounts on monuments for children may be prompted by affection, a need for consolation, a desire to advertise in the necropolis, or a combination of each (Mander 2013, 64).

[427] There is not the emphasis on household status relations as per the representation of children on monuments in Rome and its environs (Boatwright 2005, 307); Mander 2013, 21.

[428] The act of setting up a monument offers an imperfect reflection of feelings between recipient and dedicator, how a child was contextualised after death does not necessarily echo the affection to which they were held in life (Mander 2013, 13).

[429] Mander 2013, 12; Because freed slaves had limited pasts their ambitions focused on the future (Petersen 2006, 217).

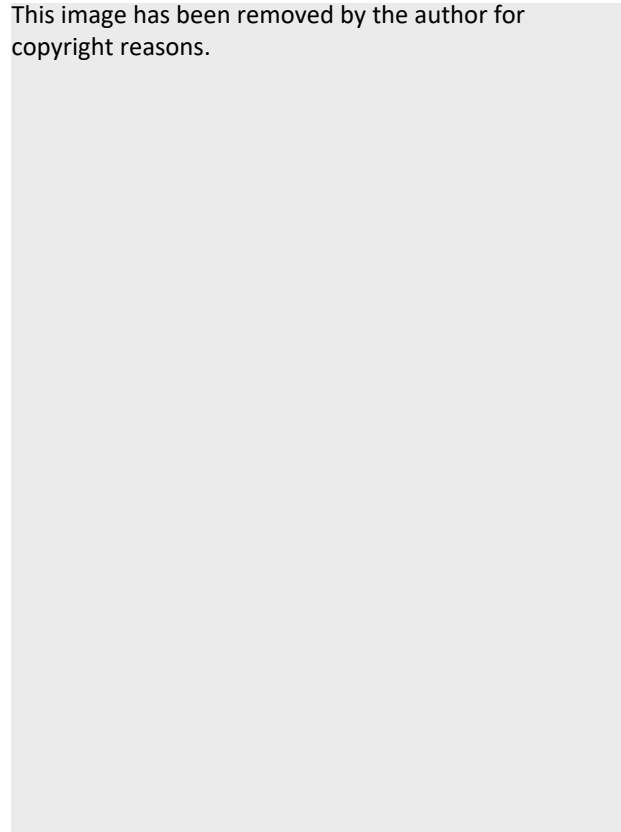This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Figure 2.22: Altar of P. Albius Memor. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 164. Mander 2013, Figure 3.

How are children recorded in text within the catalogue?

One can perceive the significance of children to contemporary inhabitants of the inland regions through statements explaining childlessness. The patron's sister is recorded as *ατεκνο-ς ατεκνω* (childless and unable to bear children) in OS.PHR.36's epitaph, on OS.PHR.09 the term *ἀγον[τά-]τη* articulates that the patron's wife was infertile, OS.G.41 states the individual was a virgin (*παρθένῳ*), as does OS.PIS.03 for the daughter. Such statements were declarations demonstrating that being childless was not the fault of the women memorialised, offering a means of consolation to the family.[430] They functioned as a device compensating for an early death which denied these women that chance of having

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[430] The death of these females in their reproductive years may have represented a great loss for families (Carroll 2018, 224).

children.[431] Presumably the above statements were necessary relative to expected values of contemporary inland Asia Minor, reflecting how bearing children was both an achievement and a marker of pride among contemporary inhabitants.[432]

The Latin inscription on OS.G.19 includes a statement consoling a father at the loss of his child – 'I beg and beseech, father, that you torment yourself as little as possible, having lost your child ....').[433] These phrases offered a means of closure, working with images to mark their child's path to adulthood and the social role they would have attained. Similarly, OS.G.01 and OS.PHR.25 include a raised pair of palms motif, *manes supinae*, facing forwards, and cut off at the wrist (see Figure 2.23). The motif is infrequent in the catalogue and seeing as both feature alongside epitaphs naming deceased children, its application should be aligned with immature deaths and representing a life unfulfilled.[434] The palms are presented in a gesture of prayer to invoke the gods[435] and may also express a call for divine help against grave vandals and evil spirits.[436] Associations with the afterlife are augmented on OS.G.01 as the father is named Helios; not only did the patron of this gravestone purchase a stela with raised palms motif perhaps, the family's religious beliefs influenced nomenclature, invoking Helios and seeking protection in the afterlife.[437] The attribute was

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[431] Carroll 2018, 224; The depiction of pregnant women on Classical stelae declared, similarly, the circumstances of an individual's death (Cohen 2011, 471).

[432] In the western empire the purpose of marriage was procreation, a quality/achievement worth advertising in the funerary sphere (Mander 2013, 99).

[433] Trans. Mitchell 1982.

[434] Patrons may have been able to ask for something specific, meaningful to the individual, on their funerary monument: some motifs may not be as frequent as they were not suitable for general applications (raised palms may be an example of this) (Davies 2003, 223).

[435] The symbol of raised hands acts as an indicator of justice sought from the gods for the premature deaths of children (French and Mitchell 2012, 431); Mclean 2011, 266; In Aezani a raised pair of hands motif was an invocation to Helios to avenge the deaths of young people or suspected homicides (Levick et al. 1988, xlvix). Mclean 2011, 265.

[436] Mclean 2011, 266; Curse hands are a visual expression of admonitions commonly found upon grave inscriptions (Kelp 2015, 76).

[437] French and Mitchell 2012, 431.

not just a marker of premature deaths and on votive monuments like Figure 2.24 (an

imperial period marble altar from Seyit Gazi, like OS.PHR.25, dedicated to the Gods of the

Underworld and Zeus Bronton) its inclusion sought divine protection for the dedicand

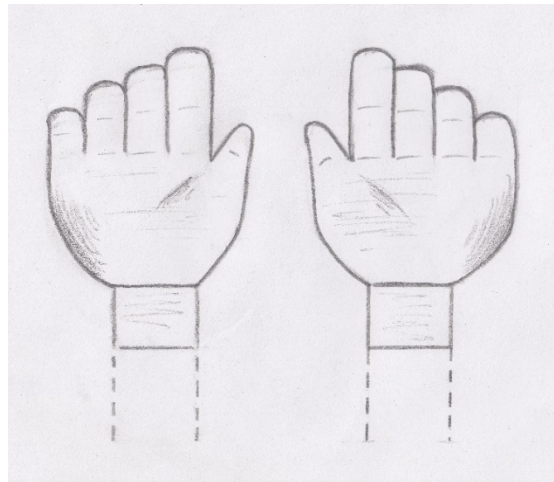against evil spirits. For more on invocations and the afterlife, see chapter 4.

Figure 2.23: Representation of the manes supinae motif. Produced by author.

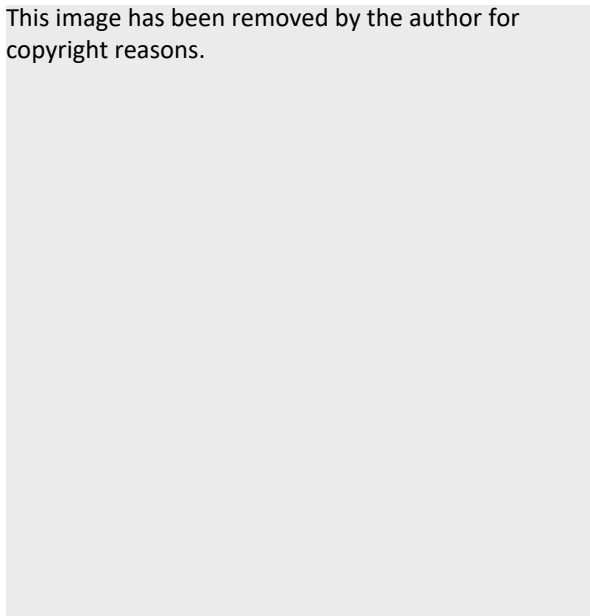This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Figure 2.24: Grey marble altar with two raised forearms, dedicated to the Gods of the Underworld and Zeus Bronton, Seyit Gazi, Imperial period. Mama 1937, no. 225.

Section 4. The display of affectionate bonds between family members, friends, or couples

The action of setting up a memorial on behalf of a family member(s) or friends is itself a motion of affection towards the recipient(s). One must tread with caution when determining emotional connections in archaeological studies and accept that pure affection will not always have been the only motivation for erecting a tombstone.[438] I acknowledge that measuring emotional experience is problematic within evidence from a socio-cultural context so distant and different to our own (see chapter 1, section 2), and maintain that my hypotheses are inherently tentative. However, emotional experience should not be ignored.[439] While feelings were channelled through conventionalised forms and formulaic approaches, emotional experience was individual to each viewer and influenced by contemporaneous circumstances.[440]

In the catalogue examples memorialising children offer the clearest indication of affectionate bonds, such as FS.PIS.02 (Figure 2.18) emphasising the maternal connection between mother and baby. A handful of other examples also represent affectionate links between individuals in portraits – figures touching their neighbour's drapery (e.g., FS.G.05)[441] or the subtle turning of figures towards one another, fixing their gaze and maintaining eye contact.[442] On FS.G.18 two females (left of the triumvirate) hold hands; the two figures right of FS.PIS.22's portrait appear to touch; and I previously discussed FS.PIS.33 (Figure 2.15) which presents a *dexiosis* gesture and FS.PIS.37 (Figure 2.20) portraying a man

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[438] The biases and preoccupations which surround funerary monuments must be acknowledged and understood (Mander 2013, 13).
[439] Emotions associated with death, and attitudes to death itself, can be considered in addition to social structures (Hope 2001, 7); Huskinson 2011, 535.
[440] Hope 2001, 63.
[441] A popular alternative on Phrygian funerary reliefs was the depiction of one family member touching another (Masséglia 2013, 120).
[442] Mander 2013, 112.

handing an item to a small figure. These intimate and personal gestures potentially reflect

affection during life, the concept of bonds being unbroken in death, or even a combination

of both.[443] These portraits aside, affection is demonstrated through standardised
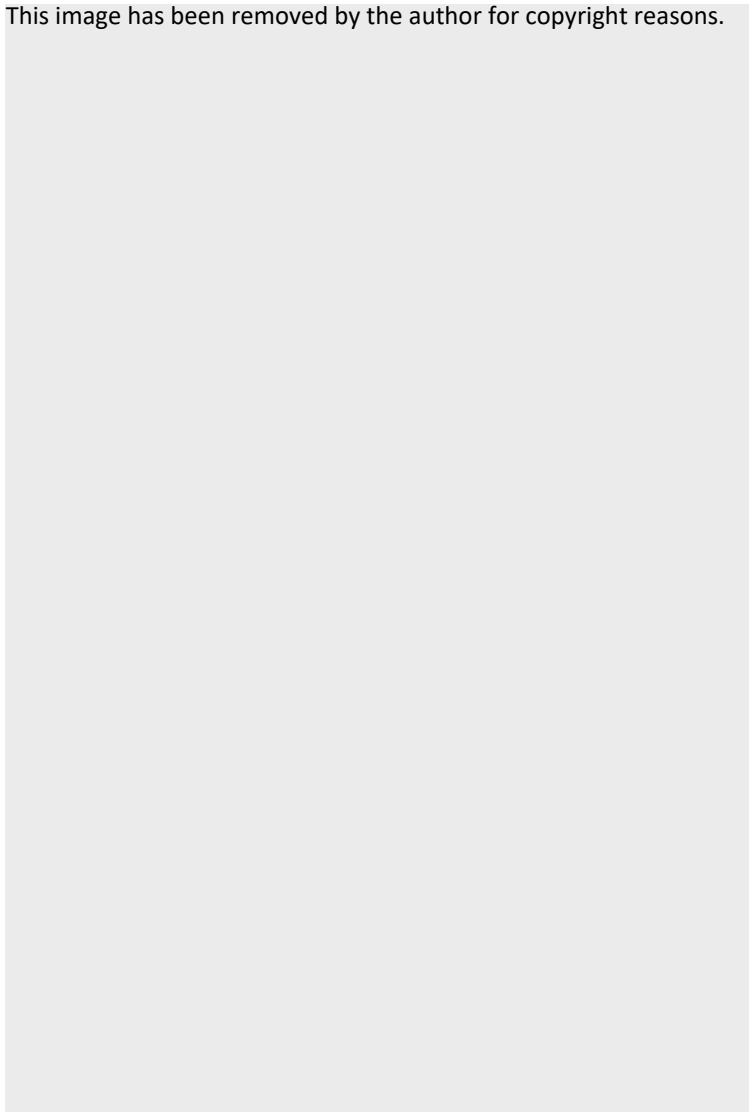
descriptions within inscriptions.[444]

*Figure 2.25: Marble funerary stela of Xanthippos, ca. 430-420
BC, London, British Museum GR 1805.7-3.183, Sculpture 628.
Cohen 2011, 466. Figure 28.1.*

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[443] Mander 2013, 113.
[444] Descriptions of the qualities of a wife in her household role, or husband in the context of his peers, were reciprocal qualities and channelled expression of affection in the west (Treggiari 1991, 248).

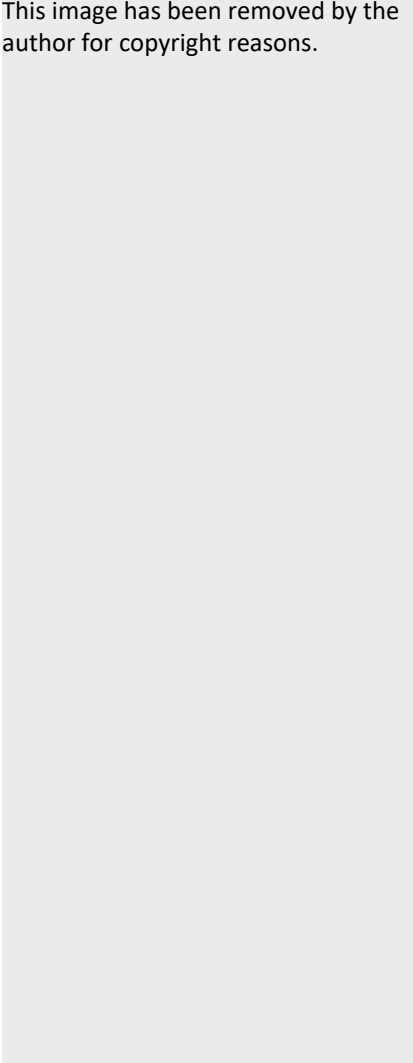This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Figure 2.26: Etruscan sarcophagus and lid, Sinop, second century BC. Sinop Museum Inv. no. 13.62.70. French 2004, 79. pl. 13.

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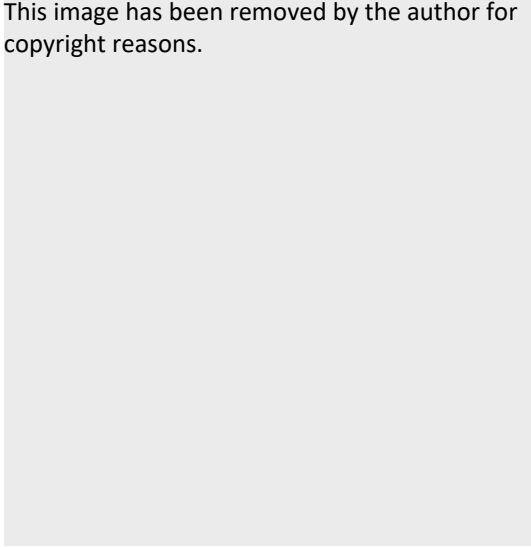
Figure 2.27: Stela of Suriacus Secuindinus and family, 2nd Century AD, Brigetio (Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, RIU 763), Boatwright 2005, Fig. 10.6.

In a similar manner, emotional bonds between family members are instigated through touch on Greek familial depictions.[445] Figure 2.25 is an Attic Greek gravestone representing a man with two daughters, or a daughter and wife(?), whose left hand delicately touches the smaller female figure to the right.[446] The fixed gaze of both female figures on the oversized male emphasises the bond between the three. So too does their seeming ignorance to the viewer.[447] Comparable fixed gaze is evident on a second century BC Etruscan sarcophagus lid from Sinop (Paphlagonia, north-central Asia Minor; Figure 2.26). This exceptional example portrays an intimate connection between the marital pair, both bodies are turned towards one another in a symmetrical manner and their arms cradle one another, enclosing the couple.[448]

Touching figures are also common in contemporary western funerary art, again suggestive of an emotive connection.[449] Pannonian stelae regularly display affectionate bonds between portrait individuals. Figure 2.27 shows parents with their hands on their children's shoulders, who are positioned in front of them to display solidarity.[450] Physical contact such as this was essential in the Danube provinces to delineate relationship types, especially as extended relatives and mature children were frequent in portraits.[451] Another example, a second century AD marble altar from Rome (Figures 2.28 and 2.29), depicts the wife and

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[445] Cohen 2011, 467; Physical contact on Greek scenes is more varied and frequent: Greek parents acknowledge the presence of children, hand them objects, respond to gestures, hold them in their laps and place their hands on the shoulders, arms, and hands of children (Mander 2013, 115).

[446] Cohen 2011, 466.

[447] Most Greek compositions are shown in profile or three-quarter stance (Mander 2013, 114).

[448] Perhaps a representation of love between the pair and the sharing of the marriage bed indicative of the sharing of the tomb (Treggiari 1991, 246).

[449] Some mid/later first-century AD Roman tomb reliefs show parents and children reaching out to touch one another (Huskinson 2011, 535).

[450] Mander 2013, 112.

[451] Mander 2013, 117.

two sons of the dedicator in two scenes that offer a glimpse of their emotive bond, both

sons embracing their mother.

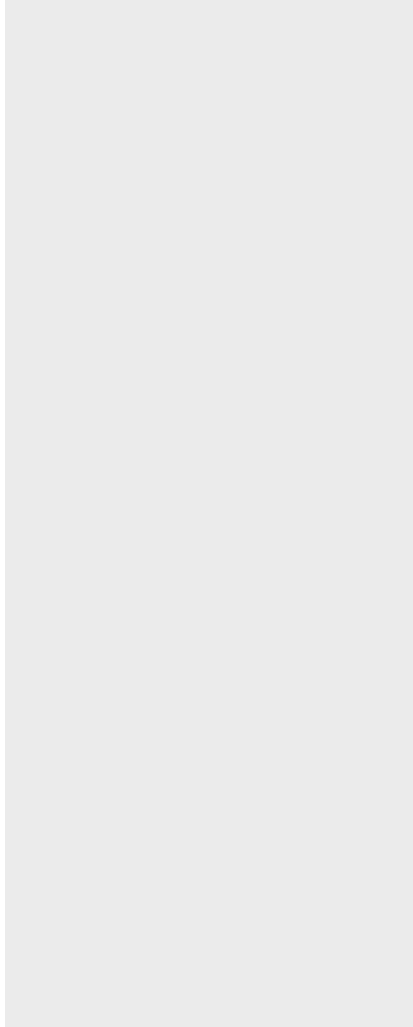This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

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Figure 2.28: Altar of Passienia Gemella and sons (left side). Liverpool, National Museums, inv. 1959.148.302. Mander 2013, Fig. 99.
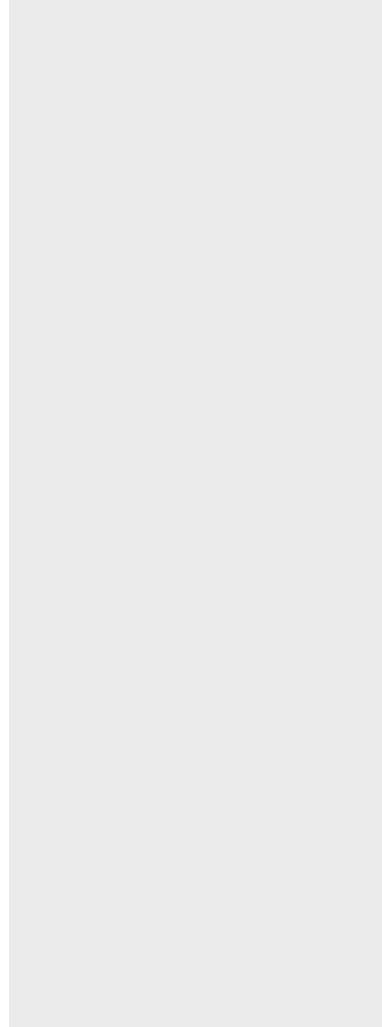
Figure 2.29: Altar of Passienia Gemella and sons (right side). Liverpool, National Museums, inv. 1959.148.302. Mander 2013, Fig. 101.

Examples of physical touch between figures, while infrequent in the catalogue, offer a

foundation for considering the role of the viewer experiencing these monuments (see

chapter 1). Their inclusion heightens the expression or adds specificity (maybe at the

bequest of the commissioner[452]), with gestures an additional layer through which to communicate an emotional bond to contemporary viewers. It is instructive to view these as displays of affection, over-and-above the standard visual language[453] and I do not deem examples without physical interaction as lacking in emotional intent (showcasing children, marital bond and family ties are no less emotionally charged). If not an emotive connection, perhaps emphasising familial bonds was noteworthy to articulate a concept of *belonging together*.[454] It may be that for the contemporary viewer connections between these figures were expected, assumed, or a pre-determined component.

Experiencing of the monument differed based on the viewer's position relative to the deceased and the family. An emotive connection existed between surviving family members, the memorialised and their relatives or friends.[455] For these individuals, not only were portraits of loved one's objects of remembrance, 'gazed upon, talked to, and touched'[456], they were regularly interacted with by the surviving family (and others) on festivals of the dead and anniversaries of births and deaths.[457] However, so as to be decipherable in the eyes of those outside the family (ancient passers-by in the cemetery, even modern scholars) the depiction of the family in the catalogue is banal and repetitive.[458]

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[452] Touching figures may be a result of atelier preference/capability in figural representation. The remaining consistency in appearance is due to prefabricated production (see chapter 5).

[453] Masséglia 2013, 120; When studying Roman death, we should view it as part of the Roman experience (Hope 2007, 4).

[454] The reason for touching figures upon Phrygian relief stelae (Masséglia 2013, 120).

[455] Emotions of the surviving family overlaid portrait representations and projected specificity on the generic and idealised (Cohen 2011, 478).

[456] Carroll 2018, 139.

[457] Including the *Parentalia*, *Lemuria*, *Rosalia* (Mander 2013, 145); Attendance was a social duty for friends and dependents (Treggiari 1991, 491).

[458] Greek reliefs offered a form of emotional interaction with the family while remaining inclusive to all viewers (Cohen 2011, 478); The public nature of these images influences how families are represented - images are purposeful and contrived (Huskinson 2011, 522).

This explains the infrequency of emotional imagery in the catalogue as most portraits are focused on constructing and conveying specific social values to the more general viewer – i.e. the family motif, social status (chapter 3) and the heroization of the deceased (chapter 4) – their appearance is resultantly shaped by convention and genre (and production).[459]

Concluding thoughts. To what extent is the family and the maintenance of the family name significant to inhabitants of inland Asia Minor?

The epitaphs and reliefs of the catalogue functioned as a means for commemorators to advertise their family within their respective communities. The frequency of examples memorialising one or more family member demonstrates the significance of celebrating family to inhabitants of the inland regions.[460] Stating the family name (plus the selection of appellations by families) and representing familial ties for eternity was the primary motivation behind these stones. Inscriptions commissioned or received by the immediate family are in the majority – close affectionate ties between parents and children, and spouses are the most frequent – with regular instances of extended family members memorialised in epitaphs. Their inclusion sheds light on how contemporary inhabitants viewed the concept of the family, one that was flexible and incorporated wider kin and non-kindred ties.

Portraits regularly depict immediate family bonds but represent extended familial ties in a minority of cases – a result of the iconography of the family being a motif, centred on articulating standardised values. Both text and portraiture have revealed that children and

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[459] Huskinson 2011, 540.
[460] Reflecting its centrality in Roman life (George 2005a, 39).

conjugal pairs were of most importance to inhabitants of the inland region and, while affection was behind the commissioning of a gravestone in both instances, of equal importance was demonstrating adherence to social expectation. Marriage was essential to enable the formulation of a family and children represented its future potential. Even cases celebrating extended family functioned as a status marker indicative of, if not actually attained, relative wealth.

Family was relevant to inhabitants across all social strata making these monuments communicative to all viewers. Experience influences emotional reception and generic details (i.e. status markers) can be overlaid with specificity or emotional response for the surviving family at the tomb or, based on slave experience, become especially poignant to freed slaves (as emphasised by freedmen family portraits at Rome).[461] Both text and portrait continue precedents of Greek art; inscriptions present the family primarily as an emotional unit, portraits as a social or economic unit.[462] A significant component of familial representation in the catalogue is, therefore, status expression and it is the projection of status that I shall analyse further in the following chapter.

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[461] George 2005a, 40.
[462] Cohen 2011, 467.

Chapter 3. Representations of reality or an allusion to an elevated status? Social competition on the funerary stelae of inland Asia Minor: the expression of status and livelihood.

The previous chapter outlined the significance of family ties and the maintenance of the family name to inhabitants of the inland regions. Similarly, at face value, two further strands of expression were important to their projection of identity – status statements and pride in livelihood. Although seemingly unrelated, both themes are regularly combined across the catalogue and can be perceived as means of social competition. Section 1, a case study on the spindle-and-distaff motif, encapsulates the above, addressing the role of the attribute in communicating social status and pride in work both within inland Anatolia, and the wider Roman world. Further, it establishes an undercurrent of interrogation throughout the chapter concerning gender stereotypes and gendered visual markers.

To posterity, individuals 'presented, in words and images, an ideal representation of their social persona – their perceived role and identity in life – and they anticipated an audience for this display.'[463] In section 2 I address to what extent representations on these stelae reflected, or improved reality, by exploring markers of status; detailing dress and body types, motifs of material advantage and status statements in text. What was significant to contemporary inhabitants in the construction of a desired identity? Does this match wider narratives of the Greek/Roman world? I will ascertain how inhabitants distinguished themselves within their social milieu, upon their funerary monument. Section 3 subsequently investigates projections of livelihood in the catalogue, determining whether these were actual manifestations of occupation (reflective of pride in work), or further

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[463] (Stewart 2004, 54).

means of status expression? I assess two means of expression linked to work – 1) motifs conveying livelihood/pride in work or production; 2) statements of profession in text and dress – before comparing these to depictions of work elsewhere in the empire. Does the focus on livelihood (tied to subsistence and relative wealth) project a desired identity for inhabitants or define identity through occupation and/or pride in profession? Chapter 3 concludes by evaluating whether the expression of status and livelihood was a representation of reality or a means of social competition on the funerary stelae of inland Asia Minor.

Section 1. Case study – communicating social status and pride in work through the spindle-and-distaff motif

The gender specific spindle-and-distaff, a visual manifestation of actual objects used by women within the domestic sphere, encapsulates a balance between expressing pride in work and articulating status (real, or idealised) within the catalogue. Analysis of the Regina tombstone from South Shields (Figure 3.1) demonstrates how the spindle and distaff motif functioned as a gender-specific status marker.[464] Regina presents herself in typical second century AD British female dress (tunic and coat), linking her to the provincial culture of Britain[465], and is depicted holding the spindle-and-distaff in her left hand. A basket containing completed wool balls is positioned to her left; to her right is a toilet casket (or jewellery box) containing a mirror and other personal items associated with women of

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[464] The memorial stands out among others in Britain in form (no pre-Roman tradition existed in Britain and Gaul for erecting stone monuments with text and images), quality of design, and execution, likely by a Palmyrene artist (Carroll 2012, 284).
[465] A contemporary British response to older indigenous and imported foreign dress behaviour (Carroll 2012, 295).

leisure, marking Regina as a woman of status.[466] The spinning implements and wool basket

pronounce Regina an industrious wife adept at working wool[467], and are widely attested on

Roman funerary monuments from the Rhineland to Palmyra.[468] Their widespread

appearance in funerary portraits of women suggest a common perception existed in Roman

society for women's participation in an ideal social world.[469]

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Figure 3.1: The Regina tombstone, South Shields, second century AD. Cussini 2004, Fig.1. TAB. XXIII.

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[466] Carroll 2012, 297.
[467] Carroll 2012, 299.
[468] The spindle and distaff are the clearest visual devices expressing female roles within the home, seen in funerary portraits in the eastern Aegean and Syria, Germany, Hungary, and Britain (Carroll 2012, 301); In Palmyrene female iconography these motifs were symbols of élite women's occupation (Cussini 2004, 236).
[469] Carroll 2012, 304.

A consideration of agency influences the expression made. Regina projects herself in the image of a Roman *matrona*, befitting the expected behaviours associated with this gender role, despite not being a Roman citizen.[470] If the patron of her own tombstone, Regina demonstrates how a woman could construct her own image in contemporary society, using a standardised ideal to showcase her virtues, status, and to project legitimacy of marriage (even if not achieved as in this instance).[471] Should the tombstone have been commissioned by Regina's husband, the portrayal of Regina as the ideal *matrona* enhances his virtues; he enables his wife to live a leisured lifestyle (alluding to his success and status), with Regina a passive possessor of these attributes.[472]
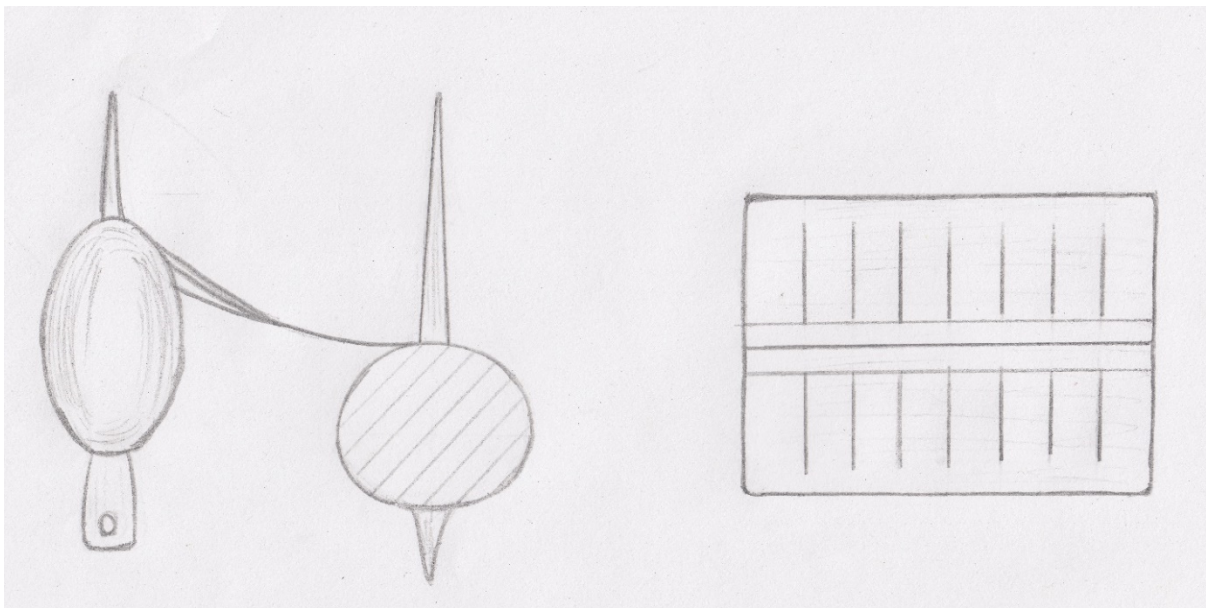

Figure 3.2: Representation of the spindle-and-distaff and carding comb motifs. Produced by author.

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[470] Monument form (carved and Latin inscribed gravestone), dress and adornment display Regina's ethnic affiliation and status in a frontier society (Carroll 2012, 304).

[471] Carroll 2012, 304; This is especially poignant in female representation given the denial of the social mobility and independence of men; her social position depended upon the family she was born into, or that into which she married (Kampen 1981, 28); See chapter 2, inhabitants presented their union in the same manner even if not official by Roman law.

[472] Kampen 1981, 93; Men cast their partners in the role of matron of the house as a signifier of domestic and private stability (Carroll 2012, 304).

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Figure 3.3: FS.G.15, detail with spindle and distaff, right. From Mama 1956, 217. Pl. 12.

The appearance of the motif (with carding comb) in the catalogue is represented by Figures 3.2 and 3.3. The spindle-and-distaff features alongside at least one other attribute (i.e. carding comb, mirror and basket) on 11 motif-only stelae (11% of the catalogue)[473] functioning as part of a package of associated attributes expressing comparable virtues of the memorialised.[474] Whether depicted together or in isolation, the spindle-and-distaff are inextricably linked; the former for preparing and spinning wool, the latter a container for holding the balls of wool.[475] It is more frequent on figural stelae (19 examples, 21% of portrait stelae[476]) – reflecting the proportion of females memorialised in the catalogue.[477]

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[473] OS.G.8, 11, 13, 15, 26, 39; OS.PHR.09, 21, 27; OS.PIS.07 and 09.

[474] Greek stereotypes for women are used – wool and fruit baskets, comb, mirror, jewellery boxes and spindle-and-distaff; looms are even seen around Dorylaion (Kelp 2015, 77); Zanker 1993, 222; The spindle-and-distaff, needle and basket represent the industrious housewife (Levick et al. 1988, xlvix).

[475] Funerary monuments from elsewhere in the Empire - for example, at Aquileia, Mainz, and Nimes – rarely depict crafts/trades for women: instead, women are associated with items of vanity or womanly virtue (Hope 2001, 55).

[476] FS.G.03, 07-08, 12-13, 15-16, 18, 21-22, 27, 29, 39-42; FS.PHR.06; FS.PIS.15 and 25.

[477] Females are well-represented in the catalogue by gender-specific motifs (basket, spindle-and-distaff, comb, and mirror) supporting a concept whereby women held a higher social worth in contemporary society.

85% of these examples are from Galatia (alongside 84% of all figural stelae with baskets; see section 3) illustrating that articulating values associated with both (industry, status and status relative to land etc.) was significant to contemporary inhabitants of Galatia. As many Galatian examples were found at sites south of Ancyra to Laodicea Catacecaimene – important stock raising country with wool, hides and other animal products central to the income of land-owners – the inclusion of a spindle-and-distaff and/or basket motif may offer a direct association to occupation and pride in work.[478] Although in a reduced number, Phrygian and Pisidian stelae include the spindle-and-distaff, comb and basket as markers of pride in livelihood, and exemplify domestic work[479], likely linked to known centres of textile production in both regions about Philadelphia Hierapolis and Laodicea.[480] That stelae in these regions can be perceived to celebrate excellence in manufacture (i.e. fabrics) and proclaim production in relation to land matches wider narratives of the Roman world (see section 3).

The role of the spindle and distaff as a marker of status however, associated with traditional interpretations, should not be downplayed.[481] Similarly to the example of the Tombstone of Regina, female inhabitants of inland Asia Minor showcase themselves, or are presented by others, as advocates of ideal, feminine social behaviour. The selection of the spindle-and-distaff (and basket, comb etc.) on these funerary stelae signifies gendered, civic ideals

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[478] Mitchell 1982, 21.

[479] Textiles were produced by women within the household in Greek ideology. Whether or not elite women were responsible for such production, or simply oversaw household slaves, spinning and weaving were associated with the feminine ideal (Lee 2015, 91); Spinning, weaving, and making clothes was the preserve of slave women on imperial rural estates (Carroll 2012, 300).

[480] Elites built wealth through specialist production of luxury goods about these cities, with Laodicean fabrics exported across the Empire (Thonemann 2011, 186-187).

[481] Lee 2015, 91; The comb, mirror, spindle or needle feature on stelae in the west (even without portrait reliefs or an inscription), highlighting their power to evoke the domestic and private world of Roman women (Kampen 1981, 96).

associated with the female *polis* citizen.[482] The spindle is the only female attribute

specifically evocative of work in the catalogue (the remainder are associated with

leisure/material advantage of divine connotations) and, given the relative status of these

women, reference feminine virtue rather than unsalaried or wage labour.[483] Female patrons

who chose to include the spindle-and-distaff (as part of wider iconographical conventions,

i.e. dress – see below) utilised a standard iconography linked to an established social ideal,

applicable across the empire, to create an image of themselves for posterity. This image

highlighted their adherence to expected feminine behaviour, the legitimacy of their

marriage (chapter 2) and their position in society. Meanwhile, through the spindle-and-

distaff motif a husband celebrated himself through his wife, the social ideal of femininity, his

marriage and private and domestic stability.[484]

Herein lies the juxtaposition of expression within the catalogue, encapsulated by the

spindle-and-distaff, between articulating status and material advantage on the one hand,

and emphasising pride in work and occupation on the other. By exploring each individually

in the subsequent sections, I will determine the significance of both themes to the

expression of identity in the catalogue, and consider, moreover, whether each was a means

for distinction within contemporary social competition.

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[482] Masséglia 2013, 99; These gendered markers are comparable to male tools of work, implicit of a degree of equality in status representation.
[483] A comparable situation is observed on second and third century AD Gallic funerary monuments (Kampen 1981, 92); Fabric work was a low paying occupation for free women, a duty and attribute of the virtuous matron and a job for domestic and industrial slaves (Kampen 1981, 123).
[484] See footnote 471.

Section 2. Competition in the middle classes – markers of status

Articulating relative status and presenting one's self as the ideal citizen for perpetuity (whether accurate or otherwise) is a core element of the expression made by stelae from inland Asia Minor. Consistency in the means of representing elevated status – visual markers associated with wider themes of the Roman world (see categories below), reflective of expected cultural and social ideals of the *polis* citizen – ensured a socially enhanced identity for the deceased and their family was communicated within the wider community. To ascertain the significance of status designation to contemporary inhabitants, and its role within socially competitive display, I will address the following iconographical markers: 1) dress and body types, 2) motifs associated with material advantage and, 3) status statements in text.

1) Dress and body types in portraiture

Dress, body type and gesture were significant in ancient Greek society, a primary means through which individuals negotiated identity and communicated social constructs (e.g. gender, status and ethnicity).[485] Comparably, a commissioner's choice of dress and body type was significant in the articulation of individual identity, chosen to make a statement, reflecting how these inhabitants wanted to be seen.[486] It is, therefore, instructive to

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[485] Lee 2015, 1; An individual's appearance communicated his or her social identity, mood, intent, expectations, and relationship to the perceiver (Lee 2015, 24); People clothed and presented their bodies to project conformity or divergence from the norm, this norm varying according to specific temporal, geographical and social situations across the Roman Empire (Carroll 2012, 282).

[486] Rothe 2013, 243; Carroll 2012, 282.

perceive these funerary portraits as *role* portraits[487] presenting both an individual and

institutional identity for the memorialised, in the same instance.[488]

a) Dress in the catalogue

Figure 3.4 demonstrates standard dress behaviour (and body type, below) for male portraits

within the catalogue, associated with Greek tradition.[489] An ankle-length *himation* is folded

in a sweeping curve over the right shoulder, supporting the arm resting across the chest,

with extra drapery hanging across the other shoulder, with a *chiton,* or tunic*,* worn

underneath.[490] The *himation* of the male figure is shorter on numerous examples[491] with

variation reflecting atelier preference/capability for rendering dress rather than a

differentiation.[492] The costume differs from western dress behaviour[493] where, in the lower-

Rhine and Danube for example, men regularly wore mainstream civilian and Roman clothing

or, in Gaul, males sported the indigenous tunic and cape.[494] Predominance of the *himation*

(and *chiton*) in the catalogue is an ethnic/cultural identifier articulating the wearer's cultural

Greekness.[495] The frequency of Greek civic dress behaviour is unsurprising given the influx

of Hellenism on the inland regions in the Hellenistic period[496] and the preponderance of

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[487] Defining their subjects, establishing place in society, and communicating the institutional affiliations that individuated them (Koortbojian 2008, 74).
[488] Koortbojian 2008, 73; Dress and figural pose reflect a value system acknowledged by all free citizens: stelae are only concerned with embodying universally accepted norms of behaviour (Zanker 1993, 218); Zanker 1993, 224.
[489] The *chiton* and *himation* were worn by men before the middle of the sixth-century BC (Lee 2015, 108-109).
[490] Lee 2015, 115.
[491] FS.G.11-12, 20, 22, 25-26, 36; FS.PHR.07; FS.PIS.21-23 and 27.
[492] 'Sculptors often took liberties in the rendering of the dress or may not have understood how certain elements were constructed' (Lee 2015, 6).
[493] Where the toga was the standard dress and badge of the Roman citizen (Davies 2018, 129).
[494] Carroll 2012, 290.
[495] Davies 2018, 146; The himation/*pallium* was an outward sign of Philhellenism, worn as a proclamation of affinity with Greek traditions and philosophy (Koortbojian 2008, 81-82).
[496] Fourth century BC Macedonian conquest of Asia Minor resulted in settlement into Phrygia, the adoption of Greek language etc. (Thonemann 2011, xiv); Puddu 2010, 29; Cultural multilingualism means Greek dress fit a universal language, admissible to multiple backgrounds and identities (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 98. See also 143); Evidence of emic and etic models (Knorr 2008, 6).

Greek language in the vast majority of epitaphs (chapter 2). These inhabitants were *polis*

citizens and this costume (and arm-sling body type, see below) connected an individual to,

and praised them for, attaining and living by (even if only in aspiration) values associated

with the ideal *polis* citizen. Its role in demarcating the status and wealth of the memorialised

(and their family) should not be downplayed.[497]

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Figure 3.4: Standard male dress, FS.PIS.28, detail. Refer to catalogue.

Women's dress was linked to beauty, female decorum, and the maintenance of society's

expectations of how women should look and behave.[498] It is again, unsurprising that

standard Greek female dress behaviour (encompassing the *chiton* and *himation*[499]), was

chosen by commissioners for female portraits.[500] Demonstrated by Figure 3.5, female

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[497] In the Roman world a *himation* was associated with leisure and country estates (*otium)* (Davies 2018, 144).
[498] Rothe 2013, 261; 'Elegance, adornment, dress – these are the insignia of women' Livy, *Roman History* 34.7. (Cited by Carroll 2012, 299).
[499] Women on reliefs from Phrygia are dressed like men, differing from Greco-Roman models (Kelp 2015, 77).
[500] Women wore a *chiton* with a *himation* from the early Archaic through Hellenistic period (Lee 2015, 109); A similar situation, albeit with a different ethnic costume, is observable in graves and pictorial depictions of

figures wear a floor length *chiton* (revealing part of the feet) with a *himation* over both shoulders and draped across the upper body. Both are garments of leisure whose expense and function connote luxury.[501] Copious drapery of sumptuous materials symbolised status and provided a means of competitive display, essential for contemporary women to establish and maintain their social standing.[502] In the west, women who wished to be seen as wealthy wore a long tunic, *palla* and *stola* to testify both wealth and matron status.[503] The selection of dress in the catalogue presented individuals as ideal *polis* females while offering an important opportunity to emphasise social standing. Perhaps dress as a form of competitive display, as seen in everyday life, was significant to female patrons on their funerary monuments.

Unlike male portraits, female figures are veiled by the *himation*.[504] Its predominance upon portraits demonstrates how the articulation of female identity was centrally concerned with the feminine ideal. Again, Greek tradition and ideology are referenced – the feminine practice of displaying *aidos* (modesty).[505] Grasping the edge of the veil is also associated with married women and brides-to-be in Greek art[506] and, given the importance of marriage to the family (chapter 2), female portraits may be showcasing the marital/bridal status of the memorialised (or as the ideal bride/wife they would have become). A veiled portrait

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women from the lower-Rhine and Danube, where traditional ethnic costume continued to be worn for at least two centuries despite interaction and familiarity with Italo-Roman dress (Carroll 2012, 290); Masséglia 2013, 115.

[501] The outfit was particularly unsuitable for the practicalities of work; it impedes movement and was difficult to keep clean (Lee 2015, 110).

[502] Davies 2018, 70.

[503] Kampen 1981, 64; A *tunica* and *palla* were the standard for respectable women in the west (Kampen 1981, 62); Davies 2018, 64; Edmondson 2008, 24.

[504] The *himation* is employed as a veil in Classical grave reliefs and vase paintings (Lee 2015, 116).

[505] Veiling the face preserved the honour of a woman and that of her husband, while also offering a form of protection (Lee 2015, 156); Veiling for women, as a performance of modesty, was commonplace in Greece in the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Davies 2018, 69).

[506] Lee 2015, 156; Upon freedmen funerary reliefs a *chiton* and *palla*, worn over the head, befits a married woman (Ewald 2015, 393).

enabled the female commissioner to emphasise her fulfilment of traditional feminine decorum/expectation, while the male patron showcased his success in marrying a good wife.

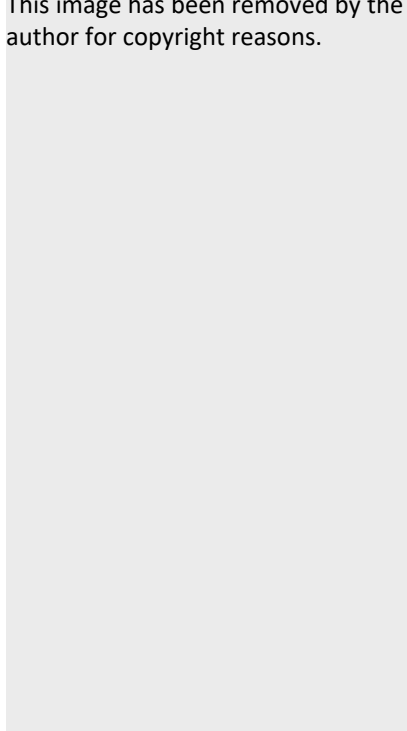This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Figure 3.5: Standard female dress, FS.PHR.10, detail. Refer to catalogue.

I do not classify any examples of standard Roman dress behaviour (toga, *stola*) in the catalogue's portrait stelae (see togate arm-sling, Figure 3.6).[507] Even portrait commissions by Roman citizens (chapter 2) befit the dress behaviour of their communities[508] with other signifiers used to articulate their Roman identity (i.e. *tria nomina*).[509] One would perceive that Roman dress, if included, like any symbolism linked specifically to Roman identity[510], would be especially poignant prior to Caracalla's grant of citizenship in AD 212.[511] In light of

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[507] I acknowledge both forms of dress may feature.

[508] Greek dress may have been an affectation of *otium* and Philhellenism (Koortbojian 2008, 81).

[509] This supports the theory that as the first-century AD progressed, both toga and *stola* were progressively abandoned by Roman citizens living outside Rome (Edmondson 2008, 38).

[510] Toga statues were popular to signify Roman citizenship in the Imperial period Greek East (Smith 1988, 65).

[511] Carroll 2012, 287.

the evidence for cultural exchange and negotiation within the inland regions – especially

through naming behaviours (chapter 2) – the absence of Roman dress on portraits is,

perhaps, a surprise. On the other hand, adherence to traditional dress custom is foreseeable

at a time of cultural change.[512] For example, on funerary portraits from Flavia Solva in the

Imperial period – a city heavily influenced by interaction with Roman culture and customs –

and across the middle Danube region, females adhere to established dress behaviour while

males wear Roman style dress.[513] Increased cultural interaction may have engendered a

sense of threat (perceived or real, consciously or subconsciously) to established culture.

With dress significant in negotiating identity, adherence to established female dress

practices in this manner indicates a concerted effort to preserve a component of established

identity.[514] Perhaps, in such a guise, inhabitants of the inland regions considered dress to be

non-negotiable; like the toga in the west, the *himation* was the traditional dress which

played a key role in Greek civic ideology, being central to the definition of what it meant to

be Greek.[515]

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[512] In times of culture contact and change, groups can emphasise their ethnic identity and cultural traditions to claim and assert their position in a transforming society (Carroll 2012, 281); At Arlon where there was less 'identity stress' – everyday life scenes depicted people in native dress and the whole milieu was dominated by native culture – women could take on Roman dress styles as the native culture was not perceived to have been under threat (Rothe 2013, 265).

[513] In the middle Danube women can be considered display cases for their family's ethnic identity. By adhering to native dress practice women at Flavia Solva balanced out the negotiation of cultural identity (Rothe 2013, 261-262); This situation is reversed in Gaul where men almost always wear the indigenous tunic and cape, and women adopt Roman dress behaviours (Carroll 2012, 290).

[514] Rothe 2013, 265.

[515] Edmondson 208, 34.

b) Body types

Accompanying dress is the use of standard, well-known figural types and body language, easily understood by the viewer, to communicate about individuals and their role in society.[516] Rather than an accurate likeness of the memorialised, the body conveyed information about the status, standing in society, and moral qualities of the individual represented.[517] For example, male figures in the catalogue are generally depicted in a consistent manner, matching the *arm-sling* format (Figures 3.6 and 3.7). Folds of drapery support the right arm in a sling – *himation* draped over the right shoulder to the waist and then the left – with the left arm resting at the figure's side.[518] This body language, linked to the himation, was common to eastern and African provinces and infrequent in the western empire (where figures were togate, as on Figure 3.7).[519] As appropriations of male public sculpture in the round[520], with roots traceable to Hellenistic Greek statuary of the urban elite[521], these arm-sling portraits communicate the same values ascribed to celebrated public individuals. Just as wrapping the right arm in drapery indicated an Athenian citizen's *sophrosyne* and the lack of mobility in the figure expressed gravity and dignity, the very same was celebrated by a *polis* citizen of the inland regions.[522] In signalling activity in a civic

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[516] Davies 2018, 13; Appropriate modes of representation and figural type were found for various subjects and messages (Hölscher 2004, 99).

[517] Davies 2018, 152.

[518] Davies 2018, 139.

[519] Davies 2018, 139-146; In the west, the male arm-sling representation was a short-lived fashion of the late Republic and early Augustan period (Davies 2018, 184).

[520] The arm-sling format was popular in Phrygian reliefs and like relief stelae of the eastern Greeks (Masséglia 2013, 104); Smith 1988, 64.

[521] Smith 1988, 66.

[522] Davies 2018, 143-145.

role (even if in aspiration) the frequency of the male arm-sling type indicates expected social

values or gender-roles linked to success in public life.[523]

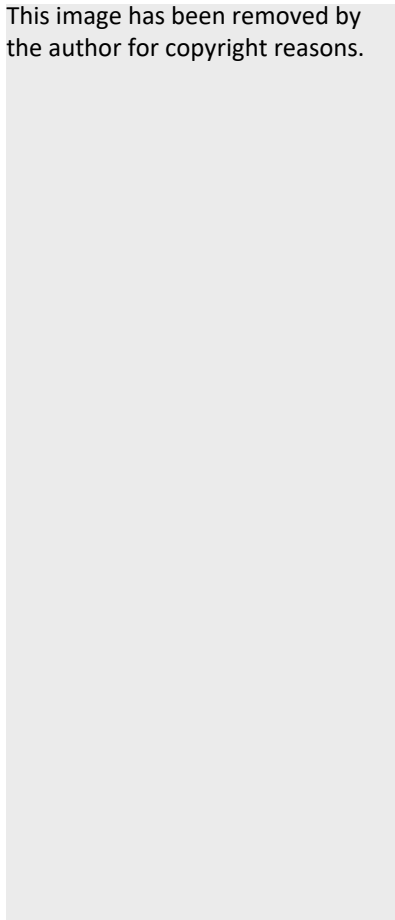This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

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Figure 3.6: Statue of a man wearing a toga in an arm-sling pose, National Museum of Rome, inv. no. 960. Davies 2018. Figure 35.
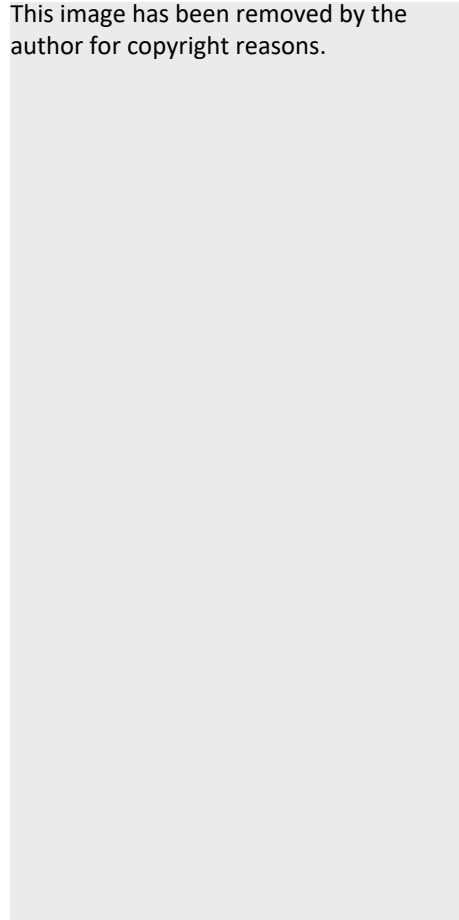
Figure 3.7: Male in a himation represented in arm-sling format, FS.PIS.04, detail. Refer to catalogue.

Female portrait figures also appropriate the body language of public sculpture in the

round.[524] Unlike male figures a range of formats feature in the catalogue, comparable to the

Large Herculaneum woman and female arm-sling types, and less frequently the Small

Herculaneum, and *pudicitia* format. A range of female body types offers potential for

differentiation in expression, according to the female body language is referenced by a

---

[523] Smith 1988, 66; Indicating personal *sophrosyne* and the suppression of gesticulation in public speaking (Masséglia 2013, 104).
[524] Alexandridis 2010, fig. 10.4.

specific portrait. I shall consider each format respectively to ascertain if female body

language was just an aesthetic selection for patrons (or a product of an artist's skillset),

linked to standard gender-roles.

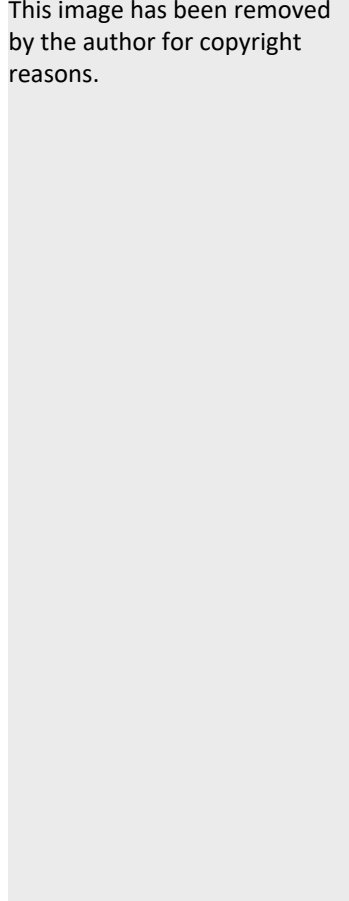This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

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Figure 3.8: Statue of Plancia Magna in the Large Herculaneum Woman type, Perge, in Antalya Museum, inv. no. 3459. Davies 2018, figure 50.
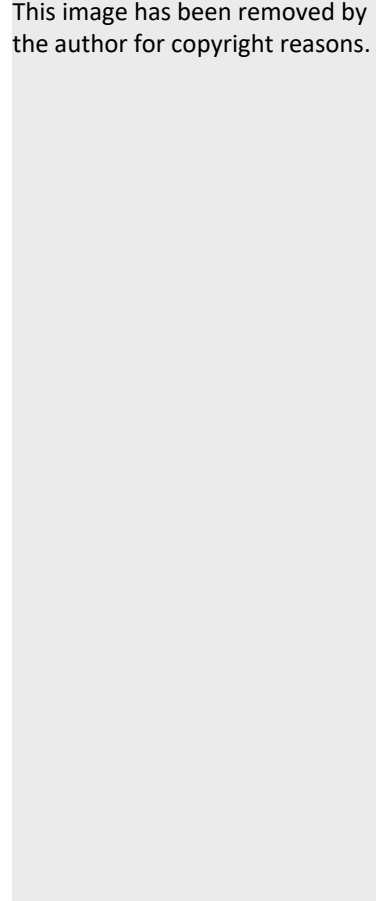
Figure 3.9: Statue of Viciria (in arm-sling pose), Herculaneum, in Naples Archaeological Museum, inv. 6168. Davies 2018, figure 42.

Most female portraits in the catalogue parallel the Large Herculaneum Woman (Figure 3.8)

and arm-sling statue types (Figure 3.9).[525] On both, the left arm rests naturally at the

figure's side with the right arm raised at forty-five degrees across the chest, holding drapery.

Examples of the Large Herculaneum Woman type, however, possess stronger *contrapposto*

and the head is turned sideward; the arm-sling female's body is more rigid, head frontal

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[525] Use of the female arm-sling format continues traditions of Hellenistic statues from the Greek east where its use continued into the third century AD (Davies 2018, 157).

facing. Figure 3.8, from the city gate at Perge (Pamphylia), is an excellent example of how a public statue – in this instance celebrating a benefactor of Perge, Plancia Magna[526] – offered a basis for interpretation into other contemporary sculpture forms.[527] The Large Herculaneum Woman type corresponded to the exemplary public femininity expected of the affluent citizen woman.[528] While it is associated with *sophrosyne*, emphasis on modesty and chastity can be found within funerary epitaphs; by appropriating this body type, values praised by honorific representations are translated onto the deceased – the ceremony, decorum and status of the exemplary femininity.[529] Incorporating this body format associated a woman with shared ideals of an imperial elite culture, adopted in urban communities across the empire, exalting status within the community.[530]

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Figure 3.10: Female figure in arm-sling pose. FS.G.13, detail. Refer to catalogue.

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[526] Davies 2018, 176.
[527] The Large Herculaneum Woman type was especially popular in Greece and Asia Minor in the second century AD (Davies 2018, 178).
[528] Trimble 2000, 58. Cited by Davies 2018, 180.
[529] Trimble 2000, 65. Cited by Davies 2018, 180.
[530] Davies 2018, 179.

Certainly, given its popularity in public sculpture in second century AD Asia Minor[531], female portraits on funerary stelae may appropriate or take inspiration from the Large Herculaneum Woman type. However, the small scale, rigid frontality and lower relief rendering of female portraits in the catalogue means portraits may, instead, be translations of the arm-sling format. Many female portraits in the catalogue are typified by FS.G.13 (Figure 3.10). The figure's body pose and gesturing mirrors the male arm-sling representation discussed above. Paralleled representation of men and women is significant both as a visual marker of harmonious marriage (comparable body language, dress behaviour and figural heights[532]) and in implying higher female social worth within the inland regions. However, this is tempered to an extent by gendered differences in clothing, face, hair, gestures, and stance.[533] Gender rules still govern these representations of women (through restricted, defensive gestures; hands clasp drapery and not attributes)[534]; in their public portrayal women continue to assume their expected public obligations of modesty and submissiveness to male relatives.[535]

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[531] See footnote 530.

[532] As with statue pairs and groups, two figures side by side facing the viewer, on a single base, with similar heights, gestures and stances give the impression of a single unit – the husband-and-wife team (Davies 2018, 239).

[533] Women in the arm-sling pose are more inhibited in hand gestures, clasping drapery (Davies 2018, 185).

[534] In body language, female portrait types express the paradox of being an elite woman paraded in public; copious drapery indicates her wealth and status, but the remainder of the display is defensive, discouraging interaction with others (including the viewer) and avoiding gestures implying meaningful activity (Davies 2018, 167).

[535] Davies 2018, 185; Female submissiveness was essential for marital harmony and a virtue alluded to in portraits of husbands and wives together (Trimble 2011, 229. Cited by Davies 2018, 185).

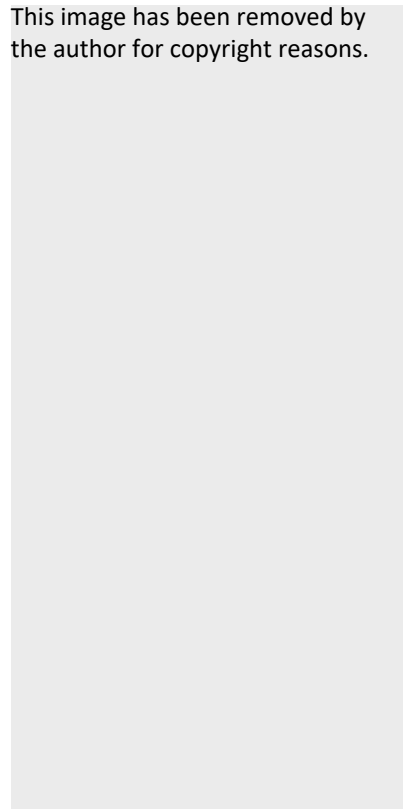This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Figure 3.11: Statue of a woman in the pudicitia type, first-century BC, from the Street of Tombs outside of the Herculaneum Gate, Pompeii. Davies 2018. Figure 43.

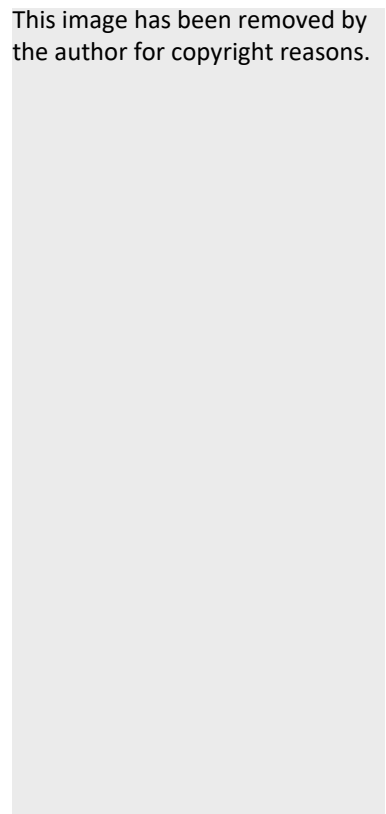This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Figure 3.12: Female figure in pudicitia pose, FS.PIS.16, detail. Refer to catalogue.

Examples like the *pudicitia* pose (Figures 3.11 and 3.12) – see also FS.PIS.09 and 32 – feature

one arm across the waist, the other raised (almost vertically) from the elbow upwards

towards the chin (touching the veil). This pose represents a bridal gesture, making it suitable

for a wife's funerary statue.[536] The pose associates the deceased with key, socially expected

virtues of the ideal *polis* woman, including *arete*, *epieikeia*, *eusebeia*, *kalokagathia*, and

paideia.[537] Appropriations of the Small Herculaneum Woman statue form within the

catalogue resemble Figures 3.13 and 3.14. Translations of this format upon funerary

portraits adhere the memorialised to the cultural values of an empire-wide elite class.[538]

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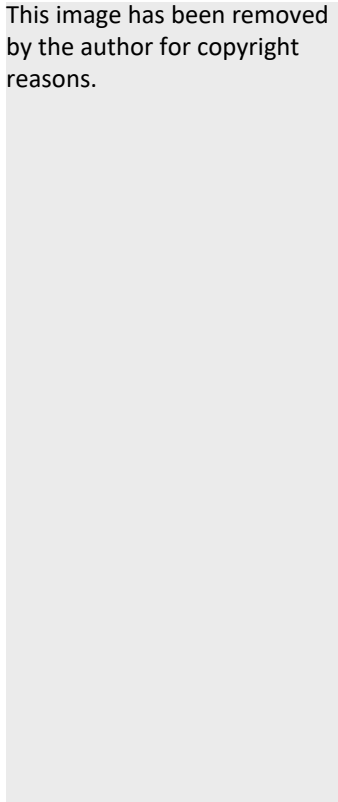
Figure 3.13: Statue of an unknown woman in the Small Herculaneum Woman type, in the Palazzo Braschi. Davies 2018, figure 53.
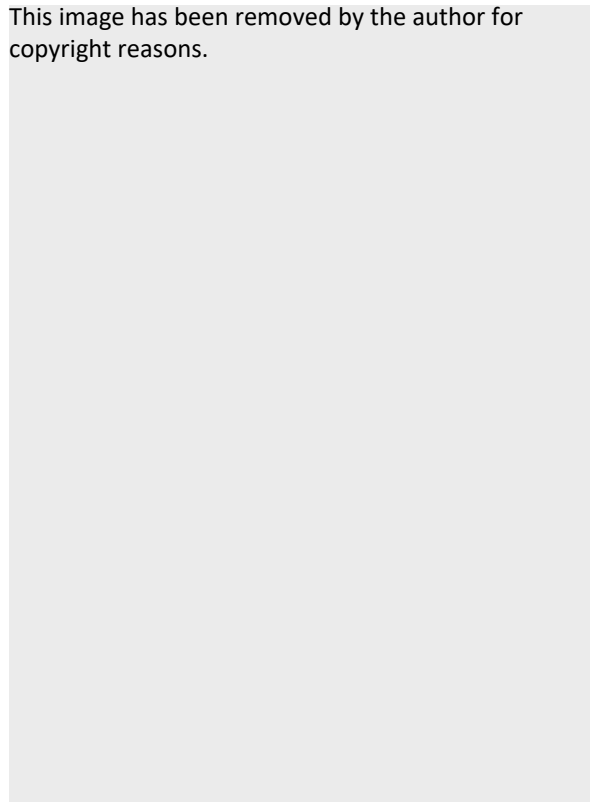
Figure 3.14: Two females in Small Herculaneum Woman format, FS.G.07, detail. Refer to catalogue.

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[536] Welch 2007, 573-574. Cited by Davies 2018, 160.

[537] (Ögüs 2014, 126); Roman female virtues ascribed to these types correspond to those of Greek interpretations – *fecunditas*, *castitas*, *gravitas*, *pulchritude*, and *pietas* (Alexandridis 2010, 266); Smith 1988, 70; Zanker 1993, 225.

[538] Davies 2018, 153.

Each of the female (and male) body types in the catalogue feature on Hellenistic and Greek

grave stelae and western funerary reliefs from the first-century BC.[539] That clothing and

body language in the catalogue is typical of centuries previous suggests (for both

commissioners and sculptors) values and standards of behaviour, linked to established

statue types, remained appropriate into the Imperial period.[540] Within this was a

continuation of the subordinated position of women; narrow, closed postures, defensive

gestures and preoccupation with drapery embodying the appropriate behaviour of women

in public.[541] Therefore, virtues associated with *pudicitia* are articulated by all female body

types incorporated within the catalogue (not merely the *pudicitia*-type)[542] – presenting an

image of the socially expected *polis* mother, wife and daughter.[543] By translating each

format into a funerary form, these portraits are empowered to function as quasi-honorific

statues and, correspondingly, exalt the status of the deceased.[544] Standardisation in dress

and pose functions as a 'common cultural reference point',[545] for example the chiton and

himation as the suit of the citizen.[546] Consistency in body types and costume not only reflect

pre-fabricated sculptural forms at workshops (see chapter 5) but that the individuals

commemorated in the catalogue identified themselves through recognisable social

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[539] Zanker 1993, 222; Both the *pudicitia* and Small Herculaneum Woman type were among the most popular statue types from the Late Republic to the second-century AD (Alexandridis 2010, 266); The arm-sling features on statues and reliefs of men in togas in the first-century BC (Davies 2018, 138).

[540] Davies 2018, 155; Koortbojian 2008, 72.

[541] Davies 2018, 192.

[542] This was an awareness of ones standing in the community and respectability, as displayed by dress, gesture, use of space and language, one's appearance and demeanour (Davies 2018, 65); *Pudicitia* was the equivalent for women of the civic qualities manifested by men (Davies 2018, 66).

[543] Or as the respective wives of Roman citizens, possessing virtues of the ideal Roman matron – virtuous, devoted, unassuming, self-effacing, deferential, and reticent (Davies 2018, 63).

[544] The repertory of *body*-types, expressing social roles and the virtues and values they embodied, was remarkably stable (Koortbojian 2008, 88).

[545] Revell 2016, 36; Hijmans 2016, 87; Zanker 1993, 213.

[546] Kelp 2015, 77; Female dress is an urban style (Zanker 2010, 177); The *himation* was considered the official garment of a citizen in practically all the east provinces (Zanker 2010, 178); A *himation* attached wearers automatically to 5 centuries of shared civic values (Smith 1988, 64. See also 66).

institutions.[547] Individuals appear as standardised good citizens, though not necessarily as

public sphere Politai (i.e. images depicting citizens, with a clear political purpose).[548] Instead

a form of competitive display, with emphasis on the success of the individual[549], behaving in

ideal citizen role, with all the material advantages attached to such status, was pertinent.[550]

2) Motifs associated with material advantage

Attributes associated with material advantage, as visual translations of actual items – grave

goods placed within (or upon) a built tomb, to be taken into the next realm (chapter 4)[551], or

material possessions (attained, aspired, or alluded to) – feature on 66 gravestones (35% of

the catalogue; Figure C.9).[552] These articulate the following themes: physical exercise and

grooming (*strigil*); banqueting (cup/plates/bowls/*skyphos*/table/tripod) and leisured

drinking (*oinochoe*/jar/krater/amphorae/vase); feminine beauty (mirror/toilet

bottle/chest/bureau); education (scroll and *volumen*/stylus and case/writing block/bureau);

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[547] Koortbojian 2008, 79.

[548] Their frequency mirrors an increase in the depiction of "Politai" in the regions of central Anatolia in the first and second-centuries AD (Puddu 2011, 102); The presentation of men in the eastern half of the empire in *himation/pallium* and in arm-sling format was more passive than the imperial togate norm in the west, emphasising one's Greek heritage and the association of that individual with the ideal, good citizen (Davies 2018, 263).

[549] The effectiveness of dress (and body type) as an indicator of status enabled individuals to lay claim to a higher status by wearing a type of public dress to which they were not entitled (e.g. non-citizens as citizens, freedmen appearing as equestrians) (Edmondson 2008, 32); In the case of the portrait, imagery *was* reality (Koortbojian 2008, 79).

[550] Motivations behind the template are analogous to portrait figures in the west (Hope 2001, 86); Dress and adornment act as a symbol of a social group and membership to it, creating and maintaining boundaries (Revell 2016, 107); A well-known custom or institution creates both audience and expectations (Goldhill 2010, 52); Traditional clothing formats pronounce an individual's interests and aspirations (Masséglia 2013, 103-104).

[551] For example, within the Kocakizlar Tumulus at Eskisehir (Phrygia) the *dromoi* contain goods (i.e. perfume flasks) for the individual to take with them after death (see Atasoy 1974); For example, mirrors are common finds in elite women's graves (Lee 2015, 166).

[552] I have not included the spindle-and-distaff, basket or comb within this category however, as discussed in section 1, these can designate status within the community and material advantage for some.

domesticated animals (dogs, sheep, and pigs).[553] These are linked to social ideals of the *polis*

citizen (in addition to other themes, i.e. banqueting with religious beliefs) presenting

individuals as having led a leisured lifestyle with the material trappings associated with this

ideal. Further distinctions may be made in instances where attributes are held by figures,

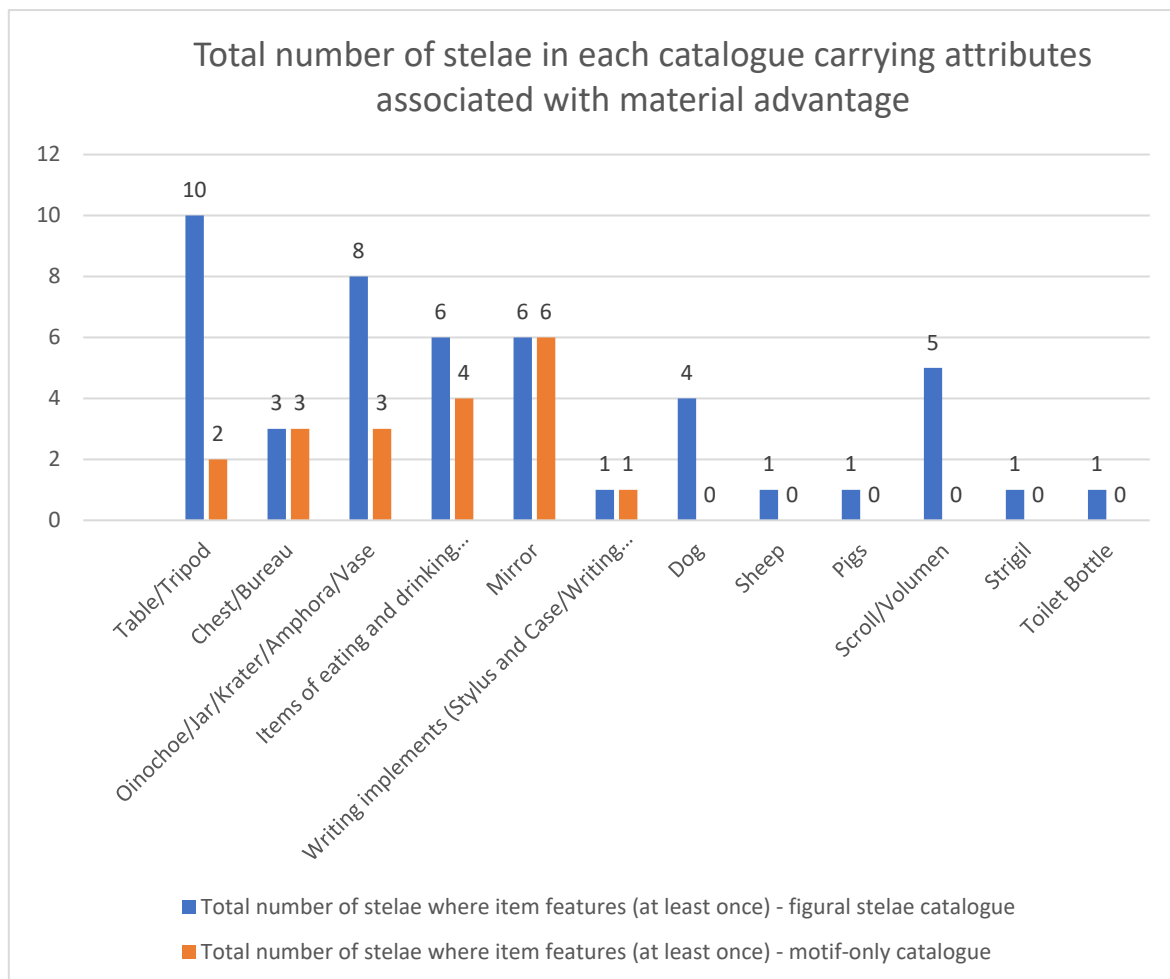such as *volumen* (FS.G.20, FS.PIS.13 and FS.PIS.29), cups (FS.PIS.02-03) or a *strigil* (FS.PIS.04).

Figure C.9: The total number of stelae within each catalogue carrying motifs associated with material advantage.

Likewise, the inclusion of domesticated animals exalted one's status. FS.PIS.02-04 and

FS.PHR.07 feature a dog in relief; on FS.PIS.02 and FS.PHR.07 (both banquet scenes) the

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[553] These items, especially educational, are a frequent component of doorstones (Kelp 2015, 79).

animal has a subordinate role while on FS.PIS.03 and 04 it lifts a paw and interacts with a single male figure. The latter (Figure 3.15) depicts the dog wearing a collar while in the figure's left hand may be a lead. Details like these, and figural interaction, imply these animals may have been favourites of the deceased, included at a patron's request, and could, perhaps, reference the deceased's loyalty; however, their primary role was to demarcate status – the dog was a visual attribute of domestic luxury.[554] Similar interactions with dogs feature on western funerary monuments, such as the Imperial period Altar of Hateria Superba from Italy (Figure 3.16) and Hellenistic stelae from Asia Minor (Figure 3.17). Other animals (not associated with religious connotations) include pigs (FS.PIS.02) and sheep (FS.PHR.08). Their inclusion alludes to both the livelihood of the memorialised and their status, communicating their success and wealth (owning domesticated animals) while linking the memorialised to elite ideals concerned with working the land and subsistence (see section 3).

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Figure 3.15: Portrait with dog, FS.PIS.04, detail. Refer to catalogue.

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[554] Ewald 2015, 398.

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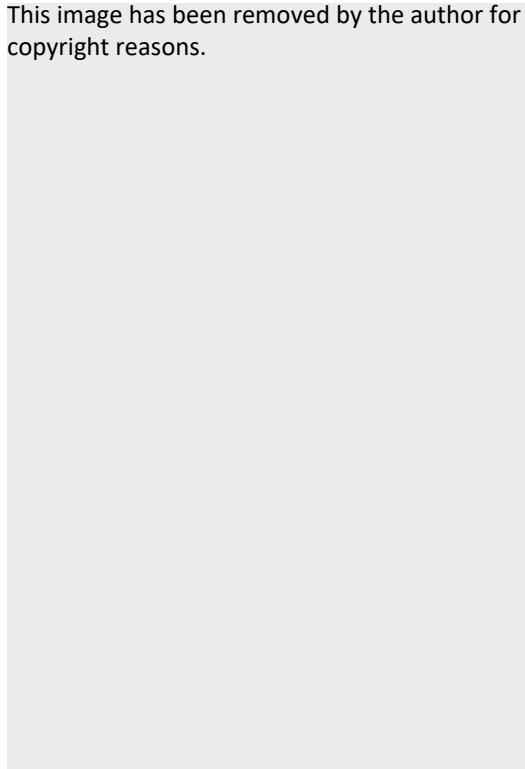
Figure 3.16: Altar of Hateria Superba. Florence. Galleria degli Uffizi. Kleiner 1987, fig. 4.
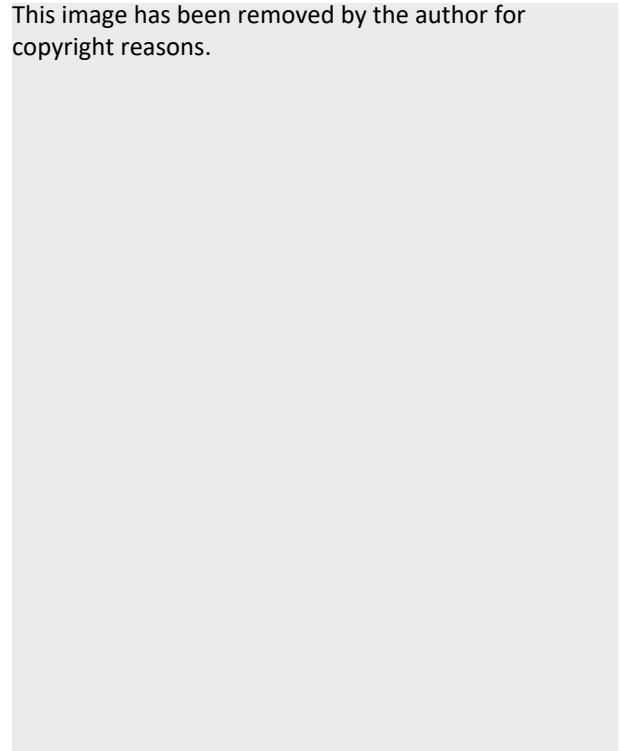
Figure 3.17: Gravestone, Hellenistic period, Izmir, Protestant School; P.-M. no. 392. Courtesy of Deutsches Archaologisches Institut, Berlin. Zanker 1993, Fig. 17.

Excluding spindle-and-distaff (comb and basket) only two gendered motifs for women (mirrors, toilet bottle) are specifically indicative of status, reinforcing social expectations concerning feminine beauty (section 1).[555] A mirror features on 12 stelae[556] (Figures 3.18 and 3.19) and functioned, especially if commissioned by a female patron, as a self-referential component in the performance of a woman's identity – articulating that the memorialised constructed her own appearance in emulation of the ideal matron.[557] Both items are signifiers of the social milieu of the memorialised by gender ideology, with toilet accessories part of an elaborate representational system, rooted in social practice,

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[555] Attributes within the *mundus muliebris* function as representations of items used daily by women, symbolising cultural notions of female presentation (Shumka 2008, 183).

[556] FS.G.03, 15, 39; FS.PHR.08; FS.PIS.20, 24; OS.G.16, 40; OS.PHR.09, 21, 27; OS.PIS.07.

[557] Lee 2015, 167; 'The significance of mirrors for the construction of ideal femininity cannot be overstated': it was a female gender attribute upon Greek vase paintings, grave reliefs, and gemstones (Lee 2015, 165).

reinforcing gender roles and identities.[558] This same social practice presents women of

status, through gender-specific attributes, as main stayers of domestic industry (section 1).

To an extent, this juxtaposition between projecting industry, leisure and status is observable

through male-gendered motifs linked to work (see section 3).[559] Gender-specific attributes

of the ideal, male *polis* citizen are infrequent, and when present showcase the memorialised

as literate and leisured individuals[560]; items include the scroll or *volumen* and writing

implements[561], associated with the education of the good citizen.[562] For example,

OS.PHR.27 (Figure 3.19) includes, among several items, a writing tablet and stylus case

associated with the male individuals named within the inscription.[563]

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Figure 3.18: The mirror motif (among others), FS.G.39, detail. Refer to catalogue.

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[558] Shumka 2008, 186.

[559] The men's corpus of accessories *mirrors* that of Phrygian women in combining both industry *and* leisure (Masséglia 2013, 100); Lee 2015, 166.

[560] Motifs associated with men come from a reduced iconographic repertoire, and include the stylus case, *volumen* and *diptyal* (Levick et al. 1988, xlvix).

[561] Doorstones frequently represent writing utensils (Kelp 2015, 79); Contemporaneous gravestones in Paphlagonia (Northern Asia Minor) feature depictions of writing implements, scrolls, literary production and performance (Mitchell 2010, 106).

[562] Puddu 2011, 102.

[563] Zanker 1993, 216.

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Figure 3.19: Male and female gender-specific attributes in combination, including (6) comb, (7) mirror, (8) writing-tablet, (9) stylus-case, (10) spindle, (11) distaff, OS.PHR.27, detail. Refer to catalogue.

3) Status statements in inscriptions

Funerary epitaphs offered a potential for self-aggrandisement and, although infrequent, examples exist within the catalogue. Variations of *ζῶν* (in his or her lifetime/while living), *ζῶντες* (while they were still alive) etc., with or without additional adjectives – such as on FS.PIS.10: *ἀνέστησεν το μνημει-ον ζών καὶ φρονών ἑαυτῷ* (while patron still alive and of sound mind) – appear on 27 occasions (14% of the catalogue).[564] The majority of these (74%) are from Galatia (see Figure C.10).

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[564] OS.G.09, 14, 20, 29, 37-38; OS.PHR.37; FS.G.01, 05, 07-10, 20-21, 25, 28-29, 31-32, 38; FS.PHR.08; FS.PIS.10, 16, 23, 25, 30.
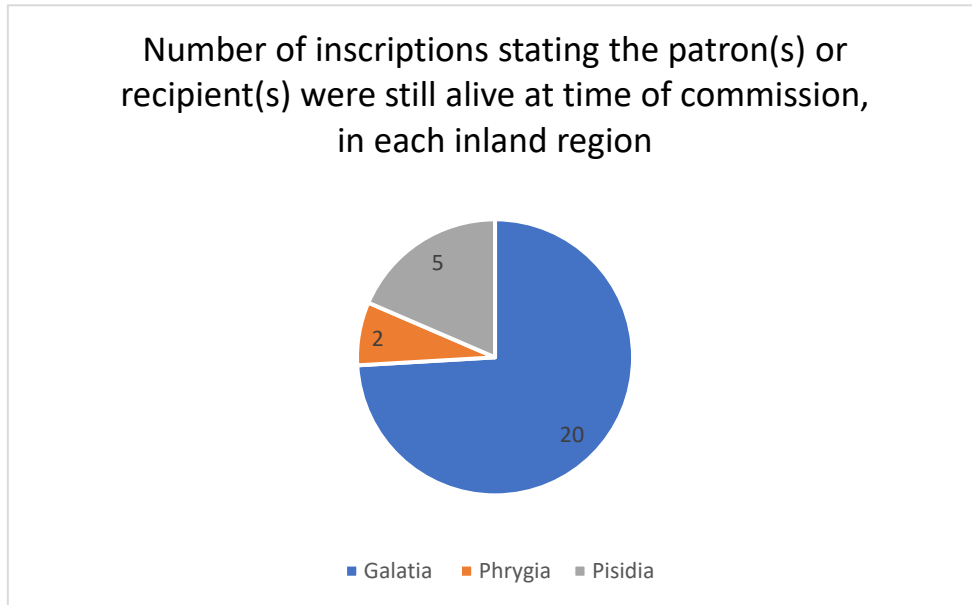
Figure C.10: Number of inscriptions stating the patron(s) or recipient(s) were still alive at time of commission, in each inland region.

Being able to state that patron(s) or recipient(s) were still alive at the time of

purchase/production functioned as a marker of achievement across the inland regions

(especially in Galatia).[565] On FS.G.29, the statement is particularly significant as the patrons

were of servile status. Given slaves generated an identity for themselves relative to social

ideals (chapter 2), the fact the patrons of FS.G.29 utilised value-laden inscriptive formulae

implies such a statement was worth articulating within an epitaph. That only 14% of

inscriptions incorporate such statements suggests individuals instructing stelae specifically

requested them upon order. Given the potential for self-enhancement and the likelihood

many memorials may have been aspirational, I am surprised the number is not greater.

However, this result may reflect that some stelae were commissioned early, with

inscriptions including empty spaces allowing for alteration, similar in fashion to vacancies

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[565] It was a religious duty to have a grave ready during the lifetime of the future occupant (Ramsay 1924, 188).

left for additional portraits or containers within built-tomb monuments.[566] In other

instances examples may have been commissioned on the occasion of a specific death, a

habit frequent in Classical, Hellenistic and Imperial Macedonia.[567] The phrase was therefore

incorporated to represent a reality whereby the monument, or others connected to it, mark

funerary ritual (preparing for death), being undertaken.

OS.G.32 states the occupation of its patron as a means of self-enhancement: a stonecutter

or lithographer. The inclusion of *λιθονργός* was meaningful; this stonecutter advertised the

standard of their workmanship as a means of competition and distinction. The epitaph

celebrates the achievement of the patron in excelling in his craft (both metaphorically and

literally) while serving the function of remembering a friend. OS.G.32 is an exception among

the catalogue by specifically stating an occupation and utilising the funerary sphere as a

showroom. Comparably, self-augmentation masked behind another purpose is evident on

OS.PHR.17 and 19. Both stones are dual-dedications – funerary and votive in the same

instance – to both the patron(s) and to Zeus Bronton.[568] An indirect dedication to a god

appeals to the grave's (and deceased's) guardianship as would supplications on votive

commissions.[569]

Here then, is a sense of self-promotion under the auspices of celebrating Zeus Bronton.

OS.PHR.17's text specifically states dedication on behalf of the patron himself (*ὑπερ*

ἑαυτου) and Zeus Bronton, before closing with εὐχήν (in fulfilment of a vow,) as upon other

votive stelae. OS.PHR.19 uses similar phrasing – *ὑπέρ εαυτων* – to state each patron (there

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[566] Russell considers how purchasing a funerary monument was part of the process of planning for death (Russell 2010, 139); In Macedonia multi-figure funerary stelae were linked to family tombs functioning as markers for members, including those still living (Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2016, 126).

[567] Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2016, 126.

[568] Cameron and Cox 1937, xxxv.

[569] Calder, 1956, xxxiii; Zeus Bronton was the protector of tombs (Cameron and Cox 1937, xliii).

are three) dedicated the stela to themselves and, secondly, to Zeus Bronton.[570] The phrase

τῶν ἰδίων πάντων is noteworthy, suggesting each had their own interpretation of the god.

Other patrons build and dedicate stelae to themselves as a means of marking status. The

commissioners of OS.G.20 and OS.G.38 state their respective stelae were erected for

themselves, whilst still alive (*ζῶν ἐαυ-(vac) τωι* and εαυτω ζων μνί-ας, respectively). The

patrons of FS.PIS.14 also set-up their own stela. Each is deliberately self-aggrandising,

maintaining an individual's name for perpetuity and parading their status and achievement;

self-enhancement is guaranteed by the act of memorialising one's self. Considering the

significance of demonstrating familial ties (chapter 2) and that another individual is named

as recipient upon other singular patron stelae (i.e. a wife on OS.G.03, friend on OS.G.05), it

is surprising no family or friends recorded.[571] Perhaps, OS.G.20, 38 and FS.PIS.14 were part

of a connected funerary monument or were an additional funerary marker (making each

example, furthermore, self-aggrandising).

Section 3. Projecting livelihood – expressing pride in work or social advantage?

FS.PHR.01 (Figure 3.18) combines the articulation of livelihood with the expression of status.

The stela features a portrait figure adorned in civic dress (as a *polis* citizen, section 2),

surrounded by a pruning hook and vine leaves (with grape-bunches) that communicate

profession, pride in honing a skilled craft and the relative status this afforded (see below).[572]

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[570] Haspels 1971, 203; Cameron and Cox 1937, xxxiv.

[571] Their infrequency implies inhabitants of the inland regions were rarely buried alone. For example, the epigraphic record from Termessos (Pisidia) shows most tombs were collective, set up by patrons for themselves and their immediate family (Van Nijf 2010, 171).

[572] Reliefs on doorstones reveal a similar world of craftsmen alongside an awareness of citizen values (Kelp 2013, 80).

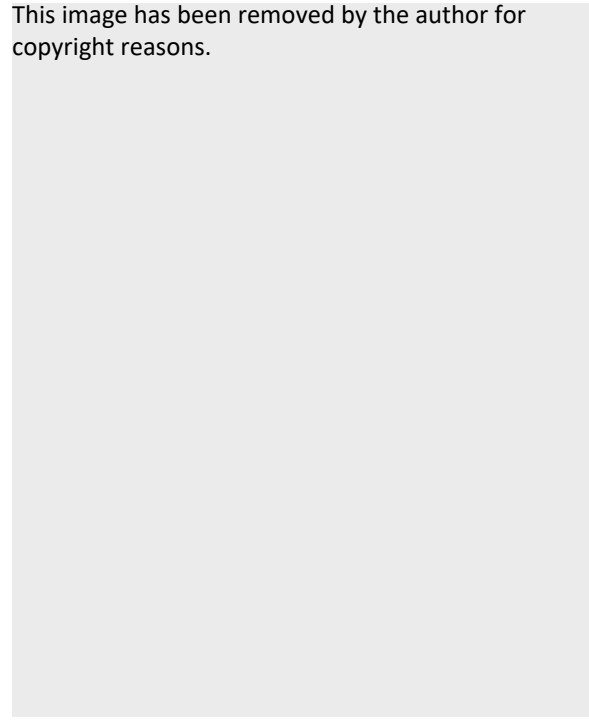This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Figure 3.18: OS.PHR.01. Stela with vine and pruning hook, Yassıviran (Yassıören), Imperial Period. Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 19.

Success in livelihood is linked directly to their lifestyle, and vice-versa; by incorporating a motif of work as an identifier, craft (or pride therein) was important to this inhabitant.[573] Further, conveying involvement in subsistence, land and production may elevate this patron's status (see below).[574] Agency is important when analysing representations of livelihood as the social status and aspirations of patrons were central in determining the typology, style and iconography[575] and, while work is a defining principle on FS.PHR.01, the motivation behind its inclusion is open to enquiry. Perhaps outlining an occupational identity for the deceased was a priority or, are we dealing with actual articulations of work and/or delineating pride in this? Instead, do projections of livelihood convey ideals based

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[573] Perhaps work was important within the established cultural identity(s) across inland Asia Minor and this merged with Greek ideals from the Hellenistic period.

[574] The pre-emanant social value assigned by Phrygians to the world of work – and subsistence production – is indicative of how superficially inhabitants of Phrygia were assimilated into the Roman-value system (Thonemann 2013, 39).

[575] Kampen 1981, 19.

around the concept of working (i.e. agriculture, land ownership and subsistence), with the positive expression of work a means of status expression? To determine the intent behind projections of livelihood in the catalogue, I will analyse two areas of expression linked to work – 1) motifs conveying livelihood/pride in work, or production; 2) statements of profession in text and dress – before comparing these to the representation of work elsewhere in the empire.

1) Motifs conveying livelihood/pride in work

Attributes associated with work feature on 92 occasions and Figures C.11 and C.12 outline their frequency in the catalogue.[576] While more prominent on gravestones with portraits (61 occurrences), the majority (74%) are the spindle-and-distaff and basket motifs and connected with Galatia.[577] Both are, comparably, predominant among the work attributes upon motif-only gravestones (63%) meaning 65 of the 92 examples (71%) are spindle-and-distaff and/or basket attributes. This core of female-gendered items (exemplars of the feminine ideal) further emphasises the importance of industry in the formulation of female identity in the inland regions (outlined in section 1).

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[576] I consider animals such as sheep and pigs as markers of occupation in addition to status makers (see section 2).

[577] 38 instances are present on Galatian stelae.
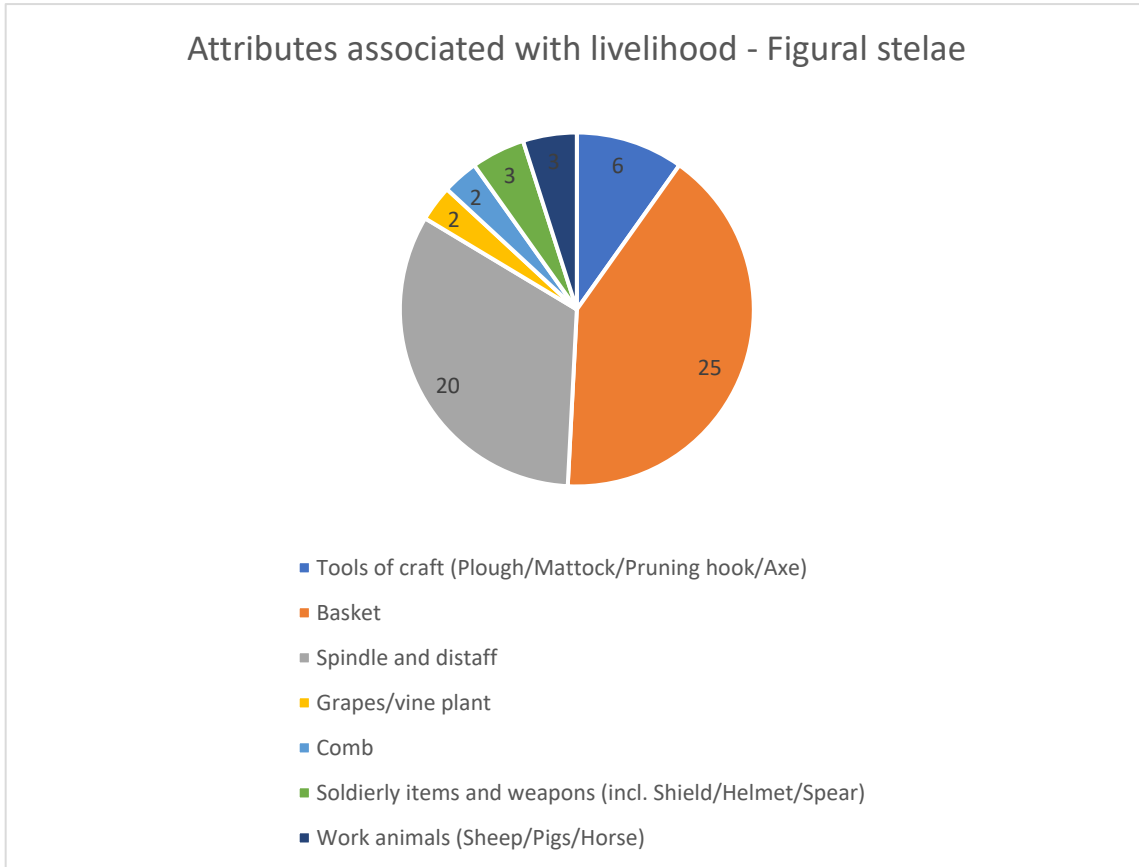
Figure C.11: The total number of instances motifs associated with work feature in the figural stelae catalogue.
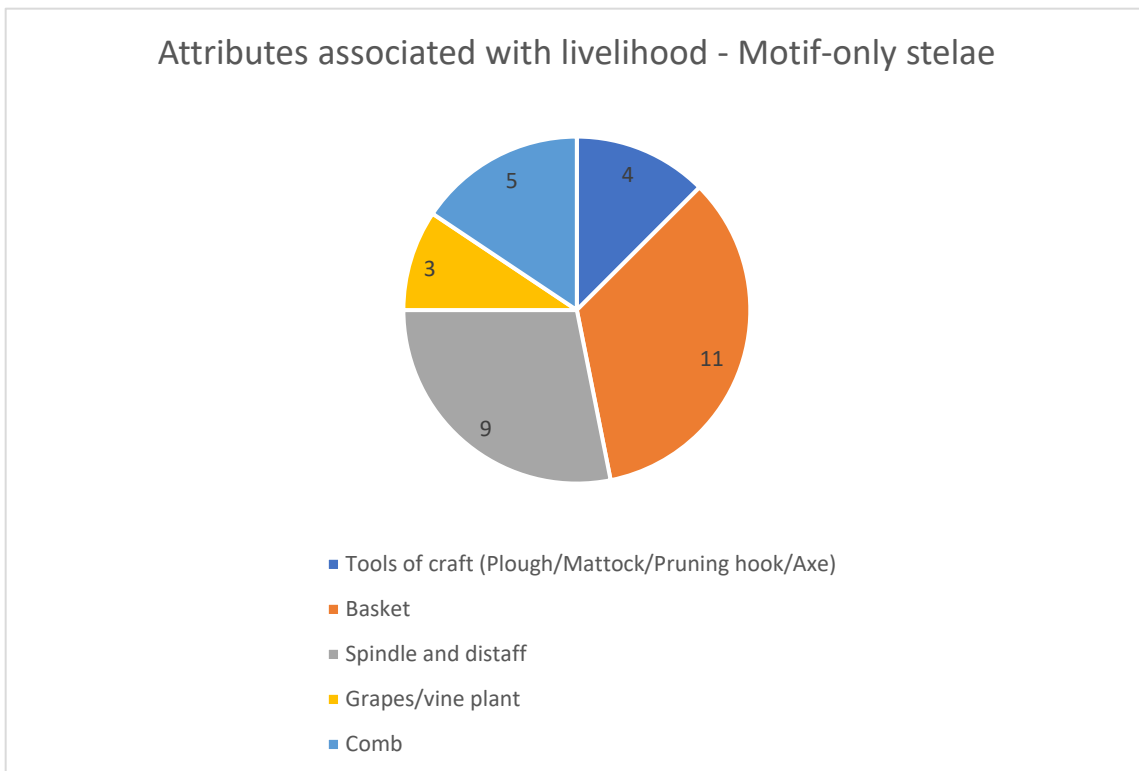
Figure C.12: The total number of instances motifs associated with work feature in the motif-only catalogue.

143

a) Baskets

In the catalogue the basket (krater and grape bunch, discussed below) is a polyvalent attribute directly associated with work and carrying divine connotations.[578] Its appearance, both in relief and incised, is exemplified by Figures 3.19 and 3.20.
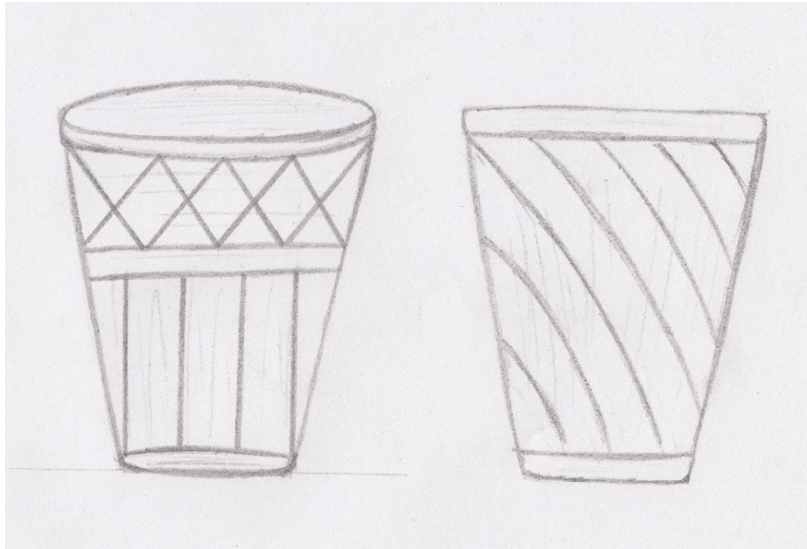

Figure 3.19: Representation of basket motifs in the catalogue. Produced by author.

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Figure 3.20: Basket in relief, OS.PIS.02, detail. Refer to catalogue.

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[578] I acknowledge these attributes also tie into wider implications of enjoyment of the afterlife.

Patrons or recipients of stelae carrying a basket motif were female, with the gender-specific attribute articulating traditional Greek gendered stereotypes.[579] For example, on OS.G.14 the basket represents the industrious mother of the household, celebrating her traditional praiseworthy values.[580] On figural stelae, where the wool-basket is positioned beside female figures (as on Figure 3.21), the message communicated remains consistent – the memorialised as an idealised *polis* citizen representing their livelihood or an ideal thereof (i.e. pastoral farming, production of wool). The basket motif continues associations with status and industry (and wool-working) as identified on the Tombstone of Regina (section 1) and implies aptitude of the memorialised though the application of tools (see below).

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Figure 3.21: Female portrait figure positioned beside a basket motif. FS.G.01, detail. Refer to catalogue.

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[579] A basket symbolised a female burial (Cormack 2004, 84); Kelp 2015, 77; Baskets (and carding combs) on Hellenistic gravestones from the Ionian coast emphasise wool-working to laud female work/industry and demarcate status (Masséglia 2013, 99).

[580] The wool and fruit basket are both a symbol for a female, of perceived gender roles/tasks a wife would undertake in life (Kelp 2015, 77).

Items inside a basket may specify type of work; OS.PHR.06 and 13 could reference fruit production and OS.G.23 pastoral farming (the rearing of birds for subsistence and potentially, sale). More likely, however, the addition of a bird[581] or fruit (a translation of sustenance afforded to a loved one in the next realm) articulate divine connotations.[582] For example, OS.PHR.13 depicts a basket in the pediment containing fruit, likely pomegranates, tying the memorialised into the fate of Persephone and acting as a symbol of fertility and death (protection of the memorialised).[583] OS.PHR.13 supplements evidence of contemporary beliefs in the afterlife among inhabitants of inland Asia Minor (see chapter 4).

b) Tools of craft

The remainder of attributes on Figures C.11 and C.12 are infrequent by comparison, with tools of craft the next most common (10 instances).[584] The representation of the tools of work extols the memorialised for their mastery in profession, in using the implements represented.[585] For example, Figure 3.22 incorporates reliefs of a compass and square of a bed-maker from Asia Minor, to celebrate their ability in craft rather than merely identifying occupation.[586]

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[581] Birds (e.g. peacocks) symbolise apotheosis for women (Haarløv 1977, 55).

[582] The fruit basket was the most frequent motif on Aezani gravestones for females (Levick et al. 1988, xlvix).

[583] Levick et al. 1988, xlvix; Pomegranates have a funerary significance and bridal connotations on account of the myth of Persephone (Lee 2015, 147); Pomegranates are a common on women's tombstones at Aezani (Levick et al. 1988, no. 87).

[584] In the funerary monuments of Aquileia, Mainz, and Nimes the number of monuments making inferences about employment (either in text or sculpture) was small (Hope 2001, 55).

[585] Most of Roman society was aware of the specificity of tradespeople, their knowledge and mastery, and what distinguished them from one another (Tran 2011, 122); Many gravestones portray instruments of work, both in the field and at home (Mclean 2002a, xiii).

[586] Tran 2011, 124.

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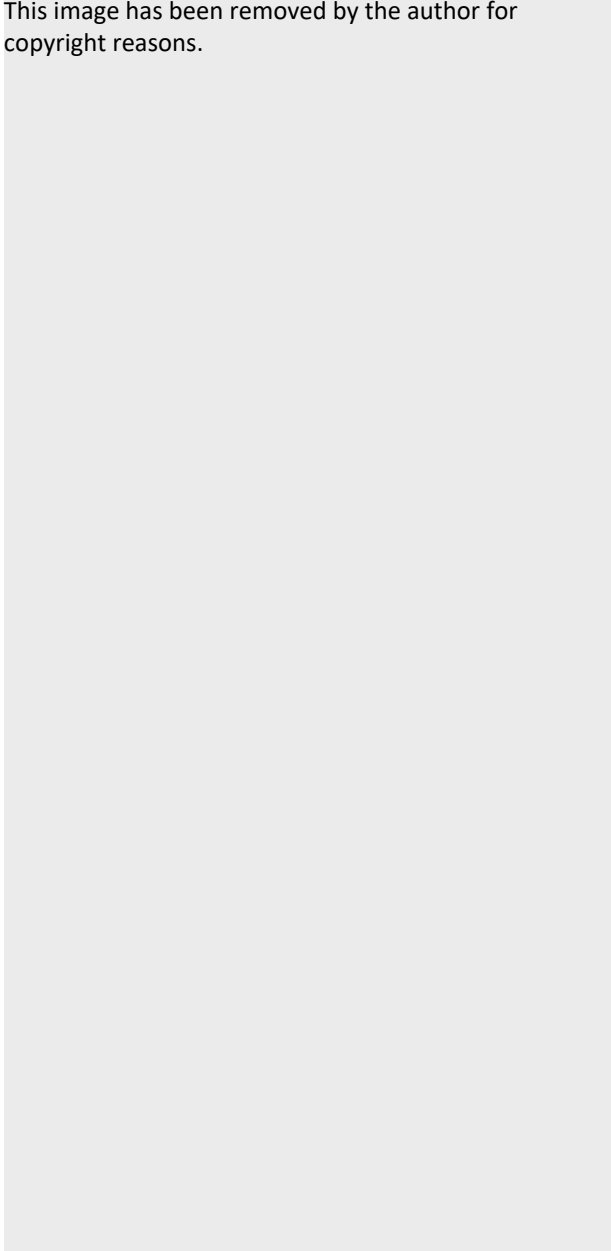
Figure 3.22: Funerary stela of a bed maker, unknown provenance. Louvre Museum. Tran 2011, Fig. 72.

Within the catalogue tools are depicted without any reference to work in accompanying inscriptions meaning a motif was enough to communicate a craftsman's ability.[587]

Furthermore, markers used were not exclusive to stelae and the same visual repertoire

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[587] This is comparable to Hope's study (Hope 2001, 54).

features on altars and doorstones from the inland regions.[588] A plough tied to oxen features on OS.G.02 and OS.G.40 (like Figure 3.23) referencing (divine associations aside) the profession undertaken by the memorialised (and their family)[589], or a relationship with land/land ownership. For example, on OS.G.02 this attribute implies engagement in agriculture, potentially land cultivation in ancient Ancyra's immediate neighbourhood.[590] OS.G.40 from Canimana (due south of Ancyra, connected by a highway) supports this hypothesis, with an ox-team attribute depicted (among others).
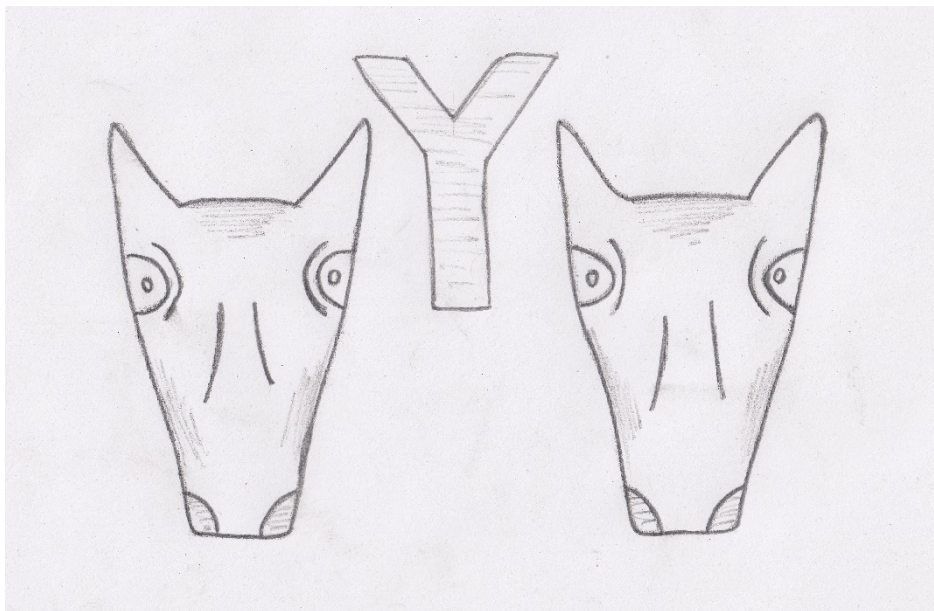
Figure 3.23: Representation of the ox-head with plough motif. Produced by author.

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[588] Kelp 2013, 80; Mclean 2002a, xiii.

[589] A plough and oxen signify agricultural livelihood in the same manner that a plough in relief identifies the deceased as a farmer (Haspels 1971, 187).

[590] French and Mitchell 2012, 441.
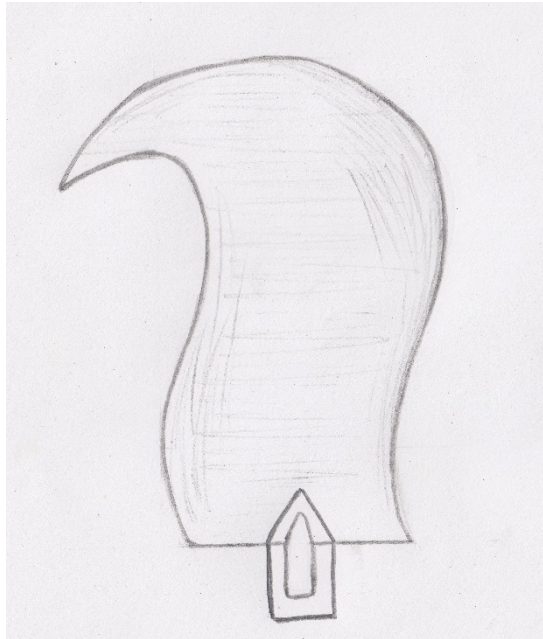
Figure 3.24: Representation of the pruning hook motif. Produced by author.

Two figural stelae from Galatia also reference land working through incised attributes, a plough left of the male figure on FS.G.01 (Figure 3.21) and a mattock and plough on FS.G.42. FS.PIS.24 includes a mattock and a pruning hook to associate the memorialised with viticulture. Pruning hooks (Figure 3.24) are also represented on FS.PHR.01 (discussed above), FS.PIS.23 and 28, OS.G.04 (with a hammer) and 26, and OS.PIS.07 – demonstrating the projection of excellence in viticulture in each inland region.[591] An axe and keys feature among other items upon OS.G.05 (Figure 3.25) to designate the memorialised as a blacksmith.[592] While being markers of livelihood, these attributes are indicative of the aptitude of the memorialised and their resultant pride in this work. These may have also acted as status markers, implying the memorialised (and their family) owned or operated

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[591] Farmers in inland Asia Minor depicted themselves with or by their agricultural equipment (Zanker 2010, 174. See Fig. 106).

[592] A blacksmith was represented by a hammer, pliers, and anvil; a hammer could also represent quarry work about the Tembris Valley area and would be accompanied by a chisel and pickaxe (Kelp 2015, 78).

privately owned estates.[593] The inclusion of pruning hooks therefore denotes subsistence in production and land ownership.[594] Likewise, the two ox-heads and plough attribute on OS.G.02, dedicated to a daughter, may in fact, be status markers. Pride in the family's occupation is being expressed[595] but, additionally, these motifs symbolise the dowry this daughter would have received in life. Here motif use matches function – a funerary monument to console the living – prospectively representing the daughter following an ideal path into adulthood and marriage.
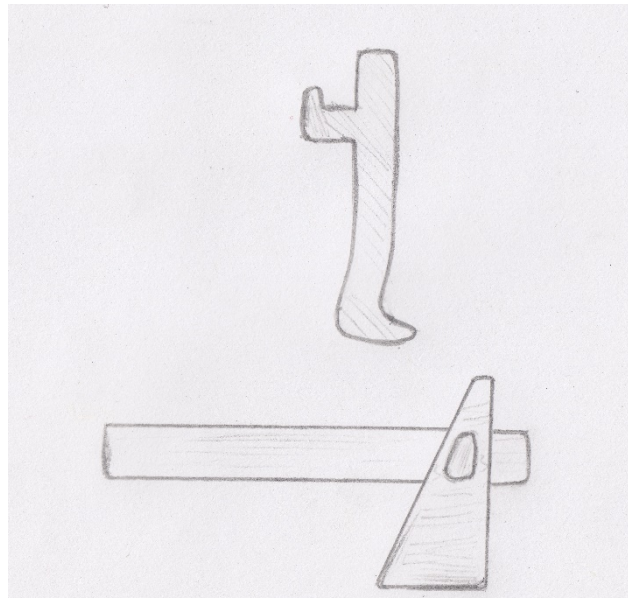
Figure 3.25: Representation of the axe and keys motif.
Produced by author.

Perhaps, the infrequent inclusion of attributes of work reflects stelae from more isolated areas of the inland regions – with focus on livelihood a result of reduced networking and connectivity. However, it seems more feasible for these motifs to fit into larger narratives of

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[593] About Arlon (northern Gaul) many villas have been discovered and monuments carrying scenes of work and portraits, with figures holding attributes such as the bill hook (associated with vineyards), tie status to family-owned estates (Rothe 2013, 253).

[594] The pruning-hook/sickle/*falx vinitoria* is a marker of agricultural economy and viticulture (Kelp 2015, 78).

[595] Pride in occupation, across generations (see inscription).

the Roman world, where one's status was enhanced in relation to production, land and occupation.[596] Land ownership was a distinction and self-sufficiency an idealised lifestyle among the social elite in Rome: farming a 'highly respected' livelihood.[597] Inhabitants memorialised through motifs of craft also parade the virtues of pastoral life, associating themselves with these wider contemporary contexts. Rather than merely formulating an occupational identity for the deceased, tools of self-sufficient production functioned as status markers (tied to mastery of craft and connotations of land ownership).

c) Krater and grape bunch
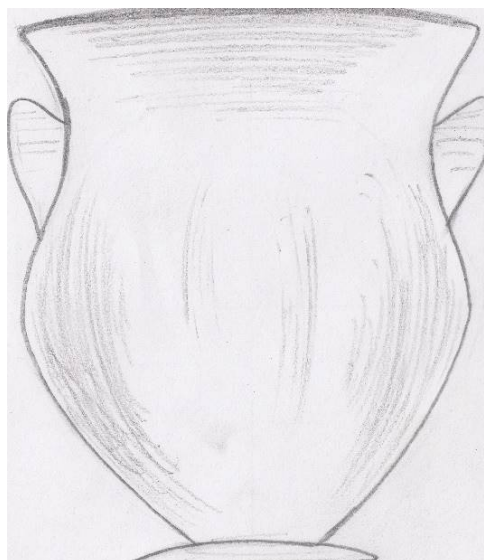
Figure 3.26: Representation of the krater motif. Produced by author.
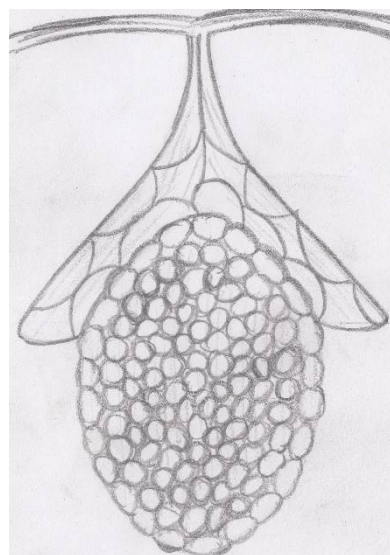
Figure 3.27: Representation of the grape-bunch motif. Produced by author.

Attributes associated with production relate to livelihood. Two examples are the krater upon the field of OS.G.21, and the grape-bunch on OS.PHR.22 (like Figures 3.26 and 3.27).[598]

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[596] Land ownership was safe, conferred prestige, and associated its possessors with the moral foundations of Roman greatness (Rosenstein 2008, 1).

[597] Ancestors praising men as 'good husbandman, good farmer' was 'the greatest commendation' (Cato the Elder, *De Agricultura*. praef. 2-4); Varro, *De Re Rustica*. 3.4.

[598] Similarly, the ivy-leaf and formalised shoot may be a more discrete signifier of work. Ivy-leaves feature on OS.G.40 and 41, OS.PHR.10 and OS.PIS.10 and 11; a formalised shoot features on OS.PHR.23. These may be decorative patterns used to fill the field or pediment – ivy-leaves and tendrils frequently decorate acroteria and top pediments in the catalogue; Grape vines are an ornamental feature but represent agricultural activity

Both are markers of wine consumption/production[599], providing further evidence of viticulture across the inland regions (see above). Again, conveying status is significant, presenting the memorialised as possessing the necessary means to enable a life of leisure. It *is* plausible the motif articulated divine beliefs, associated with Dionysian revelry – the recipient of the OS.G.21 is named Dionysus. Maybe the deceased worshipped, or was indirectly honouring, a chthonic Dionysus, likely a localised amalgamation of the deity.[600] The grape-bunch in the pediment of OS.PHR.22 may represent the blessings a god is asked to bestow, or has bestowed, as upon votive stelae.[601] Figures 3.28 through 3.30 are bequests to deities carrying both these motifs on contemporary votive stelae, altars and doorstones from the inland regions. Presumably – sadly, the epitaph is lost – the patron of OS.PHR.22 was seeking a bounteous harvest. Communication between both living and the dead is suggested as both attributes mark offerings of libation to the deceased as part of funerary ritual.

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Figure 3.28: Greyish marble stela with krater on field, detail, Kuyucak, Imperial period. Mama 1937, no. 184.

when depicted with the *falx vinitoria* (Kelp 2015, 78); Although a decorative motif, a vine represented in a pediment may reflect the deceased's agricultural activity (Paz de Hoz, 2007, 122).

[599] Vines decorating the uprights of the stelae frame and as motifs reference viticulture, being shorthand for the "good life" (wine was at its centre) (Masséglia 2013, 110); Paz de Hoz, 2007, 122.

[600] The grape cluster was a motif related to the cult of the dead (Durukan 2005, 116).

[601] Cameron and Cox 1937, 42.

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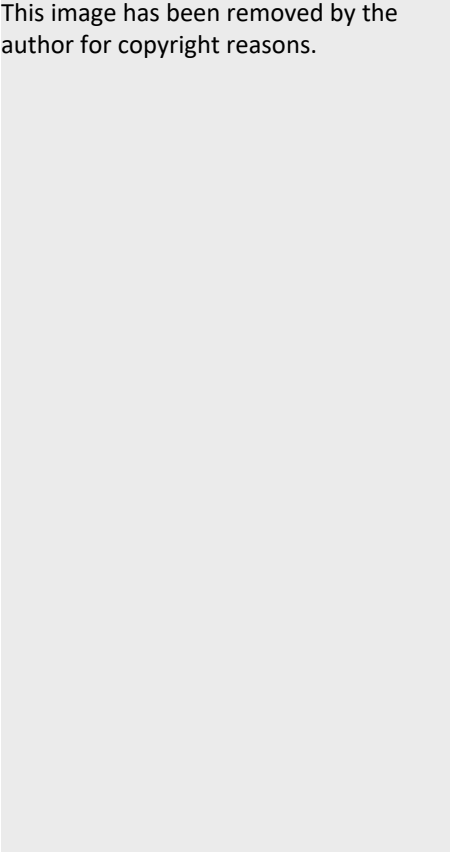
Figure 3.29: Altar of chalky limestone with krater on shaft, Midas City, second-third century AD. Mama 1939, Vol. VI. no. 390.

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Figure 3.30: Possible triple doorstone with Ionic columns and volutid capitals, Eskisehir, Imperial Period. Mama V. no. 48.

2) Statements of profession in text and image

Figure 3.31: Portrait figure of a herdsman, FS.PHR.09. Refer to catalogue.

Specific statements of profession are generally infrequent in texts and figural portraits.[602]

OS.G.32 (discussed in section 2) commemorates a stonecutter/lithographer with the

monument a demonstration of their skillset, the epitaph of OS.PIS.01 memorialises a

shepherd (ποιμην) (chapter 4): similarly, a shepherd is memorialised in figural relief on

FS.PHR.09. A peasant coat covers the figure's entire body with a self-supporting peak hood

(Figure 3.31), defining this male inhabitant through an occupational identity (a

shepherd/herdsmen).[603] Sculpture plays significant part in generating an identity for the

memorialised, particularly when epitaphs are absent of details or in poor preservation like

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[602] Dress communicated profession in the same manner a police officer's uniform announces a person's professional identity (in modern society) and is understood by others (Lee 2015, 24).

[603] A representation of an ancient antecedent of the thick, felt *Kepenek* - traditional clothing of Turkish herdsmen: such dress was proudly represented as a social indicator (Masséglia 2013, 112); In Phrygia, shepherds in a hooded coat are rare in grave reliefs but frequent upon votive reliefs (Kelp 2015, 78).

FS.PHR.09.[604] Aside from this instance, depictions of farmers are rare and more subtle

within the catalogue, perhaps to be expected given there are no Hellenistic precedents for

manual labour by men.[605] Tools are held by or positioned beside figures to link to profession

and are (as above) statements of mastery in craft. FS.PIS.23 depicts a male figure in shorter

chiton and *himation*, grasping a sickle, while FS.PIS.28 depicts a figure in long *himation*

holding a tool reminiscent of a sickle.[606] This communicates pride in farming (individually, or

involvement within the farming community) and may offer a more nuanced suggestion

towards a deceased male's occupation – as a status marker this distinguishes the

memorialised by conveying an idealised existence (i.e. villa lifestyle) as perceived by the

elite.[607]

A soldier is recorded in 3 instances in the catalogue, revealing that stonemasons of inland

Asia Minor supplied a predominantly civilian (rather than military) population.[608] Equally,

this suggests reduced military activity in the inland regions or subscription from elsewhere

in the empire as, presumably, for soldiers – active or retired – the army provided a stela (like

OS.G.31) at home.[609] Private commissions, possibly abroad, focused on civic lifestyle in line

with social expectations (this may explain the reduced number of military stelae). OS.G.31

stands out amongst the catalogue based on its Latin text and military service defines this

individual: their identity is solely an occupational one. FS.PIS.21 also characterises a family

member as a soldier (Figure 3.32) – this time in Greek (στρατιώτην) – accompanied by a

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[604] Hope 2001, 54; See Zanker 2010, 174. Fig. 106.

[605] Masséglia 2013, 101.

[606] Farmers in inner Anatolia chose to be depicted with their agricultural equipment (Zanker 2010, 174).

[607] Reference to tools and values of agricultural/pastoral labour appear upon even the most lavish Phrygian funerary monuments (Thonemann 2013, 38).

[608] Just as the pre-domination of military stelae at Mainz in the early Imperial period implies a military population about the site (Hope 2001, 46).

[609] Stela predominated along the Rhine frontier during the first-century AD stelae and were the preferred monument of the army (Hope 2001, 48).

portrait in full military attire. It depicts a Pisidian soldier[610] in iconographic dress: including

boots, a short tunic, and a sword (or knife). Emphasis on promoting livelihood (in both text

and portrait) suggests this stela may be prospective, consoling the family by representing

the deceased in an ideal role they could have attained in life (chapter 2). This is not a

military gravestone like OS.G.31 however, in addition to celebrating familial bonds, its male

recipient is also identified and defined by profession and attributed the status benefits

attached to it (as an ideal).

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Figure 3.32: Figure in soldierly attire, FS.PIS.21, detail. Refer to catalogue.

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[610] The indigenous nomenclature of the memorialised and lack of other, similar figural representations suggest this Pisidian inhabitant was drafted into the Roman army in the first two centuries AD.

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Figure 3.33: Figure holding a vitis. FS.G.04, detail. Refer to catalogue.

FS.G.04 also names (and symbolises) a soldier. The patron asserts their citizen status

through the *tria nomina* (an additional visual marker) – Gaius Kalpournios Sergios – and

records profession and familial connections. To enable the viewer to identify Sergios within

the relief, the figure (in civic dress, unlike FS.PIS.21) holds a *vitis*, marking his centurion rank

(see Figure 3.33).[611] This, and the designation of the patron as a Roman citizen, is

demonstrative of Sergios' completion of military service, although no phrasing states he was

a veteran. On OS.PIS.03 meanwhile, the term *οὐετρα(νός)* demonstrates the patron had

competed their military service; specifying the patron as a veteran from Dacia is central to

the identity projected.[612] Curiously, a *tria nomina* does not feature in the text (a status

marker of completed military service, as on FS.G.04) though the patron's names are Roman.

Being an actively serving soldier or achieving an honourable discharge were deemed

privileges – for example, many veterans inscribed *missus honesta missione* with pride[613] –

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[611] Calder 1956, 14.
[612] Calder and Cormack 1962, 32.
[613] Honourable discharge also brought tax exemptions, legal privileges and a cash or land award, according to rank and branch of service (Spiedal 1983, 282).

and similarly, both examples distinguish individuals in terms of their professional identity and status.

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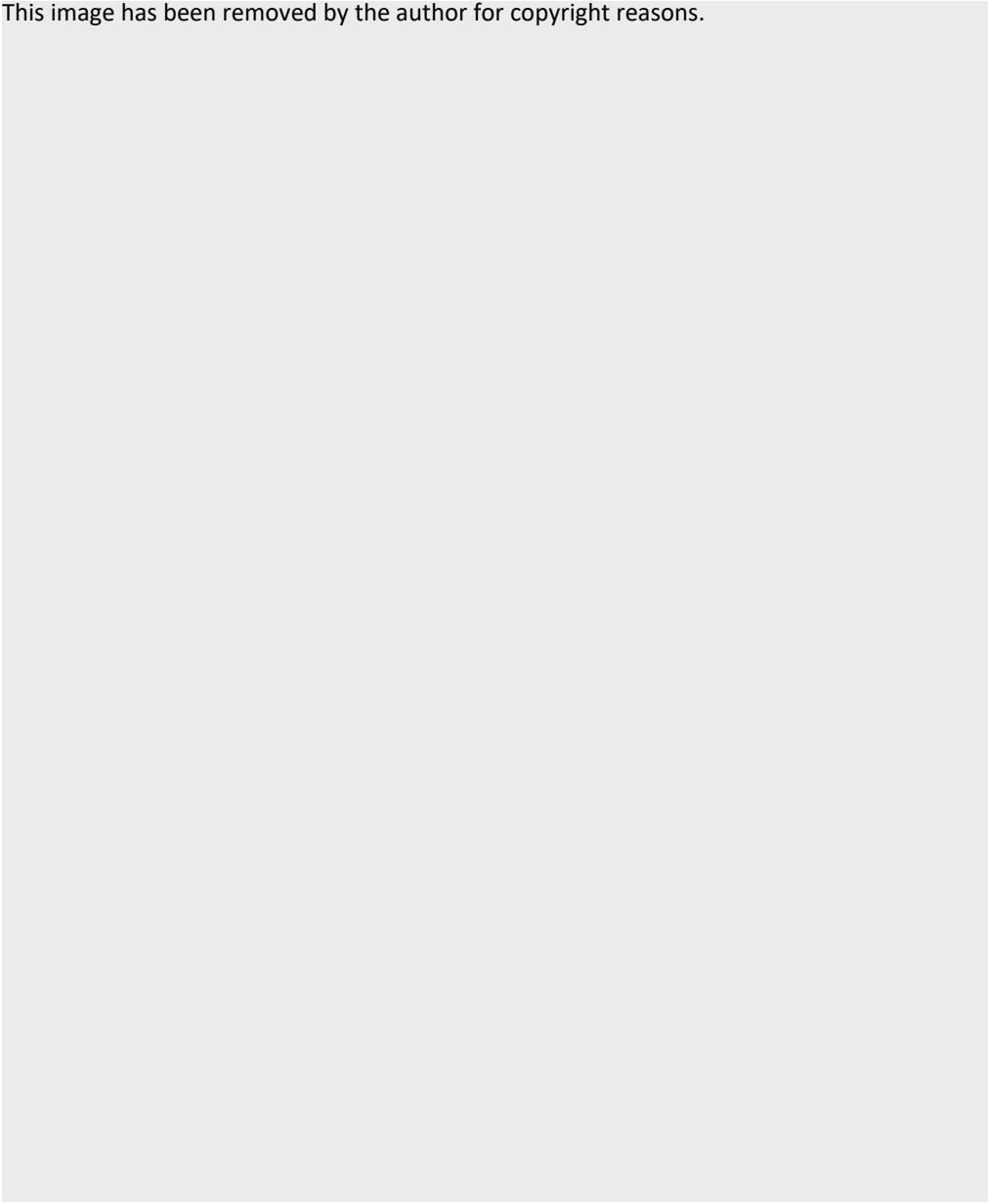
Figure 3.34: FS.PIS.08. Eridanos stela, now in the Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 19.10.81., 1st Century A.D. Horsley 2007, no. 213. Pl. 182.

Another profession recorded in the catalogue is a gladiator. FS.PIS. 08 (Figure 3.34) depicts a *provocator,*[614] a single full figure in static pose, with distinctive armour and weaponry (see

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[614] FS.PIS.06, described by Buckler as representing a gladiator, is ambiguous and more likely represents a deity on a votive stela (Buckler et. al. 1933, no. 30).

catalogue description).[615] Pictures of gladiatorial weapons and figures were easily

interpreted symbols allowing viewers, whatever their level of literacy, to recognise a

gladiatorial tombstone. The contemporary viewer would identify Eridanos by his

distinguishing skillset as a *provocator* (distinguishing him from other gladiators) despite the

monument's small dimensions.[616] The text is short and, like the image, standardised; stating

name and number of victories.[617] Analogously to soldiers (although within a different social

context) occupation, and the specifics of this, formulates the gladiator's identity.[618]

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Figure 3.35: Gladiator marble altar, Cavdarhisar, Imperial Period. Mama IX, no. 120.

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[615] On tombstones gladiators are generally portrayed in this manner; in contrast, depictions of gladiators on mosaic floors represent them in the act of combat (Hope 2000, 106).

[616] Hope 2000, 107.

[617] Gladiatorial epitaphs were short, formulaic, and focused on career – name, fighting skill, age and commemorator could be included to designate the individual's fighting skills and their identity (Hope 2000, 100-101).

[618] In environments oriented around shared experience rather than blood ties, the exact nature of one's occupation differentiated one person from another (Hope 2000, 108).

FS.PIS.08 is like another contemporary Pisidian funerary representation depicting a gladiator (Figure 3.35). The item to the right of this altar from Cavdarhisar may be a wreath/crown referencing victory in the arena.[619] Both FS.PIS.08 and Figure 3.35 are significant, evidence that gladiatorial *spectacula* took place (or gladiatorial *ludi* were initiated) within north-western and central Pisidia[620], and that gladiators could achieve burial in the region.[621] Indirectly, they also signify the celebration of imperial cult during the first-century AD in the area.[622] FS.PIS.08 (dating early first-century AD) supports an assertion that diffusion of the cult of Augustus within north-western Pisidia, during the Principate, occurred quickly.[623] As a rare, direct import (I use the phrase cautiously) *spectacula* were a means through which the Roman west connected with those in the provinces.[624] Gladiatorial *spectacula* were a rare phenomenon, insomuch as the apparent acceptance, adoption and amalgamation of the Roman institution into (according to the evidence here) Pisidian society.[625] Should games have been held about both find sites, it implies Hacieyüplü and the Burdur region were urbanised areas during the first-century AD, capable of hosting games.

Indeed, both sites hold favourable positions; Hacieyüplü situated beside the River *Lycus* on a major highway from Caria, connecting to Apamea on the Pisidian-Phrygian border; Burdur

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[619] Both motifs were common decorative elements on gladiatorial tombstones in the eastern Empire (Hope 2000, 105).

[620] Both funerary monuments may be linked to a burial *collegia* associated with an amphitheatre – at Salona, a group of funerary urns inscribed with gladiatorial epitaphs was found west of the amphitheatre, while four gladiatorial tombstones were unearthed south of an amphitheatre at Nemausus (Nimes) (Hope 2000, 99-100).

[621] Informally recognised associations, uniting gladiators in life and death (*collegia* or their equivalent) could give a gladiator a sense of identity and a burial (Hope 2000, 99).

[622] Based on the close link between gladiatorial games and the cult of the Sebastoi (Horsley 2007, 130).

[623] The imperial cult spread rapidly across Asia Minor; for example, in Paphlagonia in 3 BC, oaths of loyalty were administered to Augustus' family in Sebasteia across the region (Mitchell 1993, 100; see page 102); Bekker-Neilsen 2014, fig.3; the Neapolis oath.

[624] Gladiatorial games became, like (and alongside) emperor cults, a principal means for new settlers to establish their identity and maintain Roman origins in a Greek environment (Mitchell 1993, 103).

[625] Acceptance was not a display of allegiance, instead inhabitants used the cult, and subsequent games, to come to terms with and accept a new political phenomenon (Mitchell 1993, 103).

close to the *Via Sebaste* – a main highway connecting Col. Antioch (south-eastern Phrygia) to Apollonia and Komama (*Col. Iulia Augusta Prima Fida*).[626] Furthermore, evidence of spectacula has been attested in the immediate area of both sites. A Roman stadium existed at Laodicea (Hacieyüplü)[627], meanwhile at Sagalassos (close to Burdur), remains of a large theatre, stadium, Roman Baths, and a Nymphaeum[628] have been discovered.[629] In addition, gladiatorial shows and horse racing at a hippodrome took place at Aezani (Phrygia) in the Imperial period.[630]

Finally, two gravestones commemorate individuals bearing priesthoods, celebrating their civic position/status within contemporary society. FS.PIS.11's inscription possesses a dual-function. The first concerns succession of the priesthood, formulated in the guise of a votive or public inscription: naming the position (ἱερατείαν), the role of Trokondas as priest (ἱερέα), how his forebears maintained the cult of Artemis Ephesia and, lastly, celebrating the accession of his daughter to priestess. The second, tagged onto the end, is as a funerary epitaph, dedicating the stela to a mother and grandfather. Its portrait supports the inscription, representing a sacrifice scene (see chapter 4). The inscription on OS.G.43 includes equivalent terminology, labelling a mother and father as priest and priestess, respectively. However, unlike FS.PIS.11, the cult associated with the position is not named. For this to be a statement of civic attainment (i.e. accession to priesthoods) an actual title, or the cult itself, must be recorded. Perhaps, both individuals were memorialised elsewhere (in a votive/public inscription associated with the cult) however, more likely, terminology

---

[626] Many early amphitheatres constructed in Italy and the provinces were associated with veteran settlements or active garrisons (Hope 2000, 110).

[627] Laodicea had a Roman stadium to host spectacula, inscriptions from Laodicea naming it: τὸ στάδιον ἀμφιθέατρον (Welch 1998, 563).

[628] Poblome and Waelkens 2003, 181.

[629] Talloen and Waelkens 2004, 182-183.

[630] Levick et. al. 1988, xxv.

such as *ἱερει* and *ἱερίσση* operated as expressions of endearment. Similarly, on OS.G.18 the

deceased is described as *τον φιλόσοφον και πάση άρετη κεκοσμημένον* (the philosopher

adorned with every virtue), connecting the memorialised to values associated with the

philosopher ideal and not stating a specifically attained civic position.

Dress and statements in text define occupational groups.[631] Identity, and especially gender

identity, is constructed in the context of social rituals but emphasises the dialectical

relationship between individual display and the social aspirations of the group; specific

definition of profession in the above examples distinguishes the memorialised within their

social milieu.[632] Soldiers and gladiators are defined by an occupational identity whereas the

stonemason, farmers and priests/priestesses offer a form of distinction in socially

competitive display.

3) The representation of work across the empire

Representations of work and the demonstration of pride in occupation is displayed more

explicitly elsewhere in the Roman world. The reliefs, shop decorations and provincial

funerary monuments detailed below memorialise people proud of their work and the

prestige it brought them within the confines of their social milieu.[633] For example, the late

Republican funerary monument of the freedman Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces[634] emphasises

the patron's pride in his fortune made from honest work; defining success relative to his

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[631] Edmondson and Keith 2008, 4.
[632] Lee 2015, 24.
[633] Kampen 1981, 131; Excellence, and not the profession itself, justified the mention (or depiction) of the profession (Veyne 2000, 1183. Cited by Tran 2011, 122).
[634] Another public and private monument made for a prosperous mercantile and decurion population is the first-century BC Poplicola monument from Ostia (Kampen 1981, 78).

peers and the limitations of his social standing.[635] It proudly displays in explicit detail the

processes of bread making – the kneading of dough and baking of bread – overseen by

Eurysaces in a toga (Figure 3.36).[636]

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Figure 3.36: Monument of Eurysaces, north frieze, Rome, first-century BC. Petersen 2006, Figure 52.

First-century AD representations of work are more explicit in presenting the connection

between the deceased and their work, unmediated by issues of status and authority.[637] The

altar of Atimetus from Rome showcases metalworking; the right side of the altar (Figure

3.37) depicts the fruits of such labour (knives and tools), the left (Figure 3.38), depicts

labour being undertaken – two men at an anvil, their tools hanging behind them. Products

are displayed with pride in an open, full cupboard as part of a sale scene between a togatus

---

[635] The use of reliefs and the grandeur of the monument allowed Eurysaces to celebrate his 'victory over slavery and poverty' (Favro 1996, 94).

[636] Eurysaces unequivocally articulates his engagement with industry, albeit adhering to Roman elite attitudes in his position of authority over the work of others (George 2006, 23-24).

[637] George 2006, 26.

and a man in a tunica.[638] A similar scene, upon a funerary monument from Aquileia (Figure 3.39) depicts the deceased at work, as a master of their craft, with their tools of labour exemplified (right). Including both tools of work and detailing specific manufacturing activities is significant in demonstrating the craftsman's mastery and implementation of specialised knowledge. Their pride is not in their work in general but in the distinction their advanced technical expertise gave them among their peers.[639] Vending scenes like these functioned as a standard visual reference to work in the Imperial period, flattering both client and shop owner and presenting work and industry in the best light (see also Figure 3.40).[640]

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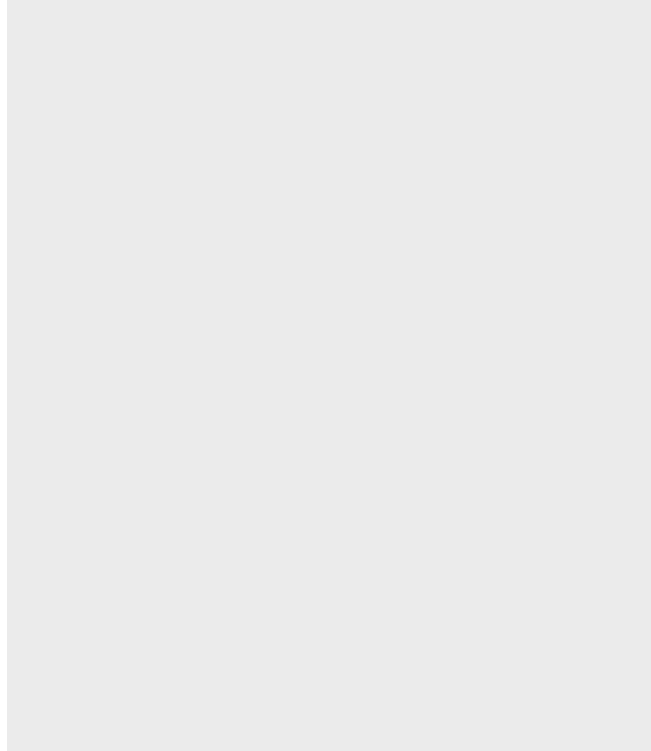
Figure 3.37: Altar of Atimetus, right side, Rome, in the Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, first-century AD. Kampen 1981, Fig. 32.
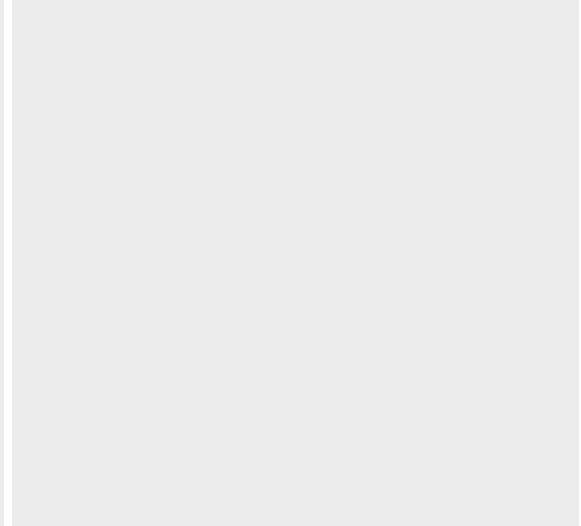
Figure 3.38: Altar of Atimetus, left side, Rome, in the Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, first-century AD. Kampen 1981, Fig. 33.

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[638] Kampen 1981, 78.
[639] Tran 2011, 121-122.
[640] George 2006, 24-25.

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Figure 3.39: Funerary stela of a blacksmith. Aquileia, Museo Nazionale. Tran 2011, Fig. 74.

Figure 3.40 is a shop sign from Ostia dating to the second-century AD. It depicts, in a literal manner, a female *negotiatrix* in the process of selling poultry and vegetables and wearing a *tunica*.[641] The direct representation of work is in line with its function – quickly communicating to a potential customer the purpose of the establishment – through repeated elements immediately recognisable to a contemporary viewer.[642] Pride in work is linked to successful enterprise here, with the display full and the stall busy and a purchaser (left of the scene), in more formal attire.[643]

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[641] Neutral clothing – a *tunica* without a *palla/*mantle – appears mainly on slaves or shopkeepers (Kampen 1981, 64).

[642] Standard motifs, formal compositions and gestures are combined with elements of unique and localising details (Kampen 1981, 63).

[643] Vending scenes were popular, representing success in trade/manufacturing to social peers of the deceased in their immediate region; this audience was unlikely to have included elite individuals (George 2006, 28).

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Figure 3.40: Relief of a poultry vendor on a shop sign, Ostia, in Museo Ostiense Inv. 134, late second century AD. Kampen 1981, Fig. 28.

Representations of men at work on stelae are widespread from most of northern Italy and Gaul in the Imperial period.[644] The late first/early second-century AD stela of the Longidieni of Classis (Figure 3.41), from Ravenna, reflects many north Italian pieces, with text stating occupation and a literal portrait representing the individual at their work.[645] Stelae from Metz, Reims and Sens differ by including a literal relief of work but rarely combining this with occupational statements in inscriptions.[646] Occupational identity defined individuals (rather than legal distinctions) at the Isola Sacra Necropolis (Ostia) where many working men and women were buried in modest chamber tombs, decorated with small images of work.[647]

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[644] Kampen 1981, 94; Women are frequently shown on stelae from the same areas and time periods however, the types most common for their representation are portraits with attributes and not scenes of work (Kampen 1981, 95); Outside of Italy, memorials featuring work are most frequent in the north-western provinces (George 2006, 28).

[645] *Faber Navalis* is stated in the text and the relief depicts an individual crafting a ship (Kampen 1981, 95).

[646] Throughout the first and second centuries occupational scenes (the individual at work) feature from southern Italy to northern Pannonia and Noricum (Kamen 1981, 95).

[647] Kampen 1981, 23.

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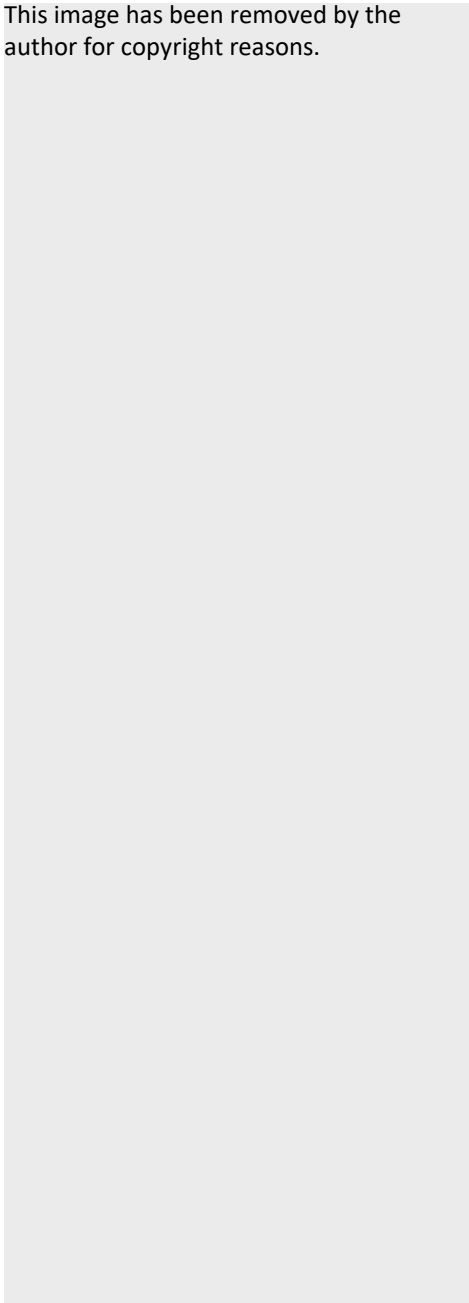
*Figure 3.41: Stela of the Longidieni,
Ravenna, Museo Nazionale, late first to
second century AD. Kampen 1981, Fig.
68.*

Large funerary monuments of pillar structure, with work scenes, proliferated in Gallia

Belgica in the second and third centuries AD.[648] Figure 3.42 is the left side of one such

example from Arlon (the Pilier du Cultivateur); its upper register represents a sale scene

with two figures behind a full counter and a transaction with a customer to the right; the

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[648] Kampen 1981, 90.

lower register details the work leading to the sale scene, two men in tunics hoeing and

working the earth.[649]

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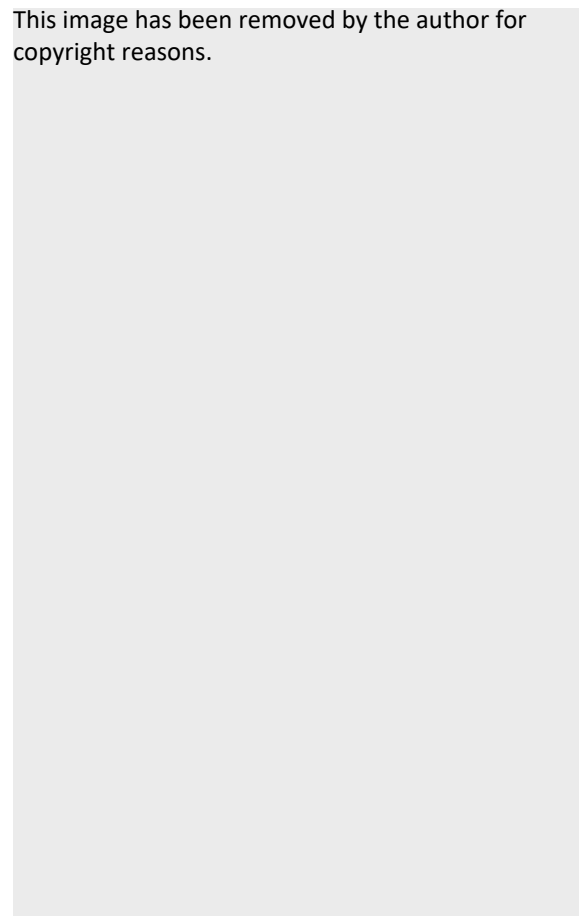
Figure 3.42: Image of work on the Pilier du cultivateur, Arlon, in the Musee Luxembourgeois Inv. No. 49, second century AD. Kampen 1981, Fig. 30.

While Roman work scenes appear regularly throughout Italy, Gallia, Gaul, Belgica and even

Pannonia and Noricum, they are rarely seen in Greece and the eastern provinces.[650] Equally,

there are no literal work scenes in the catalogue. Instead, representations (i.e. tools of

work) are subordinate with allusions to work more marginal, through iconographical

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[649] Another relief to the monument's right side depicting a cart and driver and a sale scene (one male displaying a basket of produce for another) continues the theme (Kampen 1981, 154).
[650] Kampen 1981, 83.

elements and the values associated with these.[651] One must be careful however, not to undersell markers of work; for example, motifs of tools articulated an individual's mastery of their craft.[652] While not all crafts were equal in prestige and dignity, all offered the best practitioners (or those aspiring to be so) an opportunity to distinguish themselves among their peers.[653] There is not an apology for artisanal or commercial work presented in the examples above, or in the catalogue, that the stigma towards work within cotemporary elite aristocratic circles would have you expect.[654] Instead work ethics and labour are recognised (in the middle stratum of Roman society) as a valuable commemorative metaphor, commonplace as a marker of achievement and status.[655] This same sense of accomplishment exists in the catalogue, albeit in a more muted manner. Tools of work, figures in occupational dress and statements of profession in the catalogue differentiate individuals within their social milieu and formulate means of social competition; a) providing and defining an identity for inhabitants on the periphery of their society (soldiers and gladiators); b) conveying excellence of professionals in their craft; and c) demarcating status, implying landownership and an ideal lifestyle in line with social ideals. Allusions to work are subordinate and indirect with pride in work and occupational associations an undercurrent to identity expression in the inland regions.[656]

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[651] Comparable focus on objects and planar representation can be observed on black figure vases (in the east) and door stelae from Dorylaion in Phrygia (Kampen 1981, 81); This was the most common way to reference work throughout the first-century AD (George 2006, 24).

[652] Mastery of a speciality, and excellence in this, represented an essential component of the professional pride of Roman craftsmen, with this specialism making it possible for individuals to be deemed as superior (Tran 2011, 125).

[653] Tran 2011, 126.

[654] Tran 2011, 120. See also page 132.

[655] The profession was a not an identity but an achievement, mentioned if distinguished through personal success (Veyne 2000, 1183. Cited by Tran 2011, 122).

[656] Like familial representation of freedmen funerary monuments, allusions to work on these monuments were subordinate and restricted to monument borders, marking their reduced importance to the message expressed (George 2006, 20).

Concluding thoughts. Is the expression of status and livelihood a representation of reality or a means of social competition on the funerary stelae of inland Asia Minor?

Analysis of the spindle-and-distaff motif illustrated (in section 1) the juxtaposition between conveying social status and pride in work across the catalogue. On the one hand it (alongside a basket and comb etc.) signifies civic ideals associated with the ideal *polis* female, referencing feminine virtue as a means of distinction.[657] On the other, its inclusion functioned as a marker of livelihood and implied pride in work, as demonstrated by the predominance of the motif on stelae from sites south of Ancyra to Laodicea Catacecaimene (Galatia).[658] It also alludes to wider use of gendered markers to communicate status/livelihood maintaining social expectations relative to gender.[659]

While these representations may reflect reality to a point, alluding to an elevated status and thereby improving reality is the motivation behind the identity presentation. Demarcating social position was significant to expression and individuals are presented as ideal *polis* citizens (living a lifestyle of leisure), set within the parameters of a Greek social value system.[660] Civic dress (chiton and himation) on figural portraits of both genders portrays individuals behaving in line with socially expected norms (i.e. veiling of females). Likewise, the range of figural poses – and their respective body language – are indicative of Greek and contemporary Roman sculpture in the round, transmitting associated values from public statuary onto these portraits[661]. Likewise, motifs expressing wealth and prestige – gendered

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[657] Established notions of the ideal woman (who stayed at home, spinning and weaving), founded in both the Greek and Roman world, are communicated to the viewer (Davies 2018, 63).
[658] Tied to known textile production in this area.
[659] Despite similarities in dress and body poses, women are presented in a more defensive and demure manner. Gendered motifs match notions of male and female roles in society.
[660] Common iconographic language creates a cultural reference point, formulating part of identity; in this case Greek (Revell 2016, 36); Hijamns 2016, 87; Herring and Wilkins 2003, 11.
[661] D'Ambra 1998, 13; The appropriation of body types of public statues reflects private sphere translations of social aspirations (Smith 1988, 70).

and set within standard practices across the wider Roman world – and formulaic status statements within inscriptions, offered any patron (the deceased, their family/friends) the capacity to enhance their standing and stand out from their peers.

Similarly, articulations of work in the catalogue reflect status competition over-and-above pride in work. Only in a minority of instances is work central to the identity of the deceased, and in these cases occupational identity is reflective of the inhabitant's position on the periphery of society (soldiers and gladiators). Depictions of livelihood are infrequent and mostly indirect, not indicative of pride in work as observed in western reliefs (through selling or production scenes). While tools of work do associate the memorialised to their livelihood (suggesting pride in profession/hands on labour among contemporary inhabitants)[662], their inclusion is as much about communicating aptitude, to distinguish the individual among their peers. Livelihood markers (as with those of material advantage/status) communicate a desired identity for the memorialised and their family, and fit into wider narratives of the Roman world.[663] Land ownership was a distinction, and self-sufficiency a lauded ideal for the elite in Rome meaning, in this wider context, markers of livelihood in the catalogue were status symbols.[664] While Thonemann downplays the connection between Roman value systems and the high social value of work among Phrygian inhabitants[665], these stelae depict work positively, relative to established Greek values. Allusion to agricultural production evidenced an inhabitant's balanced involvement

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[662] Although in a different social context, tools of work were shown with pride as markers of an individual's professional success on freedman funerary monuments (Stewart 2004, 58).

[663] Whereby one's status was enhanced relative to production, land, and occupation (Rosenstein 2008, 1).

[664] Cato the Elder, *De Agricultura*. praef. 2-4; Varro, *De Re Rustica*. 3.4.

[665] Thonemann 2013, 39.

in their role as a *polis* dweller, participating in civic structures which were, themselves, in harmony with agriculture. [666]

The combination of status and livelihood in the catalogue may be a result of contemporary dialogues between the urban and rural, according to context; symbols or ideals associated with urban life predominate to demonstrate the importance of the memorialised (and their family by proxy) in a non-urban setting (the 3 inland regions).[667] As a city and country dweller were both part of the *polis* and interacted with its value system, all were conversant with idealised Greek cultural and social norms. Therefore, a portrait figure in ideal civic dress holding/beside tools of work could function as a means of social competitive display, distinguishing an inhabitant within their social milieu (irrespective of whether this status was attained or not).

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[666] Production was part of the way aristocrats fitted into the citizen community: *villae* functioned as intermediaries in the process of enhancing the status and amenities of the centres they depended on (Purcell 1995, 177).

[667] A continuum between town and country meant architectural elaborations familiar to the town were well-known in the rustic setting (Purcell 1995, 174-177).

Chapter 4. Is there a concept of an afterlife expressed within the identities projected upon the catalogue's stelae? Exploring the heroization of the deceased on funerary stelae of the inland regions.

Associations with the afterlife (in whatever form) and heroization (or association therewith) are themes touched upon in previous chapters, through multivalent motifs – basket, krater, and grape bunch (chapter 3), and upraised hands (chapter 2) – or dual dedications in inscriptions (chapter 3). Heroization, as a means of elevating status, is an undercurrent running through the catalogue. For example, the deceased is celebrated as a *ἥρως χρηστος* (a good hero) in 6 inscriptions from Pisidia[668] augmenting evidence for the perception of an afterlife in the early Imperial period (particularly in Pisidia).[669] While infrequent within the catalogue, these examples are illustrative of a wider phenomenon in contemporary Anatolia – approximately 25% of all tomb inscriptions using the term *ἥρως* are from Imperial period Asia Minor[670] – and beyond.[671] Each inscription is short and homogenous in structure: a) naming the recipient/s, b) stating *ἥρως χρηστος* (or variant of this) and, c) closing with [*παροδειταις] χαιρειν* ("[passer-by] farewell!").[672] Epitaphs referring to the deceased as heroes are traceable to the early Hellenistic period and were used by members of all social classes and groups.[673]

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[668] See OS.PIS.01, 04-05, 11-12 and FS.PIS.04.

[669] The belief of deifying the deceased originated in Mesopotamia and Anatolia (Durukan 2007, 158).

[670] The title was also popular in Roman Imperial period Boetia, Thessaly and the Aegean Islands (Wypustek 2012, 68).

[671] The hero farewell became an increasingly fashionable close to an epitaph on Macedonian stelae during the Imperial period (Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2016, 128-130).

[672] χαίρε possesses both conventional (and secular) and religious (and sacred) meanings; on tombstones the term symbolised the pious intentions of the user and the heroization of the deceased (Wypustek 2012, 89-90).

[673] ἥρως or alternatives: ἡρωίς, ἡρώϊσσα or ἡρωίνη (Wypustek 2012, 68).

Chapter 4. Is there a concept of an afterlife expressed within the identities projected upon the catalogue's stelae? Exploring the heroization of the deceased on funerary stelae of the inland regions.

By classifying the deceased as heroes these examples imply beliefs in the afterlife[674] and the phrasing functions as an appropriation of proclamations of gods as heroes.[675] Presumably, those memorialised were perceived to have ascended/descended into another realm although this is only specified in two epitaphs; OS.PHR.38 refers to the deceased ascending (ἀνέθηκεν), while the deceased cousin memorialised by FS.PIS.22 had become defied (γενομένης θεάς).[676] Perhaps, such terminology functioned as an elegant proclamation of achievement, alluding to the prestige the deceased enjoyed in life and thereby laying a foundation for their afterlife.[677] At the very least, allusions to heroization in text were a consolatory topos communicating the deceased's happiness in the afterlife, and that they reside amongst gods.[678]

Just as heroic terminology secured the protective powers of the dead, for the living[679] comparably, curse formulas sought to maintain the ideal afterlife and protect the living. These formulae only feature in 3 inscriptions[680] – surprising given their prevalence on other funerary forms[681] – and follow the funerary epitaph. Each start with the word 'whoever' before a formulaic phrase advises against alteration to/re-use of the stela, closing with the respective punishment for insubordination. On OS.G.42 and FS.G.41 this is angering the Mens of the underworld (ἐννέ[α] Μῆνας ἔχοιτ[ο] καταχθονίους κεχολωμένους, as upon

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[674] Where heroization retained (or purported to retain) its traditional, cultic qualities it became a model expressing beliefs and hopes of a future immortality, and those heroizing the dead showed belief in an afterlife (Wypustek 2012, 65).

[675] The concept of a recently deceased person as ἥρως underscored the youthful, godlike beauty and charm of the dead, regardless of their actual age at death (Wypustek 2012, 65).

[676] These examples suggest that - unlike Feraudi-Gruénais' consideration of the sepulchral sphere - some of the inhabitants of the inland regions *did* live with beliefs of an afterlife (Feraudi-Gruénais 2015, 664).

[677] Wypustek 2012, 77.

[678] Wypustek 2012, 86.

[679] Wypustek 2012, 83.

[680] This reflects an eventuality whereby gravestones were markers of another funerary monument, the latter carrying the curse. Perhaps divine/heroizing motifs more regularity appealed to guardianship (see section 2).

[681] Admonitions were common in Asia Minor (Walker 1985, 58); More than half of Greek grave curses from Asia Minor come from Phrygia (Kelp 2015, 83); see also Calder 1956, xxxiv.

FS.G.41).[682] FS.G.27, meanwhile, is far more specific in its punishment – 'may his children be left as orphans, his life bereaved, (and) his house deserted' – assigning retribution to this life.[683] It is notable how such imprecations were deemed sufficient as a form of preventative action; to be effective, such admonitions had to be impactful and relevant to contemporary social and religious norms, augmenting evidence of beliefs in an afterlife within Galatia.

In this chapter I want to further explore this concept of an afterlife and ascertain the potential for the heroization of the deceased upon stelae of Galatia, Phrygia, and Pisidia. Are individuals celebrated as traditional heroes on these funerary stelae? These above examples do not specify, though it seems unlikely the deceased were heroized by a city and in possession of their own public cult (without any emphasis).[684] Does an expression of involvement with the afterlife further reinforce the significance of the family and ancestry (i.e. the living looking after the dead)? For example, activities at the tomb (memorial feasts, providing offerings for the deceased etc.) ensured the dead were not separated from the living.[685] Do surviving relatives record the completion of proper funerary ritual, using heroization (comparably to heroic terminology, above) to secure the protective powers of the dead, for the living?[686] Or, should one not seek eschatological meaning, with references to heroization and apotheosis becoming another means of socially competitive display and status expression?

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[682] The invoking of gods of the underworld to protect the tomb, phrased like north Phrygian curse formulas (Kelp 2015, 83).

[683] The curse upon FS.G.28 matches curse formulas associated with eastern Phrygia at centres including Amorion and Laodicea Katakekaumere (Kelp 2015, 83).

[684] Wypustek 2012, 83.

[685] Illustrating the Roman preoccupation with *memoria* and keeping alive the memory of the dead (Stewart 2004, 54).

[686] Wypustek 2012, 83.

To answer these questions, I will analyse the heroization of the dead through pose and attributes in the catalogue, beginning in section 1 with an analysis of banqueting and sacrificial scenes in a funerary context. In section 2 I address the use of motifs with divine connotations and their potential role in honouring the memorialised.

Section 1. Heroization of the dead in pose

a) Banqueting scenes in a funerary context[687]

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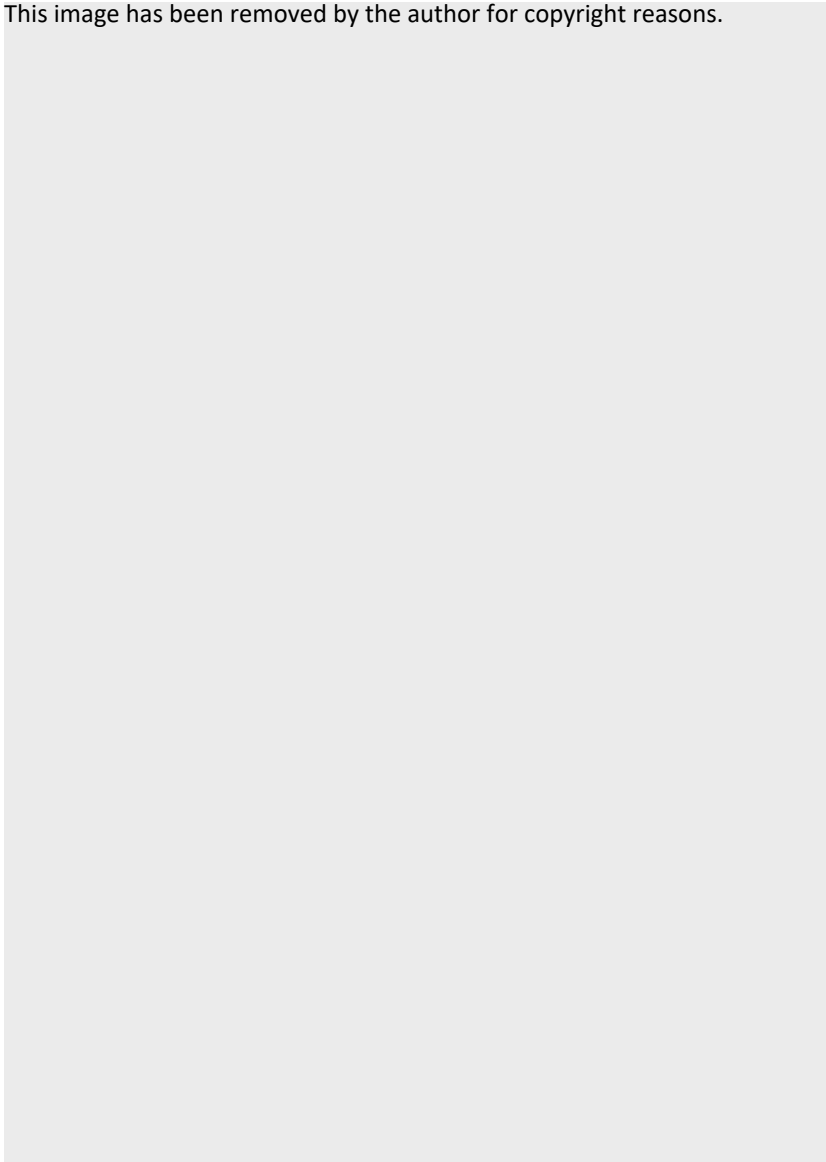
Figure 4.1: Funerary banquet scene on FS.PIS.01. See catalogue.

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[687] Care must be applied when using the term Totenmahl to avoid any misleading presuppositions associated with the term (i.e. as specifically heroizing) (Amann 2016, 73-74); For an overview of scholarship on the Totenmahl see Draycott 2016, 1-32.

Banquet stelae in the catalogue come from sites situated in two small groups: 1) about

north-western Pisidia (FS.PIS.01-02) and across the immediate border to Phrygia

(FS.PHR.07); 2) sites in eastern Pisidia (FS.PIS.17 and FS.PIS.32).[688] Each depict comparable

stages of the funerary ritual (the death feast).[689] FS.PIS.01 (see Figure 4.1), 02 and 32 locate

a seated female to the reclined male's right in a visual continuation of tradition (see below),

communicating established, socially expected female behaviour.[690] On FS.PHR.07 and

FS.PIS.17 (Figure 4.2), the reclined figures are female[691] potentially representative of female

patrons choosing to articulate their social standing/position in the family comparably to

male counterparts.[692] However, on FS.PIS.17 a daughter (named in text as recipient) is

represented as recumbent; she is elevated as a means of consolation for the patrons (who

are depicted standing at the foot of the *kline* as a portrait couple – chapter 2). Additional

smaller figures are present in each example, depicting the family unit in banquet reliefs, i.e.

man, wife, legitimate and unmarried children of the household (or potentially slaves). The

importance of presenting a well organised, civilised *oikos* to perpetuity should not be

ignored (especially given the pertinence of family – chapter 2); within this the deceased

presents themselves as the founding father and/or family patriarch.[693]

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[688] See chapter 5 (production, travelling designs section).
[689] Totenmahl became one of the most frequently represented subjects in funerary art, especially in sculptural reliefs in Europe and the Near East (Nováková 2011, 223).
[690] Women appear as companions, their social status is secondary: being seated emphasised a dignified character and was indicative of a legitimate wife (Amann 2016, 93).
[691] Reclining women are frequent on British stelae (Stewart 2009, 271).
[692] I.e. as head of the household (where husband is predeceased).
[693] Amann 2016, 94.

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Figure 4.2: FS.PIS.17. See catalogue.

A *kline* features in each example as a visual translation of *klinai* used in funerary contexts.[694]

The *kline* motif – person relaxing on a banquet couch – endured as a funerary icon in the

ancient Mediterranean from the Archaic period through to late antiquity.[695] Across Asia

Minor banquet scenes including a *kline* formulated an essential element of ambitious and

aristocratic dynastic burials from the late sixth/early fifth-century BC onwards.[696] For

example, in Mysia and Bithynia (northern Asia Minor) the Persian satrapal seat of Dascylium

was the source of Greco-Persian register stelae carrying banquet scenes.[697] Like those in the

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[694] A component of the ritual pre-burial, including the *prothesis* (lying-in-state), and the burial itself (Baughan 2013, 10); Funerary couches were common in the sixth and fifth centuries BC in Lycian and Phrygian tumulus chambers and rock-cut tombs (Baughan 2016, 195).

[695] Baughan 2013, 3; Reclining figures had a long history in Greek and Etruscan precedents (Ewald 2015, 397).

[696] Including wall paintings from northern Lycian tumulus burials of Kizibel and Karaburun II; banquet friezes of the Lycian rock cut tombs; sarcophagi and grave buildings, incl. the Salas Monument in Kadyanda, the Heroon of Gjölbaschi-Trysa and cella frieze on the Nereid Monument at Xanthus (Fabricius 2016, 36); Feast scenes derived from votive iconography of the sixth-century BC (Wypustek 2012, 66).

[697] 6 examples dating late sixth-fourth century BC (Amann 2016, 87); In Anatolia banquet scenes flourished at the same time as *kline* tombs - the Persian period (Baughan 2016, 208).

catalogue, these depict the reclining deceased (of elevated social status) banqueting with his wife and (sometimes) children.[698] The recognisability of the *kline* (and the attribute's universality) made it applicable to a wide-range of patrons.[699] This attribute can therefore represent both the immediate end of the deceased's life, the surviving family's conduction of funerary ritual, and allude to the heroization of the dead – referencing location of a funerary banquet/hero feast and the role of the stela as a point of communication with the dead (for future celebrations/meals).[700]

In the west, Totenmahl scenes retained a wide and enduring appeal in the Roman Empire, being especially common in the Balkan provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, Moesia Inferior, Moesia Superior, the Rhine and even Dacia (after AD 113).[701] Allowing for variation, these continued to retain comparably regular, formulaic elements akin to examples both in the catalogue and discussed below: a man or woman reclined on a couch, with a three-legged table in front carrying food and wine vessels (emphasis often on drinking).[702] Below are two examples from Germania Superior and Britain respectively (Figures 4.3 and 4.4). This emphasis on drinking is in evidence within the catalogue.

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[698] See Amann 2016, Fig. 16 – a fifth-century BC marble stela from Altıntaş (Phrygia) depicting a banquet in the central register and traces of a sacrificial procession below.

[699] Multifunctionality and the multivalence of *klinai* made them apt for use in the funerary sphere (Baughan 2013, 176).

[700] Tombs with couches are three-dimensional counterparts to banqueting scenes on funerary monuments, representing the dead as a banqueteer (Baughan 2016, 196).

[701] Totenmahl scenes were used in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt with variations on the theme appearing in Pannonia and the Iberian provinces (Stewart 2009, 255).

[702] Stewart 2009, 253.

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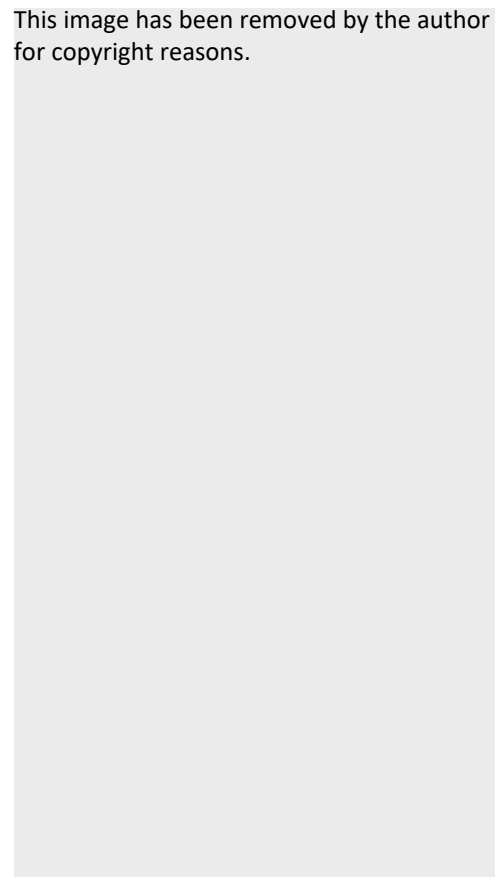
Figure 4.3: Stela of Giriso and Bibulia, mid-2nd century AD, Obernburg. Römermuseum, Archaölogischen Staatssammlung Mĺinchen. Stewart 2009, Fig. 17.

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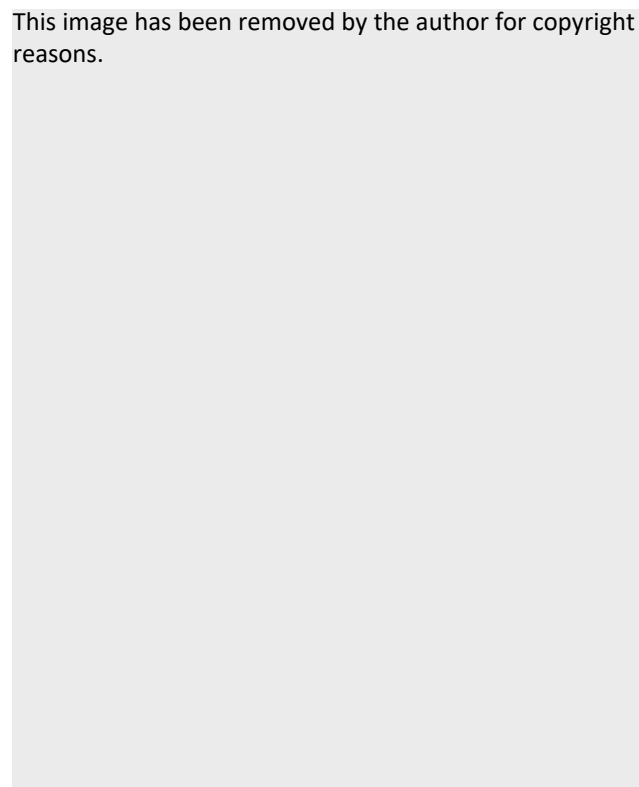
Figure 4.4: Stela of Aelia Aeliana, 2nd century AD, York. Yorkshire Museum. Stewart 2009, Fig. 11.

No banqueting utensils are present on FS.PIS.17 and 32 and both reliefs may be depictions

of funerary ritual – for example, lying-in-state reliefs comparable to the *lectio funebris,* or a

lament in the guise of a *conclamatio* scene.[703] However, these examples may reflect a

patron's aim to display participation in prestige, alluding to involvement in the refined

drinking culture well-established in western Anatolia from the sixth century BC.[704] For

example, while banquet scenes appear on all tomb types of Achaemenid period Lycia, only

the drinking vessels are represented.[705] Likewise, Hellenistic funerary banquet reliefs of

Lycia focus on drinking (see Figure 4.5, below) and reference this distinguished behaviour

comparably to FS.PIS.02 (Figure 4.6); a reclined male figure holding aloft a cup.[706] In

addition to a form of aspirational, socially competitive display, the gesture can also be

indicative of the heroized status of the memorialised[707] – appropriating a libation in honour

of gods or heroes, in bequest for divine protection of the tomb/deceased/surviving

family.[708] Eschatological readings are supported by the votive origins of these gestures on

fourth-century BC Attic hero reliefs (see below), although figures are represented holding a

rhyton, not a cup. For example, upon Figure 4.7, a Hellenistic funerary banquet scene from

Samos[709], the recumbent figure raises a rhyton like an Attic hero, in comparable pose the

male on FS.PIS.02, elevating the status of the deceased.

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[703] In the west, reclined figures may reflect the body lying-in-state or wax effigies placed on biers or couches for funerals (Ewald 2015, 398); These may be regionally specific rituals, or appropriations; scenes depicting Roman funerary ritual are absent upon the built tombs of Asia Minor (Cormack 2004, 102).

[704] Draycott 2016a, 275-283; Reclined dining customs came from the near east around the eighth-century BC (Baughan 2013, 3).

[705] Approximately 25 examples of banquets in Lycia across sepulchral contexts (Lockwood 2016, 301).

[706] A toast to a god, the surviving family, or demonstrative of a happy afterlife banquet. That the gesture features on FS.PIS.03 and FS.PHR.07 suggests it had a more widespread application.

[707] Single figure reliefs alluding to banqueting/associated behaviour (i.e. FS.PIS.03) focused on the tomb owner reflective of a desire to elevate the deceased, which can extend to heroization (Amann 2016, 93).

[708] Wypustek 2012, 66).

[709] Funerary banquets feature on 100 of 140 preserved Hellenistic funerary reliefs from Samos (Fabricius 2016, 50).

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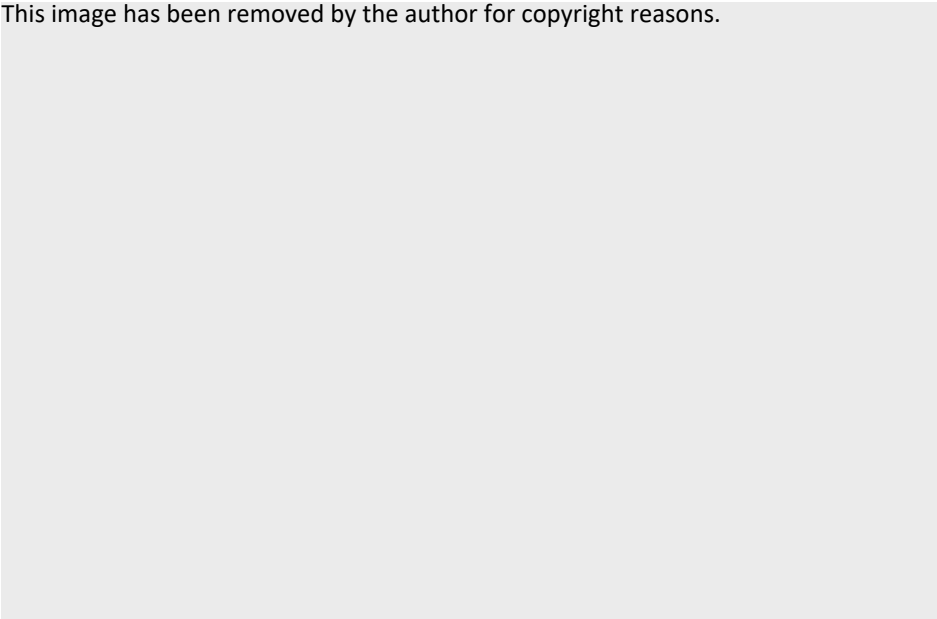
Figure 4.5: Lycian banquet relief on a limestone sarcophagus, Phellos (Central Lycia), Ca. 385–360 BC. Lockwood 2016, Fig. 2.

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Figure 4.6: Male recumbent figure raising cup aloft in banquet relief. FS.PIS.02. See catalogue.

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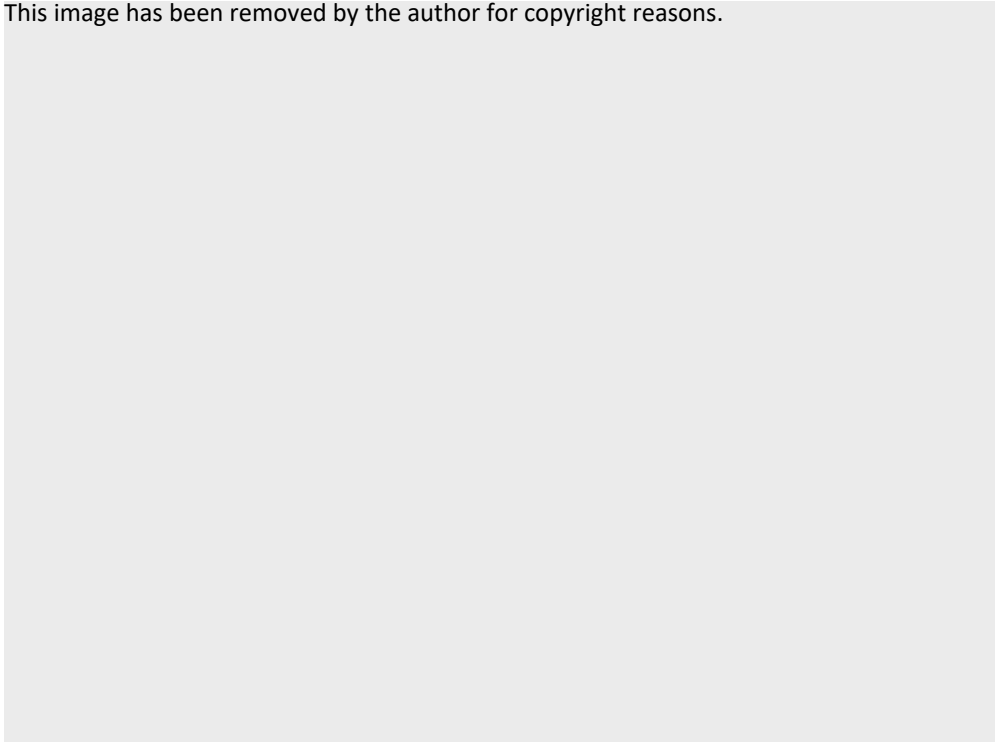
Figure 4.7: Marble grave relief, Samos, 2nd century BC. Samos Museum 202. Fabricius 2016, Fig. 5.

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Figure 4.8: Classical votive relief depicting a hero, heroine and worshippers, ca. 360/50 BC, Thebes/Boetia. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Sk 825. Fabricius 2016, Fig. 2.

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Figure 4.9: Banqueting hero relief, 4th century BC, Athens. Nováková 2011, Fig. 1. a).

The connection between banquet scenes and heroization centres on the appropriation of the Hellenistic tradition of representing the dead as a hero at a banquet.[710] Upon fourth century BC votive reliefs from the Greek mainland (Figures 4.8 and 4.9) the hero is depicted recumbent on the *kline*, a female figure seated at its foot, and approached by worshippers with a sacrificial animal or offerings.[711] This composition – minus the worshippers and heroic attributes (i.e. snake) – and the abstract and hybrid space-time constructs of these scenes is comparable to the catalogue.[712] However, while inspiration stems from these votive reliefs, eschatological meaning is tempered in a sepulchral application, as evidenced by Attic funerary stelae of the fourth-century. Although analogous to votive hero reliefs in composition, Attic funerary banquet reliefs lack heroic attributes, processions, or worshippers; their focus is on valuable possessions or accoutrements underlining their non-eschatological purpose.[713] Equally, it may be remiss to conceive of the deceased as a hero in

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[710] Together with the rider relief, the banquet type was the *standardised* and recognisable iconography for heroic reliefs throughout the Eastern Mediterranean (Fabricius 2016, 40). See also discussion of Pisidian ostothekae, below.

[711] The heroic character of the reclined figure is illustrated by the horse protome and snake (Fabricius 2016, 38); Amann 2016, 84.

[712] Fabricius 2016, 35.

[713] Fabricius 2016, 40; Amann 2016, 84-85; Hellenistic and earlier banquet reliefs focus on wealth, abundance and luxurious living (*tryphe*), focusing on the importance of the house as a space for flaunting food, staff, fine furniture, textiles and dressing accoutrements (Draycott 2016, 26); Banquet images may reference the house: in Greece the funeral feats was an important part of funerary ritual and the *perideipnon* took place at the house of the deceased on return from the cemetery, not at the grave (Fabricius 2016, 46); In the sixth-century

banquet scenes of the catalogue based on traditional inspirations, given their sepulchral

function and lack of heroic attributes etc.

A brief appraisal of Hellenistic period banquet reliefs from Anatolia and the offshore islands

of East Greece supports this hypothesis.[714] Drinking scenes are frequent on funerary reliefs

of Hellenistic Lycia, in relief compositions akin to Figure 4.5[715], celebrating family, and

portraying children in intimate contact with adults.[716] Like the examples of the catalogue,

Lycian inscriptions concentrate on the family, not heroization; patrons provided for

themselves, their spouses and children.[717] Figure 4.10 from Hellenistic Sinop (Paphlagonia)

may also demonstrate focus on familial bonds through smaller figures that represent the

children of the deceased[718], while *Kline* scenes from Cyzicus portray the whole family.[719]

BC the image of drinking, along with images of aspirational, elegant interiors and furniture, especially the *kline*, became the semblance of social status *par excellence* (Draycott 2016a, 231); Wypustek 2012, 67; The custom of reclining at the banquet is of Phoenician origin and expressed a luxurious and highly civilised lifestyle (social prominence and class superiority) (Amann 2016, 75).

[714] Totenmahl was the most popular subject on grave reliefs of Asia Minor and its offshore islands (Fabricius 2016, 34); Nováková 2011, 224; Stelae in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period regularly depicted the funerary banquet (Cormack 1997, 147); At Cyzicus and the Mysian environs, the funerary banquet was a popular theme, appearing on plain stelae, large and high quality naiskoi, and multifigured stelae (imitating Greco-Persian examples): over 110 Hellenistic and as many Imperial examples survive (Fabricius 2016, 55); In Rhodes and Halicarnassus the hero cult was a more standard type on funerary altars rather than stelae: on the Carian coastland tombs with altars could be understood as physical representations of banqueting (consuming a meal/offerings) equipping the dead for the afterlife (Nováková 2011, 225); At Rhodes funerary banquet scenes are less frequent on stelae (21 examples) (Fabricius 2016, 52).

[715] Accoutrements of the banquet (tables/food/storage vessels) are absent except for a drinking cup in the reclined male's hand (Nováková 2011, 225); Iconographical evidence of banquets and drinking feasts in a funerary context is substantial in Lycia from the end of the sixth-century BC (Amann 2016, 88).

[716] Nováková 2011, 225; Lockwood 2016, 314; Intimate bond is prominent on FS.PIS.02 (Figure 4.6) where the mother holds and infant (see chapter 2).

[717] Only 2 of 150 Lycian sepulchral inscriptions make provision for sacrifices (Lockwood 2016, 319-321).

[718] Small figures may be servants, worshippers, or relatives (Wypustek 2012, 66); These may represent active participants in funerary ritual or, if slaves, epitomise a patron's wealth (Puddu 2011, 107).

[719] Puddu 2011, 106.

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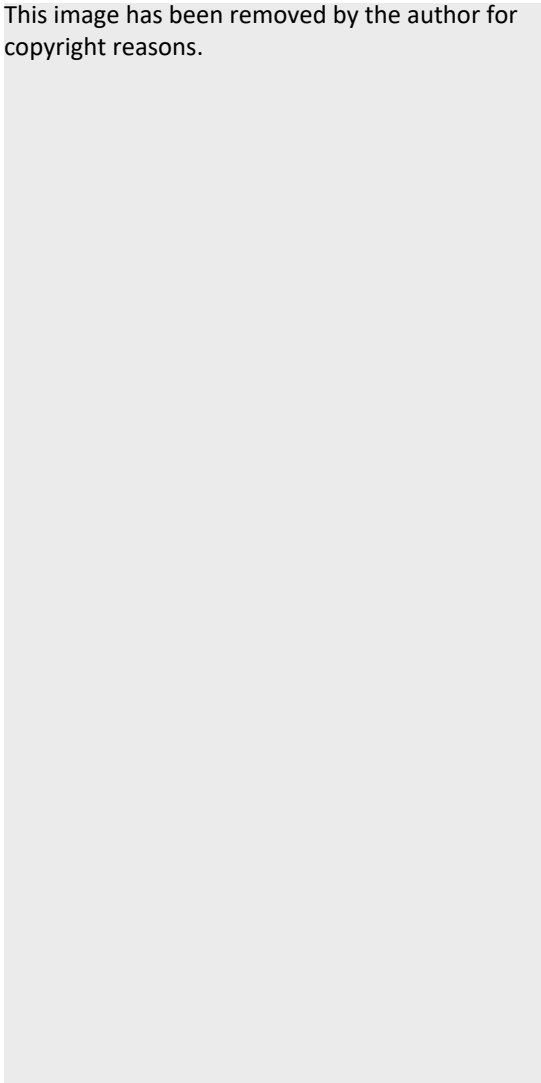
Figure 4.10: Theotima Stela (detail), Sinop, second century BC. Sinop Museum Inv. no. 13.62.70. French 2004, 79. pl. 13.
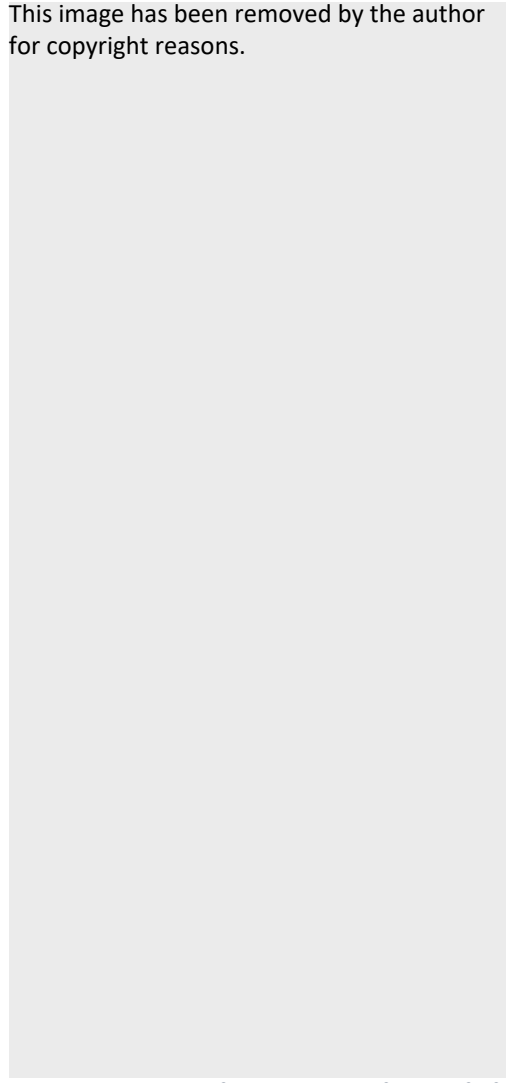
Figure 4.11: Marble funerary stela, first half of 1st century BC, Alibeyköy near Byzantium. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 5495. Fabricius 2016, Fig. 12.

At Byzantium conjugal bond is a focus upon the majority of sixty surviving Hellenistic Totenmahl reliefs, depicting couples linked by gestures or a raised wreath (see Figure 4.11).[720] While the potential for heroization cannot be ruled out entirely, eschatological meaning is questionable in these instances. Instead, Hellenistic funerary banquet reliefs

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[720] Visually accentuating the ideal of marriage (Fabricius 2016, 58-60); The banquet was the most frequent iconography on almost 150 Hellenistic and Imperial age funerary stelae from Byzantium (Puddu 2011, 102).

praise the heroic qualities of the deceased, affirm family cohesion and genealogical

structures, and declare wealth and the enjoyment of life regrettably left behind.[721]

Contemporary heroization of the dead on first-second century AD Pisidian larnakes

Contemporary monuments from southeast Pisidia carrying Totenmahl scenes are, perhaps,

more indicative of a heroizing function for the deceased.[722] The four ostothekae (below)

present banquet scenes; Figures 4.13 and 4.14 have analogous, bipartite compositions

housed in aediculae, below a garland swag – the banquet scene with *kline* to the right.

Figures 4.12 and 4.15 depict banquet scenes with space for additional figures. Flanking the

kline on Figure 4.15 (and based on its analogous composition, Figure 4.12) are female

figures holding wreaths, seemingly crowning respective males. On Figure 4.15 this is

presented as separate crowning scenes; to the left a family trio (likely husband, wife, and

child) and right, another female crowning a seated or reclined figure.

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[721] Fabricius 2016, 49; Relative wealth is implied - i.e. the ability to conduct banqueting in a style associated with upper-class life (both items used, slaves etc.) (Nováková 2011, 223-224).
[722] Typical funerary monuments from the Isauria region are ostothekae, a small sarcophagus containing the remains of a body after decomposition (Mclean 2002a, xiii); Ostothekae are indicative of Judaism, attested in regions adjacent to Pisidia (Pamphylia, Cilicia, etc.) though definite testimony in Pisidia is sparse (Horsley 2007, 168).

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Figure 4.12: Limestone larnax from the Taurus Mountains with flat columns. Catmakaya (prev. Arvana), Imperial Period. Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. 1059. Mclean 2002a, Fig. 223.

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Figure 4.13: Limestone larnax from the Taurus Mountains, lower moulding. Ahirli, Imperial Period. Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. 1970.38.217. Mclean 2002a, Fig. 220.

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Figure 4.14: Limestone larnax from the Taurus Mountains. Bagyurdu (prev. Sopran), Imperial Period. Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. 1970.38.213. Mclean 2002a, Fig. 222.

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Figure 4.15: Limestone larnax from the Taurus Mountains. Bozkir, prev. Siristat (Isaura Vetus), Imperial Period. Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. 73. Mclean 2002a, Fig. 218.

Female crowning figures are evident on elite monuments from Asia Minor such as the Zoilos monument in Aphrodisias and the Tomba Bella at Hierapolis.[723] Mirroring Zoilos' frieze, the

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[723] Multiple crowning scenes feature upon the mid first-century AD Tomba Bella monument, north of Hierapolis (Smith 2015a, 806).

individual crowned in both scenes is likely the same individual[724] with each instance

representative of separate celebrations/achievements attained in civic life, or an informal

crowning from the family.[725] It seems unlikely these inhabitants were celebrated and

honoured by the state.[726]

A standout feature on Figure 4.14 is the equestrian figure holding a spear, in a traditional

heroic pose akin to Alexander the Great portraits (i.e. the Alexander Mosaic in the Museo

Archeologico Nazionale, Naples).[727] Representing individuals as *heros equitans* enabled

heroic themes to feature on the tombs of the ordinary, acting as status symbols (of

aristocratic life) or possessing a chthonic function.[728] A contemporary viewer would

recognise and translate the specific values associated with rider dedications, applying these

to the memorialised of funerary monuments.[729] By incorporating the two standard

iconographic approaches of hero reliefs (rider and banquet) on their funerary monument,

the deceased may be celebrated in the manner of a hero.[730] In appearance, this larnax's

rider parallels depictions of the rider god[731], frequently Herakles with a club[732], as

represented upon limestone stelae from the area.[733] For example, Figure 4.16 is a Pisidian

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[724] Smith 1993, Pls. 3 and 9.

[725] An honorific wreath carved above figures upon Hellenistic stelae from Smyrna represented golden wreaths conferred by the *boule* and *demos* as a form of public honour (Zanker 1993, 214-215).

[726] A symbol common to the Hellenistic world, the frequency of these crowns means they likely held a symbolic value, highlighting the deceased's qualities, rather than an honour they *actually* received in life (Puddu 2011, 108).

[727] Ramage and Ramage 2009, 107.

[728] From the sixth-century BC the *heros equitans* was prevalent from the Black Sea, Thrace, and northwest Asia Minor (Wypustek 2012, 66).

[729] Myth and cult were convenient categories within which to express local identity due to their accepted and promoted values (Kelp 2013, 94).

[730] Fabricius 2016, 40.

[731] I.e. the Phrygian moon god (MEN) was represented as a warrior on horse-back alongside mortal figures, much like Hellenistic hero riders (Masséglia 2013, 97).

[732] The appearance of divine figures like Hercules made a statement about the deceased, or their vaguely defined hopes for the afterlife (Stewart 2004, 65).

[733] Over one hundred dedications to a rider god can be found in the Burdur Museum (Horsley 2007, 42); see also Horsley 2007, 225-271.

dedication to Herakles[734]; Figure 4.17 moreover, a contemporary stela from Macedonia with a rider representation, demonstrates the wider application of such common imagery. In an example from the catalogue, FS.PIS.07 (Figure 4.18), an equestrian male raises a spear beside a female figure (right) who holds a wreath in another crowning scene. Again, could this inhabitant have been heroized or is this (and the example above) a supplication to a divinity?[735] The epitaph suggests the portrait male was the named brother of the patron, a young male entering adulthood.[736] Such scenes could, therefore, mark important stages in the life of a young man[737], functioning as prospective images of the ideal adult to console the surviving family (see chapter 2).

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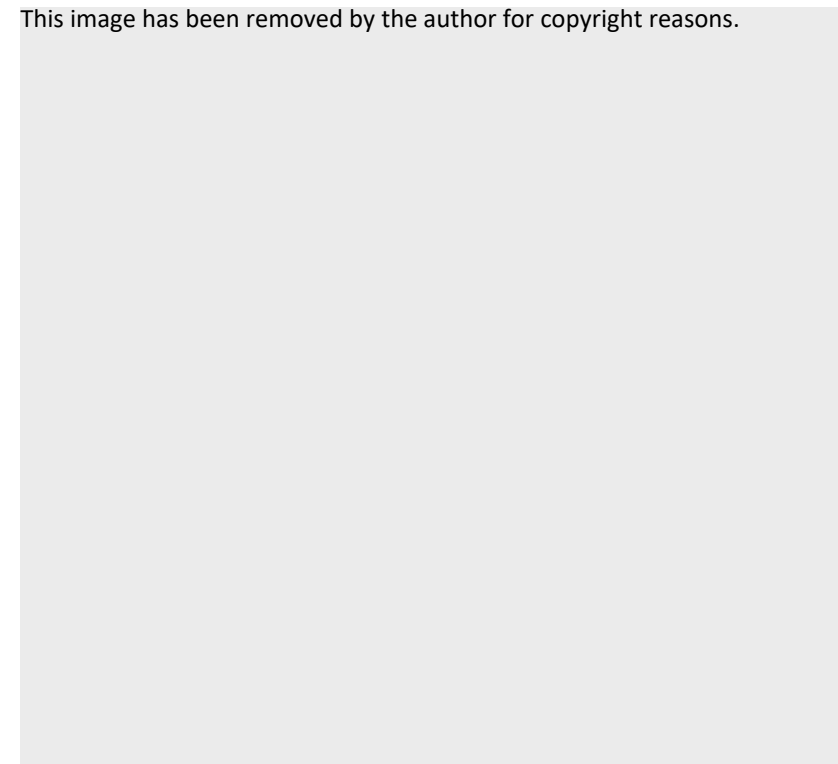
Figure 4.16: Dedication to Herakles (Rider God), unknown provenance, second century AD. Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. 70. Horsley 2007, pl. 60.

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[734] Representation of Hercules could symbolise a virtuous man's life of struggle against evil and adversity – rewarded by immortality when the hero was taken to Olympus (Stewart 2004, 65).

[735] FS.PIS.07 as a dedication to the Phrygian MEN or to Kakasbos, with the intention to ensure safe passage of the deceased into the afterlife.

[736] Horsley 2007, 274.

[737] Dedications to the Anatolian god Kakasbos and Greek Herakles were given to young males to mark their coming to adulthood, harking back to Pisidian heritage and their reputation as warriors (Horsley 2007 274)

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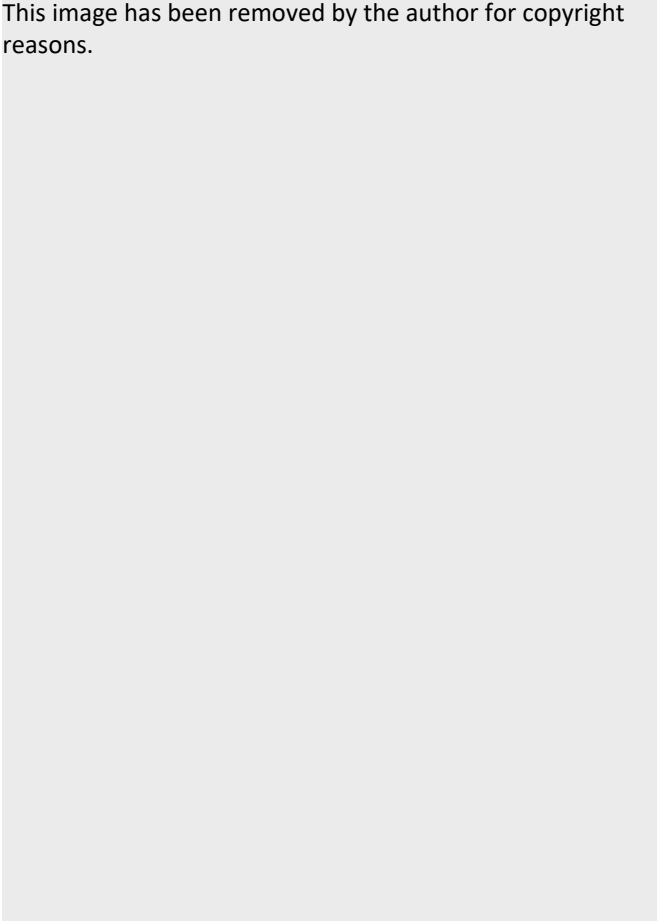
Figure 4.17: Funerary stela of the so-called Thracian Rider from Lyncestis in Upper Macedonia (detail), second century AD. Local stone. Florina, Archaeological Museum. Risakis and Touratsoglou 2016, fig. 7.8.

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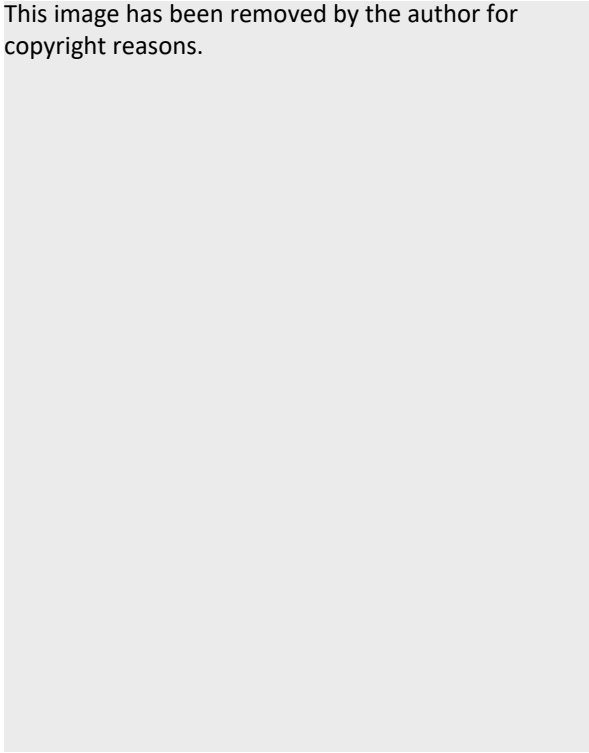
Figure 4.18: FS.PIS.07, detail. See catalogue.

b) Scenes of sacrifice and the apotheosis of the deceased

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Figure 4.19: Male holding a sacrificial goat - funerary relief with architectural surround and pediment, Adamkayalar, Hellenistic-Roman period. Durukan 2007, fig. 16.

There are Hellenistic period precedents for the pairing of sacrificial scenes and sepulchral monuments in regions neighbouring Galatia, Phrygia, and Pisidia. Sacrifice scenes are most visible in fourth-century BC Lycian tomb reliefs where, over-and-above mortuary offering rites, these may refer to the largess and/or piety of the tomb owners.[738] Funerary ritual features in reliefs from early Hellenistic period graves at Adamkayalar in Cilicia (bordering southeast Pisidia) depicting sacrifices at an altar and libation pouring – Figure 4.19 portrays a male in a tunic holding a sacrificial goat. As visual manifestations of ritual activity, the Adamkayalar reliefs imply funerary ritual activities (including libation) were established in the region prior to the chronology of this thesis.[739] By representing ritual activities these

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[738] Draycott 2016a, 259.
[739] The east introduced the ritual into the Greek world (Durukan 2007, 153-158).

examples infer belief in an afterlife, that the living existed alongside the dead, and highlight the role of the surviving family in nourishing and improving the afterlife of the memorialised (i.e. sacrificing to appease the gods and enable safe passage, feasting etc.).[740] However, while evidence for graveside feasting is strong in Anatolia it remains impossible to determine whether inhabitants conceived of the dead continuing to enjoy banquet in an afterlife of some kind.[741]

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Figure 4.20: Sacrifice relief on FS.PIS.11, detail. See catalogue.

In the catalogue two Pisidian stelae carry sacrificial reliefs (FS.PIS.11 and 22). FS.PIS.11 is an early first-century AD stela (Figure 4.20) portraying the sacrifice of a bull at a temple to

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[740] Considerations of an afterlife, or the dead living on in another dimension, was accepted in Olba (a region southwest of Phrygia) (Dukuran 2007, 158); Levick et. al 1988, xlvix.
[741] Baughan 2016, 210-211.

Artemis Ephesia; the *naos* represented may be modelled upon a Corinthian temple, perhaps one specific to a now unknown location.[742] A male priest (beside an altar) makes an offering with his right hand[743] while a second, a female (left of the scene), is depicted as a pious priestess, draped with the *stephanos* of her priestly office between her hair and veil.[744]

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Figure 4.21: Limestone stela with tenon and seated female figure, detail, Bahadinlar, Imperial Period. Mama 1933, no. 295.

This individual could represent a cult statue of Artemis Ephesia in a comparable manner to an effigy of Mother Leto (Cybele) upon a dedicatory stela from Bahadinlar (Phrygia) – Figure 4.21.[745] However, the iconography of the Artemis Ephesia cult statue sees the goddess standing, not seated.[746] Given that tradition was more valued than innovation in the iconography of deities, and representation of a cult statue was specific, this cannot represent Artemis Ephesia.[747] Furthermore, as this family are establishing the cult in Cremna

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[742] Horsley 1992, 149.
[743] Horsley 1992, 122.
[744] Horsley 1992, 141.
[745] The footstool, figure's frontal position and the hieratic symmetry of the birds identify the female as Cybele (Buckler et. al. 1933, 110).
[746] Horsley 1992, 140.
[747] Ensuring divinities remained universally recognisable to contemporary viewers (Horsley 1992, 141).

they would, presumably, ensure the deity was represented in the correct manner.

Accordingly, the seated female figure represents the patron priest's daughter (Artemeis)[748] and the scene a sacrifice honouring both (the father's role in maintaining the priesthood and the daughter's accession). Here, references to the heroization of the family are presented/implied through the celebration of the cult.

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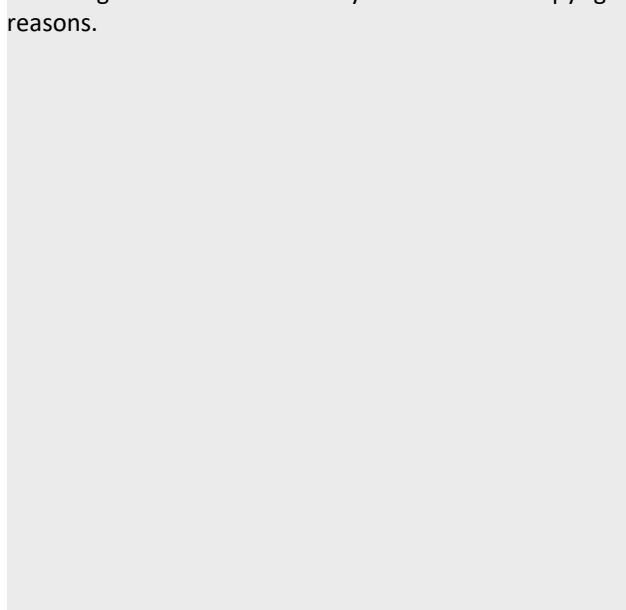
Figure 4.22: FS.PIS.22, detail. See catalogue.

FS.PIS.22 specifically heroizes a family member (Figure 4.22). It represents three figures preparing to sacrifice an ox in honour of the deceased. The accompanying epitaph states the cousin of the stela's patron, Mania, had become deified (γενομένης θεάς).[749] Such phrasing is significant in implying this inhabitant was heroized, presumably residing in the afterlife through apotheosis. Similarly to Totenmahl reliefs, the sacrifice scene is included to visually showcase the conduction of funerary ritual by the surviving family. FS.PIS.22 may furthermore be a dual dedication to the memorialised and the god Apollo (as no

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[748] As named in the inscription, see catalogue.

[749] Explicit epigraphic assertion of deification of the dead in Asia Minor is rare (Cameron and Cox 1937, 112); Heroization of ordinary people was a characteristic practice in Hellenistic times reflecting beliefs in the afterlife – a joint memorial (with representation of deity in relief or named in text) underlines a patron's hope for protection in the afterlife (Risakis and Touratsoglou 2016, 128).

amalgamation of the god is specifically named, this individual may, instead, be a family member).[750] The sacrifice relief signals the patron's conduction of due rites, appeasing the gods, and may signify an appeal for the safe passage of the deceased in the afterlife. Notwithstanding other contemporary funerary forms (i.e. altars, doorstones, house/temple tombs) and votive monuments, the infrequency of sacrificial and banquet scenes in the catalogue suggests such iconography was not a significant to the identity expression of inhabitants commission a stela in the Imperial period.[751] This is a surprise considering the proliferation of Hellenistic banquet scenes discussed above and may represent a change in practices over time.[752] However, the paucity of examples may be a result of form and function; for example, both iconographical themes may be more frequent on contemporary funerary altars which, architecturally, appropriated votive examples and their associated values (referencing religious and cultic activity, symbolising piety and sacrifice).[753] Another explanation may be that concepts underlying burial practices and funerary ritual activities were more widespread than actual practices themselves; take *kline* burials, many cultures conceived of their dead lying on beds/reclining on banquet couches but did not express this literally on/within a tomb.[754]

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[750] Joint memorials (a dedication to a deity and an epitaph) are only seen between Dorylaeum and Narcolea (Haspels 1971, 203).

[751] The funeral banquet, common on Bithynian gravestones, is seldom represented in Phrygia (Cameron and Cox 1937, 88); Representations of the funerary banquet were rare upon stelae in Roman central Balkans (Mladenović 2016, 106); There is little religious content in the epitaphs or funerary iconography of Aquileia, Mainz, and Nimes (Hope 2001, 23).

[752] In western Anatolia, the practice of burying the dead on a kline is best attested in the Archaic and Classical periods (Baughan 2013, 87).

[753] Funerary altars were frequently symbolic in intent, even if there was nothing in, or on, them (Coulton 2005, 145); Funerary altars were often able to receive offerings on their upper surface (Mclean 2002a, xiii); From the pre-Roman to Imperial period, Roman built tombs in Asia Minor had altars enabling offerings to be performed by the living, as in the west (Cormack 2004, 117-118); Typology and decoration of Roman funerary altars was entirely in-keeping with their cultic function, appearing almost indistinguishable from altars for the gods (Ewald 2015, 393); Wallace-Hadrill 2008a, 61.

[754] The concept of the *kline* and its role in funerary ritual was more prevalent than physical manifestation upon the tomb (Baughan 2013, 11).

Section 2 - Heroizing the dead through attributes

Number of stelae in which heroizing/divine attributes feature
(at least once) across the catalogue
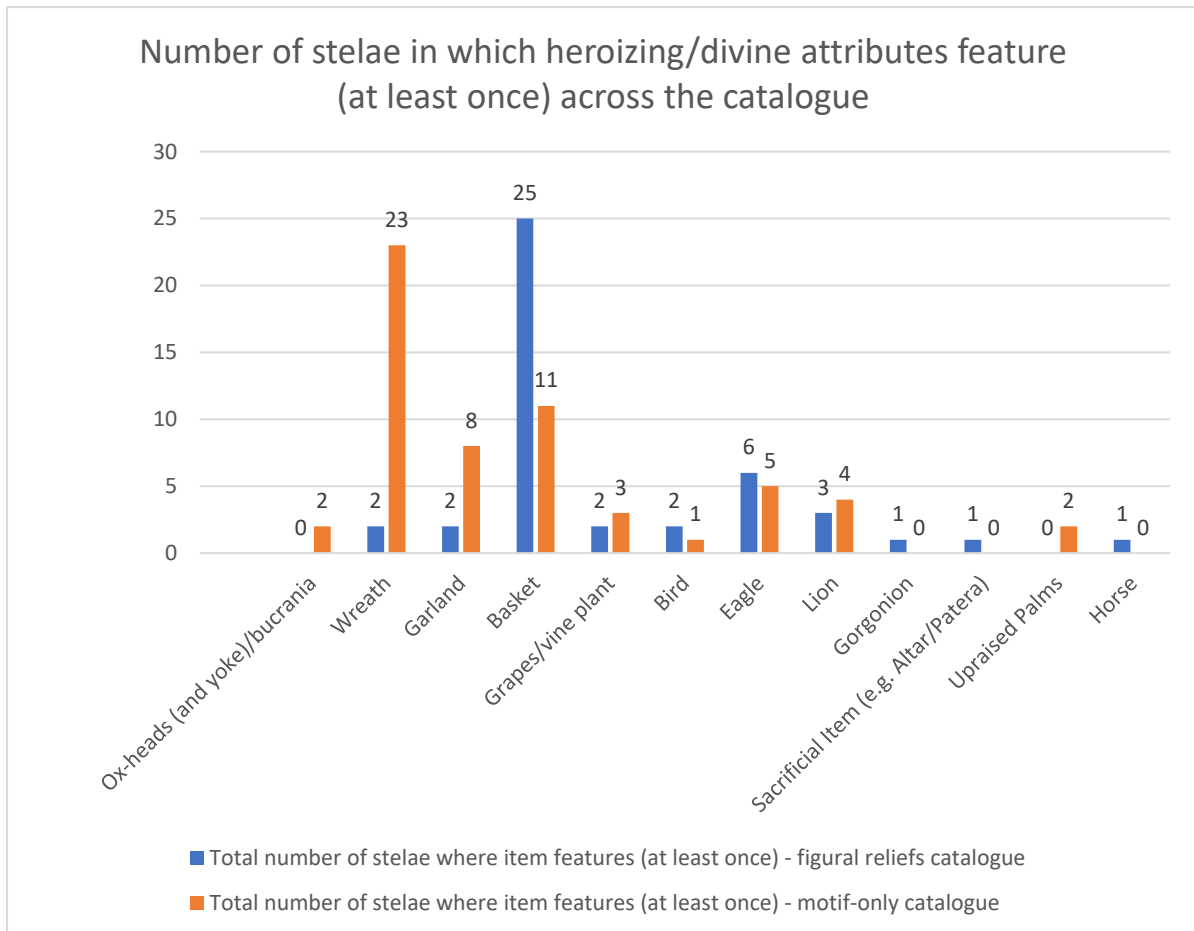
Figure C13: Number of stelae across the catalogue where heroizing/divine attributes feature (at least once).

Figure C.13 demonstrates that the repertoire of motifs possessing heroizing/divine

connotations in the catalogue is comparable to those on altars and urns across the empire,

evoking religion (and ritual) in a more general manner.[755] Attributes used include wreaths,

garlands, animals – eagles/birds, bull's heads, lions – and (as referenced previously) the

basket, krater, and vine-leaf (chapter 3)[756] and the raised palms motif (chapter 2). Their

inclusion may mark the heroization of the deceased, acting as invocations to deities and

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[755] This 'predictable' repertoire includes birds, garlands, flowers/vegetation, rams' heads/skulls, gorgons' faces and sacrificial implements (Stewart 2004, 56-57).
[756] Associated with Dionysus, and death and rebirth (Stewart 2004, 65).

implying beliefs in an afterlife.[757] Allowing from multiple readings – and accepting that not all instances of multivalent attributes, i.e. the basket motif, express a heroizing/divine interpretation – divine motifs feature on 110 stelae (59% of the catalogue).

a) Wreaths

A wreath is the most frequent heroizing attribute in the catalogue (after baskets) with 25 instances. The motif looks like Figure 4.23, with differentiations on a one-to-one basis according to atelier application – be it in high relief (e.g. OS.G.25), incorporating leaf detailing (see OS.G.37), or inscribed (OS.PIS.01). Some wreaths include fillets as per Figure 4.24 and the position of these can vary (i.e. fillets atop).
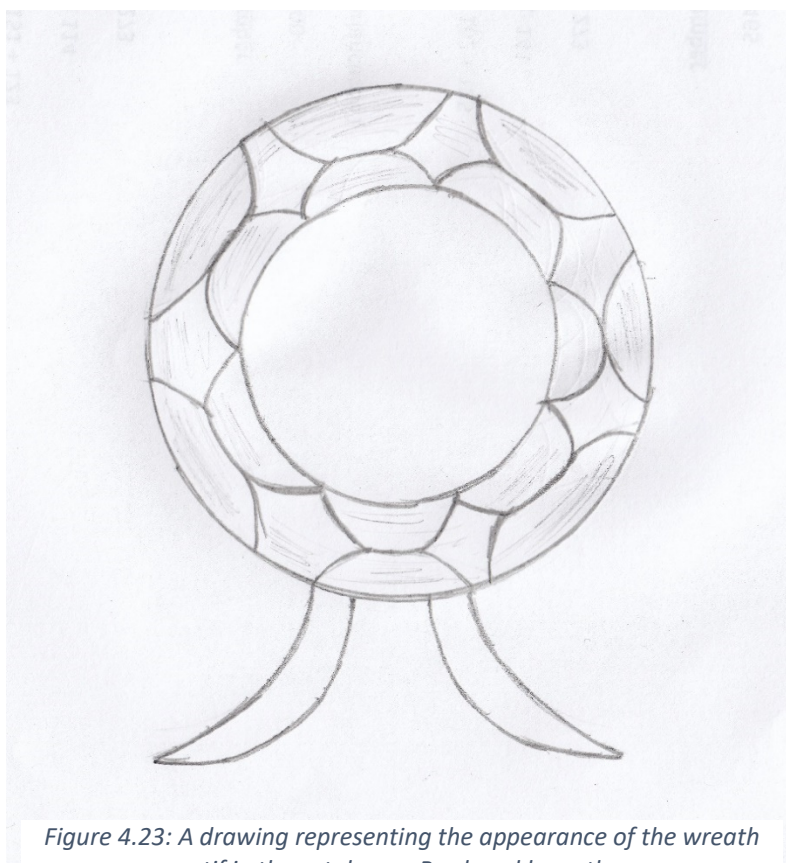
Figure 4.23: A drawing representing the appearance of the wreath motif in the catalogue. Produced by author.

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[757] Decorating tombs with representations of the attributes of deities (e.g. the lion or eagle) echoes the desire to dedicate the tomb to the deity concerned (Cameron and Cox 1937, xxxiv); An animal or attribute symbolising a god or goddess indicates the deceased was deified (Dukuran 2007, 158); Stewart 2004, 65.

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Figure 4.24: Wreath motif in field, detail,
OS.PHR.26. See catalogue.

Wreaths (irrespective of minor variations) were an integral component of the decoration of

tombs across the Greek and Roman world.[758] As a motif upon a stone monument they

function as a visual translation of honorary wreaths in the classical form.[759] For example, on

both friezes upon the façade of the late first-century BC Zoilos monument at Aphrodisias,

the monument's patron is depicted crowned with wreaths (marking honours bestowed by

the *polis*).[760] Comparably, two relief scenes on the Tomba Bella – an early/mid first-century

AD funerary monument (north of Hierapolis) – depict crowning's; one portrays the patron in

a civic role (as priest), crowned by the *Tyche* of the city and accompanied by a

personification of *Mneme*; the other depicts the memorialised in a himation.[761] However,

unlike these examples, the recipients of gravestones within the catalogue were not

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[758] Part of many commemorative rites or ceremonies (*eniausia, nomizomenia, anthesteria* etc.) (Nováková 2011, 232).

[759] Nováková 2011, 232; The wreath was a clear symbol, common to the Hellenistic world, of the honours bestowed upon a citizen by the *polis* (Puddu 2011, 108); The annual bringing of wreaths to the grave/on the grave itself was a public act confirmed in the southwest coast of Asia Minor (Nováková 2011, 232-233).

[760] A personification of *Timé* crowns Zoilos on the *Andreia* – Zoilos – *Timé* relief. In another tripartite composition, the *Demos* – Zoilos – *Polis* relief, the right hand of the *polis* crowns Zoilos (Smith 1993. 24-38); Additionally, further wreaths hang in the background as markers of his *stephanephorates* (Smith 1993, 41).

[761] Smith 2015, 806; Upon a panel of the Cenotaph of Gaius Caesar in Limyra honorands are depicted with olive wreaths over their heads (Kropp 2008, 253).

bestowed honours by a grateful community. The inclusion of wreaths may, instead, articulate posthumous honours within the funerary ritual process – as outlined on the honorific Decree for Menogenes from Aezani (49/48 BC)[762]: its inscription states '…it is fitting that he should be crowned with a golden crown and that, once his body has been brought into the *agora*, his head should be bound with a fillet and he should be escorted…to the tomb.'[763] Funerary monuments carrying wreaths, likewise, assimilate the motif in an honorific, celebratory manner[764], prior to/following the heroization of the deceased.[765] Indicative of hanging wreaths in periboloi tombs, the displaying of the motif carved on an altar or stela designates honoured persons.[766] OS.PIS.01, with wreath inscribed on the stela's field, demonstrates this heroizing function in tandem with its inscription, celebrating the memorialised as a hero (as outlined in this chapter's introduction). While the attribute may refer to the success of the memorialised as praiseworthy of their community, this is not specifically stated and, therefore, an unlikely function of the motif.[767]

That wreath motifs carried religious roles is evident in votive applications.[768] For example, Figure 4.24 – a votive altar from Demirli (Phrygian Highlands) – and Figure 4.25 – a stela

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[762] Thonemann 2013, 26.

[763] Trans. Thonemann 2013, 26.

[764] Ewald 2015, 396; A quasi-crown of achievement in everyday life or a signifier of coronation in death, as a tribute to previous life (Paz de Hoz 2007, 123).

[765] At Rhodes and Halicarnassus, the bestowal of wreath proclamations was a marker of posthumous rites which took place in associations, at ceremonies in club houses or at graves (Fabricius 2016, 52); Use of the attribute as representative of an idealised persona was a common theme of Hellenistic period tombs in western Asia Minor (Nováková 2011, 223). See also page 232; Stelae dating to the Hellenistic period carrying an honour wreath have been found at Aezani - the motif corresponds to a significant value of pre-imperial society (Kelp 2015, 53); Puddu 2011, 108.

[766] Nováková 2011, 234; A wreath could represent a crown granted in life or coronation in death as a tribute to previous life (Paz de Hoz 2007, 123).

[767] The "shepherd" was probably a large herdsman (like those mentioned in Buckler et. al. 1933, 297) producing wool, for which Laodiceia and Hierapolis were renowned (Buckler et. al. 1939, no. 21).

[768] Kelp identifies (like funerary stelae from the inland regions) that votive monuments form a homogeneous group of stone monuments (Kelp 2015, 33).

from Sari Kaya in Galatia – bear wreaths and are dedicated to the mother goddess[769] and

Zeus Bronton, respectively.[770] Wreaths are included on OS.PHR.17 and 19, both dual

dedications to their respective patrons and to Zeus Bronton. Presumably, the attribute could

express a combination of sepulchral and dedicatory interpretations, meaning, even when

inscriptions were purely dedicatory in form, they may nevertheless have served, indirectly, a

funerary purpose.[771]

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Figure 4.24: Altar of veined marble, Demirli, Imperial Period. Haspels 1971, Pl. 635, no. 128.

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[769] *δήμος [Ού]| ητισσέων | Μητρι θε | ῶν εύχήν.* Trans. Calder 1956.

[770] The altar is a dedication to Zeus Bronton by a family in hope for the afterlife of the decedent: *Έρμης Ἀμεντανου συν γυναικι Απφια κε Τέκνοις Διι Βρον-τωντι ευχήν. Νεάρχου ψυχη.* (Trans. Haspels 1971); Cameron and Cox 1937, xxiv.

[771] Cameron and Cox 1937, xxxv.

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Figure 4.25: Stela carrying wreath with fillets below inscription, Sari Kaya (Galatia), Imperial period. Calder 1956, 363. Pl. 23.

I referred to wreaths theoretically denoting conjugal bonds on Hellenistic banquet reliefs on stelae from Byzantium in section 1 and question whether, equally, there is scope for the parading of matrimonial ties by inclusion of the motif in the catalogue?[772] In support, 38% of stelae exhibiting wreaths are dedicated to a spouse (among additional family members in some instances).[773] Perhaps this may represent an additional layer of meaning relevant to close family or, specifically, patrons of the monument rather than wider contemporary viewers. More likely, the wreath motif visually translated tomb ornamentation, associated both with the funeral and grave itself[774], anointing a burial site according to funerary ritual. In this function, like the Totenmahl and sacrifice scenes (above), the motif may designate conduction of funerary ritual by the living, in addition to the heroization of the memorialised.

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[772] A wreath could function as a marker of marriage – e.g. held between the figures on a relief from Ödemiş in Lydia (Draycott 2016a, Fig. 15); Marriage has previously been identified as the cornerstone of the family unit (chapter 2).

[773] Celebrations of matrimony: OS.G.03, 10-11, 22, 25; OS.PHR.02, 27, 29, and 37; FS.PIS.07(?).

[774] Feraudi-Gruénais 2015, 682.

b) Garlands
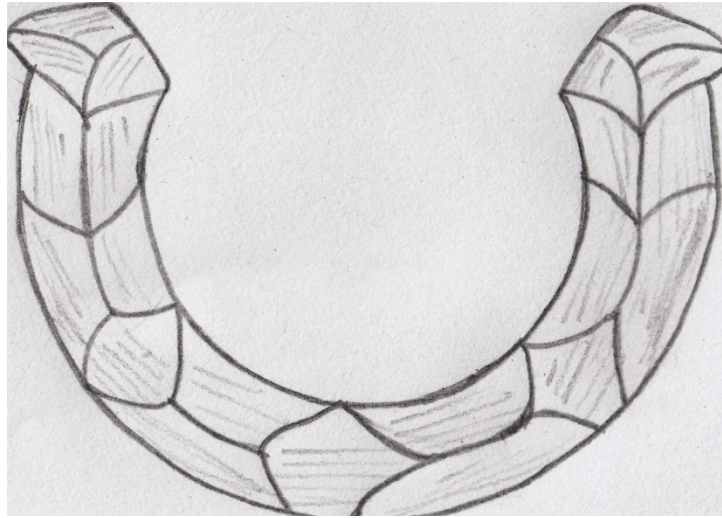
Figure 4.26: Drawing of a garland motif representative of examples in the catalogue. Hanging foliage is added according to examples. Produced by author.
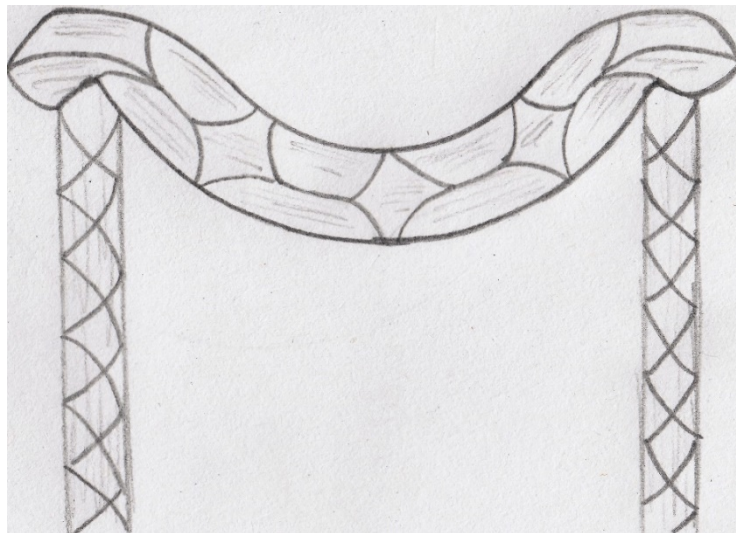
Figure 4.27: Drawing of the flatter garland motif representative of examples in the catalogue, foliage is added according to example. Produced by author.

The garland motif features on 10 occasions in the catalogue in two variants, indicative of atelier style.[775] One resembles a half/two-thirds complete wreath (Figure 4.26), or two cornucopiae joined together[776] (see OS.PHR.08, 14, 24). Figure 4.27 demonstrates the other

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[775] Herring and Wilkins 2003, 26; Davies 2003, 221.
[776] See Haspels 1971, Pl. 627, no. 98; Haspels 1971, Pl. 627, no. 99.

approach, with a flatter curve (excepting OS.PHR.23), sometimes supporting foliage from

either corner (OS.G.18, OS.PHR.12, 15, 21 and 23). The motif is frequent upon other

funerary monuments of the inland regions (and beyond)[777] such as altars, first-century BC

ossuaries[778] and earlier sarcophagi.[779] Its inclusion upon these stelae alludes to the

decoration of larger funerary monuments, likely outside of Asia Minor.[780] Alongside

wreaths, garlands may function as an offering of flowers and indicate tomb preparation and

moreover, appropriate actual garlands offered to the dead within the funerary ritual.[781] Its

presence on a stela could communicate that the deceased had been provided for by the

surviving family[782]; specifically, the anointment of the stone. This may, consequently, tie the

garland, in addition to other decorative flowers or plant motifs, to the life cycle of the

memorialised, both in life and beyond.[783] As an allusion to funerary ritual and tomb

decoration, the motif becomes value-laden, defining the funerary precinct as a *locus*

religiosus (irrespective of whether the stela was standalone and marking the burial, or

connected to another funerary monument).[784]

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[777] Swags feature on stelae from Münbic, Carablus and Oguzeli in Turkey, and Hierapolis-Bambylie/Membidj in modern Syria, dating to the Trajanic-Severan period (Weir 2001, 274); Roman ash chests and grave altars in the first-century AD were decorated with garlands (Davies 2011, 28).

[778] Garland ossuaries became prevalent during the Augustan period (Thomas 1996, 393).

[779] See Ögüs 2014.

[780] The garland frieze appears infrequently on the built tombs of Asia Minor (Cormack 2004, 99); For garland sarcophagi see Ögüs 2014, 115.

[781] Toynbee 1971, 265; It is debateable whether garland schemes, individually or collectively, were conceived of as possessing meaning (Davies 2011, 35); Decorating graves or tombs with flowers was one of the oldest funerary motifs, occurring independently in almost all cultures since prehistoric times (Nováková 2011, 232).

[782] The everyday act of completing due rites is repeated and codified into a motif: in this manner, motifs were expressers of cultural identity and could function upon funerary, votive/honorific monuments, even temples or other public buildings (Kelp 2015, 21).

[783] Floral motifs articulate the temporary nature of life and the boundless afterlife (Nováková 2011, 223).

[784] Garlands and sacrificial instruments, candelabra and tripods all express this concept (Ewald 2015, 393); Feraudi-Gruénais 2015, 682.

c) Eagle and birds

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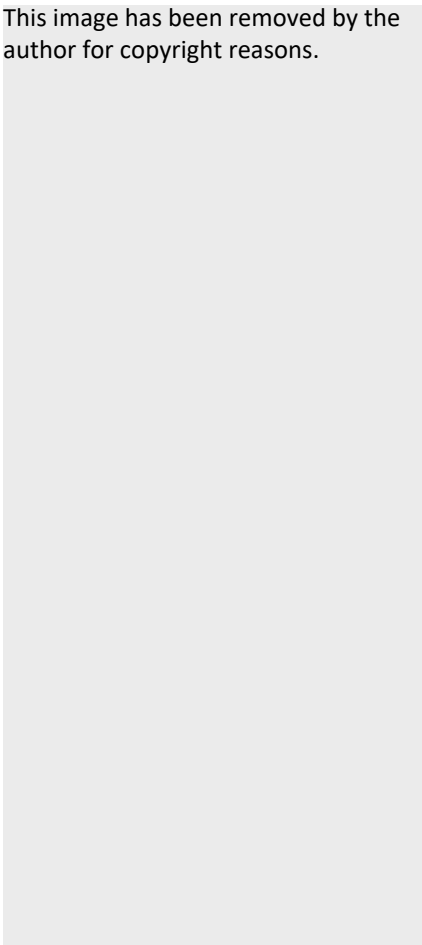
Figure 4.28: Greyish marble stela dedicated to Zeus Bronton and Zeus Bennios, with ox-head in pediment, Kuyucak, Imperial Period. Cameron and Cox 1937, no. 176.

Eagle motifs on votive stelae, such as Figure 4.28 from Phrygia, dedicated to Zeus Bronton[785], represent the bird frontal or side facing and sometimes atop thunderbolts. In both its text and iconography, an eagle invokes the Zeus to secure a better life/afterlife for the patron with a clear religious function. When the same attribute is incorporated upon sepulchral stelae it is correct to ascribe the same association with apotheosis, the afterlife and potential heroization. In the catalogue an eagle motif appears on 11 occasions (birds on a further 3 instances). There is variety in its appearance: looking back over its shoulder in

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[785] The revered deity (often Zeus) is named with an epithet, according to location. For example, Zeus Aisenos in central Phrygia, Apollo Alsenos about Akmonia, Zeus Bennios in the Upper Tembris Valley and about Amorion, and Apollo Lairbenos in the sanctuaries of SW Phrygia (Kelp 2015, 33).

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the pediment on OS.PHR.08; in profile on the field on OS.PHR.15 and 24; or, facing frontally

in the pediment with wings outstretched – see OS.PHR.26 and 28. Differentiations in

appearance reflect atelier designs or changes in style over time and do not lessen associated

meaning; the presence of an eagle/bird articulates the apotheosis of the deceased, marking

courage, power, and protection.[786]

d) Lions

Figure 4.29: Representation of the lion motif.
Produced by author.

A lion motif (characterised by Figure 4.29) features on 7 occasions in the catalogue[787] and

appropriates free-standing statues present within sepulchral contexts from the second half

of the seventh-century BC.[788] Lions possessed a range of religious functions, as grave

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[786] The eagle as the bird of apotheosis 'par excellence' (Haarløv 1977, 55); Levick et al. 1988, xlvix; in the Olba region (inland Asia Minor) the eagle symbolises Zeus and that a person is deified and under the protection of the deity (Durukan 2007, 158).

[787] FS.G.07; FS.PIS.19(?), 24; OS.G.15, 35, 37; OS.PHR.27.

[788] Remaining common to monumental built tombs in the Hellenistic necropoleis of the southwest coast of Asia Minor, and the surrounding islands (Nováková 2011, 226-228).

guardians[789] – such as the free-standing lion figures found at Balboura[790] – or a gender indicator associated with heroized, deceased males.[791] The inclusion of a lion implies beliefs in the afterlife and invokes divine guardianship – lions as companions to the deity Cybele.[792] Excepting OS.PHR.27, the motif is positioned within the pediment of the stela and relatively large; this example includes two seated lion motifs, a feature of second century AD representations of the animal[793], either side of a bull's head within its pediment.[794] Aside from OS.G.15, whose lion appears active, the remainder are seated and their placement and style has precedents in other contemporary funerary forms across Galatia, Phrygia and Pisidia, as demonstrated by the pair of doorstones below (Figures 4.30 and 4.31).[795]

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Figure 4.30: Doorstone with lion in pediment, detail, Ilgin, Imperial Period. Mama 1956, 118. Pl. 8.

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[789] The apotropaic function of the lion as a tomb guardian enjoyed wide currency in funerary monuments of Roman Asia Minor (Cormack 2004 24; and 89); Haarløv 1977, 49; Nováková 2011, 223; Kelp 2015, 76; Davies warns against a single, simply expressed meanings for motifs and advises caution applying formulae such as 'apotropaic' (Davies 2003, 220).

[790] At each of the 3 necropoleis, a free-standing lion is positioned at the boundary between the cemetery and the city to guard the dead (Cormack 2004, 89); Money 1990, 37; Lion lids are a distinctive feature of Balbouran sarcophagi (Money 1990, 30).

[791] Kelp 2015, 87; Lions associate with manly virtue, apotropaic meaning, and the courageous nobility of the deceased (Nováková 2011, 228).

[792] Representations of the eagle of Zeus and the Lion of the Mother Goddess were commonly used as invocations of divine guardianship (Calder 1956, xxxiv); In western Phrygia, the lion was the most important companion animal of Cybele (Kelp 2015, 86).

[793] Kelp 2015, 76.

[794] A lion was either depicted alone, or with an ox-head or bull, to represent protection of the grave and power over death (Levick et al. 1988, xlvix).

[795] The lion is a motif frequent upon Archaic and Imperial-period door grave reliefs (Kelp 2015, 86).

Figure 4.31: Doorstone with lion in pediment, Kadin Han, first-century AD. Mama 1956, 14a. Page 125.

e) Ox-heads

The ox-heads attribute possessed a clear religious purpose and was frequently displayed on votive monuments[796] including stelae like the Phrygian examples below (Figures 4.32-4.34 – dedicated to Zeus Bronton). Upon each a pair of yoked ox-heads are positioned above the inscription, within the field.[797] While the motif could refer to work – arable and pastoral farming (chapter 3) – its presence in the catalogue presumably articulated the piety of the patron. Like votive applications, the motif visually makes an offering in supplication to a deity (sacrifice of bulls undertaken to appease divinities) though neither example in the catalogue with yoked ox heads/bucrania references a deity.[798] Supplementing implications of funerary ritual activity, the motif may mark the heroization of the deceased, implying/recollecting a sacrifice conducted as part of their transition into the afterlife, appeasing the divine in hope of their favour.

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[796] A pair of yoked ox-heads frequently appear upon votive altars (Haspels 1971, 174; See also 187).
[797] Depictions of livestock are a distinctive motif of Phrygian stelae, regardless of the status of the dedicator. The ox-team became highly formulaic as it was so commonly repeated (Masséglia 2013, 101).
[798] OS.G.02 and OS.PHR.27.

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Figure 4.32: Greyish marble stela dedicated to Zeus Bronton, with ox heads, Kirka (Phrygia), Imperial Period. Mama 1937, no. 170.

Figure 4.33: Small marble stela dedicated to Zeus Bronton, with two yoked ox heads, Supu Oren (Phrygia), Imperial period. Mama 1937, no.153.

Figure 4.34: White marble stela dedicated to Zeus Bronton, with two yoked ox heads, Supu Oren (Phrygia), Imperial Period. Mama 1937, no. 152.

Concluding thoughts. Is there a concept of an afterlife expressed within the identities projected upon the catalogue's stelae?

The evidence of this chapter has outlined that a conception of an afterlife is expressed and a facet of identity projection on stelae of the catalogue. However, its articulation is both nuanced and unspecific.[799] Inhabitants are not celebrated specifically as heroes in the

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[799] We can assume that *some* people who purchased funerary banquet (among other) reliefs may have believed in a form of the afterlife however, not *all* and not the majority; there are few tangible and coherent

traditional sense[800] but – through the incorporation of hero statements, sacrifice reliefs, wreaths and motifs associated with divinities – they are honoured as quasi-heroes. In particular, representing attributes associated with deities (e.g. the lion or eagle) is distinctly heroizing insomuch as this seemingly dedicates a tomb to a deity (though this is not stated), perceivably in supplication for safe passage of the memorialised in the afterlife (again, this is not stated or specified). Furthermore, this symbolises the deification of the deceased. Each of the above are heroizing (ante-mortem or posthumously) by appropriating proclamations of gods as heroes, translating the praiseworthy values associated with these onto the inhabitants commemorated by these stelae. However, for banquet scenes I suggest circumventing eschatological meaning[801]. While scenarios whereby banquet reliefs indicate eternal symposia or depict actual family feasts cannot be ruled out entirely,[802] the role of the reliefs as a means of social distinction and competitive display seems paramount.[803] Like western depictions, the family at banquet represented an aspirational image of an elite and affluent lifestyle that demonstrates cultural knowledge.[804]

Consistent across the chapter is the communication of funerary ritual/rites having been undertaken by the surviving family. Wreaths and garlands reference actual materials used in ritual and tomb decoration, curse formulas the continuation and protection of the site of

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concepts of the utopian afterlife in ancient Greek textual sources (Fabricius 2016, 45); Baughan 2013, 176; 'Funerary ritual is not only a question of belief, but also of commemoration of the deceased beyond the moment of death and interment' (Brandt 2015, xviii).

[800] See footnote 679.

[801] Fabricius 2016, 43.

[802] Fabricius 2016, 43; One must distinguish between banquet imagery as representing a social act in the life of the community, a sacred act in religious festivities for gods/heroes, and a part of funerary rites and afterlife beliefs (Amann 2016, 72).

[803] By the Roman period, the Totenmahl/reclining banquet motif had become a funerary cliché, used as a traditional image for tombs rather than to convey well-understood meanings (Draycott 2016, 6); Draycott 2016a, 283; Banquet scenes likely represented lifetime banquets illustrating social status, familial achievements, or eternal marriage/familial bonds (Baughan 2016, 208).

[804] Lockwood 2016, 324.

internment, while scenes of sacrifice and/or funerary banquet articulate a visual record of adherence to ritual customs, conducted for the dead.[805] Indeed, the act of commissioning and constructing a stela to celebrate and perpetuate the memory of family members is a component of these customs. Visual markers not only emphasise ritual activity but remind the viewer of the active role of sepulchral monuments in these processes, well documented as occurring in Rome and the west.[806] In doing so, the evidence implies the conduction of funerary ritual in Pisidia and Phrygia[807] and potentially reinforces the role of the surviving family in looking after the dead (i.e. sacrifice and libation); and, that this may have been a social/religious norm and expectation.

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[805] Belief and ritual can be expressed in many forms, including the pictorial presentation of the practices involved (Brandt 2015, xii); The tomb acts as the point of contact between the living and the dead (Colvin 1991, 56).

[806] Walker 1985, 11; Clarke 2006, 182.

[807] For example, the family returning to the tomb to feast and celebrate with the deceased, celebrating days of the dead (e.g. Parentalia or Rosalia). See Colvin 1991, 57; Clarke 2006, 182; Walker 1985, 10-11.

Chapter 5. Do production processes define or affect the expression made within the catalogue? The impact of production and the influence of location in channelling the articulation of identity across Galatia, Phrygia and Pisidia.

In previous chapters I acknowledged homogeneity in both appearance and expression among the catalogue (not necessarily negating individuality), channelled through shared knowledge and positioned within accepted boundaries.[808] Such consistency is the result of function, enabling these funerary stelae to meet inherent requirements – i.e. consoling the living and perpetuating the memory of the dead by expressing their favourable characteristics, communicating to as wide an audience as possible etc. However, there is scope to explore an additional explanation for this coherency – prefabricated production. Could the working of stelae prior to purchase/order influence, even define, both appearance and, more significantly, identity expression within the catalogue? To what extent did the processes of production, themselves guided by social and cultural norms, enable the trends explored in the previous chapters?[809]

To answer these questions, I start in section 1 with an assessment of how off-the-shelf acquisitions have been tackled in Roman archaeology, showcasing why pre-fabrication may be applicable to this thesis' evidence. Section 2 puts the theory into practice, assessing material use and applying my own design template classifications to the catalogue; a litmus test determining whether the stelae may have been pre-produced before purchase/order. In section 3, my analysis focuses on the potential movement of designs and materials across

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[808] A high degree of conformity suggests significance and one should question the effect they had in their contemporary surroundings (Yasin 2005, 444).

[809] This chapter will show production and fashions were additional influencing factors to individual expression on stelae - unlike Madsen's statement that 'the way in which the deceased appears on a gravestone reflects how he identified himself rather than what seemed to be the trend at that particular point in time' (Madsen 2002, 110).

a regional context. It will identify whether stylistic approaches and iconographic markers incorporated resulted from production according to location, within each respective inland region.[810] Throughout this process I will consider both the role of the workshop and patron in defining the appearance and content of gravestones.[811] Did the patron hold much sway over features and design or, instead, were gravestones prefabricated with the workshop responsible?[812] Last, in section 4 I summarise my findings.

Section 1 - How has identifying off-the-shelf acquisitions been tackled in Roman archaeology?

The continued repetition of language and images was a key part of Roman art.[813] Both were transmitted visually through appropriate models and modes of representation, depicting subjects and messages, themselves homogenised within contemporary Roman culture.[814] Consequently, visual language can be considered standardised, from a mass-produced and pre-specified language.[815] Coherent iconographical components and designs among the catalogue suggests that, as a medium of communication, these stelae – conveying this visual language to a contemporary audience – may also have been mass-produced to some extent. We shall now evaluate how applications of the construct may be applied to my evidence.

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[810] Revell adopts a similar approach to identify variability within a global culture (Revell 2016, 208).
[811] It is unclear the extent to which grave stelae were individualised or showcase the contents of a sculptor's pattern book (Lomas 2003, 205).
[812] Workshops played a key role in the variability observable in the provinces – enabling existing styles to continue and new forms to be created (Revell 2016, 213).
[813] The Roman practice of replication in sculpture lent itself to standardisation (Wilson 2008, 405).
[814] Hölscher 2004, 99.
[815] Massive consumer demand existed for objects in "standard" forms (Russell 2010, 136); 'Visual language corresponds, in its ever-increasing standardisation, to the growing standardisation and ideal stereotyping of the visual message' (Hölscher 2004, 127).

a) Mass production

To understand the ancient world, scholars translate processes from contemporary times and apply them to the past. One such application is mass production: the manufacture of many goods in a standardised form to stock, through the same production process.[816] However, this definition pertains to the modern-day, so what represents mass production in Roman archaeology? Below are three instructive definitions.

- 'Division of labour, rationalisation and specialisation are the criteria' marking large-scale production of Imperial Rome.[817]

- Mass production involves three factors, 1) division of labour, 2) standardisation of sizes and forms, 3) standardised interchangeable parts.[818]

- There are two features of ancient mass production; the division of labour and large-scale production of standardised objects.[819]

Two designations standout; 1) the division of labour to break down complex tasks; 2) the standardisation of products (due to rationalisation) to facilitate effective division of labour (increasing efficiency and reducing costs). Heilmeyer's inclusion of specialisation is noteworthy and I will return to this later. While these definitions can be applied effectively to large-scale bread or pottery production in the ancient world, they do not correlate to stone working, primarily because the task is increasingly labour intensive, time consuming and, necessitates high skill levels.[820] Ward Perkins' comprehension of the marble trade in mid-first-century AD Nicomedia is informative in understanding stone production, through

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[816] OED Third Edition, December 2000; Wilson 2008, 394; Russell 2010, 123.
[817] Heilmeyer 2004, 404.
[818] Wilson 2008, 394.
[819] Russell 2010, 121.
[820] Russell 2010, 122.

processes symptomatic of mass production. He defined the marble industry through the following:

- Nationalisation of trade. Quarries placed under direct imperial control.

- Rationalisation of quarrying methods, increasing efficiency and quantity at each quarry.

- A new customer-quarry relationship. Bulk production and stockpiling at the quarry and stockpiling at marble yards of importing cities. Customers unlikely to go directly to source due to stock availability.

- Standardisation and pre-fabrication, even specialisation at pre-fabrication level.

- Availability of specialised workmen at some quarries.

- Agencies overseas assisting in facilitating orders, and with distribution.[821]

Components of these definitions will be appropriated into this study. Rationalisation simplified the production process and could allow labour to be divided into skilled tasks, improving the quality of the product. Standardisation is applicable to stone production, irrespective of institution size – for example, white marble quarries at Proconnesus, Ephesus, Aphrodisias and Caria roughly cut garland sarcophagi to a basic shape before export in the late first-century AD.[822] Indeed, pre-fabrication such as this continues traditional stone working practice.[823] However, when translating other criteria to the inland regions of Asia Minor, complications arise. Unlike the definitions above, most quarries would have been independently owned - only the Docimeium/Göynükören quarries in

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[821] Ward Perkins 1980a, 25.
[822] Wilson 2008, 403.
[823] From the Archaic period onwards, stone statuary was already worked to its rough form at the quarry (Heilmeyer 2004, 405).

Phrygia may have been imperially controlled in the first-century AD – effectively undermining attempts to translate a mass production manufacturing process to workshops across the region.[824] Financial capabilities of imperial quarries greatly exceeded independently funded institutions, and this capital enabled implementation of an efficient production-to-stock arrangement.[825] Further, their capacity to transport, even export, goods occurred on distance-scale unmatched by, perhaps, even the largest, non-imperial quarries.[826] A more balanced view of the region allows for numerous smaller quarries sourcing stone for a more insular market.

b) Rationalisation and pre-fabrication

To circumvent these challenges, I will instead focus on the concept of rationalisation via standardisation and pre-fabrication. Through such a lens, usable templates were delivered by quarry-based workshops which could function with or without additional work.[827] The process of preparing and carving a stone (epigraphic) monument is likened, effectively, to that of Greek pottery workshops by Susini[828] and encapsulated succinctly in the diagram below (Figure 5.1).

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[824] For example, Ephesus remained municipally or privately owned and although occasionally exported, Ephesian marble was intended for local use (Ward Perkins 1980b, 327).
[825] A limitation of employing the term mass production is an associated preconception synonymous with notions of production to stock (Russell 2010, 120).
[826] Large-scale, independent enterprises in the inland regions include two Upper Tembris Valley quarries near Cakirsaz and Altinas Koy (Levick et al. 1993, xxix).
[827] Russell 2010, 126; Ready-made funerary stelae, complete with guidelines, decorative elements, and a polished inset for an inscription, were probably stocked in stonemasons' workshops (Mclean 2002, 9).
[828] The painter (likened to the quarry workshop) chose the design and traced this onto the rough surface of the vase (stone funerary monument) almost completely independent of the customer, influenced only by general preferences of the marker (social norms). The whole activity of the shop - completing the prefabricated stones to order - was ascribed to the owner/stonemason (Susini 1973, 12-13).

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Figure 5.6: Stages in the production of epigraphic monuments. Mclean 2002, Fig. 1.

Pre-fabrication in this manner was not necessarily a production to stock method. Instead, it was utilised by workshops to reduce weight, decrease the likelihood of flaws and, because the stone was easiest to carve when initially quarried.[829] Interactions between client and producer likely followed the traditional process of simple and direct communication.[830] A consumer may have placed an order, the quarry cut the stone as requested[831], and a local workshop then completed the sculpting.[832] Workshops conceivably offered stock templates, pre-produced, onto which patrons could add or inter-change features.[833] The extent of pre-production could vary on a case by case basis.[834] Personalisations, if allowed in the design,

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[829] Russell 2010, 135-6.

[830] A process traceable to Greek heritage (Ward Perkins 1980a, 24); Often the customer provided the recipient's personal data and the workshop cast this in the correct language and formulae (Susini 1973, 46).

[831] Stone blocks (approximately 1-2 metres high and 10-14 cm thick) were dressed by quarry stonemasons and could be applied to a variety of uses - statues and their bases, altars, tombs, sarcophagi, stelae, and boundary markers (Mclean 2002, 7).

[832] This behaviour continued into the first-century AD, even as new stones and greater distances of transportation influenced the trade (Ward Perkins 1980a, 24).

[833] Carroll 2006, 109); The stela in Paz de Hoz's article is a blank console awaiting an inscription; it was prefabricated, perhaps the buyer purchased a gravestone in stock due to an unexpected death? (Paz de Hoz 2007); The customer made their choice from a range of pre-produced monuments, stocked by the workshop. This phenomenon originated from the Etruscan practice of mass-producing sarcophagus lids (Susini 1973, 36).

[834] Examples, such as a stela at the Archaeological Museum at Pola, merely lacked text when placed before the hypothetical customer; others, in the Archaeological Museum at Fiesole, have a tympanum showing a rough-cut circular ornament that could easily have become a flower, *patera*, gorgon's head etc. (Susini 1973, 34-35).

were incorporated at time of purchase/commission by the local workshop (i.e. portrait details or inscription).[835]

Pre-fabrication in practice – doorstones at Aezani

A small, regional case study addressing doorstone manufacture at Aezani (Phrygia) provides a cross-comparison to gravestone production in inland Asia Minor.[836] Doorstone fabrication stayed at a small scale during the first-third centuries AD, tailored for a more local market.[837] Almost all examples found about Aezani were likely produced by one workshop, located at or near the quarries of Göynükönen, and sold half-finished, with general template shape and a degree of final treatment upon their surfaces.[838] An example, from the early second century AD, can be observed in Figure 5.2. It may be that these stones functioned without additional work.[839] Half-finished monuments were correspondingly sent to the city of Aezani (and to other settlements of the region[840]) for completion to order by sculptors at a local workshop.[841] Doubtless, workshops receiving doorstones from Göynükönen completed these to their own style, atelier capability or customer demand. These manufacturing considerations explain the clear similarities, even seeming homogeneity, observable on doorstones, as well as slight differences based on location.

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[835] Russell 2010, 125; Even portraits were ready-made and required only some additional distinctive detail (Susini 1973, 36).

[836] A doorstone was a monument resembling a tomb entrance, carved in relief upon a built tomb or other contemporary funerary form (i.e. stelae, altars).

[837] There are 6 traceable types of doorstone produced from the first-third centuries AD (Levick et al. 1988, xliv).

[838] Levick et al. 1988, L; Wilson 2008, 403.

[839] Presumably, a visitor to such an establishment was confronted by a selection of blank gravestones and plaques in standard shapes, sizes and materials that merely required text to become the finished article (Carroll 2006, 109).

[840] This workshop exported finished products to the settlement near Tavsanli (northern Aezanitis) while it also exported half-finished doorstones to other settlements in the Aezanitis area and this may explain the styles and slight differences across this space (Levick et al. 1988, L).

[841] Nearly 40 Phrygian workshops made Türsteine stelae with doorstones (Clayton Fant 1985, 660).

The doorstones of Aezani provide evidence of rationalisation leading to the manufacture of a similar product which was, to a certain extent, standardised.[842] Specialised production was implemented insomuch as the workshop manufactured half-finished, prefabricated stock. Though a clear and stable market existed for the product, these doorstones were not mass-produced to stock and are, instead, indicative of a small-scale quarry producing for an insular market. This small case study of the manufacture of a contemporary funerary form within Phrygia identifies that pre-fabrication was applicable to stelae production within the inland regions. The close parallels between the doorstone and stelae product, their shared provenance, and analogous chronological timeframe, makes it instructive to inform my approach through such a manufacturing system.

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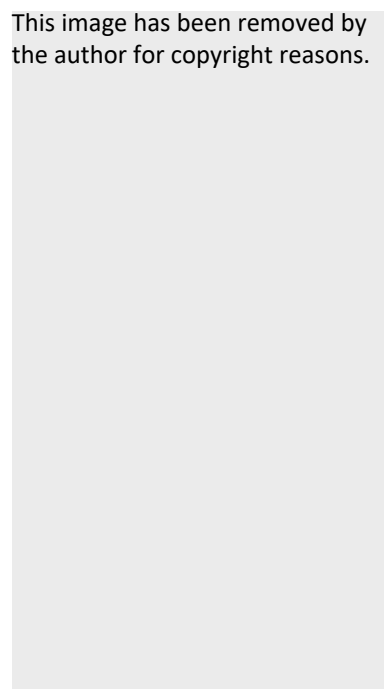
Figure 5.2: Doorstone of type 1A, Halifeler, first quarter of the second century AD. Levick et. al. 1988, 65. C.192.

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[842] 'The decoration and door of these stones remained stereotyped for more than a century'. With a few exceptions, the upper panels of the door had a rosette left and a circular keyplate right (richer specimens of the later first and second quarter of the second century included garlands above these). 'The normal device for the lower panels was a door-ring, usually schematised (that is, without a cramp connecting it to the door), many times round an aspis (a shield-like decorative bronze plate to be found on real doors) within a lozenge. This lozenge was characteristic of Aezani.' (Levick et. al. 1988, xlviii).

Section 2 – Is there evidence of prefabricated production in the catalogue?

I will now consider consistency in designs and material usage to ascertain whether stelae in the catalogue may have been prefabricated, potentially with specific configurations relative to location. I begin by detailing the materials used in manufacture, considering implications of this, before creating of a series of template design standards and applying these to my evidence. My remit is to classify stones to templates according to closely comparable features – such as positioning of iconographical components, monument scale, use of field and pediment etc. – should more than two match, or the overall design be analogous. This analysis will determine to what extent standardised designs can incorporate multiple examples, indicative of prefabrication.

At the classification stage I do not take provenance into account (doing so may skew my classifications). Locational factors are the subject of discussion in section 3, assessing the movement of deigns and materials within and across the inland regions (mapping the spread of materials and design standards). Furthermore, I will **not** be seeking to determine whether stelae were produced by the same hand as this does not add sufficient value to my approach and given numerous uncertainties, is an inherently hypothetical exercise. Take Weir's discussion of the prefabrication of gravestones from Northern Syria and Southeast Asia Minor. The author identifies distinct similarities in figural composition, theme, stone type, and inscriptional characteristics, concluding monuments of this common sort were usually prefabricated, lacking only inscriptions when the customer visited the workshop.[843] Despite marked similarities allowing Weir to classify the stelae into 3 distinct types, the

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[843] Weir 2001, 280.

scholar does not assign any to the same workshop. Likewise, I question the relevance of being able to state two stones are from the same atelier.

Section 2.1 – Material of manufacture
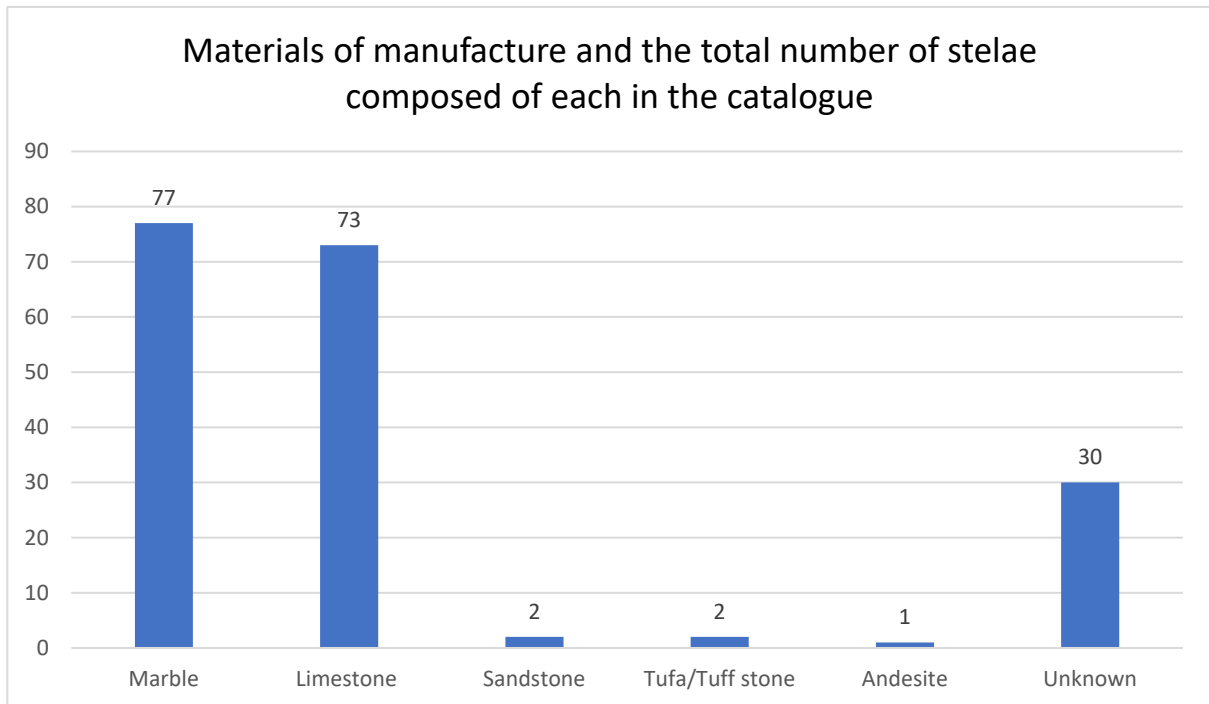
Figure C.14: The total number of stelae from the catalogue composed of each respective material.

Figure C.14 illustrates materials used in the manufacture of the catalogue's stelae and the respective frequency of each.[844] Marble and limestone predominate in a near even split, accounting for 81% of all examples, with only 5 stelae composed of alternative materials – sandstone, tufa/tuff stone or andesite (a mere 3% of the catalogue). 30 stelae bear no recorded material and while these were potentially composed of an alternative stone, based on the results above I speculate the majority were marble or limestone commissions. These results are linked to contemporary demand: limestone and marble were the materials of

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[844] I have not classified specific variations within marble and limestone - such as Docimian marble or Boztepe limestone – as the recorded details of most stelae do not specify varieties over-and-above this basic classification.

choice for inhabitants purchasing gravestones at this time.[845] It demonstrates a narrow range of materials was used by stonemasons, perhaps reflective of availability (and capability) at workshops and, in turn, is illustrative of materials quarried within the inland regions in the earlier Imperial period. Durability explains the infrequency of alternative materials as these were less permanent and weather affected, especially in the case of sandstone.[846] The relative wealth of inhabitants memorialised may skew the extant visual record as more permanent materials like limestone and marble were more expensive (due to workmanship, finish and durability).[847]

I expected to observe increased limestone commissions relative to marble, partly due to the preconception that inhabitants residing within a rural expanse had reduced access to expensive materials and lacked the capacity to afford them.[848] Figure C.14 demonstrates marble was available for smaller funerary monuments like stelae (in the early Imperial period) and the provision of the material to an internal market.[849] Generally, known quarrying - for example, at Docimeion in Phrygia from the early second century AD onwards - concerned pre-cutting marble into sarcophagi to be exported (particularly to Rome).[850] Larger quarries, and maybe smaller institutions, sent marble products (or offcuts from marble production) to regional workshops using enhanced, interconnecting roads across

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[845] The two most used stones for epigraphic monuments in the Greek and Roman world were limestone and marble (Mclean 2002, 5).

[846] Marble allows for good preservation and the enduringly rural nature of modern inner Anatolia has enabled many stelae to survive (Masséglia 2013, 95).

[847] The price of a monument was determined by the natural quality of the stone, quarrying and transportation costs, size of text, quality of engraving and assembly in situ (Mclean 2002, 13); Hence a need for economy in inscriptions to reduce/balance cost (Susini 1973, 48).

[848] For monuments that needed to be durable without being especially valuable, limestones with a crystal structure were preferred as these were easier to work than marble (Susini 1973, 24).

[849] In places where marble was in vast supply and could be acquired relatively affordably (such as towns located near quarries) marble tended to also be employed for more mundane uses (Mclean 2002, 6).

[850] Kelp 2015, 33.

each region to move the material (see section 3). Accordingly, marble was more accessible

to inhabitants for funerary monuments within the inland regions.

Material composition of figural and motif-only stelae

A typical preconception are notions whereby stelae bearing figural reliefs were of a "higher"

quality; that is expensive marble commissions necessitating a heightened skillset.[851]

Amongst the evidence of the catalogue however, this notion is reversed: figural stelae were

predominantly composed of limestone (Figure C.15)[852] and motif-only stones primarily

marble (Figure C.16).[853] Consistency in stone use according to stela type (i.e. figural versus

motif-only) could represent prefabricated production, with specific types of stela pre-cut by

the quarry(ies) (according to material being excavated) and sent to workshops of immediate

areas for completion. The reduced frequency of marble figural stelae may be a direct result

of workmanship required for such commissions alongside the reduced production

capabilities in the region.[854]

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[851] Susini 1973, 24.
[852] 55% of figural stelae are composed of limestone, 24% marble.
[853] 58% of motif-only gravestones are marble, 24% limestone.
[854] The supply of the material and problems connected with it (degree of workmanship) had a direct and considerable influence of the activities of the stonemason's shop as well as on the cost of the finished product (Susini 1973, 21).
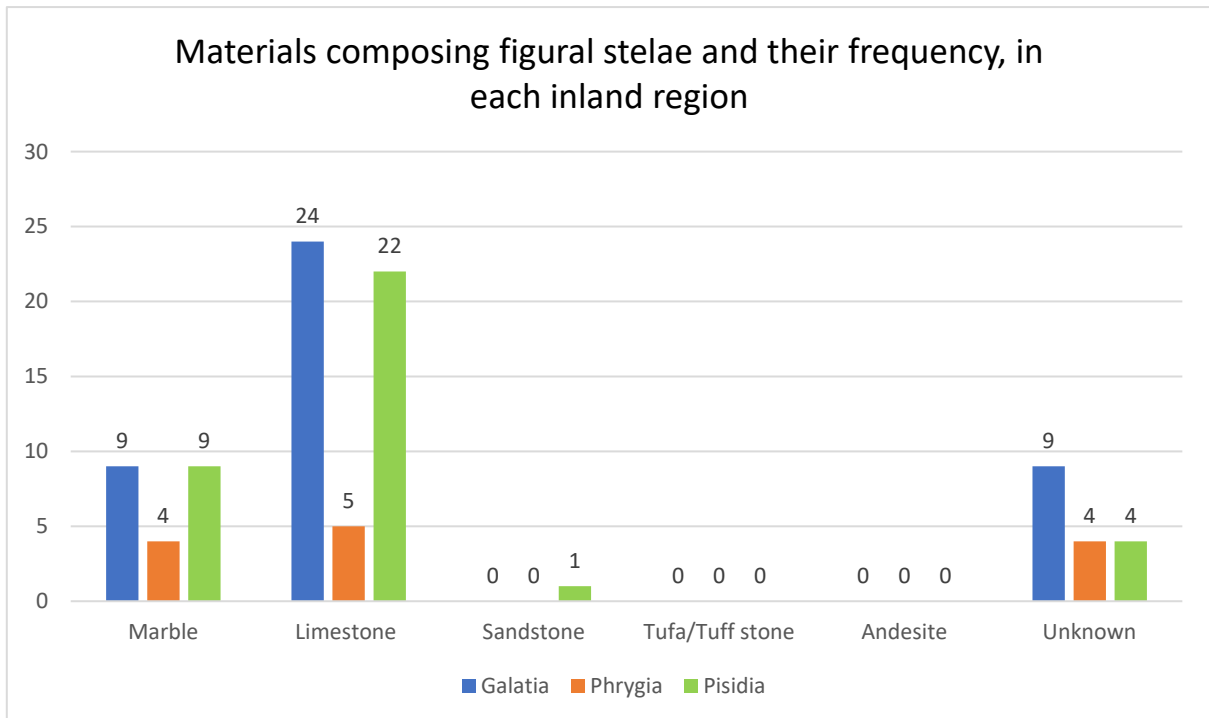
Figure C.15: Materials of composition of figural stelae within each inland region.
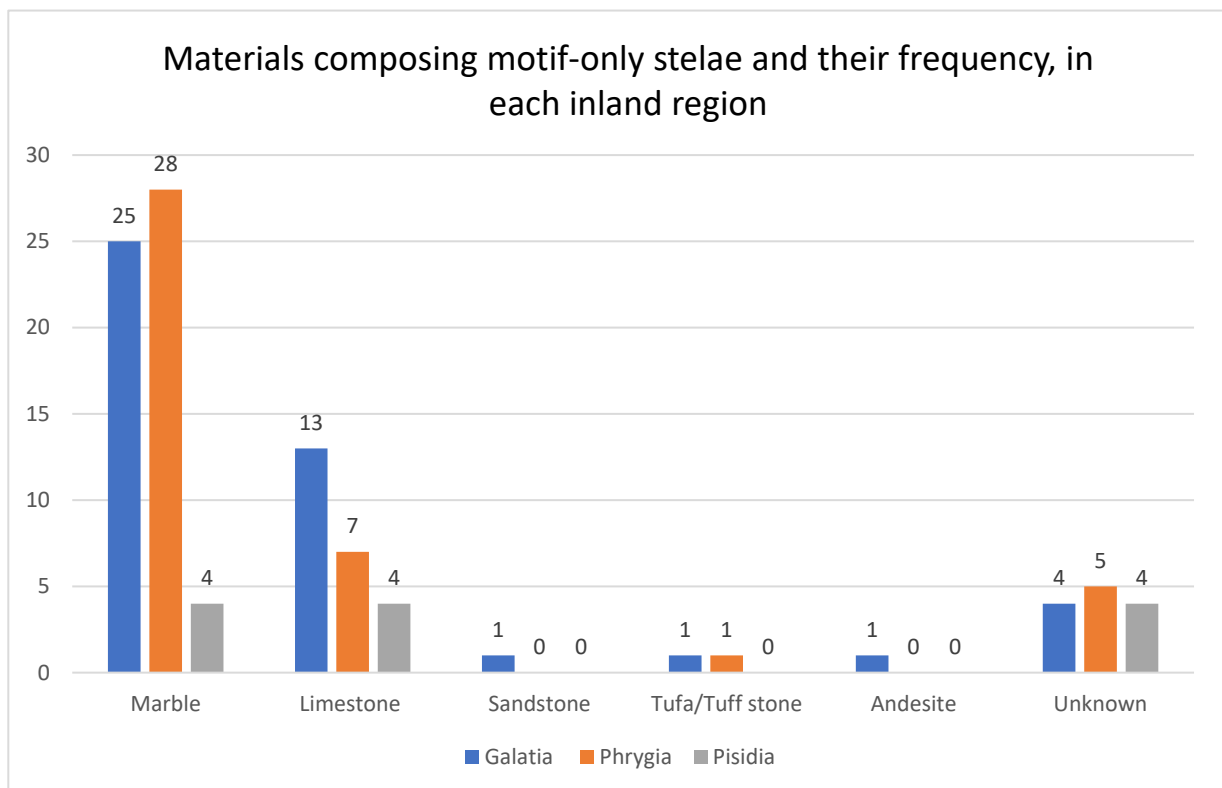
Figure C.16: Materials of composition of motif-only stelae within each inland region.

That, and a potential whereby quarries applied their most skilled ateliers to higher quality pieces (i.e. sarcophagi production for exportation)[855] or more likely perhaps, the most capable stonemasons were employed in producing public inscriptions at larger institutions.[856] Skilled stonemasons were hard to come by and those capable presumably specialised in a specific design: therefore, ateliers cut stones following an approach they had been trained in, and could, accordingly, train others in.[857] This explains closely comparable stelae appearances as a continuation of an approach, based on established skills, passed on over time.[858] Differentiations are instigated by location: a) at workshop level, ateliers completing prefabricated stones from the quarry to their skillset, each stonemason versed in a certain manner of finishing gravestones; b) distinctions between stelae in different regions, matching the same template, may be indicative of the sourcing of pre-cut stelae from respective, regional quarries. Each of these likely cut their original blank designs somewhat differently.

Section 2.2 – Design templates

In the following discussion I apply a series of design standards to the catalogue, each a variance in style but including a narrow band of closely comparable features applicable to figural or motif-only stones.[859] I theorise with caution and acknowledge that in seeking to

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[855] Many types of stone funerary monument could be produced in the same workshop where inscriptions were made (Susini 1973, 16-17).

[856] Most funerary inscriptions were produced in peripheral workshops by artisans who often lacked the same degree of skill and education as those responsible for public inscriptions (Mclean 2002, 260).

[857] A good craftsperson had dexterity, skill, endurance, memory, and knowledge; all had to be gained through formal and informal relationships with an already trained individual within the craft (Wootton 2016 69); On the availability of manuals for stonemasons see: Mclean 2002, 11 and Susini 1973, 48.

[858] The stonecutter's trade was important and widely diffused; there must have been teachers and schools where it could be learnt, even if this meant only an apprenticeship in a larger workshop (Susini 1973, 51).

[859] This is not limited to the stela form: Phrygian doorstones from the second and third centuries to an extent homogeneous, exhibiting minor alternate styles in different regions (Kelp 2015, 94); at 5 burial sites in Carthage Stevens identifies a burial *koine* through consistent tomb types, markers, and gifts (over a fixed space

explain homogeneity of iconographical components according to production, through a small number of design templates (and applying these to evidence across a large scale), my analysis may miss or not allow for nuances on a case-by-case basis. To alleviate the issue my template designs are inclusive, allowing for numerous stylistic alterations, but inherent to my method minor aspects of change may be downplayed.

a) **Figural Stelae Template A.**
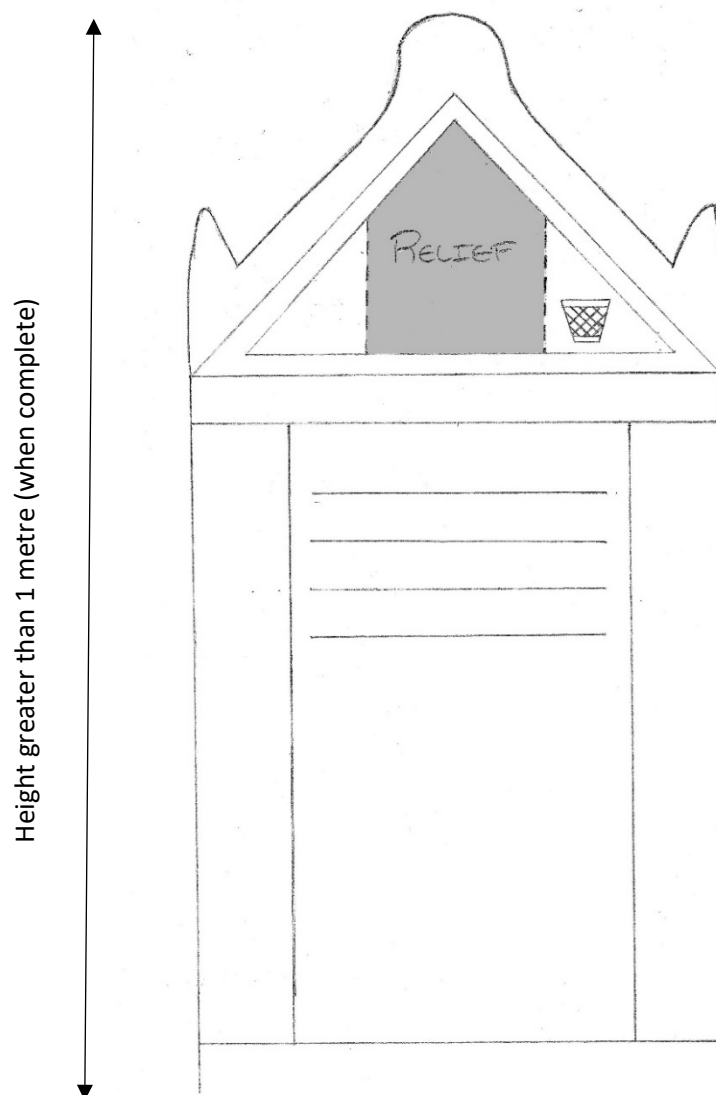
Figure 5.3: Figural Stelae Template A is over one metre high, locates the relief within the pediment, has plain pilasters, male figure (generally) left of composition, motifs either side of the figure/s (often a wool basket, as above) and in the field. The inscription is positioned at the top of the field. Produced by author.

and time) reflecting a conformity to tradition at each site and providing evidence of a distinctive collective identity (Stevens 2008, 81).

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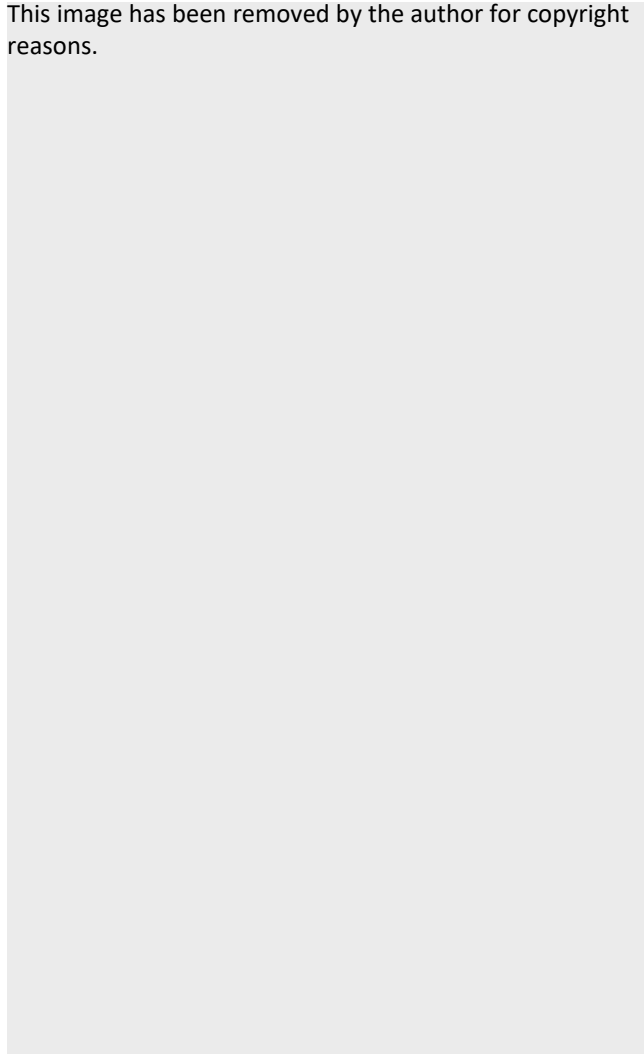
Figure 5.4: FS.G.01 as representative of Figural Stelae Template A, Çeşmelisebil, Imperial period. Thonemann 2013a, no. 204.

Material of composition of stelae matching Figural Stelae Template A

- 4
- 4
- 25

■ Limestone ■ Marble ■ Not recorded
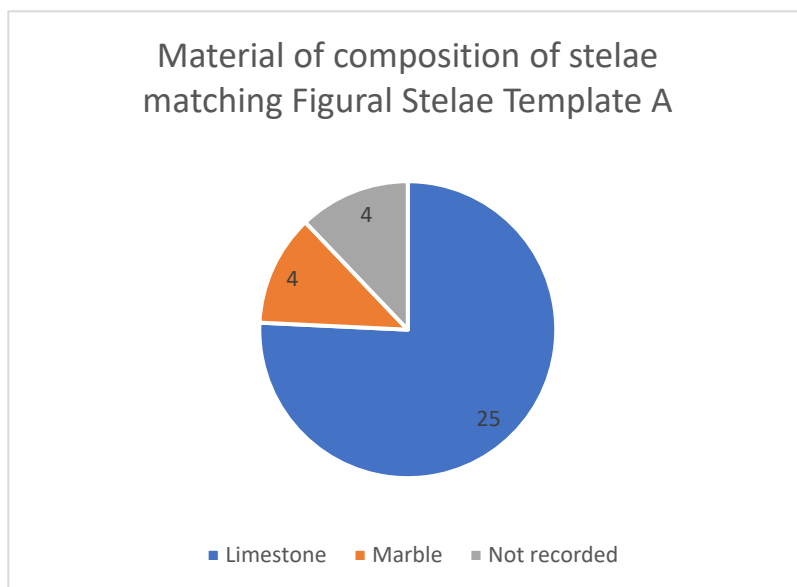
Figure C.16: Material of composition of stelae matching Figural Stelae Template A.

Limestone predominates the 32 stelae fitting this template (78%) with only 4 marble examples (13%) - see Figure C.16. This may imply that (especially within Galatia) stones were pre-cut to a design like my template at one or more quarries and sourced by workshops from these. It will be valuable in section 3 to ascertain the spread of this template within the region to determine if the evidence supports this hypothesis. Producing this template has enabled the classification of FS.G.42 to a region of provenance, previously unknown. I estimate it came from Galatia given close similarities with a specific group of Figural Stelae Template A stones (see section 3). The style of the pedimental tendril decoration, monument scale, and handling of the figures corresponds closely with FS.G.01, 4-10, 28, 31-33 (group a, Map. 5).[860] Therefore, I hypothesise the stela was produced, or set-up, from a location in south south-west Galatia along the road from Ladik to Philomelion, about Kunderaz, Nevine, Kestel and Ladik.[861]

b) Figural Stelae Template B

I have allowed for minor variations when applying Figural Stelae Template B (Figure 5.5)[862] – i.e. differences in elaboration, style, and text location, as on FS.G.27 (Figure 5.6). Many of the remaining figural stelae from Galatia can be categorised to this design standard including: FS.G.12, FS.G.15, FS.G.17-20, FS.G.23-24, FS.G.27, FS.G.34. Template B also matches 85% of Phrygian figural stelae (FS.PHR.01-06, and FS.PHR.9-13).[863] While the

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[860] 11 of the 12 stelae are limestone, over 1 metre in height (FS.G.29 and 34 are damaged but likely exceeded this height), roughly 0.5 metres wide and around 0.26 metres thick.

[861] The workshops at Akmonia in Phrygia produced grave monuments found in the surrounding villages of Imrez, Susuz, Erci-islaniköy and Banaz (Kelp 2015, 57).

[862] Excepting FS.G.22 (which fits neither Figural Stelae Template A or B) the epitaph is located above the relief on FS.PHR.04 and on the entablature on FS.PHR.01 and FS.PHR.09.

[863] FS.PHR.07 does not fit either template.

standard is a closer fit than Figural Template A was to the evidence of Pisidia, clear

departures from my standard appear when classifying stelae from the region to Figural

Template B (see below).

RELIEF

(SIZE VARIES)

PLINTH BASE

Majority over 1 metre in height (when complete).
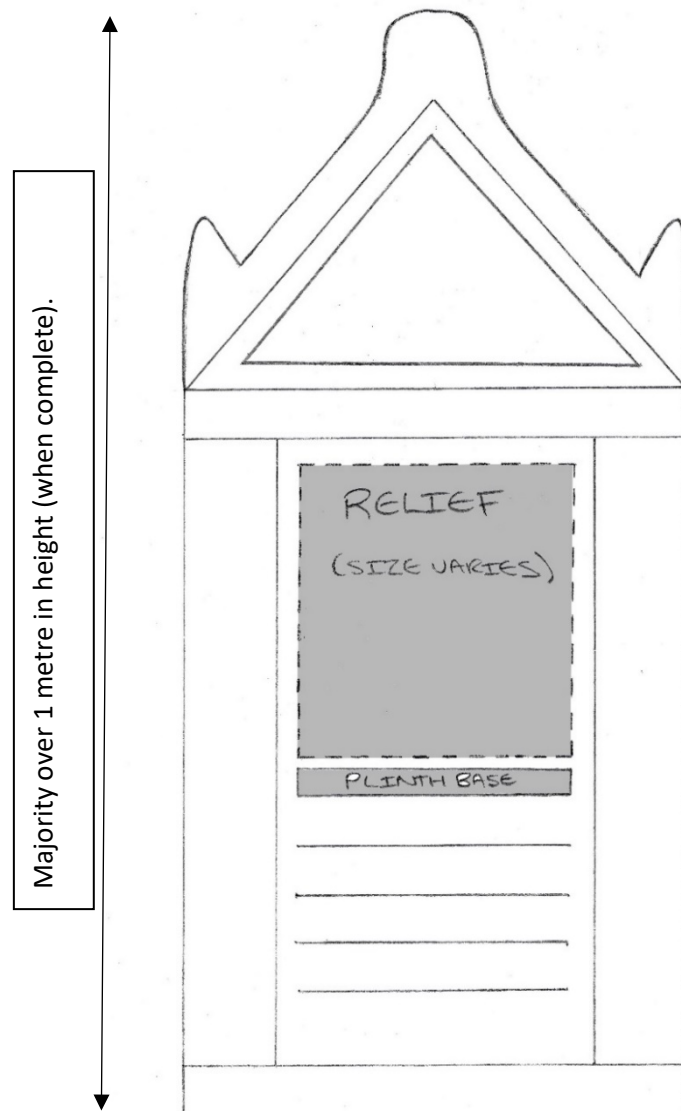
Figure 5.5: Figural Stelae Template B is around 1 metre tall, often with plain pilasters supporting a pediment (boss or motif at its centre), figures within the field (on a plinth) and, in most cases, text below plinth on field. Produced by author.

Consequently, I loosely allocate Figural Template B to a series of Pisidian stelae, allowing for

a higher degree of flexibility in doing so. FS.PIS.05, 11, 14, 18 (with the inset panel as the

picture field), FS.PIS.16, 22, 24, 28, 32, 34 (without pilasters) and FS.PIS.36 (with arch in

triangular pediment) resemble the framework of Figural Template B. The iconography of

Figural Templates A and B is not particularly distinguishable by theme, or decorative motifs, from the larger Greek world.[864] I would add the Roman world to this, where stelae were often decorated with simple floral patterns.[865] It is far more difficult to attribute trends of stone usage on stelae matching Figural Template B as a large proportion of these have no recorded material. Figure C.17 shows a balanced spread of materials.

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Figure 5.6: FS.G.27 as representative of Figural Stelae Template B, Kadinhani, Imperial period. Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1708. Mclean 2002a, no. 146. Fig. 159.

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[864] Risakis and Touratsoglou 2016, 121; stelae with funerary reliefs are a type familiar from the Hellenistic world and are stylistically related to Cycladic and Attic examples (Lomas 2003, 199).
[865] Hope 2007, 143.

Material of composition of stelae
matching Figural Stelae Template B
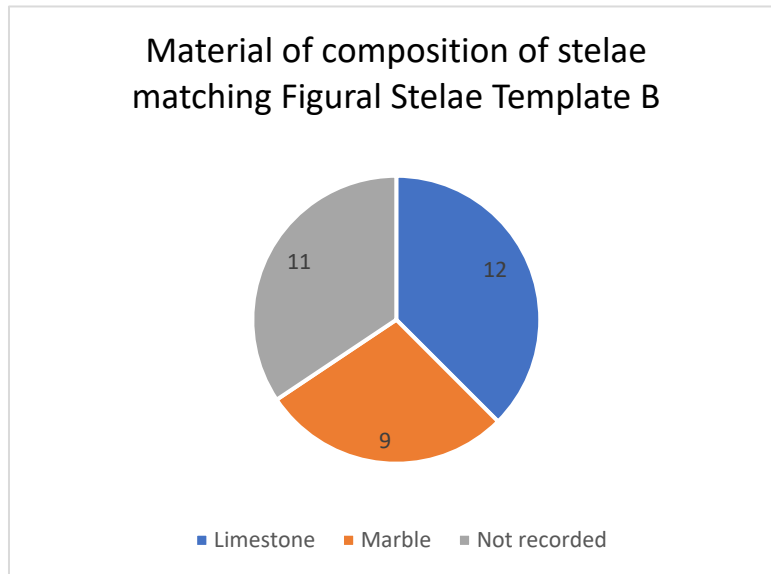
Figure C.17: Material of composition of stelae matching Figural Stelae Template B.

<u>Why do Pisidian figural stelae not match templates A and B as closely?</u>

Pisidian relief stelae locate portraits within a recessed panel, regularly include a horseshoe-shaped feature as a pediment or to frame the picture field, and exhibit increased variety in inscription position, pediment styles, and scale of iconographic components.

1) <u>Scale of picture field</u>

A penchant for larger reliefs (relative to stela scale) is in evidence across Pisidia – see FS.PIS.01-06, 08, 10-14, 16-17, 21-23, 27, 29, 31-32, 34-37 – where 65% (24 examples) of figural stelae possess large picture fields. An excellent example is FS.PIS.08 (discussed in chapter 3), a stela of small dimensions with comparatively large picture field, ensuring the deceased is defined as a gladiator by the portrait relief.

2) Monument dimensions
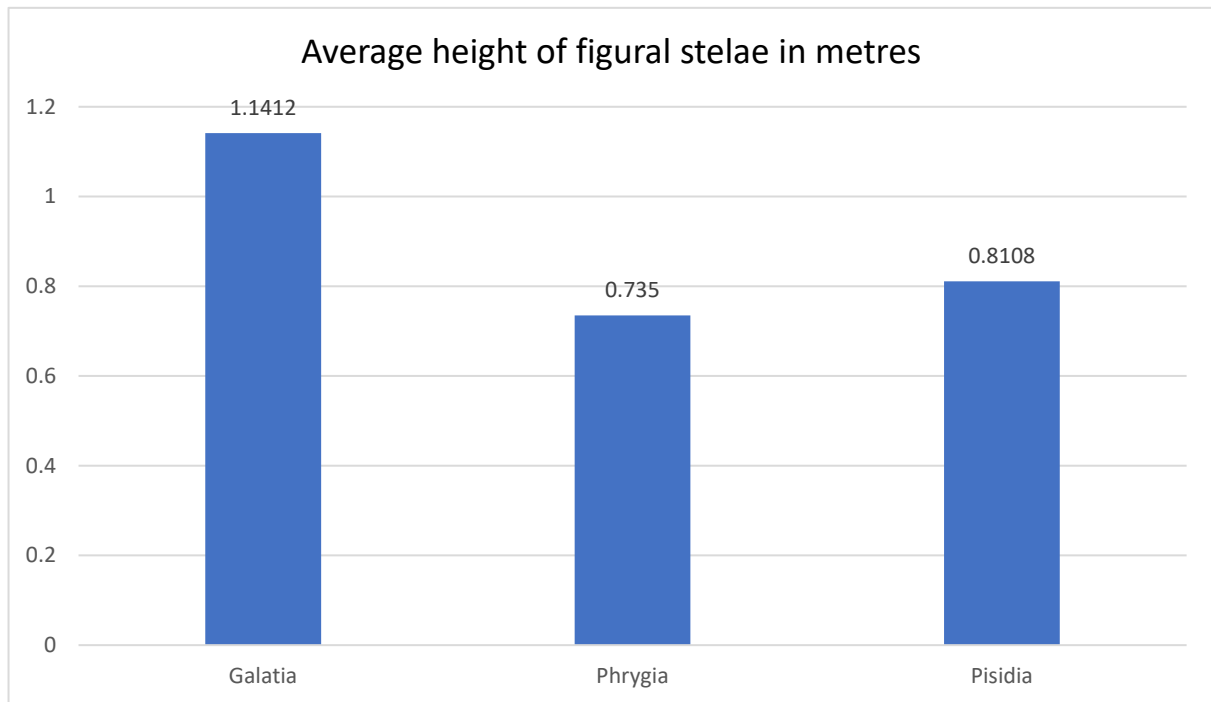
Figure C.18: Average height of figural stelae from each inland region.

Figure C.18 shows the mean height of each region's figural stelae. Accounting for anomalies – FS.PIS.19 measures 3.35 metres in height, FS.PHR.09 is 0.07 metres tall, and the low count of figural stelae from Phrygia – Pisidian figural stelae display more diversity in scale and are, on average, smaller.[866] Meanwhile, Galatian and Phrygian examples (the latter most likely so, given many are damaged) typically surpass 1 metre.[867]

3) Location of the picture field

Figures C.19-C.21 show location of the picture field on figural stelae from each region. The almost identical placement of portraits within the field on Phrygian and Pisidian stones illustrates why Template A is not be applicable to these stelae.

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[866] High rectangular slabs crowned with gables and an architectural framework (naiskosstelan) are frequent in Phrygia (Kelp 2015, 51).

[867] This is mirrored by other funerary forms - surviving funerary altars about Ancyra are tall and rectangular, between 1.4-1.8 metres high (French and Mitchell 2012, 18).

Location of portrait - Galatia
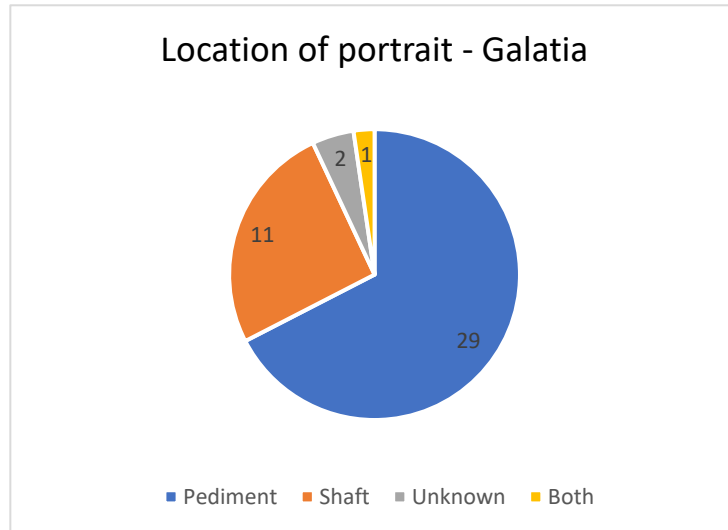
Figure C.19: Location of the portrait on Galatian figural stelae.

Location of portrait - Phrygia

Figure C.20: Location of the portrait on Phrygian figural stelae.
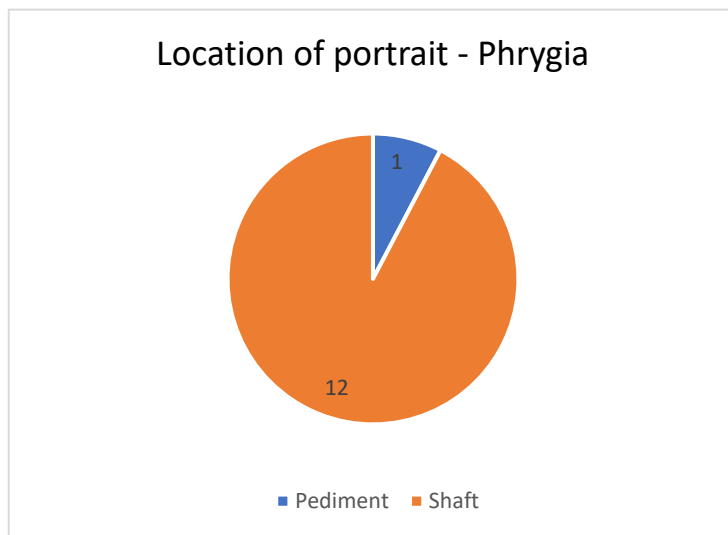
Location of Relief - Pisidia
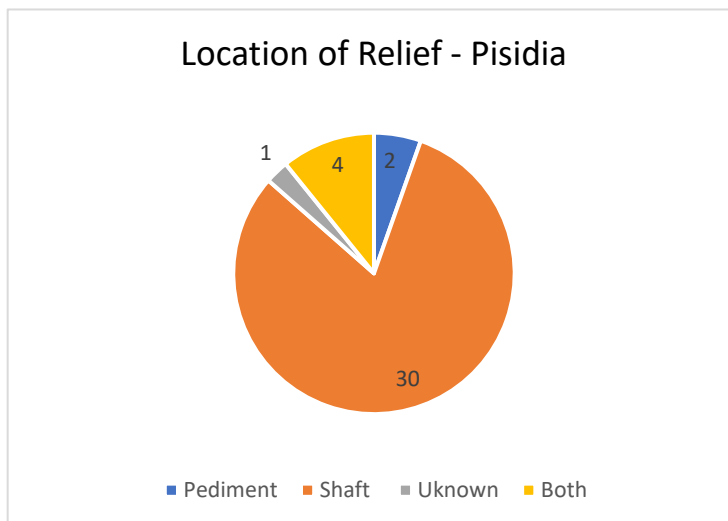
Figure C.21: Location of the portrait on Pisidian figural stelae.

c) Figural Stelae Template C

This standard is representative of Pisidian figural stelae (see Figures 5.7 and 5.8). Template C can be applied to many examples from the region by incorporating an inset panel on the field and a horseshoe style feature to Template B (either in the picture field or comprising the pediment). It is applicable to the Pisidian examples attributed (above) to Figural Template B, to FS.PIS.1-4, 6, 10, 12, 23, 29-30, 33 (with horseshoe pediment) and, by incorporating *aediculae* niches to the template (Figure 5.9), FS.PIS.19-21, 25, 27, 35, and 37. A handful of examples cannot be assigned to any of my templates.[868] Stelae matching this template are more frequently composed of limestone but not exclusively so (Figure C.22).
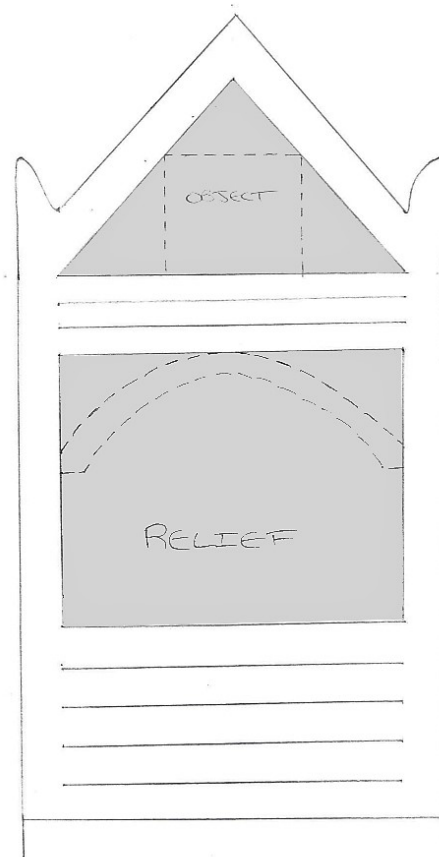
Figure 5.7: Figural Stelae Template C. Grey areas represent recessed panels, the scale of which are variable; recessed panel can also be an aedicule. The pediment in this template can be horseshoe shaped. Text is generally located on the entablature, below the relief panel at base of the field, or both. A motif is often postioned in the pediment. Produced by author.

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[868] The large scale and incomplete nature of FS.PIS.07 prevents classification; 8 and 9 have horseshoe pediments but relief and design are in a different style, 13 (due to damage), 17 and 31.

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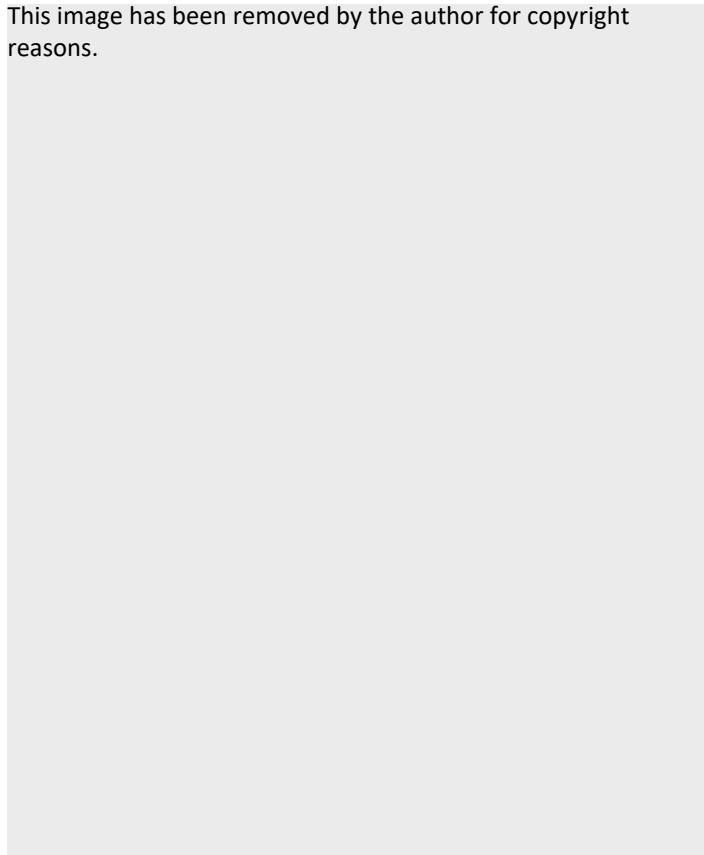
Figure 5.8: FS.PIS.04 as representative of Figural Stelae Template C. Denizli, Imperial period. Buckler and Calder 1939, no. 27.
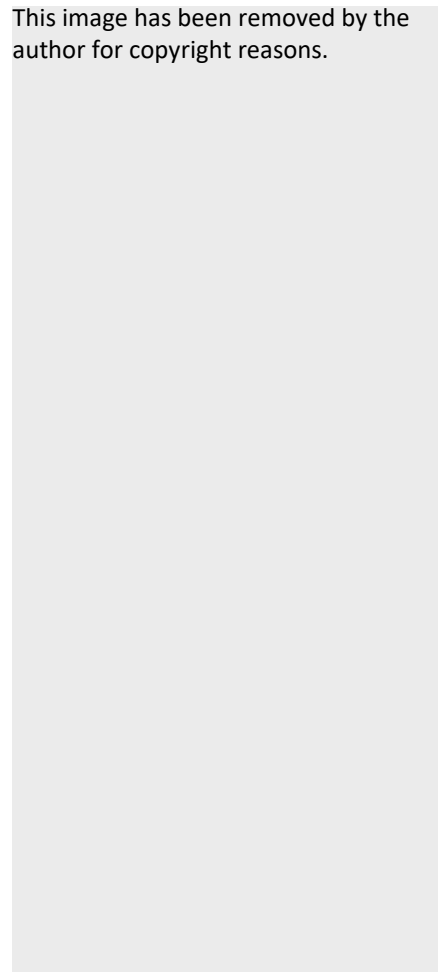
Figure 5.9: FS.PIS.25 as representative of Figural Stelae Template C with an aedicula. Kavak, second century AD. Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 1639. Mclean 2002a, no. 117.

Material of composition of stelae matching Figural Stelae Template C

- Limestone
- Marble
- Not recorded

2

6

10
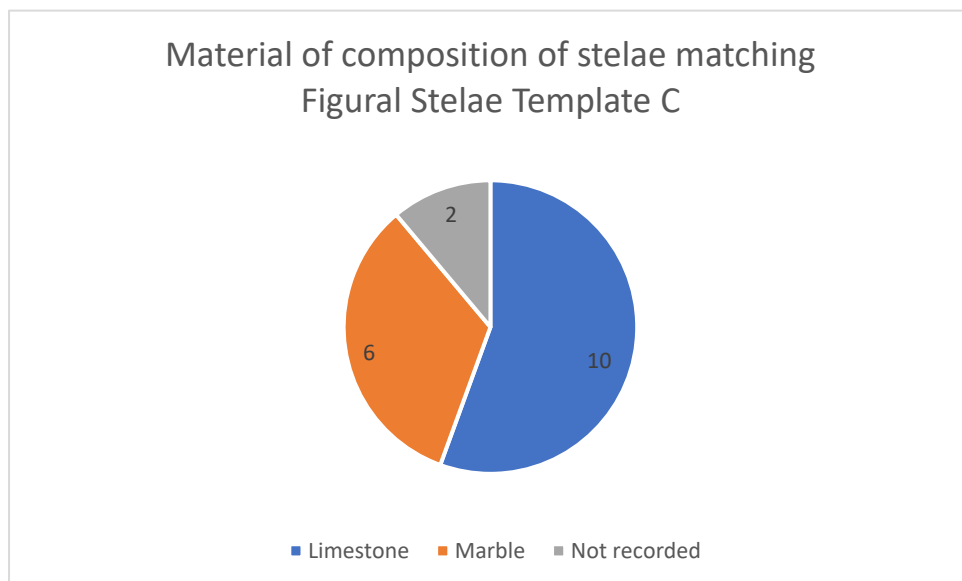
Figure C.22: Material of composition of stelae matching Figural Stelae Template C.

<u>Motif-only stelae templates</u>

3 templates are (for the most part) representative of motif-only stelae in the catalogue although, a requirement for increased variation underscores these standards to account for increased stylistic alterations.[869] Figure C.23 demonstrates that Motif Stelae Templates 1 and 2 are prevalent among the catalogue – accounting for 83% of attribute-only stelae. Their frequency could reflect the prefabricated designs produced at the quarry, aligned to social and cultural norms, to meet contemporary demand within the inland regions (see section 3). Motif Stelae Template 1 is most often classifiable to gravestones from Galatia and Pisidia and in total represents 42% of motif-only stelae (41 instances). Motif Stelae Template 2 matches 40 stelae (41%), is most frequently attested in Phrygia, with Motif Stelae Template 3 infrequent - representing 6% of attribute stelae. Unfortunately, 11% of motif-only stelae cannot be assigned to any template due to poor extant preservation.

The template is largest for Phrygian motif stelae whose average height of 1.04 metres (Figure C.24) is considerably larger than the figural average (0.74 metres).[870] At a mean height of 0.98 metres, attribute stelae from Galatia are similar in scale to Phrygian examples but smaller than the region's figural stelae by 0.16 metres. Pisidian examples average out at 0.76 metres. I have already demonstrated how figural stelae were regularly composed of limestone, motif-only stelae marble, and smaller Galatian and Pisidian evidence here is illustrative of the cost differential of choosing marble over limestone.

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[869] Hope identifies the careful balance between homogeneity on one hand, and individuality on the other, upon funerary monuments from early Imperial Aquileia, Mainz, and Nimes (Hope 2001, 60).
[870] 6 Galatian stones, and 1 Phrygian stelae, have no recorded dimensions and henceforth I have not included these in my calculations for Figure C.24.
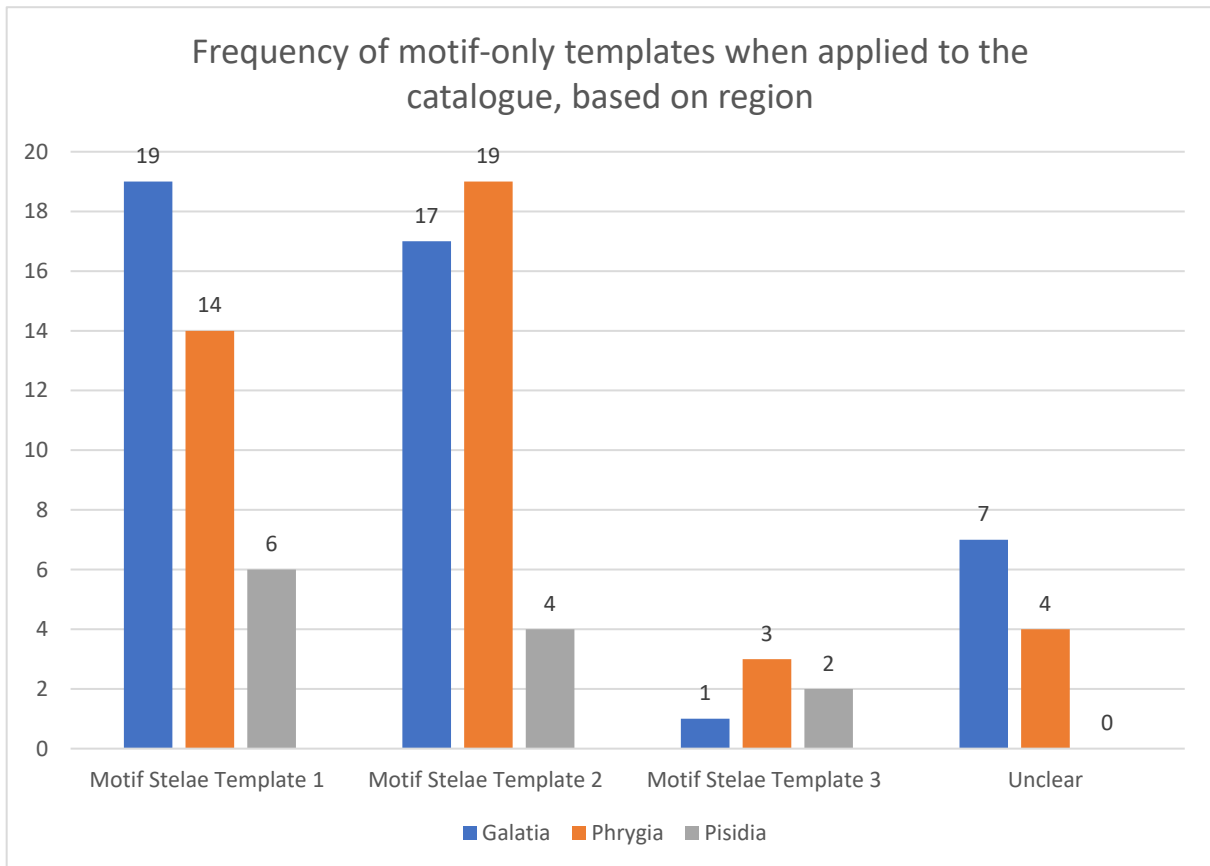
Figure C.23: Frequency of motif-only template designs when applied to the stelae, per inland region.
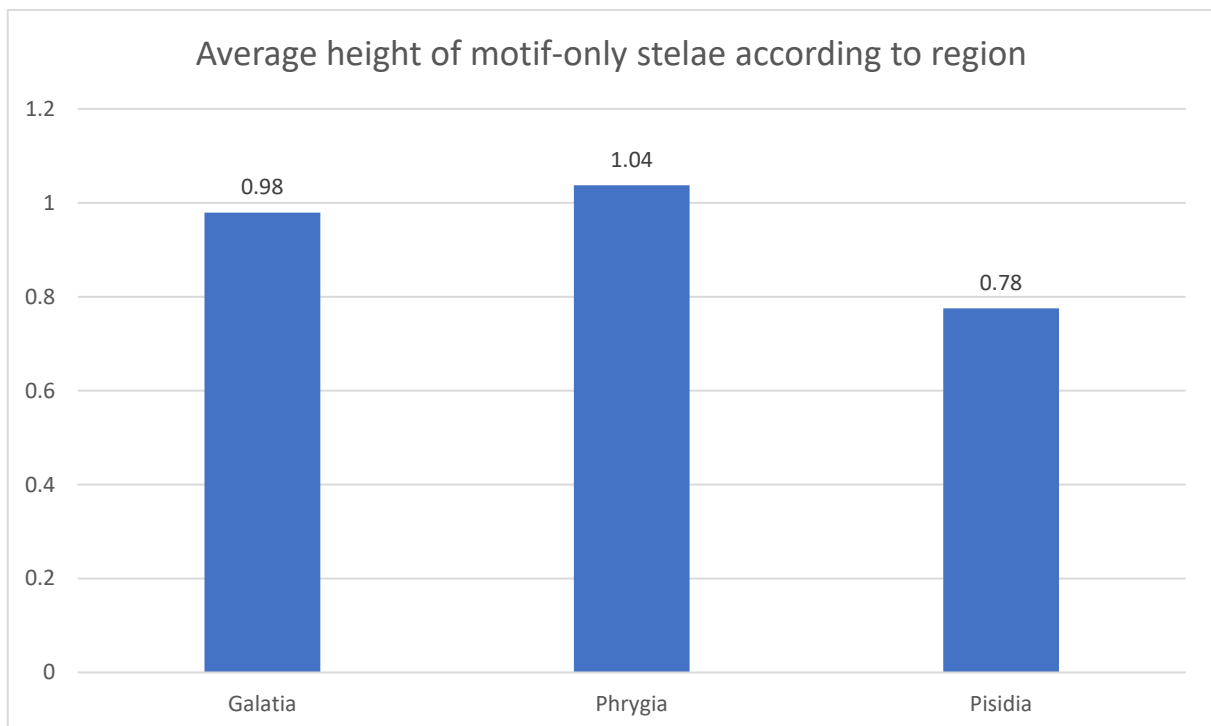
*Figure C.24: Average height of motif-only stelae according to region.*

d) Motif Stelae Template 1
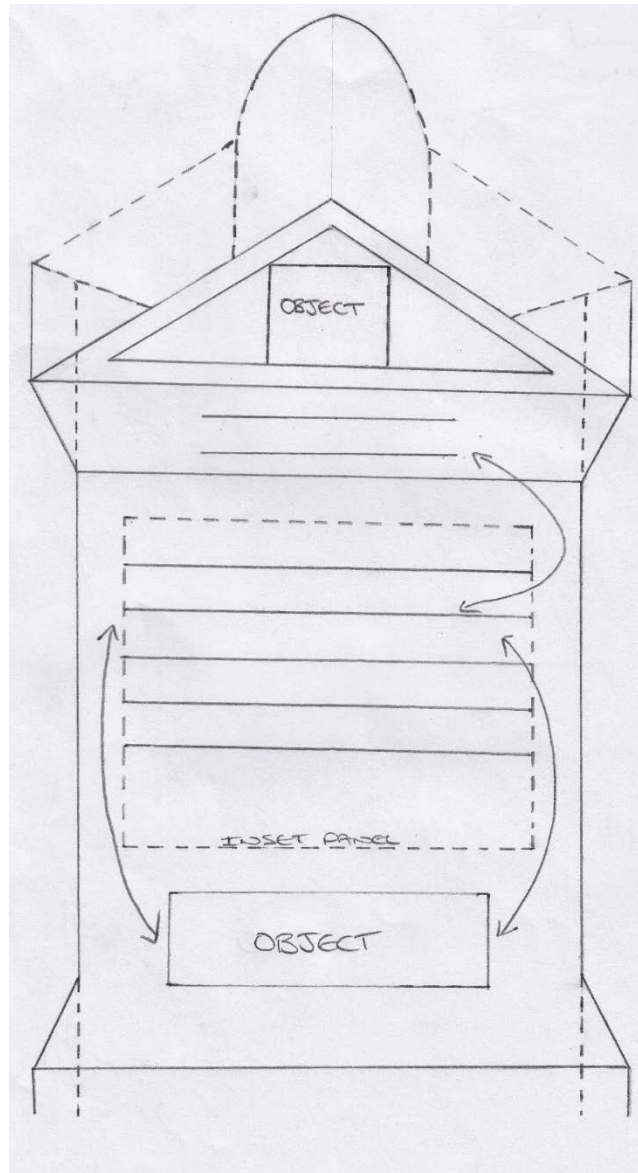
Figure 5.10: Motif Stelae Template 1. Produced by author.

Motif Stelae Template 1 (Figures 5.10 and 5.11) correlates to 39 motif-only stelae.[871] Areas

on the template with broken lines indicate changeable parameters necessary for this design

to be representative; the finial, acroteria, mouldings, and item or inscription position are

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[871] OS.G.01-02, 05-06, 08, 11, 16-17, 19-22, 24-25, 28, 36-37, 40; OS.PHR. 02, 05, 07-09, 13, 16, 19, 27, 32-33, 36-37, 39; OS.PIS.02-03, 06-07, 09 and 10. The low count from Pisidia reflects the smaller capture of motif-only stelae in the catalogue. Relative to total motif-only stelae per region, a balanced representation of Template 1 is observable in each.

flexible, the inset panel is optional. Pediment shape can also vary, and text is positioned either in the moulding, top, or base of field.

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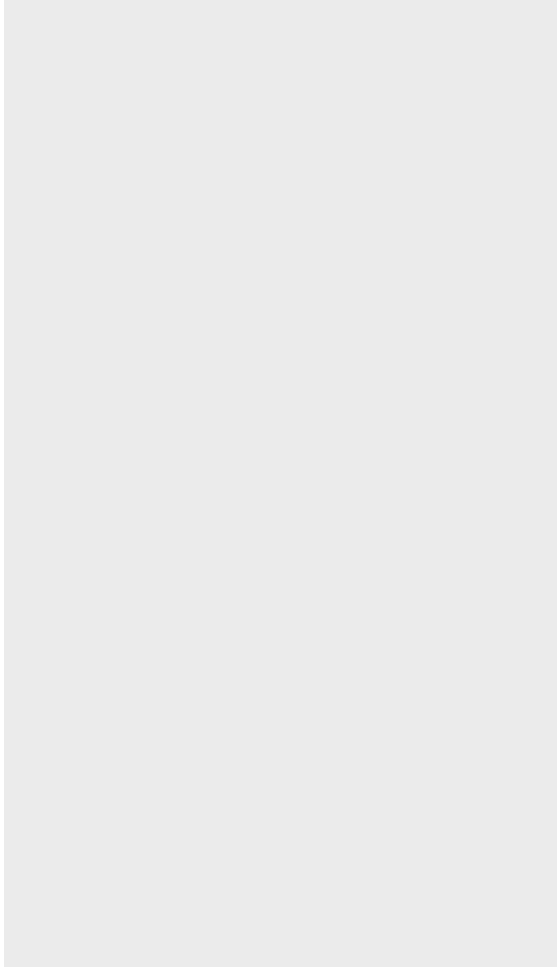
Figure 5.11: OS.G.01 as representative of Motif Stelae Template 1, unknown provenance, first-second century AD. Now in the Roman Baths, Ankara, Inv. no. 9039. French and Mitchell 2012, 430 no. 241.

51% of stelae matching Template 1 are marble, 26% limestone (Figure C.25). When the materials and find-sites are plotted onto a map in section 3, one may be able to observe prefabricated production according to location (i.e. the quarry producing marble in a definable group perhaps not overlapped by the limestone examples).
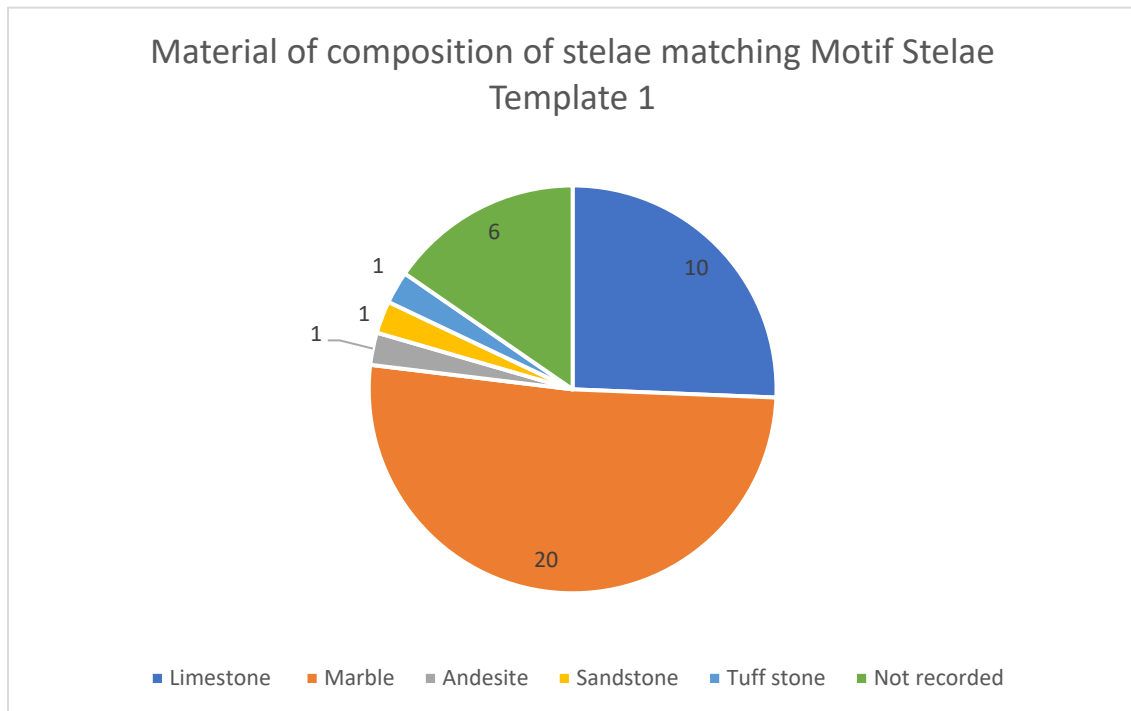
Figure C.25: Material of composition of stelae matching Motif Stelae Template 1.

e) Motif Stelae Template 2

The design classification Motif Stelae Template 2 (Figures 5.12-5.14) also requires flexibility

to be representative. This template encompasses two variants (2.A and 2.B) each with

comparable overall features but consistency in differentiating features: the finial, acroteria,

mouldings, pediment scale/shape, position of motif and inscription are all changeable and

the design can incorporate inset panels.[872] Motif Stelae Template 2.A stelae are larger in

height, feature enhanced or decorative entablature mouldings, and greater pediment

scale.[873] Motif Stelae Template 2.B overlaps with 2.A: its differentiating features are a lack

of an entablature, reduced scale and less-ornate style.[874] Both can be considered examples

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[872] Kelp describes a stela type without the door façade that is characteristically similar to Motif Stelae Templates 2.A and 2.B (Kelp 2015, 57).
[873] Examples include OS.G.03, 09-10 (tall height), 26, 31, 33 (large entablature and pediment scale), 41 and 43; OS.PHR.03-04, 06, 10, 15, 17, 21, 25-26 and OS.PIS.05.
[874] Template 2.B examples: OS.G.12-13 (with two inset panels), 18, 23, 27, 29, 38-39; OS.PHR.12, 18, 20, 22-24, 29, 35; OS.PIS.01, 11-12 (with horseshoe arch).

of (or variations within) the *sfastigata* type stela, originating between the first to mid-second century AD, in western Galatia or Phrygia around a production centre west of Gordion.[875] 3 further examples fit Motif Template 2 but further classification is prevented by their fragmented state.[876]
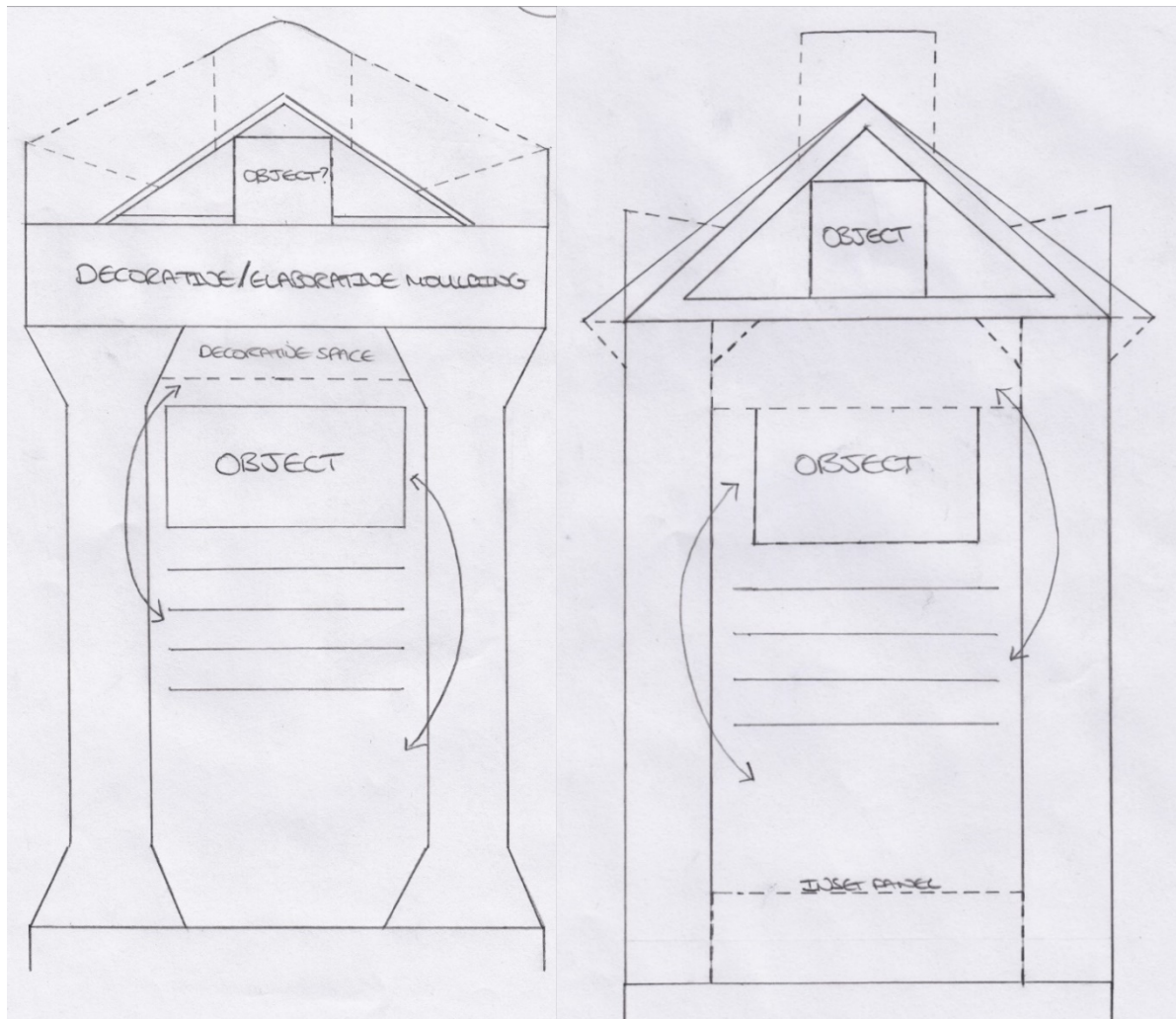
Figure 5.12: Motif Stelae Template 2.A. (left) is generally larger and includes a larger entablature moulding while Motif Stelae Template 2.B. (right) is generally less ornate. Produced by author.

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[875] *Sfastigata* type stela are characterised by shallowly recessed central panels, triangular or arched pediments, stylised palmettes, wide entablatures with acanthus decoration, and pseudo-Corinthian capitals (Goldman 2010, 131).
[876] OS.G.30, OS.PHR.14 and OS.PHR.31.

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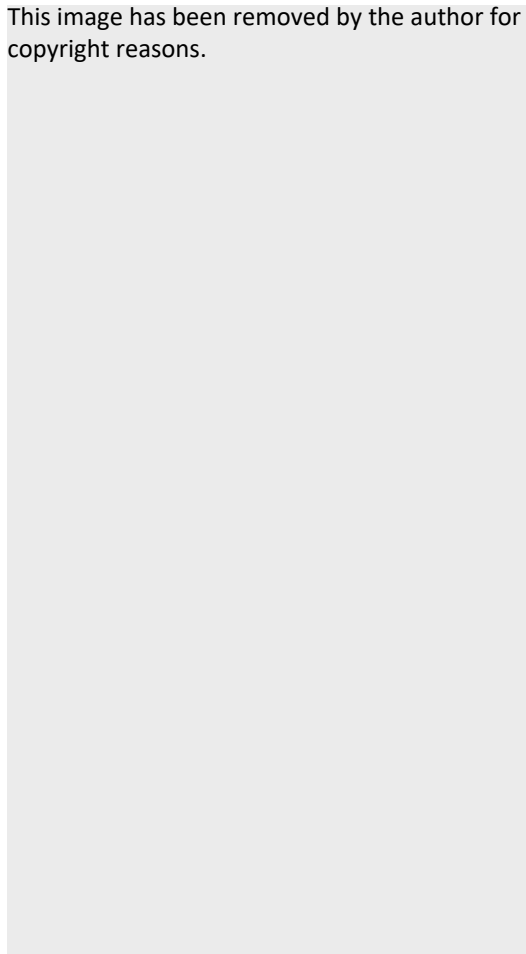
Figure 5.13: OS.PHR.26 as representative of Motif Stelae Template 2.A, Yayalar, first-century BC to AD. Thonemann 2013a, no. 71.
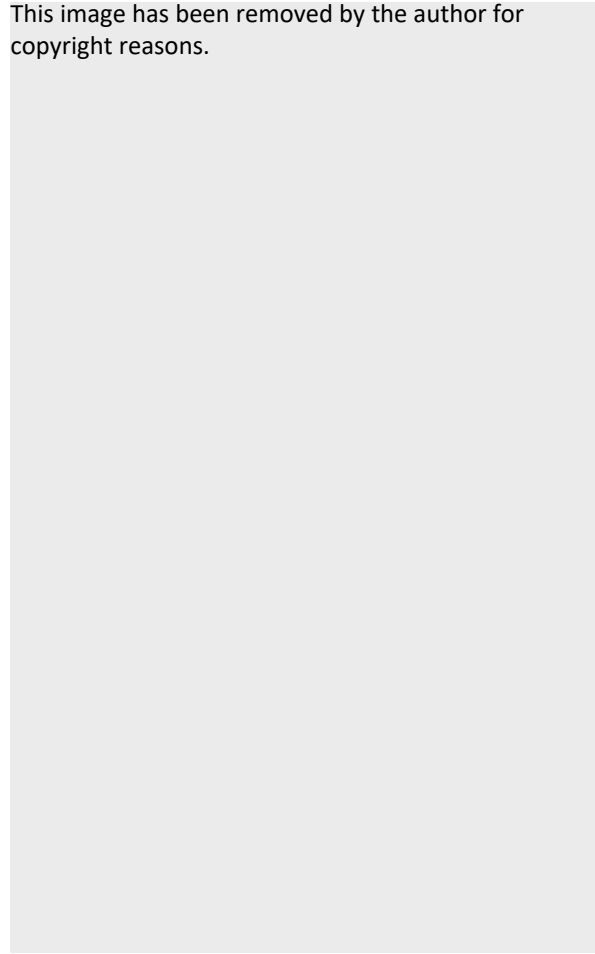
Figure 5.14: OS.PIS.11 as representative of Motif Stelae Template 2.B, Gonceli, Imperial period. Buckler and Calder 1939, No. 22.

Combined, Template 2 accounts for 40 motif-only stelae. Figure C.26 shows the balance of Template 2.A and 2.B stelae within each inland region. Considering both my template designations are variants stemming from one design start point, this result is unsurprising; both were likely prefabricated, cut from the same prefabricated blanks at the quarry. Material use supports this argument with marble equally present on examples of both templates (12 instances respectively, see Figure C.27). Examples matching Templates 2.A and 2.B reflect an established, fashionable design characteristic of the inland regions.
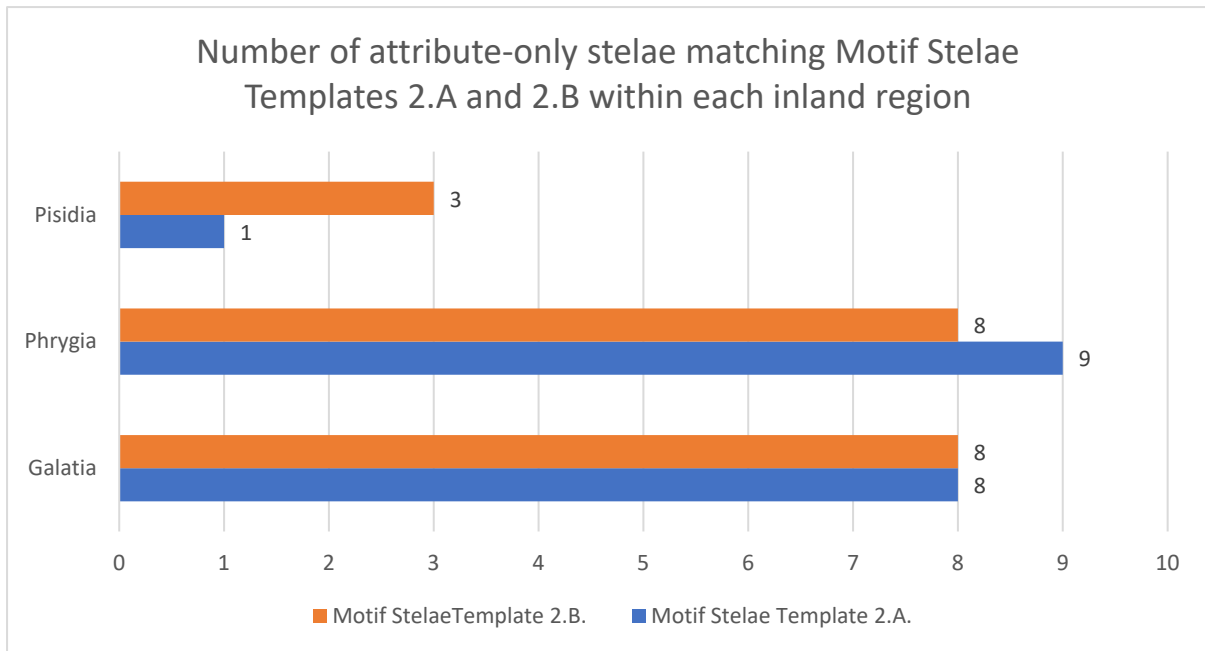
Figure C.26: Frequency of attribute-only stelae matching Motif Stelae Templates 2.A. and 2.B. within the three inland regions.
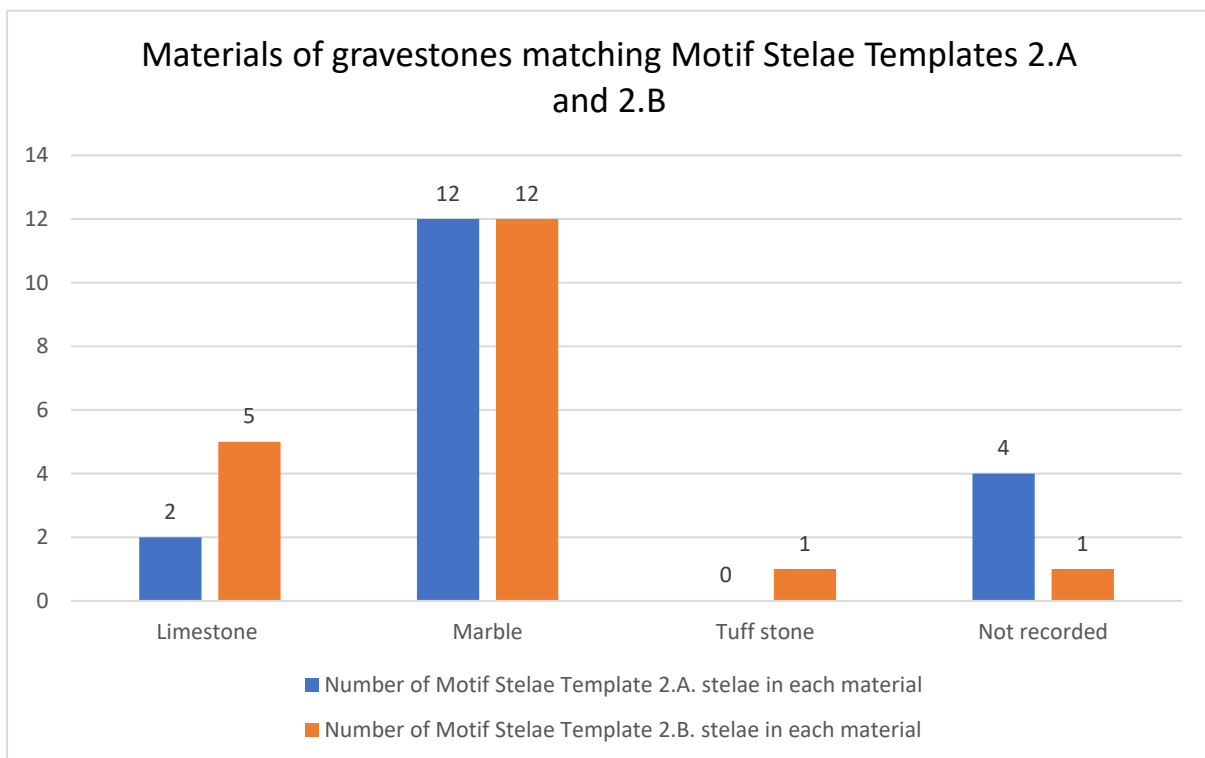
Figure C.27: Materials of gravestones matching Motif Stelae Templates 2.A and 2.B.

e) Motif Stelae Template 3
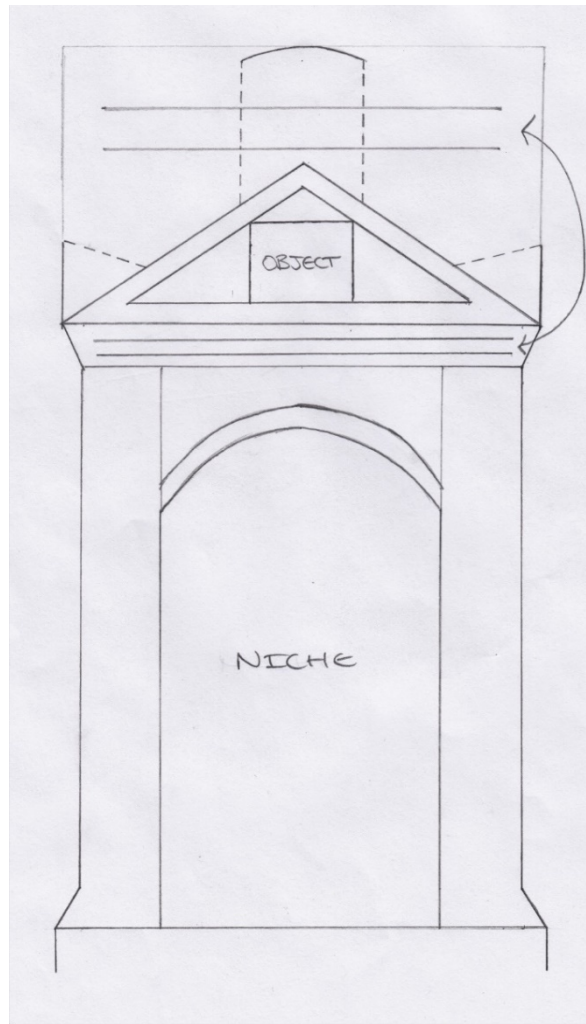
Figure 5.15: Motif Stelae Template 3. Produced by Author.

Motif Stelae Template 3 (Figures 5.15 and 5.16) incorporates stela designs with one or more niches in the field, in differing scales. As the aedicula consumes this space, inscriptions can be located above the pediment and upon the entablature. The number of examples fitting this template are low[877] however, the 2 examples found in Pisidia represent 22% of motif-only stelae from the region (due to the small capture of Pisidian attribute stelae). Figure C.28 shows the balance of materials used on stelae matching Template 3.

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[877] OS.G.07; OS.PHR.01, 11 (with two niches), 39; OS.PIS.04, 08.

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Figure 5.16: 0S.G.08 as representative of Motif Stelae Template 3, Sariyar, first-second century AD. Mitchell 1982, 157. Pl. 8.

Number of Motif Stelae Template 3 stelae in each material

■ Limestone   ■ Marble   ■ Not recorded
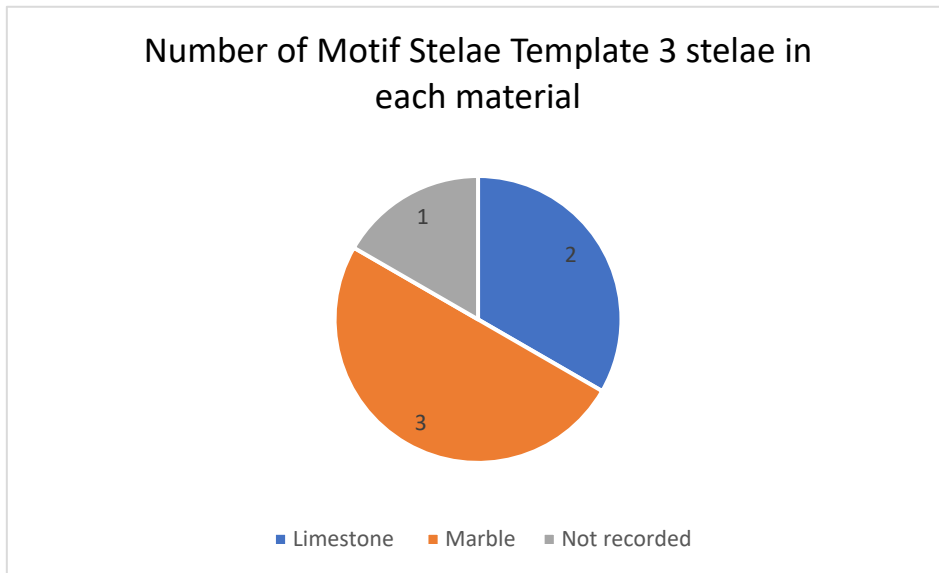
2.3 - Can I apply a pre-fabrication approach to the catalogue?

Pre-fabrication explains consistency in appearance and repeated iconographical components incorporated within the catalogue. The range of design features incorporated pertain to standard visual parameters, defined by the pre-cut stone, enabling numerous groups of stelae to be derived from the same standard foundations prepared at the quarry.[878] From here a smaller number of workshops, perhaps based at urban centres, or even at quarries, received the pre-cut stones for completion and sale to their immediate area. This explains groupings of consistent gravestones identifiable within each region (to be discussed in section 3). Artisans finishing a stela at time of order to a patron's bequest are subsequently accountable for differentiations and variety; production ultimately conformed to the demands and expectations of the inhabitants.[879]

Analysis of material use has demonstrated that marble was readily available for smaller funerary commissions and, is equally represented relative to limestone: both were materials of choice for stelae (and quarried in contemporary inland Asia Minor). Consistency in stela type and material – figural stelae are primarily limestone commissions, motif stelae principally marble – supports a concept of prefabricated production; specific design types proved at quarries mining each respective material. That I can apply a small range of designs to the evidence of this study, categorising groups of stelae based upon comparable

---

[878] In the Aezani workshop one could purchase ready-made tombstones (Levick et al. 1988, L).

[879] The individual nature of some altar or sarcophagi commissions suggests patrons had freedom to ask for a specific design, even something not in a sculptor's repertoire, but the formulaic nature of the majority implies that designs were mostly dictated by sculptors (Davies 2011, 48); In comparison, mosaic artists within the Roman Empire worked in a market where commissions were client, not maker-led (Wootton 2016, 79); The stelae form is roughly bound by the norms of its basic type but displays much, inner, workshop variety (Smith 1988a, 349).

appearance parameters,[880] augments the case for prefabricated production. Although these suggest no strict, schematic approach to gravestone manufacture, homogeneity in appearance in the catalogues stems from prefabrication to an expected (or fashionable) standard[881] situated within shared knowledge.[882]

The range of templates above represent minor variations to the standard approach and are reflective of different production centres, the respective skillsets of stonemasons and chronological change (e.g. social and cultural norms defining expected appearance change over time, new technologies enhancing the product etc.). Take the high frequency of Figural Template A stelae in Galatia, 78% of which are composed of limestone, which suggest gravestones matching this design were pre-cut about the region. Likewise, 85% of figural stelae from Phrygia resemble Template B, implying the existence of a production centre(s) in the region manufacturing standardised designs. Consistent designs among motif-only stelae, especially the frequency of Motif Stelae Templates 1 and 2 among the catalogue – 79 examples (82%) – allied with marble composition presents a scenario whereby quarries mining marble pre-cut stelae to one of these variants.

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[880] The basic appearance of stelae did not evolve over time because designs were conceived using standard elements. Sepulchral tradition in the Roman central Balkans shows that, though numbers of stelae increased over the centuries, their appearance remained schematic (Mladenović 2016, 107).

[881] A well-known local custom or institution creates an audience and a range of expectation (Goldman 2010, 52); custom or tradition (rather than the appeal of fashion) governed a person's appearance – is it a plausible that both custom and tradition governed the appearance of stelae in the inland regions, explaining for homogeneity in appearance (D'Ambra 1998, 13).

[882] This implies a situation whereby style was an additional element of semiotics that, like any iconographical element, had numerous associated meanings understood by contemporary viewers conversant in that particular visual language (Hijmans 2016, 87); For this to be applicable one must accept Hölscher's semantic system - visual features existing for function and meaning, and not defined by an artist's taste, capabilities or contemporary fashions (See Hölscher 2004); While Mladenović attributes the inadequate quality of raw materials, paucity of local demand, lack of training in iconographic traditions and the modest skillset of craftsmen as reasons for lower-quality funerary monuments in the Roman Central Balkans, I perceive these factors as enablers for the standardised appearance of stelae designs within the inland regions (Mladenović 2016, 110).

Section 3. The movement of materials and designs

It is instructive to investigate whether the geographical spread of both materials and designs further augment the argument for prefabricated production. In this section I shall map out the spread of stone type and the templates of section 2.2 in each respective region (according to find spot), analysing the results and their implications upon production through the movement of materials and designs.

Section 3.1 - Geographical spread of materials

Should stone type be correlated according to location, with defined clusters of a specific material in a certain area, this would suggest it had been sourced from the same place. The presence of more than one stone type should not undermine this theory as, for example, I would expect to observe both marble and limestone at larger, interconnected sites. Maps 5-7 illustrate materials of the stelae found at each respective site of provenance. Additional colours show when a find site has examples of more than one stone type. The scale of each segment does not represent the proportion of examples of that material at that site; to aid visibility I record each material type once.

a) Galatia

Map 5 shows limestone and marble well represented by evidence across the region. A

strong cluster of marble stelae are found around Colonia Felix Germa (northwest border

with Phrygia), perhaps to be expected about a Roman colony and well-connected sites such

as Pessinous.[883] Marble use permeates westward towards Axylon and south to

Proseilemmene, likely because of quarry production about Colonia Felix Germa, Gordion or

Pessinous and the transportation of material to smaller workshops. This observation is

supported by the identification in section 3.2 of a potential production centre in this area,

based upon closely repeated stelae designs.
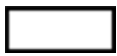
Immediately south is a group of limestone stelae leading southwards towards Ladik. Marble

examples are also found along this road, heading both east and west of Ladik, but a larger

cluster exists to the immediate east (and slightly north). Heading northwards along the

route to Ancyra limestone predominates, while at Ancyra itself stelae are composed of

different materials suggesting the significance of the site (as a potential production centre).

This is unsurprising given the prominence of Ancyra as a centre of communication and as a

road junction.[884] The small number of examples in the eastern expanses of Galatia make it

difficult to identify trends accounting for the whole region however, the evidence of central

and western areas demonstrates how marble and limestone were both readily available for

stelae commissions from the first to early second century AD.

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[883] Accessibility increased by higher relative wealth, enhanced connections to other areas etc.
[884] Its significance is emphasised by many first and second century AD milestones (Macpherson 1954, 111);
French and Mitchell 2012, 3-6.

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KEY:

■ = Limestone   ■ = Marble   □ = Material Not Recorded   ■ = Andesite

■ = Sandstone   ■ = Tufa.

Sites: 1) Beykoy; 2) Kavak; 3) Gordion; 4) Nasreddin Hoca; 5) Dutlu/Tutlu; 6) Pessinous; 7) Karacaören; 8) Atlas; 9) Dulkadir (Yeni Pinar); 10) Ancyra; 11) Kirazoglu; 12) Sinanli; 13) Yurtbeyci; 14) Kutluhan Cami; 15) Kerpisli; 16) Kozanli; 17) Karaklise; 18) Canimana; 19) Karahamzali; 20) Kulu; 21) Kelhasan; 22); Bogrudelik 23) ; Kadi Oglu; 24) Durgut; 25) Kuyulu Zebir; 26) Çeşmelisebil; 27) Zengen (Özkent); 28) Kadinhani; 29) Kunderaz; 30) Kestel; 31) Ladik; 32) Sarayönü (Serai Onü); 33) Nevine (Bahçesaray); 34) Mernek (Karakaya); 35) Zengicek (Koçyaka); 36) Zıvarık (Altınekin); 37) Küçük Boruk (Yenikuyu); 38) Giymir/Perta; 39) Aksaray; 40) Kırşehir (Shahr Oren/Mokissos); 41) Hacıbektaş; 42) Kayseri; 43) Karadikmen; 44) Kiremitli; 45) Alaca.

Map 5: Map of Galatia with stelae find sites and the materials of the example(s) from each recorded. Produced by author using the Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire.

b) <u>Phrygia</u>

Map 6 shows that marble was frequently utilised in the composition of gravestones across the central and northern areas of Phrygia, dominating the map north of Pentapolis. A clustering of limestone stelae is found at sites in southern Phrygia, near the Pisidian border - south of Pentapolis most find sites have limestone stelae. Over the Pisidian border the prevalence of limestone stelae corresponds (see Map 7). The preponderance of marble ties to the predominance of motif-only stelae in these areas (discussed below). I expect to observe marble used for stelae at sites within the Upper Tembris Valley based on known marble quarries in the area, such as at Cakirsaz and Altinas Koy.[885] The high frequency of surviving marble stelae reflects a process of organised mining within Phrygia - such as white marble from Imperial quarries such as Dokimeion and its satellites - which made the material accessible to a wider cross-section of the population.[886] Stone from large quarries was available to the immediate area and not simply exported to western markets.[887] As a consequence, the material was financially viable and perhaps this enabled a higher frequency of marble stelae to have been commissioned within the interregional market.[888] However, stelae in the catalogue remained very expensive: one is not dealing with a scenario where marble was available to all strata of society.

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[885] Levick et al. 1993, xxix.

[886] Masséglia 2013, 95; imperial exploitation of the Dokimeion quarries began under Tiberius (Mitchell 1993, 159); these quarries produced doorstones and sarcophagi for regional distribution (Kelp 2015, 33).

[887] Ewald 2015, 401.

[888] There was a ready availability of cheap marble offcuts from the Docimeian quarries (Thonemann 2011, 190).

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KEY:

[blue] = Limestone [dark red] = Marble [white] = Material Not Recorded [orange] = Andesite

[yellow] = Sandstone [purple] = Tufa.

Sites: 1) Esenyazi; 2) Develiler (Kagyetteia); 3) Bahadinlar; 4) Bekilli (Dionysoupolis); 5) Uch Koyu; 6) Ortakoy; 7) Chal; 8) Usak; 9) Yayalar (Sebaste); 10) Gayili; 11) Hocalar; 12) Ishiklu (Eumeneia); 13) Kuchuk Kabaja; 14) Yassıviran (Yassıören); 15) Yaztu Veran; 16) Aljibar; 17) Buyuk Kabaja; 18) Colonia Caesarea Antiochea; 19) Mahmud Koy; 20) Shohut Kasaba/Suhut (Synnada); 21) Isiklar Koy; 22) Afyon Karahisar; 23) Azizie/Aziziye; 24) Guce; 25) Kayi; 26) Sariyar; 27) Mutalip; 28) Kavacak; 29) Keskin; 30) Eskişehir (Dorylaion); 31) Avdan; 32) Ayvacik; 33) Seyit Gazi (Nakoleia); 34) Erten; 35) Yazilikaya; 36) Akoluk; 37) Avdan-Tesvikiye; 38) Gokceler; 39) Ada Koy; 40) Ortaca; 41) Yenicearmutcuk; 42) Yemisli; 43) Hamzabey; 44) Savcilar.

Map 6: Map of Phrygia with stelae find sites and the materials of the example(s) from each recorded. Produced by author using the Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire.

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KEY

= Limestone

= Marble

= Material Not Recorded

Sites: 1) Gonceli; 2) Hacieyüplü; 3) Eski Hisar; 4) Denizli; 5) Dinar (Apamea); 6) Uluborlu (Apollonia); 7) Burdur; 8) Capakli; 9) Komama (Col. Iulia Augusta Prima Fida); 10) Heybeli Köyü; 11) Cremna (Col. Iulia Augusta Felix); 12) Timbriada (Sofular); 13) Ordekci; 14) Salir; 15) Donarsa; 16) Mustafa (near Seydisehir); 17) Avdan; 18) Almassun; 19) Kavak; 20) Hatunsaray (Katin Serai), Ancient Lystra (Col. Iulia Felix Gemina); 21) Konya (Iconium); 22) Halici; 23) Camili; 24) Karaağaç.

Map 7: Map of Pisidia with stelae find sites and the materials of the example(s) from each recorded. Produced by author using the Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire.

c) <u>Pisidia</u>

Limestone stelae dominate Map 7, unsurprising given the majority of figural stelae from Pisidia and the link between this stela type and limestone use (outlined in section 2.1). As mentioned above, groups of limestone stelae at sites immediately south of Apamea[889] and across central Pisidia correspond to limestone use over the Phrygian border to the north. This evidence suggests marble from the known quarries in central/northern Phrygia was not transported further south than Pentapolis and, potentially, that marble may not have been quarried in central-western Pisidia. Rather, it seems quarries about this area had access to limestone and served the immediate vicinity. In support, marble stelae are only found at and near sites of significance within the region, including around Laodicea Ad Lycum and Konya, which may have supported a larger workshop sourcing the material from further afield.

Section 3.2 - Geographical spread of design templates

It will now be valuable to translate the spread of stelae design templates within the inland regions before comparing these results with materials. I shall look even closer at consistency in designs across my template designations relative to location to further understand production, and how materials and designs travelled.

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[889] Apamea was an *emporion* second only to Ephesus in the province of Asia (Thonemann 2011, 99).

a) Stelae Templates in Galatia

Through analogous template designs of similar dimensions, in section 2.2 I demonstrated that stelae from Galatia are indicative of standardised combinations.[890] Mapping out the find sites of these monuments determines how these combinations correspond according to location (Map 8). Figural Stelae Template A (prominent among the Galatian evidence) is mostly observable at sites about the south-southwest of the region. Template B is classifiable to a separate definition, north of Template A, in a belt across the centre of the region; only examples at Kadinhani, Ladik and Zivarik exhibit Figural Template B stelae in the south-southwest. The absence of figural stelae to the north and east of Galatia, of either template, may be indicative of a lack of surviving examples[891] or, perhaps, of a penchant among contemporary inhabitants in these areas for other funerary forms. While clusters of Motif Stelae Templates 1 and 2 are attributable to specific areas within the region, no identifiable trends can be gleaned given the wider expanse of motif-only stelae find sites.[892]

Within Galatia I have identified 5 distinct groups of stelae, based on specific designs and location. These are highlighted on Map 9 and are indicative of production serving definable areas, and of travelling designs (explaining consistency in stelae appearance over space).

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[890] Western ash altars and chests of the first-century AD had homogenous, template appearances (Davies 2003, 223).

[891] Potentially a result of my data collection.

[892] The scattered and multifarious find spots of the several hundred dedications and gravestones from the region (such as these stelae) support the existence of many small rural settlements throughout Galatia (Mitchell 1982, 15).

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KEY:

■ = Figural Stelae Template A. ■ = Figural Stelae Template B. ■ = Figural Template C. ■ = Figural Stelae, Unclear Template.

■ = Motif Stelae Template 1. ■ = Motif Stelae Template 2. □ = Motif Stelae Template C. ■ = Motif Stelae, Unclear Template.

Sites: 1) Beykoy; 2) Kavak; 3) Gordion; 4) Nasreddin Hoca; 5) Dutlu/Tutlu; 6) Pessinous; 7) Karacaören; 8) Atlas; 9) Dulkadir (Yeni Pinar); 10) Ancyra; 11) Kirazoglu; 12) Sinanli; 13) Yurtbeyci; 14) Kutluhan Cami; 15) Kerpisli; 16) Kozanli; 17) Karaklise; 18) Canimana; 19) Karahamzali; 20) Kulu; 21) Kelhasan; 22); Bogrudelik 23) ; Kadi Oglu; 24) Durgut; 25) Kuyulu Zebir; 26) Çeşmelisebil; 27) Zengen (Özkent); 28) Kadinhani; 29) Kunderaz; 30) Kestel; 31) Ladik; 32) Sarayönü (Serai Onü); 33) Nevine (Bahçesaray); 34) Mernek (Karakaya); 35) Zengicek (Koçyaka); 36) Zıvarık (Altınekin); 37) Küçük Boruk (Yenikuyu); 38) Giymir/Perta; 39) Aksaray; 40) Kırşehir (Shahr Oren/Mokissos); 41) Hacıbektaş; 42) Kayseri; 43) Karadikmen; 44) Kiremitli; 45) Alaca.

Map 8: Map of Galatia with stelae template classifications, according to find site. Produced by author using the Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire.

a) Ladik, Kunderaz, Nevine (Bahçesaray), Kestel, Kadinhani, Sarayönü (Serai Onü) as part of a network of 6 connected sites.[893]

Close consistency in the designs of stelae from this group of sites – 89% of the 17 figural stelae from this area match my Figural Template A standard (FS.G.27 and 34 fit Figural Template B) – implies prefabricated production/completion of stelae at a workshop serving the area (likely situated from Ladik west to Philomelion, along the road connecting Colonia Caesarea Antiochea to Iconium). In addition, a cluster of 8 motif stelae – 63% matching Motif Stelae Template 2[894] – suggest this centre also produced stelae without figural reliefs, potentially from the same pre-hewn blank.[895] Shared design components across these templates make this a feasible supposition.[896] Material use on Map 5 illustrates the predominance of limestone for commissions advocating a potential whereby pre-cut, limestone standards were sent to the area. It also demonstrates marble was available for commissions.

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[893] At Ladik 6 figural stelae (FS.G.31-35, 40) and 5 motif stelae (OS.G.29, 36-39); Kunderaz 3 figural (FS.G.04-07) and 2 attribute stelae (OS.G.26, 35); Nevine (FS.G.08-09); Kestel (FS.G.10, 28); Kadinhani (FS.G.27, 30); and, Sarayönü both a figural and motif stela respectively (FS.G.29, OS.G.43).

[894] OS.G.36, 37 fit Motif Template 1 while OS.G.35 is unclear.

[895] Tombstones of the territories of Synaus and Ancyra are relatively homogenous and appear to have been produced by a workshop, or workshops, which served both small cities (Levick et al. 1993, xxxi).

[896] Plain pilasters, narrower field, text on shaft, acroteria and or finial above a framed, triangular inner pediment.

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KEY:

       ■ = Group a   ■ = Group b   ■ = Group c   ■ = Group d   ■ = Group e.

Sites: As above.

Map 9: Map of Galatia showing groups of sites with stelae of comparable designs and stylistic features. Produced by author using the Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire.

b) Large pediment and figural relief stelae in central-western Galatia – at Bögrüdelik, Sinanli, Kuyulu Zebir, Kelhasan, Yurtbeyci, Canimana (Kinna) and Çeşmelisebil respectively.

A group of 13 stelae from 7 sites in western Galatia, in and to the south of the Axylon Plateau (Çeşmelisebil northwards), demonstrate a variation of the Figural Template A

standard.[897] These incorporate larger figures and pediment sizes, relative to overall height, with pediment shape more liable to alteration.[898] The consistency in approach is significant, especially given the seeming remoteness of the area (few roads connect the sites, only the route between Kuyulu Zebir and Çeşmelisebil connects to the Ancyra-Konya route). Perhaps, the workshop completing stelae serving this area received prefabricated stones from the same quarry as those producing stelae of group a, resulting in the spread of Figural Template A about both and the minor variations I have identified between each.

c)   Canimana, Karahamzali, Kulu, Karaklise and surrounding sites.

This group of 8 large, limestone stelae from northern-central Galatia are comparable in use of bust portraits, and enhanced, oval-shaped pediments (undecorated, with no acroteria or finial).[899] Here is another variation of Figural Template A, this time with wide field incorporating a bordered, faux inset panel housing the epitaph, a narrow lower element with simple decoration, and a plain plinth. The group indicate the presence of a production centre along a 25-mile stretch, parallel to the road from Mesarlik in the south, to Ancyra, and near the main highway travelling south-eastwards from Ancyra to Colonia Claudia Archelais in Cappadocia. The workshop finished both figural and motif stelae in this style - OS.G.16 and 40 incorporate a faux inset panel also (a stylistic trait not present elsewhere in the catalogue's Galatian evidence). Larger portrait representations seem to be a feature of

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[897] Çeşmelisebil (FS.G.1-3); Kuyulu Zebir (FS.G.21); Bögrüdelik (FS.G.11-13); Kelhasan (FS.G.16-17); Sinanli (FS.G.25-26); Yurtbeyci (FS.G.22 and OS.G.15).

[898] FS.G.11, 21, 37-39 (incl. busts) and OS.G.15 have oval shaped pediments; FS.G.13, 16, 22, 25-26 pentagonal-shaped pediments.

[899] At Canimama (FS.G.37-39 and OS.G.40), Karahamzali (OS.G.16, FS.G.23), Kulu (OS.G.27) and Karaklise (OS.G.28).

figural stelae in central Galatia, as observable on stelae designs matching Figural Template B

at Karahamzali, Kozanli and Kerpisli.

d) Motif-only stela at Nasreddin Hoca, Tutlu, Karacaören, Atlas, Dulkadir (Yeni Penar),

Pessinous (Ballihisar) and Gordion.

7 motif-only stelae[900] imply production at a centre along The Royal Highway from Eskisehir,

past Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix (Germa), to Ancyra[901]: for example, Goldman argues that

OS.G.31 was commissioned, carved, and sent to Gordion from either Ancyra or Pessinous.[902]

OS.G.10, 12 and 31 (accounting for the damaged nature of their pediments) and OS.PHR.06

and 10 (bearing small triangular inner pediments) correlate to Motif Template 2.A given

their large size, ornate pilaster capitals, and large entablatures. OS.G.08 and 11 do not

feature pilasters (attributing them to Motif Template 1) but possesses the other features

indicative of this group. While material is unrecorded on OS.G.31, marble was used for the

manufacture of the remaining 6 stelae from this group (Map 5). Of these, 3 examples

(OS.G.09-10, 12) are composed of white marble, potentially demonstrating the movement

of pre-hewn Docimeion marble to the area (see Phrygia group a below): a road connects

these sites to the Docimeion quarries. Expensive marble stones about a production centre

near Pessinous may be expected seeing as the area was connected by road to Roman

development based at Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix (Germa) in the first-second century AD.

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[900] At Nasreddin Hoca (OS.G.09); Dutlu (OS.G.10); Gordion (OS.G.31); Pessinous (OS.PHR.06); Atlas (OS.G.12); Karacaören (OS.G.11); Dulkadir (OS.PHR.09); Grave stelae are less common in Pessinous, appearing high and narrow and of good quality, with inscription under a gable with fruit basket (Kelp 2015, 63).
[901] Important trading posts along the Highway had a profound impact on distribution in Galatia and east Phrygia (Ahrens 2015, 202); Macpherson 1954, 112.
[902] Goldman 2007, 9.

Pessinous was an important city reconstructed under Augustus[903] while Gordion was an

emporium (market town)[904] which played a significant role in imperial administration from

the first-century onwards.[905] Its position at a river crossing close to Vinda – an imperial

posting station (*statio*)[906] – was prominent along the Ancyra-Pessinous Highway.

e) Motif Stelae Template 1 between northwest Galatia (Kavak, and Beykoy) and

northeast Phrygia (at Kayi, Guce).

Towards Galatia's northwest border four find sites exhibit 5 motif-only stelae matching

Motif Template 1.[907] Accounting for damage and minor differentiations in embellishment,

each stone is similar - no pilasters or motifs, epitaph located on the field, a distinctive

pediment with small triangular frame and vertical bar at its summit, running to the top of

the finial (surrounded by palmette decoration, tendril leaves and palmette acroteria). The

designs are elaborate and, as shown on Map 5, marble was the material used for the

manufacture of these examples (excepting OS.G.04, likely marble but unrecorded). Both

elaboration in design and corresponding marble usage is understandable as these sites were

well-connected, lying north of Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix (Germa) between a road from the

colony west to the city of Dorylaion (Phrygia), and roads northeast to Ancyra and across the

Galatian-Paphlagonian border. At Sariyar, immediately north of this group, OS.G.07 does not

fit this trend. It is large, composed of limestone and aligns with Motif Template 3 (arched

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[903] Ahrens 2015, 203; Kelp 2015, 43.
[904] Roller and Goldman 2002, 220; Goldman 2007, 8.
[905] Goldman argues Gordion was a large base according to the presence of first and second century AD Roman buildings, military and civic artefacts - including material unearthed in Gordion's cemeteries (Goldman 2007, 9-12).
[906] *Statio* served several important functions including protecting the road, suppressing banditry, collecting taxes and military supplies, and transferring government and military communications (Goldman 2007, 9).
[907] At Kayi (OS.G.06), Guce (OS.G.4-5), Kavak (OS.G.08), and Beykoy (OS.G.19).

niche on the shaft, smaller acroteria and finial). Perhaps this stone reflects choice available

to patrons within the area or chronological change, being an earlier or later design;

however, with only one example further hypotheses are impossible.

b) Stelae templates within Phrygia

Figural stelae from Phrygia are predominantly in the guise of Figural Template B (discussed

in section 2) and Map 10 shows these examples situated at sites in south-central spaces of

the region: between Buyuk Kabaja and Develiler (Kagyetteia), heading northwards to Afyon

Karahisar.[908] The paucity of figural stelae to the north, west and east of the region suggests

motif stelae or other funerary monument types predominated and perhaps, that figural

stelae were the reserve of votive dedications.[909] Map 11 demonstrates 4 distinct groupings

of Motif Stelae Templates within Phrygia, each somewhat differentiated from one-another

in appearance.[910] Potentially, this result is indicative of the expectations of contemporary

inhabitants in certain parts of the region for a certain type of design.

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[908] FS.PHR.09 at Yazili Kaya offers a potential exception.
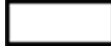
[909] It would be informative to observe the spread of votive stelae (with and without relief) to ascertain if these follow a similar trend.

[910] Kelp observes that various workshops in Phrygia worked in a landscape specific style with regional characteristics featuring on different types of funerary evidence, explaining closely comparable iconographical repertoires upon all funerary forms in the earlier Imperial period (Kelp 2015, 75).

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KEY:

 = Figural Stelae Template A. = Figural Stelae Template B. = Figural Template C. = Figural Stelae, Unclear Template.

 = Motif Stelae Template 1. = Motif Stelae Template 2. = Motif Stelae Template C. = Motif Stelae, Unclear Template.

Sites: 1) Esenyazi; 2) Develiler (Kagyetteia); 3) Bahadinlar; 4) Bekilli (Dionysoupolis); 5) Uch Koyu; 6) Ortakoy; 7) Chal; 8) Usak; 9) Yayalar (Sebaste); 10) Gayili; 11) Hocalar; 12) Ishiklu (Eumeneia); 13) Kuchuk Kabaja; 14) Yassıviran (Yassıören); 15) Yaztu Veran; 16) Aljibar; 17) Buyuk Kabaja; 18) Colonia Caesarea Antiochea; 19) Mahmud Koy; 20) Shohut Kasaba/Suhut (Synnada); 21) Isiklar Koy; 22) Afyon Karahisar; 23) Azizie/Aziziye; 24) Guce; 25) Kayi; 26) Sariyar; 27) Mutalip; 28) Kavacak; 29) Keskin; 30) Eskişehir (Dorylaion); 31) Avdan; 32) Ayvacik; 33) Seyit Gazi (Nakoleia); 34) Erten; 35) Yazilikaya; 36) Akoluk; 37) Avdan-Tesvikiye; 38) Gokceler; 39) Ada Koy; 40) Ortaca; 41) Yenicearmutcuk; 42) Yemisli; 43) Hamzabey; 44) Savcilar.

Map 10: Map of Phrygia with stelae template classifications, according to find site. Produced by author using the Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire.

a) Eskişehir, Kavacak, Mutalip, Keskin

11 stelae of consistent design, classifiable to Motif Stelae Template 2 variants, are found at sites focused around Eskişehir (Dorylaion)[911], north to Kavack, Mutalip and Keskin.[912] At Eskişehir 6 marble motif stelae measuring over 1 metre tall match either Motif Template 2.A (OS.PHR.14, 17-18) or Motif Template 1 (OS.PHR.16 and 18).[913] In fact, this standard appearance is analogous on OS.PHR.15 and OS.PHR.21-24: large scale marble commissions (above the average height of motif stelae of the inland regions – see Figure C.24) with plain pilasters topped by triangular capitals, a substantial framed pediment and decorative finial. OS.PHR.23 and 24, from Kavacak and Keskin, are composed of Docimeion marble[914] proving material from the Docimeion quarries was transported within the region, with an internal market able to afford such stone. This also demonstrates the interconnection of inland Phrygia to the north of the region during the first and second centuries AD, with larger cities linked by the road network. Stretching southwards to include stelae from Seyit Gazi (Nakoleia) and Avdan – OS.PHR.20, 25, and 35 respectively - reveals how the template changes as distance from Eskişehir increases.[915] These examples appear closer to Motif Template 2.B and are reduced in scale, with compressed pediments and narrow pilasters. OS.PHR.20 is even composed of limestone.

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[911] OS.PHR.14, 16-18 are from Eskişehir.

[912] OS.PHR.15, 21-24 are variants of Motif Template 2.A from Kavacak, Mutalip and Keskin, respectively.

[913] Stelae from Eskişehir and the area around Afyon are more richly decorated (Haarløv 1977, 24).

[914] Cameron and Cox 1937, nos. 80. and 103.

[915] Marble was scarce at Narcolea and tombstones less ambitious (Cameron and Cox 1937, xvi).

b) Yemisli, Hamzabey and Savcliar

A smaller case study on 4 first-century stelae in western Phrygia augments trends whereby stela appearance was influenced by location.[916] While there is variety in their design standards (spanning motif templates 2 and 3), stone type is consistent on the quartet (granular white marble) as are stylistic features – handling of the pediment, inclusion of ivy leaves, style of upper and lower elements. In particular, the placement of ivy leaves within the pediment (sadly missing on OS.PHR.01) is consistent and may imply production about the immediate area. Similarly, OS.PHR.01 and 12 from Hamzabey (rare instances of Motif Template 3) suggest the manufacture of aediculae stelae about this site.

Respective variety in design standards among these examples is representative of workshop production, perhaps at each respective site or from an atelier serving the area which produced a variety of potential designs. Indeed, the four stelae may even illustrate the handiwork of different stonemasons from the same workshop over time. Variety across a small chronological period would infer the market for expensive funerary commissions was strong. The location of the three find sites (see Maps 10 and 11) supports these theories with Yemisli, Hamzabey and Savcilar connected to one another based upon their proximity, and to their surroundings according to Savcilar's stationing upon a main route between Ankyra and Synaos. This highway heads west past Kadoi to the city of Aezani, where there is evidence of urbanisation and building from the Flavian period, equivalent to the production date of these stela.[917]

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[916] Yemisli (OS.PHR.10), Hamzabey (OS.PHR.01, 11), Savcilar (OS.PHR.12).
[917] A second Temple of Zeus may have been built at Aezani in the Flavian period (Levick et. al. 1988, xxiv); Aezani was a major urban centre of Phrygia in the early Roman period (Thonemann 2013a, 7).

c) <u>Gokceler, Ada Koy, Yenicearmutcuk and Ortaca</u>

The 4 stelae comprising group c on Map 11 demonstrate how frequent components of an overall design within an area changed over time. Where recorded the stone type of each is grey marble and across all there is consistency in design – Motif Template 1 – with no pilasters, small bordered triangular pediments, an upper element, and the inclusion of wreaths on the shaft. Earlier examples within this group are plain (OS.PHR.O2 and 07) and date from the first-century AD. OS.PHR.08 and 13 demonstrate how this design changed, minimally, by the early second century AD; enhanced elaboration sees an attribute located within the pediment and an eagle accompanying the wreath in the field. Significantly the general design remains consistent irrespective of chronology. This group, in a close proximity west of Aezani, has clearly definable variations over time and it seems likely the same production centre(s) finished pre-cut stones to this style. It may be that workshops at neighbouring Aezani and Kotiaeion, urbanised cities in the first-century AD, served these 4 villages or a workshop providing material to these 4 sites received the same pre-cut stones from a quarry supplying both nearby towns.

d) <u>Afyon Karahisar, Yazilikaya, Isiklar Koy, Buyuk Kabaja</u>

6 figural stelae from these sites match Figural Template B, possessing plain pilasters (with decorated capitals), figures on a plinth at the centre of the shaft, and inscription at the base of the field.[918] Other comparable features probably connected group d (i.e. limestone use, triangular pediment with acroteria and finials as per FS.PHR.09) however, damage to most

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[918] At Buyuk Kabaja (FS.PHR.2-3); Yazilikaya (FS.PHR.09); Afyon Karahisar (FS.PHR.10-11); Isiklar Koy (FS.PHR.13).

and a lack of recorded dates inhibits further classifications. These sites were well-connected by a road at the nearby town of Metropolis and their production centre may have been at Afyon, Metropolis itself, or the nearby city of Prymnessos. Indeed, the centre could even have been the quarry workshop at Docimeion itself according to its relative proximity.

Analysis of the appearance of Phrygian stelae according to location has demonstrated that in central and northern Phrygia a small number of larger workshops, specialising in one type of design, served definable areas.[919] For Group a this was likely based at Eskişehir, with Aizanoi or Kotiaeoin potentially serving Group c (maybe even b) via main roads connecting these sites to the immediate area, and beyond.[920] In support of the latter is evidence of a workshop producing doorstones, as discussed in section 1, located near the quarries of Göynükönen that sent half-finished stones to a workshop at Aizanoi.[921] Stelae of these groups were finished by a small number of urban ateliers, accounting for similarity in design over definable expanses and minor differentiations from area to area, based upon atelier capabilities or patron selection.[922]

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[919] My results support Thonemann by demonstrating that the local variation in style and content found in the funerary monuments of Phrygia *is* indicative of the cellular organisation of contemporary society (Thonemann 2013a, 36).

[920] About Aezani and its surroundings, an important sculptor's studio producing Türsteine (doorstones) reached its peak in the second century AD whose influence extended to the plains of the Tembris Valley (Paz de Hoz 2007, 121); the same workshop manufactured columnar sarcophagi (Clayton Fant 1985, 659).

[921] Levick et al. 1988, L; Wilson 2008, 403.

[922] Simpler funerary monuments (door stones and stelae) found throughout Asia Minor were roughed out at several quarries and finished elsewhere in urban workshops (Wilson 2008, 403).

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KEY:

■ = Group a ■ = Group b ■ = Group c ■ = Group d ■ = Galatia-Phrygia Group e, see Map ….

Sites: As above.

Map 11: Map of Phrygia showing groups of sites with stelae of comparable designs and stylistic features. Produced by author using the Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire.

c) Stelae templates within Pisidia

Mapping templates according to site of provenance within Pisidia (Map 12) shows that stelae comparable to Figural Template B and C are widely spread across the region.[923] By

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[923] Template C is a Pisidia only variant of Figural Template B (see section 2) which can be assigned to the majority of Pisidian figural stelae due to its more flexible designations.

maintaining Template B classifications (and not placing all under the umbrella of Figural

Template C) I am able to show designs *did* travel across regional borders. Examples of

Figural Template B stelae across central Pisidia feature at sites directly south of tombstones

matching Template B in southern Phrygia (Map 8). Comparably, Pisidian gravestones

corresponding to Figural Template A, while infrequent, enhance this argument and are

discovered at sites immediately south of the Pisidian-Galatian border (at Halici and Konya).
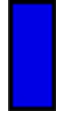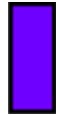
Over the border, Template A stones predominate in the south-southwest of Galatia (see

Map 10) with consistency in the designs of these stones reiterating that stelae travelled

from production centres, and their transportation was not precluded by regional borders.

The frequency of Template 1 across large expanses in central and western Pisidia implies it

may represent a standard appearance for attribute stelae in central and eastern Pisidia.

Stelae similar to Motif Template 2 are infrequent and in only feature in the northwest of the

region (see Group a, below).

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KEY:

= Figural Stelae Template A.

= Figural Stelae Template B.

= Figural Template C.

= Figural Stelae, Unclear Template.

= Motif Stelae Template 1.

= Motif Stelae Template 2.

= Motif Stelae Template C.

= Motif Stelae, Unclear Template.

Sites: 1) Gonceli; 2) Hacieyüpü; 3) Eski Hisar; 4) Denizli; 5) Dinar (Apamea); 6) Uluborlu (Apollonia); 7) Burdur; 8) Capakli; 9) Komama (Col. Iulia Augusta Prima Fida); 10) Heybeli Köyü; 11) Cremna (Col. Iulia Augusta Felix); 12) Timbriada (Sofular); 13) Ordekci; 14) Salir; 15) Donarsa; 16) Mustafa (near Seydisehir); 17) Avdan; 18) Almassun; 19) Kavak; 20) Hatunsaray (Katin Serai), Ancient Lystra (Col. Iulia Felix Gemina); 21) Konya (Iconium); 22) Halici; 23) Camili; 24) Karaağaç.

Map 12: Map of Pisidia with stelae template classifications, according to find site. Produced by author using the Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire.

The role of transport routes in influencing stelae appearance is emphasised by attribute stelae. First, every Pisidian motif stela is found at a site connected to a road (a similar pattern, though not as pronounced, is observable in Galatia) offering an indication that only larger settlements held a market for these gravestones; tied, perhaps, to opportunity for monument visibility or respective ability to transport stones. Stone type across the region (section 3.1) supports this concept with limestone predominant, especially in central areas (illustrative of the high number of Pisidian figural stelae) and marble found in tighter knit groups, about Denizli in the northwest and Konya in the east. Two distinct groups of stelae feature within Pisidia, attributable to definable areas and bearing analogous designs (Map 13). The first incorporates figural and motif stelae produced around Laodicea ad Lycum to the northwest: the second, stelae of both types with aediculae, is on a wider scale. It is difficult to theorise further groupings considering the increased stylistic variety exhibited by the region's stelae, tied to the widespread nature of the find sites.

a) <u>Analogous stylistic features about Laodicea Ad Lycum: stelae from Denizli, Eski Hisar, Gonceli, Hacieyüplü, Buğdaylı</u>

A group of stelae near Laodicea ad Lycum – including 3 attribute gravestones matching Motif Template 2 (at Denizli, Eski Hisar, Gonceli) and 7 portrait stelae of Figural Templates B and C (at Denizli, Hacieyüplü, and Buğdayli) – possess similar stylistic components.[924] These include: dogs on figural reliefs (chapter 3); funerary banquet scenes (chapter 4); use of a horse-shoe arch (see section 2); the designation of inhabitants as heroes within epitaphs – ήρως (detailed in chapter 4); and, use of pilasters and inset panelling of both the field and

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[924] Denizli (FS.PIS.1-5 and OS.PIS.01); Eski Hisar (OS.PIS.12); Gonceli (OS.PIS.11); Hacieyüplü (FS.PIS.06); Buğdaylı (FS.PIS.07).

pediment. 9 of the 10 examples in Group a are composed of marble, making the area the main proponent of such stone in Pisidia (see Map 7). These findings suggest social and cultural norms dictated stelae production around Laodicea ad Lycum, with preference for specific features (dogs, horse-shoe arch, banquet scenes) not found elsewhere within the inland regions.[925]

A road travelling northwards connects this group to find sites of a pair of Motif Template 2 stelae in south-eastern Phrygia, each incorporating some specific stylistic features as above[926], and a figural stela depicting a banquet scene.[927] Cross reference to Pisidia Group a presents a scenario whereby a workshop, maybe situated at Laodicea Ad Lycum, produced gravestones serving an area spanning the Pisidian-Phrygian border. It is significant that the border was not an inhibiter of this movement.[928] Perhaps more likely, the same pre-cut stones were sent to a series of smaller workshops in this part of the inland regions, to be completed to order, expounding the consistency of stylistic components across a larger expanse.

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[925] Sculptors and purchasers of sarcophagi had a similar mindset to those who previously bought and made grave altars and were content to draw upon a familiar repertoire of motifs, but in a selective manner (Davies 2011, 45).

[926] OS.PHR.26 at Yayalar (Sebaste) and OS.PHR.29 at Ortakoy.

[927] FS.PHR.07 at Develiler (Kagyetteia).

[928] Kelp's study of doorstones shows a similar result, illustrating how communication links, networks and location defined monument appearance according to location and enabled designs to travel across borders: in south and southeast Phrygia, door grave reliefs came from surrounding areas, based in cities like Pisidian Antioch or Laodicea Katakekaumene (near Iconium) (Kelp 2015, 98).

b) Aediculae stelae in Pisidia

9 stelae within Pisidia include an aedicula on the façade, 8 are Figural Template 3 stones[929] and the other matches Motif Template 3 (OS.PIS.08). These examples are spread across a wider expanse and are the result of more than one production centre; one cluster is situated east of the region (Lycaonia) centred at Hatunsaray and incorporating Avdan, Camili and Karaağaç: the second is central Pisidian at Burdur and Uluborlu. Regularity in appearance may be reflective of social and cultural norms, demonstrating consistency in the expected appearance of gravestones among contemporary inhabitants across much of central and eastern Pisidia. An aedicula is not a specifically Pisidian stylistic trait however - in section 2 I identified that OS.G.08 and OS.PHR.01, 11 and 39 incorporate aediculae. Separate clusters of this stela design in Pisidia, tied to the presence of aediculae motif stelae in Phrygia, may reflect that aediculae were an established stylistic feature of funerary representation within both regions (invariably, one would expect more surviving examples). Perhaps then, these designations show the transportation of designs or the production of travelling stonemason(s) completing stones in situ.

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[929] At Hatunsaray (FS.PIS.19-20); Avdan (FS.PIS.21); Kavak (FS.PIS.25); Mustafa (FS.PIS.27); Burdur (FS.PIS.35); Uluborlu (FS.PIS.36); Karaağaç (FS.PIS.37); Camili (OS.PIS.08).

This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

KEY:

= Group a

= Group b.

Sites: As above.

Map 13: Map of Pisidia showing groups of sites with stelae of comparable designs and stylistic features. Produced by author using the Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire.

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Section 3.3 - Travelling materials and designs

Analysis of the spread of materials and my template design designations within the inland regions has demonstrated clustering of similar designs within definable areas of each region. This is the result of a series of smaller-scale village or town-based ateliers receiving prefabricated stones from a quarry workshop, and selling to their immediate area.[930] Consistency in stelae appearance and material use across space implies that materials and designs (and by extension people) could move, correspondingly across borders, through interconnection, with the enhanced road networks of the Imperial period the likely enabler.[931] While it may be a step too far to suggest specific designs were conceived by inhabitants according to location, this manufacture process was guided by social and cultural norms[932] (in style and in the use of iconographic components) and the production capabilities of stonemasons.[933] The evidence shows that, depending upon location, quarries may have pre-cut stones according to surrounding, contemporary demand, incorporating features associated about that site - e.g. deep, inset panels and the horseshoe-arch on north-western Pisidian stelae.

The likelihood of numerous skilled artisans within these areas is limited meaning similarities among the stelae may be explained through the relative skillsets of contemporary

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[930] Limited stela types and materials in the catalogue make it likely manufacture was spread across numerous, small-scale workshops (Russell 2010, 130).

[931] A massive road construction programme occurred in Anatolia under the Flavians, Nerva and Trajan (Mitchell 1978, 96).

[932] As funerary evidence and visual language were inspired by the public sphere these stelae - composed in conformity to well-known formulae, in an environment culturally more homogenous, and destined for a more attentive and stable public - are implicit in character of the structure of the *polis* (Susini 1973, 7).

[933] While differentiations exist according to location, a core corpus of components remains consistent across each region. Variations over space and time were channelled within the parameters of my 6 templates representing the catalogue. Another explanation would be to explore notions of relative isolation and how this did, or did not, impact upon appearance.

ateliers.[934] The degree of training and education required to produce quality stone products resulted in a small pool of potential ateliers, trained in the standardisation of one (or a small range of designs) through specialisation. Potentially stonemasons, over-and-above the transportation of stelae designs from the workshop, travelled from a production centre to finish stones in situ, along transport routes. Highways enabled the movement of skilled ateliers and potentially afforded transportation of products across a wider, though still close, expanse: evidenced by stelae within Pisidia found at sites along or by roads.

The movement of materials and designs correlates with my discoveries in section 2, where certain materials were used for specific designs. For example, the spread of figural stelae within Galatia is focused to the west and southwest of region (Map 8), in the same areas where limestone is most frequent (Map 5). A comparable pattern is observable within Phrygia and Pisidia. The ability to handle materials provides further explanation for the consistency of designs – marble working required a skilled stonemason, possibly unavailable to many workshops, and predominance of limestone in certain areas may result from this, rather than a lack of trade or movement of marble.[935] In support, only at larger sites are there examples of both figural and motif stelae in limestone and marble respectively (at Ladik in Galatia, Eskişehir in Phrygia, or Konya in Pisidia). These were established cites interconnected across each region by roads and feasibly supplying a market with higher relative wealth and with the ability to attract, and support, higher skilled stonemasons.[936]

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[934] Hope attributes similarities in appearance of first-second century AD military stelae at Mainz to a dependence on the capabilities and repertoire of the available craftsmen, and the repetitive production of standard but popular designs, rather than a conscious effort to assert a specific unity identity within the military framework (Hope 2001, 41).

[935] Stone working was a highly localised and conservative craft: training received was relevant to works being produced at any one given time, leading to relatively standardised output (Mladenović 2016, 110).

[936] Presumably, capable stonemasons offering numerous designs cost more to hire and train: workshops producing doorstones were always developed in an urban setting, supplying more than one type of funerary monument, and responding to a target group of buyers that changed over time (See Kelp 2015, 104).

Either there was a skill gap in areas where figural stelae are not composed of marble, or stonemasons' capable cost more to hire and were, therefore, not used by workshops whose primary market was limestone based.[937] One should not dismiss the concept of relative wealth.[938] Based on a concept that marble was costlier, the south of Phrygia may have possessed less financial capacity than the north and, particularly, the Upper Tembris Valley. Numerous building projects from the Flavian era within cities to the northwest such as Aezani and Dorylaeum provide an architectural record favouring this hypothesis.[939] The population of Southern Phrygia was, on the other hand, essentially pre-urban[940] with land set aside for viticulture[941] and the rearing of sheep, for wool, in the eastern districts of Phrygia.[942] Yet, it is a stretch to associate limestone use simply with inhabitant's reduced financial capacity across each of the inland regions.[943] One cannot state that almost the entirety of Pisidia possessed a lower financial capacity in the early Imperial period based upon the evidence of map 13.

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[937] Diversification in sculpting did not necessarily occur once expertise was established in an area as each change in design necessitated different artisanal techniques (choice of tools, succession of actions etc.) that had to be taught before designs could be achieved, even down to the carving of new architectural components (Mladenović 2016, 110).

[938] Locally available limestone was cheaper than marble (Horsley 2007, 257).

[939] Levick et. al. 1988, xxiv.

[940] Thonemann 2011, 115.

[941] Thonemann 2011, 53.

[942] Levick et. al. 1988, xxiii.

[943] In Aphrodisias in Caria, marble was so readily available that many ex-slaves were able to commission garland sarcophagi with inscriptions (Ewald 2015, 403).

Concluding thoughts. *Do production processes define or affect the expression made within the catalogue?*

Chapter 5 has shown that production of funerary stelae within the inland regions was likely rationalised, with gravestones pre-cut before receipt at respective workshops. In section 1 I reviewed scholarly comprehension of off-the-shelf acquisitions, establishing pre-fabrication is a manufacturing concept applicable to stone monuments in the first and second centuries AD. Addressing stone types used and creating a series of templates classifying the catalogue's stelae in section 2 (according to design consistencies) allowed me to identify that the catalogue's stelae were worked prior to purchase. Such prefabrication is significant and influences our understanding of identity expression articulated by these gravestones; it is aligned to and channelled by social and cultural norms. Tracking the use of materials and design templates over space in section 3, I have identified how the designs and materials were, to an extent, utilised across specifiable geographical areas, each served by at least one production centre. My analysis has demonstrated that materials and designs were able to travel[944], not just within a region but also across borders (e.g., Group e in Galatia and Phrygia - Maps 9 and 11). This was presumably influenced by demand according to location - for example, the horse-shoe arch and deep inset panel were design features specific to Pisidia and stelae in the guise of Figural Stelae Template A were prevalent in southwest Galatia: both reflect contemporary social and cultural norms relevant to each locale. To facilitate this movement, I referred to the impact of roads and a potential whereby sites were interconnected and networked, enabling people and materials to move and increasing

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[944] Quarries at Nicomedia were able to transport marble by land, within Anatolia (Ward-Perkins 1980, 28); marble from Docimeian was hauled through Apamea on heavy oxcarts on journey to Ephesus (Thonemann 2011, 102).

shared knowledge.[945] Production therefore played an influential role in defining the expression within the catalogue over space and, with prefabrication of stones tied to contemporary demand about a workshop/quarry as a prerequisite, limited the range of iconographical components utilised according to the standard funerary repertoire and capabilities of respective stonemasons. The patron was presumably (in most cases) limited in alterations that could be made at time of order (potentially only the inscription was provided by the patron), marking the significance of the family name and kin as identity markers on these stelae and augmenting the role of other visual markers as status statements articulating position within the community.

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[945] The southwest regions of Anatolia worked as a cultural network in the pre-Classical period, resulting in closely related sepulchral monuments (Hülden 2011, 512); the more homogenous a material culture is, the closer contact and a higher degree of interaction between this group (Kelp 2015, 17).

Chapter 6 – Concluding thoughts: 'Stelae as vehicles of expression. A regional study of gravestones from inland Asia Minor during the first and early second century AD.'

The preceding chapters have showcased the complexity of early Imperial period funerary stelae from inland Asia Minor. It is fruitful to now consolidate the discussion set about in chapter 1, with reassessment based upon these analyses. Chapter 6 begins in section 1.1 outlining what inhabitants aimed to achieve when commissioning a grave stela. Next, in section 1.2, I affirm the significant themes of identity projection among contemporary inhabitants, detailing how these were articulated. This is followed in section 1.3 by a determination of the impact of Roman interaction upon the expression made by evidence in the catalogue. Section 1.4 then details how (and why) consistency in the projection of identities exists, specifying the ways stelae functioned as vehicles of expression and delineating the symbiotic relationship between social and cultural norms, production, interconnectivity and shared knowledge, and the need to project a desired identity. I return to wider debates in section 2 and indicate the necessary next steps to further scholarly comprehension of expression within the inland regions of Asia Minor.

Section 1.1 - What did contemporary inhabitants aim to achieve by commissioning a stela?

Stela were commissioned as a means of designating the site of interment or an additional sepulchral monument.[946] For inhabitants throughout the Roman world achieving a burial upon death was of express importance (chapter 1, section 2a).[947] Gravestones in the

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[946] Funerary monuments serve to indicate and protect the place of burial (Hope 2001, 1).
[947] D'Ambra 1998, 115; Zanker 2010, 145.

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catalogue support this mindset; multiple patron/recipient stelae (of seemingly unconnected families) offer a microcosm of larger communal burials, reducing cost and ensuring a memorial for loved ones.[948] As considered in chapter 1, stelae afforded an opportunity for expression otherwise absent to the majority in life, who commissioned them as a durable format for perpetual remembrance.[949] Aspirational display across the catalogue (through idealised representations, displaying material advantage, lifestyle – chapter 3) linked inhabitants to socially expected *polis* ideals – projecting a desired (though not necessarily attained) identity as a means of social distinction within that inhabitant's social milieu. This also consoled those bereaved by elevating the memorialised. For example, prospective stelae memorialising deaths of the immature (chapter 2) reassured those grieving by showcasing the deceased as adults, undertaking ideal societal roles; a view into their unattained future.[950] Commissioning a funerary stela not only gave solace to the bereaved but substantiated the completion of funerary ritual – due rites to the dead – engendering a sense of an afterlife for the deceased, and the role of the family in maintaining the memory of ancestors (chapter 4).[951] These gravestones functioned for, and were defined by, the living,[952] fitting into wider contexts of the Roman world.[953]

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[948] A first-century AD inscription from Apateira (Ephesus) records the foundation of a tomb club whose members were responsible for the care of their own, future tomb (Cormack 2004, 76); Hope 2001, 56.

[949] Hope 2001, 1.

[950] Stelae exhibiting a clearer sense of consolation: OS.G.01, 20, 25, 42, OS.PHR.08, 36 and OS.PIS.03.

[951] Comparable to funerary altars, these stelae could receive wine or food offerings (Coulton 2005, 127-128).

[952] Feraudi-Gruénais 2015, 664.

[953] Hope 2001, 6; Bodel 2008, 193.

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Section 1.2. Which key themes are articulated by stelae of the catalogue? What do the iconographical components upon stelae in the catalogue suggest about social expectations in contemporary society?

The following themes were significant constituents of identity projection in the catalogue; a) recording familial ties and the maintenance of the family name; b) association with Greek *polis* ideals and pride in subsistence living (and work) as a means of socially competitive display; c) belief in some form of afterlife, and articulating completion of funerary ritual. Seeing as the populace defined which values were significant to their identity at a given time (and space), free choice in expression is displayed (inhabitants wanted to be perceived as associating with each) in line with scholarship on cultural exchange and identity negotiation (i.e. discrepant experience, chapter 1, section 2d). Furthermore, the catalogue exhibits individual autonomy by exemplifying cultural negotiation and interaction in the early Imperial period (below), through expressions of a common bilingual history.

a) Recording familial ties and the maintenance of the family name

Commemorators utilised text and image to advertise their family within their respective communities. That one or more family member is memorialised by 72% of the catalogue (chapter 2, section 2) highlights the pertinence of recording familial ties/maintaining the family name to inhabitants of the inland regions.[954] The examples of FS.G.15, 20 and 25, and FS.PIS.09 reinforce this significance and amalgamate separate, seemingly unconnected families into one epitaph and one, universal portrait. Recording the family name (including the selection of appellations of kin) and representing familial ties for eternity was the

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[954] Reflecting the centrality of the family in Roman life (George 2005a, 39).

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primary motivation behind these gravestones; a component of specificity within the expression of identity that was specific to that family, at that given time. Most patrons or recipients of inscriptions were immediate family members (51% of texts), with parents, children, and spouses predominant (especially within Galatia). The high frequency of male family members as patrons of inscriptions (79%) is to be expected however, that female family members commissioned as many a 21% of texts surprised me. It suggests that 'middle class' women in early Imperial period inland Asia Minor possessed a higher social standing than in traditional Greek and Roman ideology (chapter 2). Extended family members are regularly recorded in epitaphs and their inclusion articulates the contemporary conceptualisation of family structures; the family was flexible, able to incorporate both wider kin and non-kindred ties. In portraits, the representation of extended familial ties is infrequent and immediate family bonds predominate, similarly to much of the west.[955] A lack of extended familial ties in imagery may reflect the iconographical function of the family unit as a motif. In this sense the imagery is centred on articulating standard, social accepted values associated with the family ideal.[956]

Figural reliefs represent individuals and families not in a true likeness, but as idealised markers; the sum of all parts generates an identity for the memorialised not their actual appearance.[957] Marriage and children were significant to the contemporary mindset based on their frequency within familial expression (chapter 2, section 3). Of course, commissioner affection should not be downplayed in the exposition of these familial ties[958] however,

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[955] Treggiari 1991, 492.

[956] Such as freedman reliefs from Rome utilising parent and child groupings to denote status/social ascendancy (chapter 2, section 1).

[957] Mayer 2012, 115; Portraits are not type specific with general rendering of sex, age and status of deceased (Mladenović 2016, 107); The aim was to ensure the deceased was made visually present after death (Cormack 2004, 77).

[958] The intimacy of this affectionate bond may be comparable Pannonian group portraits (chapter 2, section 1).

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demonstrating adherence to social expectation was not inconsequential. Both embodied

societal expectations and the paradigm of the citizen family – associating individuals with a

widespread set of social ideals and aspirations.[959] Marriage was the cornerstone in the

formation of a legitimate family[960] (and wider society) and its significance is reinforced by

the recording of the bond in 43% on texts. Children were central to the future potential of

both family and society, represented prospectively (as adults conducting ideal, socially

acceptable roles as markers of social status) and memorialised by parents in 22% of

inscriptions; I am surprised by the high proportion of daughters recorded (68% children

memorialised). Given feminine gender stereotypes, perhaps this is to be expected as both

marriage and childbearing were social/cultural expectations for women in the Roman world

and, certainly, this explains (and is augmented by) statements compensating for an early

death that denied women the chance of marriage or procreation.[961]

The family, and social expectations assigned to each member (according to age and rank),

was relevant to inhabitants across all social strata. Likewise, the specifics of individual family

identities and bonds (the family name, affectionate ties) communicated to all viewers.

However, viewer context and experience influenced the reception of these funerary

monuments. Generic details were overlaid with specificity and emotional response for the

surviving family whereas, a passer-by would articulate the relative social status of the

family, relative to their immediate community.

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[959] Huskinson 2011, 526.
[960] Treggiari 1991, 184.
[961] Carroll 2018, 224; Cohen 2011, 471.

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b) Association with Greek *polis* ideals and pride in subsistence living (and work)

The identity projected within the catalogue is Greek and expression is set within the parameters of a Greek social value system.[962] Dress on figural portraits denoted individuals as *polis* citizens – males in a long himation with *chiton* or tunic underneath; females heavily draped in *chiton* and *himation*; head veiled. Likewise, the range of figural poses (appropriations of the male and female arm-sling format, female *pudicitia*, Large and Small Herculaneum types) are indicative of Greek sculpture, transmitting associated values from public statuary onto the memorialised.[963] Consistency in figural appearance (chapter 3)[964] accentuated the deceased and their family (potentially in aspiration) engendering a form of socially competitive display in an architectural context.[965] Inhabitants presented material advantage and familial status through standardised attributes linked to Greek ideals and within the visual repertoire of the wider Greek and Roman world (chapter 3, section 2).[966] Whether this reflected reality or was aspirational may not matter; expressing the comfortable lifestyle of the memorialised (and their family) in this life (or the next) was desirable. As a result of contemporary dialogues between the urban and rural (according to context) and given that the many villages and towns in imperial period Galatia, Phrygia and Pisidia were all *poleis*, Greek civic ideals were used to demonstrate the importance of the memorialised (and their family by proxy), even in a non-urban setting.[967]

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[962] Revell 2016, 36; Hijmans 2016, 87; Herring and Wilkins 2003, 11.

[963] D'Ambra 1998, 13; Smith 1988, 70.

[964] Uniformity in the approach to figural representations occurs in the west of the empire (allowing for minor differentiation of specifics) (Hope 2001, 60).

[965] Puddu 2010, 29; Masséglia 2013, 116.

[966] The iconography of figural representations showcases position, or expresses an identity, within a community (Carroll 2006, 95-96).

[967] A continuum between town and country meant architectural elaborations more familiar to the town were well-known in the rustic setting (Purcell 1995, 174-177). Eliciting further study into the extent of isolation across the 3 regions in the Imperial period (see section 2).

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Similarly, representations of livelihood provided a further means of social distinction. Unlike representations of work in the wider Roman world (chapter 3, section 3), stelae in the catalogue are, for the most part, not concerned with communicating pride in livelihood or an occupational identity. A specific work-related identity is ascribed to individuals on the periphery of society (soldiers and gladiators)[968] nonetheless, livelihood definition is subordinate in most references to work in the catalogue. For example, occupation is associated with the inclusion of tools however, their primary function was imparting a further means status/distinction – as a marker of skill/mastery in craft. Expressions of livelihood in the catalogue allude to agricultural production, fitting wider narratives of the Roman world whereby one's status was enhanced relative to production, land, and lifestyle.[969] It articulated and inhabitant's balanced involvement in the ideal of the *polis* citizen, participating in civic structures, themselves associated with agriculture.[970]

c) Belief in an afterlife, the 'heroization' of the dead, and articulating completion of funerary ritual

A conception of an afterlife is expressed within the identity projection of the catalogue, but its articulation is both unspecific and nuanced. Rather than being heroized specifically, inhabitants were honoured as quasi-heroes. Six Pisidian inscriptions proclaim inhabitants as heroes, while 2 examples (FS.PIS.22 and OS.PHR.39) record the deification of inhabitants. Dual-dedication inscriptions appealing for divine guardianship of the grave and admonitions on FS.G.42 and OS.G.42 (the threat of angering the Mens of the underworld) demonstrate

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[968] Given the liminal status of their livelihood, both the gladiator and solder memorialised by FS.PIS.08 and FS.PIS.21 respectively, were defined by their occupational identity.

[969] Rosenstein 2008, 1; Cato the Elder, *De Agricultura*. praef. 2-4; Varro, *De Re Rustica*. 3.4.

[970] Purcell 1995, 177.

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comprehension of another (undefined) realm. Imprecations had to reflect contemporaneous religious beliefs and social and cultural norms to be impactful.

Potential heroization is infrequent in pose but no less significant. Scenes of sacrifice feature on 2 stelae (FS.PIS.11 and 22) signalling the conduction of due rites (below), appeasing the gods, and potentially seeking safe passage for the deceased (and their ancestors) in the afterlife. On FS.PIS.11 the sacrifice resembles rites honouring both the family (and Artemis Ephesia), while on FS.PIS.22 the defied cousin is celebrated. FS.PIS.07 includes a figure on horseback in relief (beside a Totenmahl scene) resembling the Rider God. Here, the divinity is invoked to aid the deceased in the afterlife while also demarcating/celebrating the young male entering adulthood (to console the family).[971] Given the stela includes a rider and banquet scene – the two standard iconographic approaches of hero reliefs in traditional imagery[972] (chapter 4, section 1) – FS.PIS.07 likely celebrates the memorialised as a hero. Banquet reliefs in the catalogue, conversely, do not possess eschatological meaning despite similarities in appearance and association with the Hellenistic tradition of representing the dead as a hero at a banquet (chapter 4, section 1).[973] Functioning as a visual translation of lifetime banquets, these reliefs associated the family with an elite and affluent lifestyle and offered a form of status display.

Motifs with heroizing connotations are frequently applied within the catalogue (chapter 4, section 2) and befit those of the wider Roman world.[974] Wreaths are frequent and possess an honorific function. Multivalent motifs such as the basket, krater, and grape bunch (chapter 3) and upraised hands (chapter 2) have deific implications, while attributes

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[971] Horsley 2007 274.
[972] Fabricius 2016, 40.
[973] Fabricius 2016, 40.
[974] Cormack 2004, 98.

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associated with specific deities are (by their own nature) heroizing, translating their

praiseworthy values onto the inhabitants commemorated. Eagles symbolise dedications to

Zeus and represent apotheosis; ox-heads, sacrifices appeasing the gods and/or agricultural

produce offered at the altar; lions as grave guardians or companions of the deity Cybele.

That the motif repertoire is comparative to votive stelae, altars and doorstones,[975] both

enables the attributes to communicate with the viewer (see section 1.4) and augments

contemporary associations with an afterlife in early Imperial period inland Asia Minor.

Communicating the conduction of funerary rites by the surviving family (e.g. providing for

the deceased after death[976]) was frequent theme across chapter 4. For example, wreath and

garland motifs referenced actual materials used in ritual and tomb decoration, curse

formulas the continuation and protection of the site of internment, scenes of sacrifice and

banquet(?) a visual record of adherence to ritual customs conducted for the dead. Evidence

in the catalogue references the conduction of funerary ritual and reinforces the role of the

surviving family in looking after the dead, potentially as a social/religious expectation.

Section 1.3 - Did the active imposition of (and interaction with) Roman culture affect the projection of identity on funerary stelae in the inland regions? Instead, was Roman interaction an enabler – not for expressing integration into imperial society – but for cultural interaction?

In chapter 2 (section 2) I explored the role of nomenclature as an identity marker within the

family and observed how appellations offer an effective case study of cultural interaction

and bilingualism (chapter 1) within inland Asia Minor. Epitaphs in the catalogue project

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[975] For ornamentation of altars see Coulton 2005, 127-157; For divine markers on doorstones see Haarløv 1977, 47.
[976] As in the Roman West, offerings by the living in remembrance of the dead was a common aspect of funerary ritual (Cormack 2004, 119).

families with Greek, Roman, and established cultural identities, with combinations of personal appellations showcasing the active process of cultural interaction and negotiation within Galatia, Phrygia, and Pisidia in the first-second centuries AD.[977] The same can be said of stelae appearance. Aspects within epitaphs *did* articulate culturally specific values (deliberate or otherwise) demarcating citizen status and Roman identity – for example, Latin text (FS.PIS.20, OS.G.19 and OS.G.31) and the *tria nomina* (on 15 stelae, see chapter 2, section 2). However, specifically Roman expression is downplayed and only extractable through the epitaph. **No stela** from the catalogue, in incorporation and application of iconographical components, projects a solely Roman (even Greek or established cultural identity), or (as far as I can decipher) was a deliberate statement of support for, or resistance against, change.[978] Through continuation and combination, identity markers used within the catalogue are essentially comparable to the wider funerary sphere of Asia Minor, and the Empire.[979] The analysis of the preceding chapters illustrates that expression in the catalogue reflected values and interactions within contemporary society, and that this was both amenable to negotiation and exchange.[980]

Section 1.4. How do stelae articulate meaning and does this explain consistency in the messages expressed within the catalogue?

Section 1.2 outlined three significant constituents of identity projection in the catalogue.

Influenced by social and cultural norms/expectations, these comprised the desired identity

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[977] The range of onomastics available to inhabitants during the Imperial period express familiarity with several cultures (Van Nijf 2010, 185).
[978] A similar pattern occurs on stone sculpture of Moesia Superior (Mladenović 2016, 114).
[979] Kousser 2015, 237; Stewart 2010, 2.
[980] Stutz 2015, 7; Romanization theory (chapter 1, section 2) is not suitable as a means of defining change and its expression in the catalogue.

of contemporary residents at time of commission. Alongside this ideal, I will now consider

other interconnected factors explaining the consistency in identity expression within the

catalogue. Each influence one another, symbiotically: a) the need to communicate to a

semi-literate audience, b) agency – projecting a desired identity (based on social and

cultural norms), c) production processes, d) regional interconnectivity and shared

ideology/knowledge. Figure 6.1 illustrates how each factor is interconnected, concurrently

defining the other, resulting in consistency in identity projection.
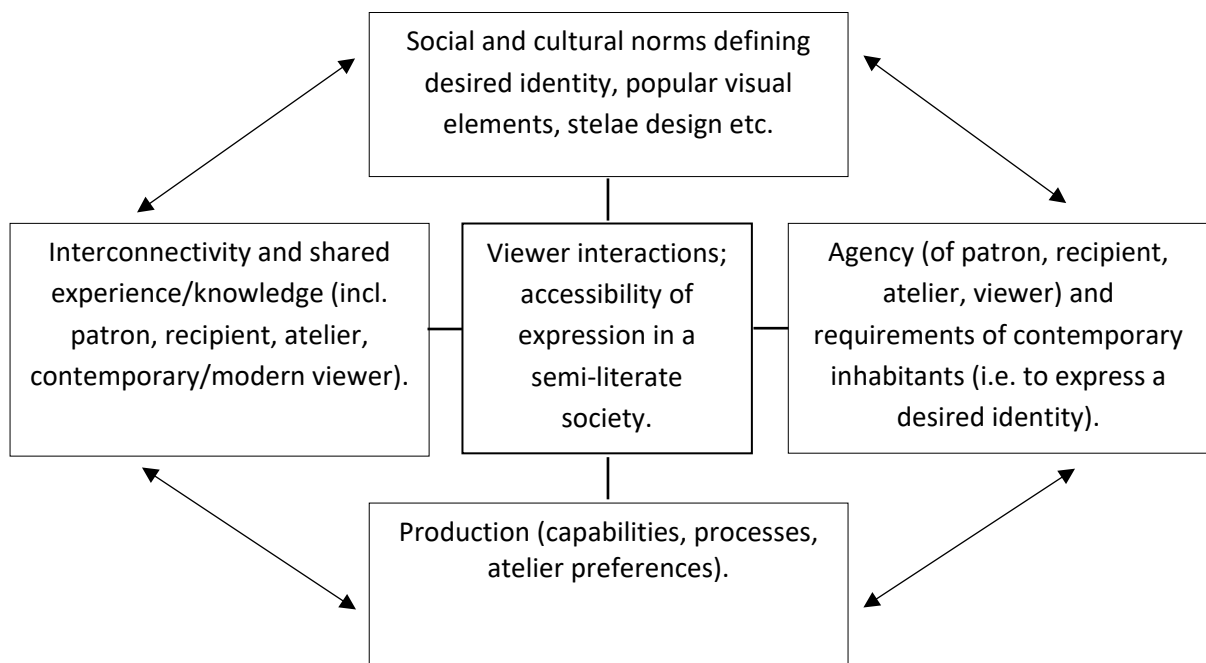
Figure 6.1: A diagram demonstrating the symbiotic factors explaining expression on stelae of the catalogue. Produced by author.

a) Communication through a regular and narrow spectrum of iconographical mechanisms

Key iconographical markers, attributable to significant societal values, were tasked with

projecting a desired identity for contemporary inhabitants.[981] Standardised iconographic

components upon the catalogue's stelae (body types, frontality, dress, motifs, text) act as a

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[981] The production and consumption of motifs and iconographies tied individuals into a wider cultural *koin*é and group identity (Revell 2016, 36).

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common iconographic language or cultural reference point.[982] Each constituent component, or marker (part of a well-known visual repertoire) conveyed meaning in isolation which, through amalgamation with others, worked hand-in-hand to articulate an identity for the deceased.[983] These iconographical components possessed multivalent meanings (especially motifs[984] – chapters 3 and 4) permitting a generally narrow repertoire to be applicable to the majority, while viewer experience (and position relative to the deceased) aided yet further interpretations.[985] Iconographical markers were essential due to a lack of literacy (rates of literacy in Rome may have been as low as 10-15%[986] (see chapter 1, section 2) and this narrow thematic range enables an identity to be articulated to most contemporary viewers.[987] While appearance and applications were consistent, these visual elements were deliberately equivocal; a variety of associations meant visual elements fit the context and the circumstances of the viewer.[988] Consistency in both social expectations and corresponding visual markers across the inland regions ensured stelae were accessible to contemporary viewers[989] and implies contact between these areas.[990]

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[982] Revell 2016, 36; Hijmans 2016, 87; Zanker 1993, 213; Monument type, dimensions, and its position and visibility relative to other examples were also means of expression (Hope 2001, 8); Hope 2007, 3.

[983] Wallace-Hadrill 2008a, 76).

[984] Motifs had more than one association for contemporary viewers which varied according to context, and the circumstances of individuals concerned (Davies 2003, 220-221); Recurrence of specific motifs proves them constituent components of an accepted repertoire, differing according to gender (Masséglia 2013, 99); It is debateable whether motifs included, individually or collectively, were conceived of as having meaning (Davies 2011, 35).

[985] Hijmans 2016, 87; Familiar symbols, within the culture they were created, functioned on differing levels. For example, only some people understand all the symbols on modern-day coins, yet everyone grasps their role as tokens of a known value (Herring and Wilkins 2003, 11); Smith 1988a, 350.

[986] Petersen 2006, 106.

[987] Kelp 2015, 219; Petersen 2006, 84.

[988] Davies 2003, 221; The effectiveness of a commemoration is defined by its legibility and predictability (Petersen 2006, 86); Consistency in visual mechanisms permitted these funerary monuments to communicate like a language through shared knowledge and presentation (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 97).

[989] Ancient viewers noticed how individual relief stelae echoed one another in overall composition, decorative motifs, and epigraphic content (Yasin 2005, 444).

[990] Kelp 2015, 17; Revell 2016, 208.

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b) Social and cultural norms

Homogeneity in form and iconography across the catalogue, consistent over time and space, reflects consistency in social expectation across the inland regions.[991] It suggests a requirement among inhabitants (both conscious and/or subconscious) to express a desired identity, positioning them within their community through social ideals and status conventions. Social and cultural norms also dictated expected stelae appearance, defining the market, and influencing production (chapter 5). The repertoire of visual markers (above) was also influenced by social and cultural norms, amenable according to the altering ideology and beliefs of a society.[992] Components could be changed, emphasised, even enhanced as a fabrication of the truth with the aim of aligning an individual with expected social values relative to their contemporary environment.[993]

C) Agency

Regularity in visual markers may be reflective of agency on the part of patrons. Iconographical components may have been selected on aesthetic merit alone – i.e. the selection (and purchase) of an appealing prefabricated workshop design. Likewise, a patron may select components to articulate a specific identity expression, linked to a desired identity (above). This implies a need (willful or not) to fit in within the community, to project an identity associated with (and relevant to) this primarily insular audience.[994] Articulating a

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[991] 3 analogous groups of Roman period grave stelae from Northern Syria and south-eastern Asia Minor present a comparable scenario; individuality was framed within the boundaries of convention (Weir 2001, 274-310); In Eastern Phrygia, many inscribed monuments are tombstones, close in form and content from the Hellenistic to earlier Imperial period (Smith 2015, 737); Calder 1956, xxxiii.

[992] Hope 2001, 5.

[993] Bodel 2008, 193.

[994] Popularity of a type, even standardised monuments within a single community, is often emblematic of individuals aiming to emulate their neighbours and conform to expected self-representation of the community (Carroll 2006, 91); Mladenović 2016, 109; Patrons engendering a sense of unified belonging, both collectively and individually over time (Hodos 2010, 3); Formal elements of a tomb's decoration, epigraphy, and

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'community' identity positions an individual within the social and cultural parameters of

their social milieu, ensuring their monument befits their peers and providing the framework

for individual expression and personal distinction (e.g. status statements, gendered

expression). Consistency in the catalogue is partly a result of unified individuals, visually

representing their position within an integrated social construct (the community).[995]

d) Production processes

Consistency in expression was influenced by production processes, narrowing and defining

the visual repertoire through prefabricated stelae manufacture (see chapter 5).

Stonemasons produced gravestones that matched demand, relative to standardised social

expectations (for designs, messages expressed etc.). However, production also influenced

the desired identity of contemporary inhabitants based upon a requirement to

communicate with a semi-literate audience (see chapter 1, and above) - it channelled how

the desired identity could be articulated. In chapter 5, I established that the patron likely

purchased a prefabricated gravestone meaning (details of the inscription aside) the

workshop formulated the identity that stone projected, not its eventual purchaser. Perhaps,

texts were the only specifically individualised components on stelae of the catalogue? Of

course, the conscious selection of designs and details by the patron relative to meaning (or

taste) can be expected in atelier-consumer relationships (see chapter 5). However,

prefabrication and atelier skillset (and preference in the finishing of gravestones) had a

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iconography, joined individuals into a defined group and commemorated a community through collective
identity (Yasin 2005, 481); Stevens 2008, 81.

[995] Kelp 2015, 20; On a wider scale, the Maeander region of Phrygia was the product of its inhabitants' own
sense of regional association – with distinctive and characteristic ways of life and patterns of social relations –
and inhabitants were aware of their belonging to a region (Thonemann 2011, 24); Community identity
expressed may not reflect the circumstances of the living, but instead be abstract expression of ideal social
orders (Bodel 2008 193).

strong influence in defining the appearance, visual markers incorporated, and identity projected upon these stelae. Shared practice across the three inland regions, linked to a potentially limited the pool of skilled stonecutters, resulted in consistency in the projection of identity over time and space.

d) Regional interconnectivity and shared ideology/knowledge.

Prior to Roman annexation Galatia, Phrygia and Pisidia were not segregated, sharing a common cultural history (see chapter 1). This influences identity projection in the catalogue, be it the continuation of nomenclature of established cultures (chapter 2), defining the boundaries of iconographical components incorporated (above), or the integration of Hellenistic Greek and earlier traditions (association with Greek civic value systems as a status marker, chapter 3). Likewise, shared knowledge and experience will have influenced production (chapter 5); standardisation is reflective of communities of knowledge in the manufacture of stone monuments. Furthermore, chapter 5 section 3 demonstrated that designs, materials (and by extension people) were able to travel, given the enhancement of networking capabilities in the early Imperial period. The ability for stelae to travel explains consistency over space, with production at urban centres travelling to nearby villages and towns to be diffused over greater expanses. Acts of production and consumption tied individuals into a wider cultural *koine* and group identity.[996] As networks expanded and communities integrated within the inland regions, successive burials across a variety of geographical levels incorporated standard iconographies, with conformity to existing grave markers potentially extending across a larger expanse.[997]

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[996] Revell 2016, 36; Hijmans 2016, 87; Zanker 1993, 213.
[997] Yasin 2005, 445.

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Section 2 - The wider context

This study has fulfilled its aims, establishing how funerary stelae from Imperial period inland Asia Minor functioned as vehicles of expression. By analysing in detail the functionality of communicative iconographic and visual mediums upon a funerary medium, and perceiving the reception of this process, I have continued discourse at the vanguard of art history. [998] Studying the projection of self-identity through portraiture, motifs and text has provided significant insight into the ideologies of the inhabitants of Galatia, Phrygia and Pisidia.[999] Emphasis in the articulation of the family as a component of identity, associations combining the ideals of the *polis* (and livelihood) as a means of status display, and the heroization of the deceased in pose and attributes, reflect the values of importance to the populace and their combination distinguishes Galatia, Phrygia and Pisidia from other regions of the Roman Empire. Further, by analysing stelae as a form of material culture (see chapter 1) across a defined space, while considering the dynamics of agency within this expression,[1000] I have enhanced understanding of the transfer of ideologies and ideas of cultural interactions within inland Asia Minor.[1001] This thesis has determined the bilingual nature of contemporary cultural interaction/negotiation through its manifestation within a funerary medium, in an active process not seemingly hindered the rural nature of each region. Indeed, I have ascertained connectivity between each inland region by creating my own design templates and presenting a scenario whereby designs, stylistic approaches and materials (and, by extension, people) travelled.

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[998] Hijmans 2016, 87; see also Risakis and Touratsoglou 2016, 120.
[999] Pearce 2015, 236.
[1000] Gardner 2013, 5.
[1001] Mladenović 2016, 116.

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In addition, my discoveries have further enhanced and developed scholarly understanding of funerary monuments within inland Asia Minor. By identifying iconographical markers of importance and detailing the multivalence of these visual elements, I have strengthened the outcomes made by Masséglia and Kelp in their respective studies of funerary monuments in Phrygia.[1002] Likewise, my analysis has demonstrated areas of consistency in the sculptural habit, relative to other areas of the Empire, including the Roman Central Balkans, Western provinces and Macedonia.[1003] My thesis supplements the studies of Mladenović, Hope and Risakis and Touratsoglou (each surveying funerary monuments of the Roman Empire during the early Imperial period) by providing a case study within the non-urban hinterlands of a remote eastern province, in a new Roman era.[1004]

2.1 Avenues for future research.

    a)   Impact of locational factors upon funerary representation.

The physical environment where people live was a fundamental condition affecting how they represented themselves.[1005] I have shown in this thesis that location did influence the appearances of stelae and identity expression, be it based upon a production centre serving an immediate area, or natural conditions defining livelihood within each region (i.e. viticulture in fertile valleys, sheep-rearing in highlands). Consistency in expression among contemporary inhabitants, across each region, implies a sense of regional association and position within the community. However, this may reflect the power of established

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[1002] Masséglia (2013); Kelp (2015).
[1003] Mladenović (2016); Hope (2001); Risakis and Touratsoglou (2016).
[1004] Studying expression within regions of a province sets my approach at the forefront of publications investigating the dynamics of the Roman Empire through micro-identities and the local (Jiminez 2016, 16).
[1005] Thonemann 2011, xiii.

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traditions within the inland regions. There is further scope to assess the impact of locational factors upon funerary representation within the three inland regions. Landscape impacted settlement, livelihood and by extension funerary expression; for example, the favourable conditions in western and central Phrygia potentially resulted in a faster development of funerary culture and closer imitation to Greco-Roman styles, compared with the more isolated east and north-eastern Phrygia.[1006] Similarly, in Roman Macedonia a diversity of regional practices are shown in the variety and distribution of monumental types, and the genres of imagery – more isolated locations formed "cultural islands" where established practises persisted, while urban areas and sites along the busy Via Egnatia demonstrated tendencies to adopt elements of Roman funerary art.[1007]

Thonemann has analysed identity through visual evidence in relation to geography and heritage (including nomenclature) within Phrygia and, in a similar guise, it would valuable to consider the impacts of topography, natural resources, known cities and developed sites on funerary representation across the inland regions.[1008] I see value in exploring the role of direct Roman activity in each respective region further, such as through the enhancement of *coloniae* as at Eumenea (Phrygia) and Antiochea (Pisidia), the founding of new villages and towns, alongside the influx of Latinised peoples from the Roman west, such as retired veterans.[1009] In addition, exploration into the extent of urbanisation within the inland regions would be instructive; perhaps villages were more interconnected in the early Imperial period than previously perceived. While I am not suggesting large sections were urbanised, the evidence of this thesis suggests many villages and small settlements were

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[1006] Kelp 2013, 79.
[1007] Risakis and Touratsoglou 2016, 131.
[1008] Thonemann (2013); (2011).
[1009] Villages remained and rose in number during the Roman period (Woolf 1997, 4).

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interconnected with larger settlements in the immediate area, forming a network (of *poleis*)

– see chapter 5. Mitchell has undertaken significant study, especially within Galatia,

identifying such patterns among the small towns and villages covering much of the region,

with a handful of larger, urbanised sites connected to one another by road routes.[1010]

b) Representation of gender on the stelae

Gender representation has become a significant strand of scholarship in recent years

following the integral studies of Natalie Kampen into gender representation and social

status in Roman art[1011] and Diana Kleiner's *I Claudia* volumes.[1012] Recent publications

including Glenys Davies examination of gender and body language in Roman art,[1013]

explorations of gender on Roman funerary images in the provinces[1014] and gendered

practices of Roman artefacts without sexed bodies,[1015] are enabling new interpretations

with a more balanced stance. To an extent, representations of men and women are

comparable in the catalogue – figures the same scale, no hierarchy in composition,

equivalent civic dress, accompanying gendered attributes etc. – and only minor alterations

designate gender (pose and veiled head). This is not reflective of Greco-Roman models.[1016]

While still bound by gender stereotypes, women seem to have possessed a higher social

worth in contemporary Galatia, Phrygia and Pisidia. For example, a not insignificant

proportion of inscriptions are dedicated to or by one or more female recipient and female

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[1010] Michell (1982); Mitchell, Owens and Waelkens (1989); Mitchell (1993); Horsley and Mitchell (2000).
[1011] (Kampen 1981, 1982).
[1012] (Kleiner 1996, 2000).
[1013] (Davies 2018).
[1014] (Carroll 2013).
[1015] (Allison 2015).
[1016] Kelp 2015, 77.

children outnumber males as recipients of a memorial. Further analysis is necessary. There

is always the potential this reduced sense of insubordination reflects the social position of

these women and not wider trends; the perceivable cost of large funerary gravestones is

indicative of an enhanced social position.

c) Iconographical study of contemporary funerary and votive forms

A study into the use of iconographical components on contemporary funerary and votive

forms would be instructive: it would be valuable to observe whether the iconographical

components and themes discussed in chapters 2-4 feature equivalently on other,

contemporaneous, funerary and votive forms across Galatia, Phrygia and Pisidia.[1017] Kelp

has conducted such a study for funerary monuments within Phrygia[1018], Masséglia studied

self-representation on Phrygian funerary reliefs through visual components while

Mladenović assessed visual markers within the sculptural tradition in the Roman Central

Balkans.[1019] I would expect to observe an overlap and consistency in visual markers used

across each monument type (votive and funerary).

[1017] Especially upon votive stelae, funerary and votive altars, and doorstone representations.
[1018] (Kelp 2015).
[1019] (Masséglia 2013; Mladenović 2016).

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Appendix A

Catalogue

Category

1) Figural stelae
   - A: Figural Stelae from Galatia
   - B: Figural Stelae from Phrygia
   - C: Figural Stelae from Pisidia

2) Motif-only stelae
   - D: Motif-only stelae from Galatia
   - E: Motif-only stelae from Phrygia
   - F: Motif-only stelae from Pisidia

A: Figural Stelae from Galatia

FS.G.01. Funerary stela for Manes and Lole

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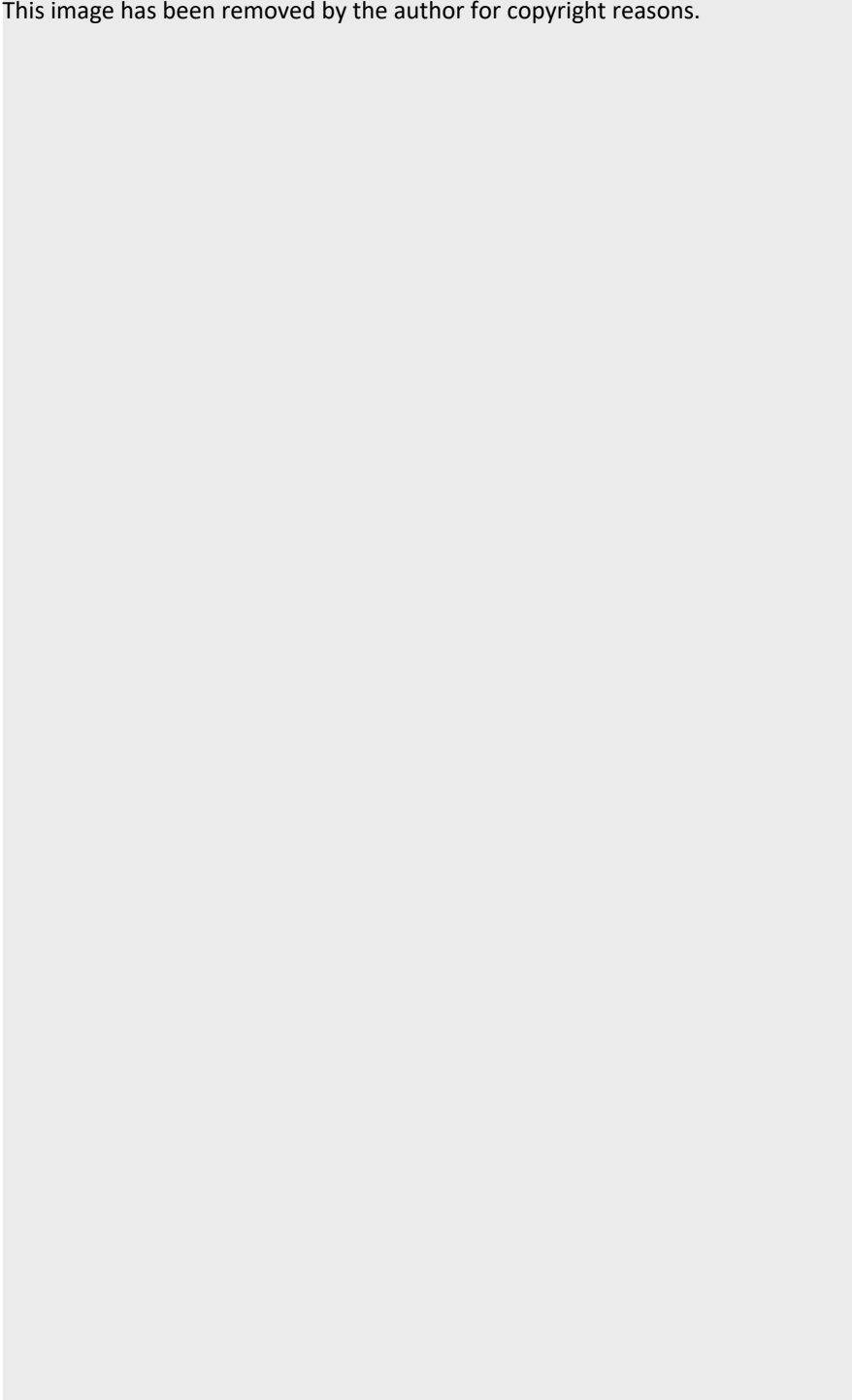
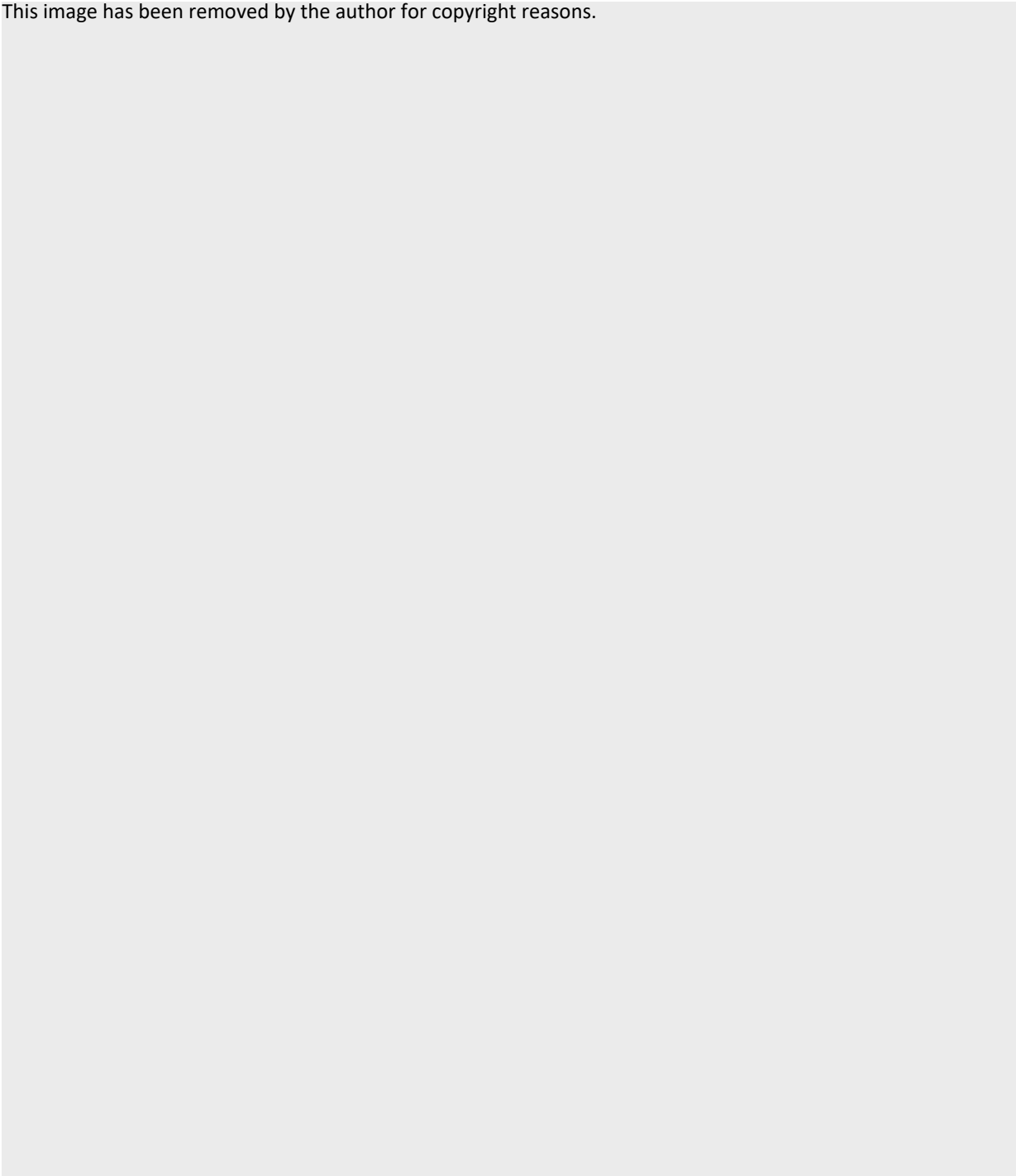*Plate I: FS.G.01. From Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 204.*

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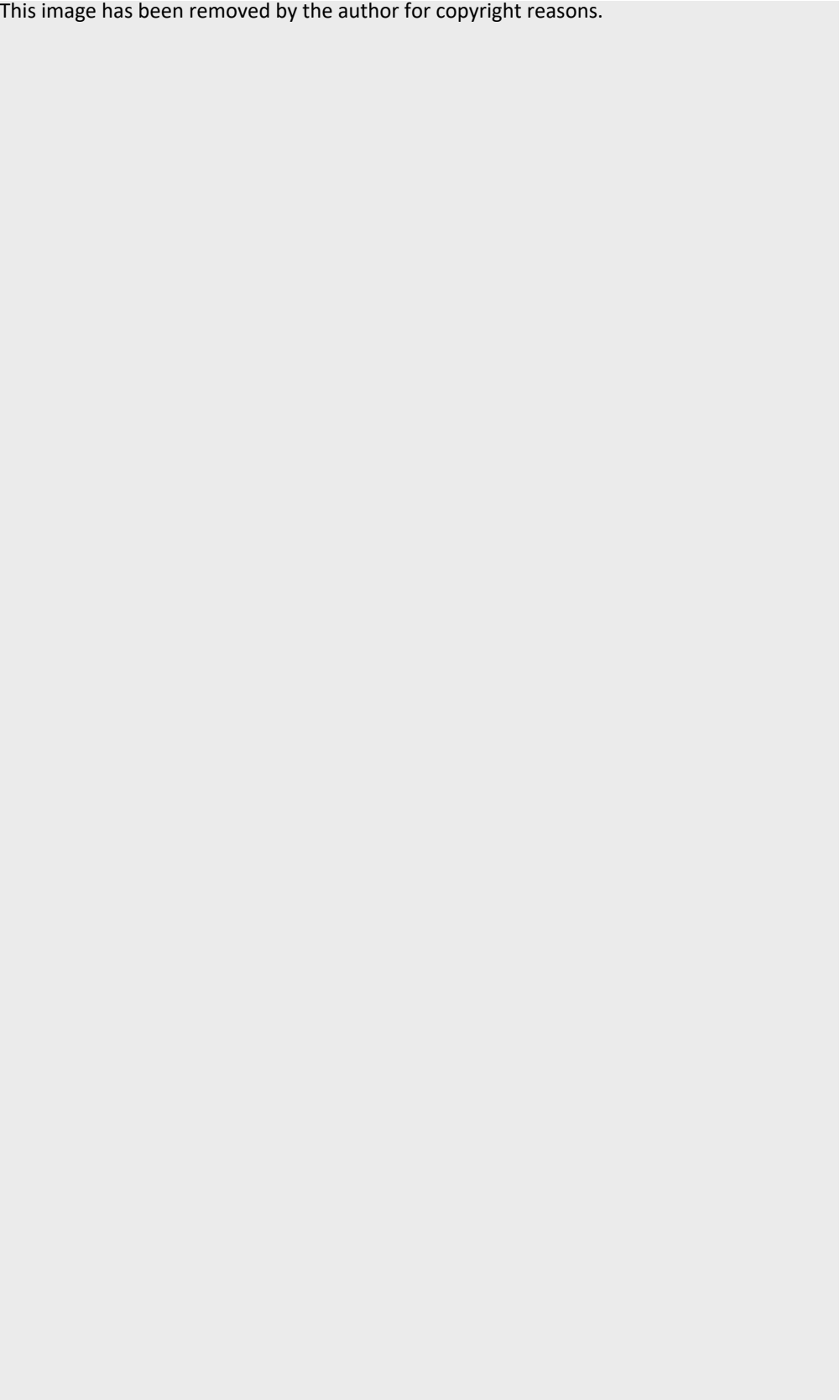This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.
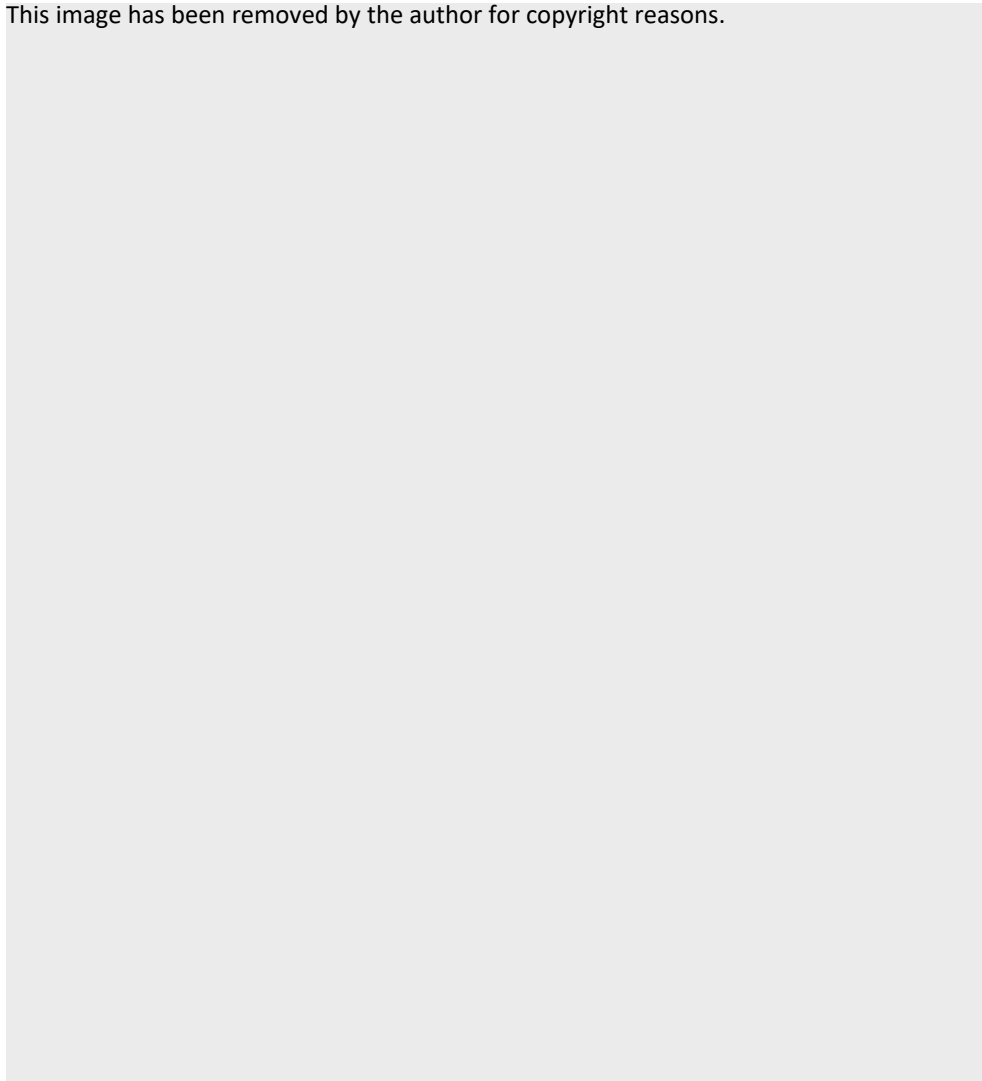
Plate II: FS.G.01. From Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 204.

Plate: I and II.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Çeşmelisebil.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.35, W. 0.54 (pediment), 0.47 (shaft); Th. 0.30. Letter H. 0.030 metres.

Description: Stela with vaulted pediment, plain pilasters and tendril decoration on outer moulding of pediment, suggesting earlier 2nd Century A.D. date. Within pediment male in *himation*, veiled female in *chiton* and *himation*; both with right arm across chest, left arm across waist. Incised attribute (plough?) (l.) of male; spindle, distaff and wool-basket in relief (r.) of female. Buried below, stained upper left side. Inscription across upper third of shaft.

Inscription: Μανης καὶ Σο-σος Μανῃ πα-τρὶ μνήμης χάριν καὶ Λολῃ (5) μητρὶ ζώσῃ. "Manes and Sosos for their father Manes, in memoriam, and for their mother Lole, who is still living." (Trans. Thonemann 2013a).

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Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 204.

FS.G.02. Stela for Kalliope

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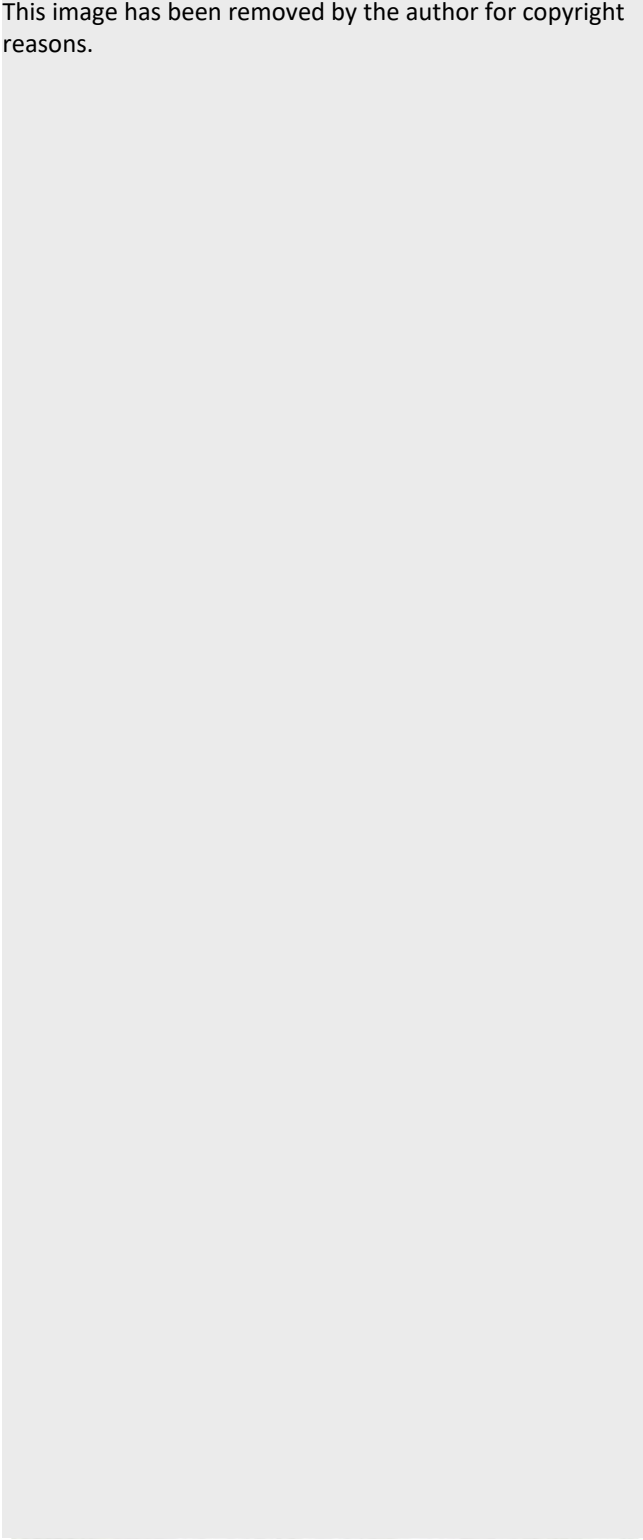
Plate III: FS.G.02. From Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 202.

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Plate: III.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Çeşmelisebil.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.50, W. 0.46 (pediment), 0.45 (shaft), 0.47 (base); Th. Unknown. Letter H. 0.020-0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with vaulted pediment, plain pilasters and stylised capitals. Plain acroteria on pediment corners and above, at centre, incised circle. Within pediment reliefs of male in himation (l.) and veiled female in *chiton and himation* (r); right arm across chest, left arm across waist. Unidentified incised object (l.); wool-basket (r.). Buried below, cracked, worn, 2 indentations across the shaft. Inscription, centre of shaft.

Inscription: Πολεμαῖος Παπα γυνεκὶ Καλλιόπη μ-νή. "Polemaios, son of Papas, for his wife Kalliope, in memoriam." (Trans. Thonemann 2013a).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 202.

FS.G.03. Stela for Io and Io

Plate: IV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Çeşmelisebil.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.40; W. 0.52 (top), 0.48 (shaft); Th. 0.25. Letter H. 0.017-0.025 metres.

Description: Stela, complete; plain pilasters with stylised capitals, arched *aedicula* within vaulted pediment, at top star in relief. In *aedicula*, relief, standing veiled female with incised spindle, distaff and basket (l.); incised bureau supporting mirror (r.). Stylised doorknocker on pilaster (l.) of *aedicula.*

Inscription: Μανης Ιωδι τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ καὶ Ιῳ τῇ ἰδίᾳ θυγα-τρὶ μνήμης χά-(5) vac. ριν. "Manes for Io, his own wife, and for Io, his own daughter, in memoriam." (Trans. Mama 2013).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 203.

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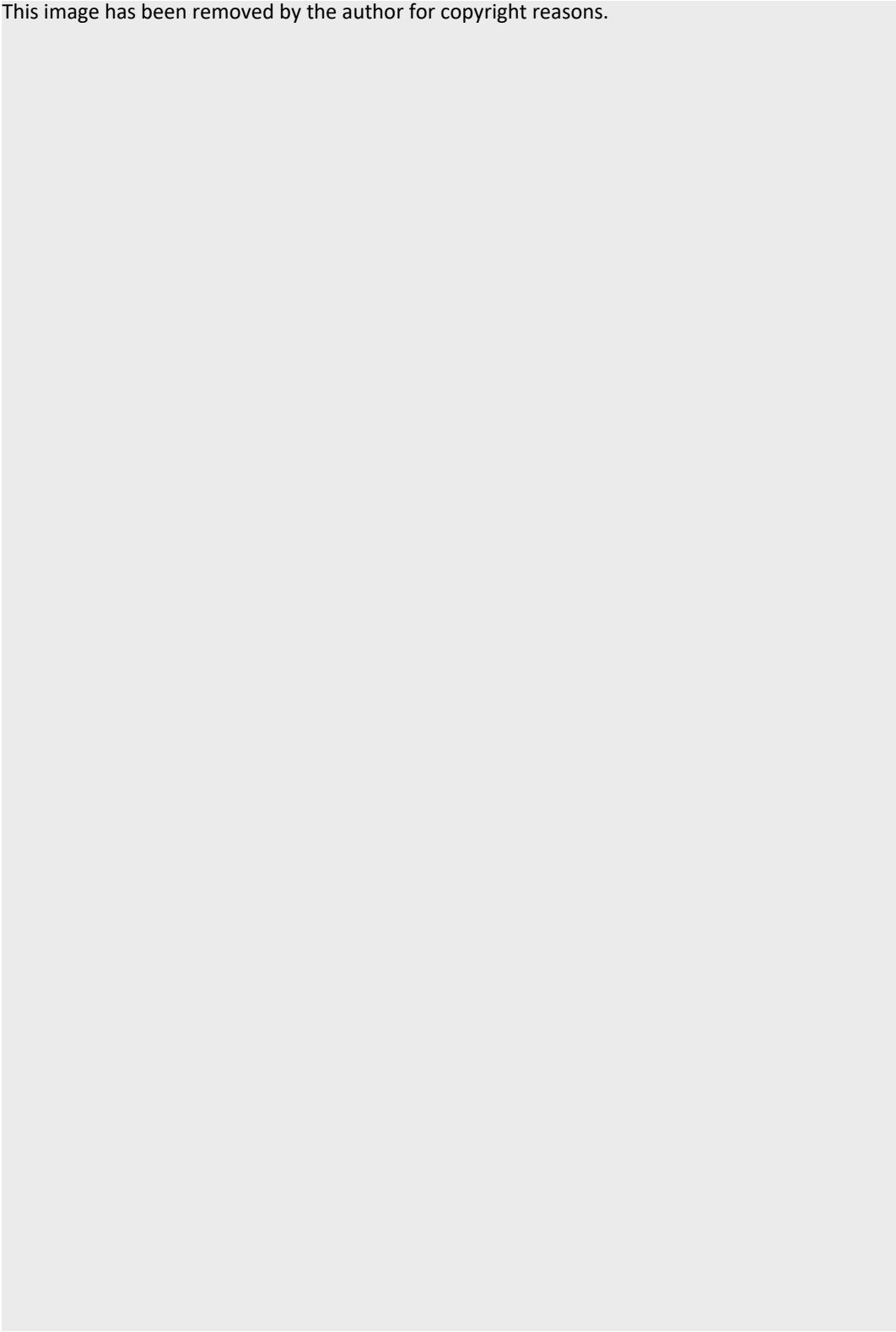
Plate IV: FS.G.03. From Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 203.

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FS.G.04. G. Kalpournios Serious stela

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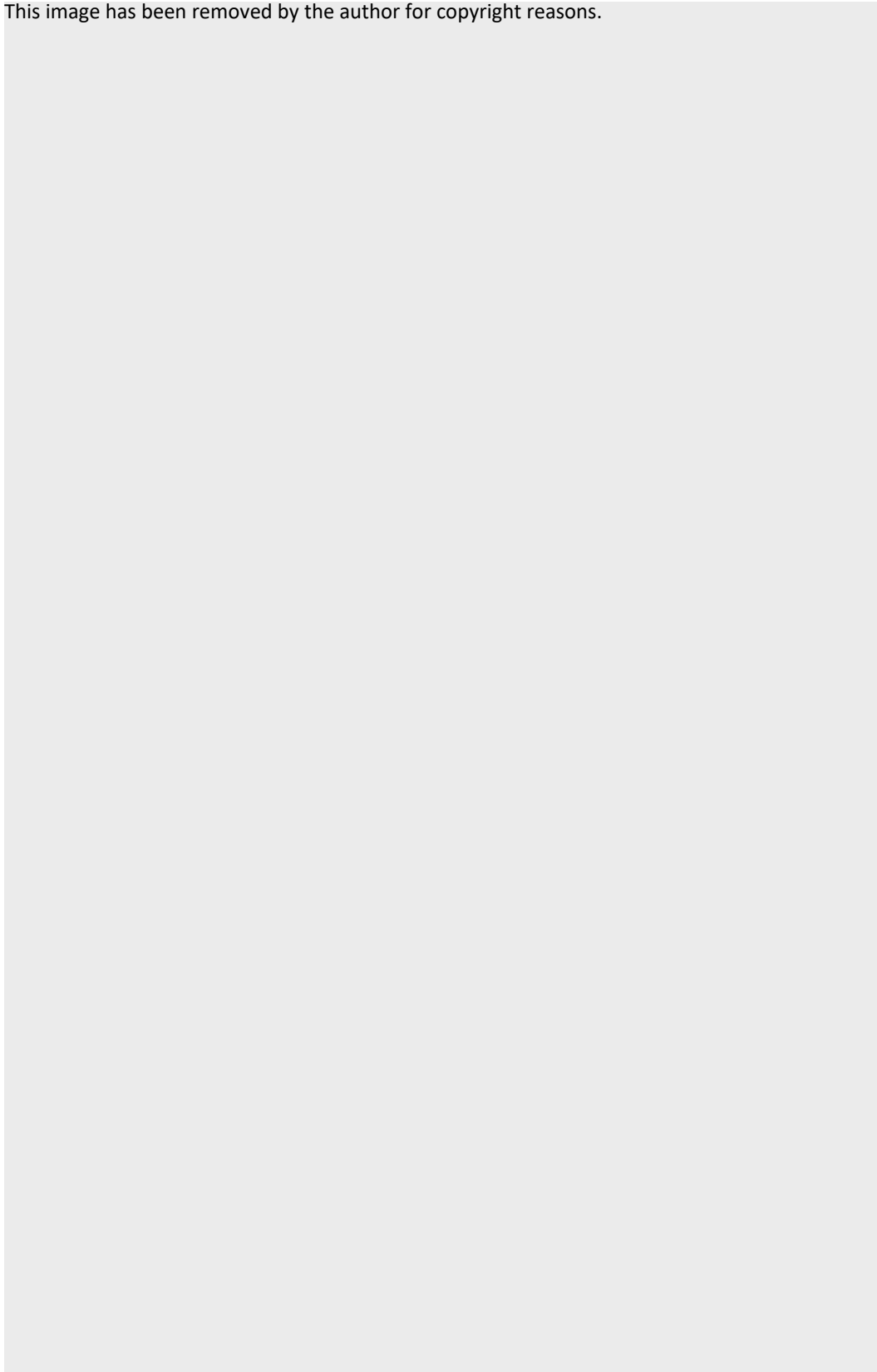
Plate V: FS.G.04. From Mama 1956, 14. Pl. 2.

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Plate: V.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kunderaz. Discovered in the fountain.

Material: Bluish-grey Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.85; W., (top) 0.50, (shaft) 0.45, (base) 0.56; Th. 0.24. Letter H. 0.03-0.035 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, elaborated capitals; triangular pediment, palmette decoration above. Within pediment, 2 male figures, one with twisted staff (r.). Inscription top of shaft.

Inscription: Γάιος Καλπο Ι ύρνιος Σέρ Ι γιος στρατι Ι ώτης Καλπουρ ΙΙ (5) νίον Καλπουρνίο Ι υ ἀδελφώ μνή Ι μης χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1956). "Gaius Kalpournios Serious, a soldier, son of Kalpournion, (for his) brother (Kalpourniou), in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019)

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1956, 14. Pl. 2.

FS.G.05. Stela for Dometia and Sonson

Plate: VI (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kunderaz.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.01; W., (top) 0.64, (shaft) 0.54, (panel) 0.36.; Th. 0.28. Letter H. 0.035-0.045 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, ornate capitals; triangular pediment, palmette decoration above, on finial. In the pediment, male and female, basket (l.) of female. Broken below.

Inscription: Δομετία Σ Ι ονσον τώ Ι ανδρὶ μν Ι ήμης [χ]ά ΙΙ (5) ριν καὶ ἑαυ Ι τῇ ζῶσα. (Trans. Mama 1956). "Dometia for her husband Sonson, in memory, and for herself, while she was still living." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1956, 52. Pl. 3.

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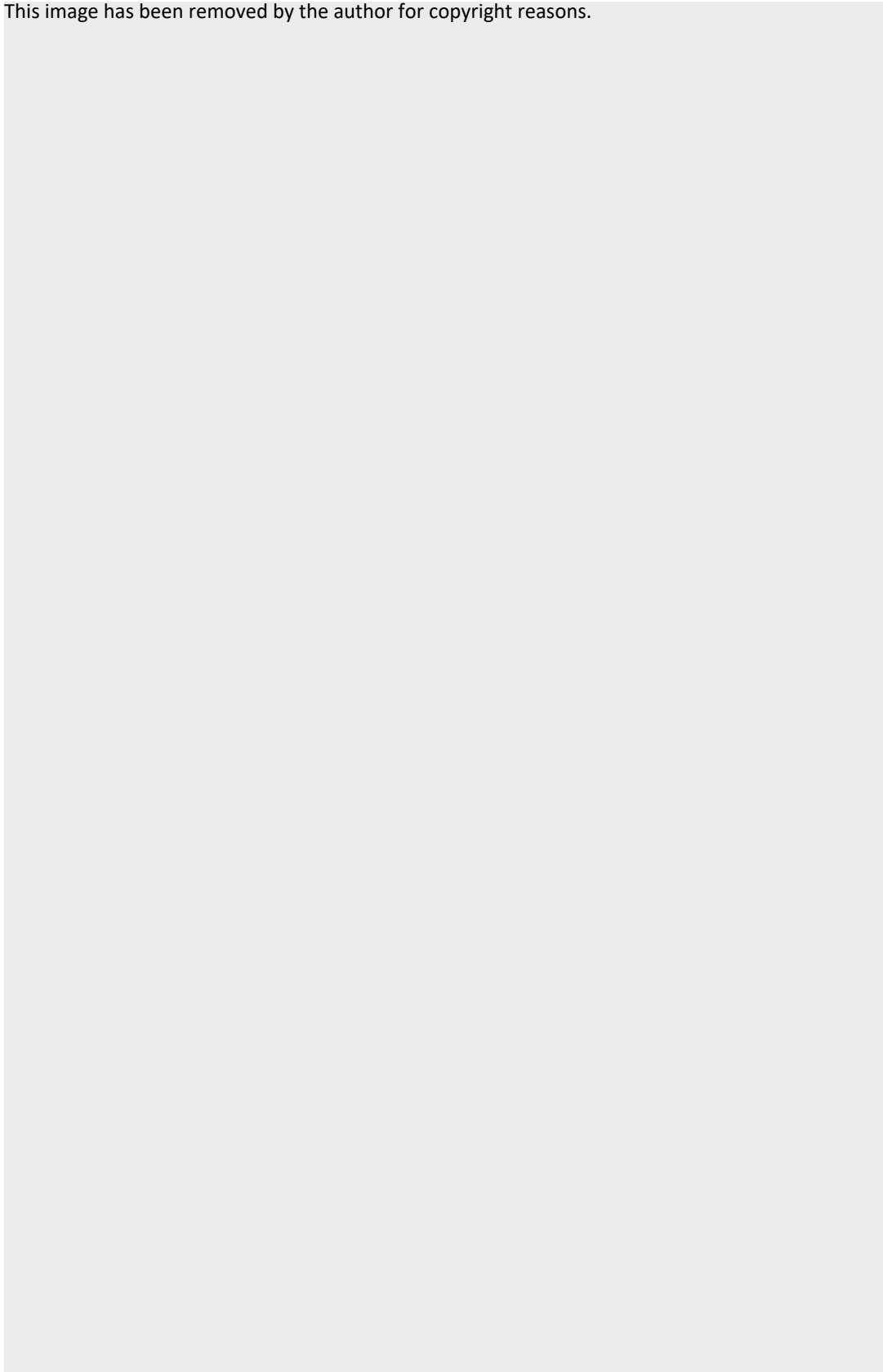
Plate VI: FS.G.05. From Mama 1956, 52. Pl. 3.

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FS.G.06. Reotituta stela

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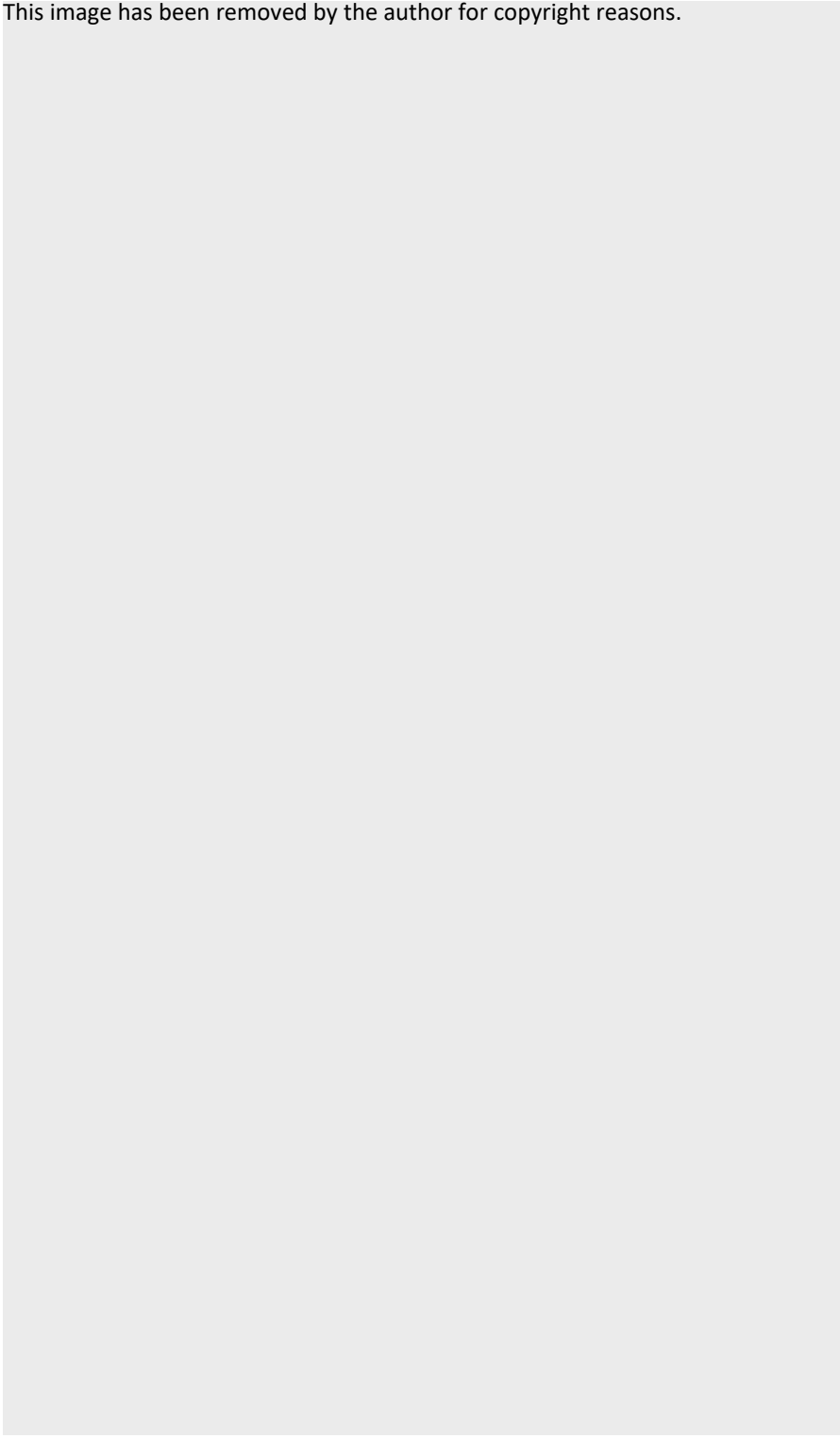
Plate VII: FS.G.06. From Mama 1956, 56. Page 127.

FS.G.06. Reotituta stela

Henry Cutten.

Plate: VII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kunderaz.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.11; W. (top) 0.47, (shaft) 0.45, (base) 0.48; Th. 0.22. Letter H. 0.03 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, elaborate capitals. Triangular pediment, palmette decoration above, on finial. In pediment, girl and two women; above, boss. Below inscription top of shaft, a pair of pipes and cymbals.

Inscription: Ῥεστιτυτα Ι Μηνιάδι Ι θρεπτῇ μνή Ι μης χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1956). "Reotituta, daughter of Meniadi, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1956, 56. Page 127.

FS.G.07. Tatei, Koulu and Iona stela

Plate: VIII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kunderaz.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.11; W., (top) 0.57, (shaft) 0.54, (panel) 0.38; Th. 0.21. Letter H. 0.03-0.035 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, elaborate capitals; triangular pediment, palmette decoration above. In pediment, 2 females, lion (r.) and basket (l.). Inscription top of shaft, in field basket in relief and inscribed spindle-and-distaff. Cross above basket a later addition. Broken below.

Inscription: Μαμας Τατ Ι ει άδελφη μνή Ι μης χάριν και Κουλο Ι υ πατρὶ καὶ Ἰωνα ΙΙ (5) δι μητρὶ ζὼσ Ι ις. (Trans. Mama 1956). "Mamas for her sister Tatei, in memory, and her father Koulu, and Iona, her mother, who are still living." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1956, 63. Pl. 4.

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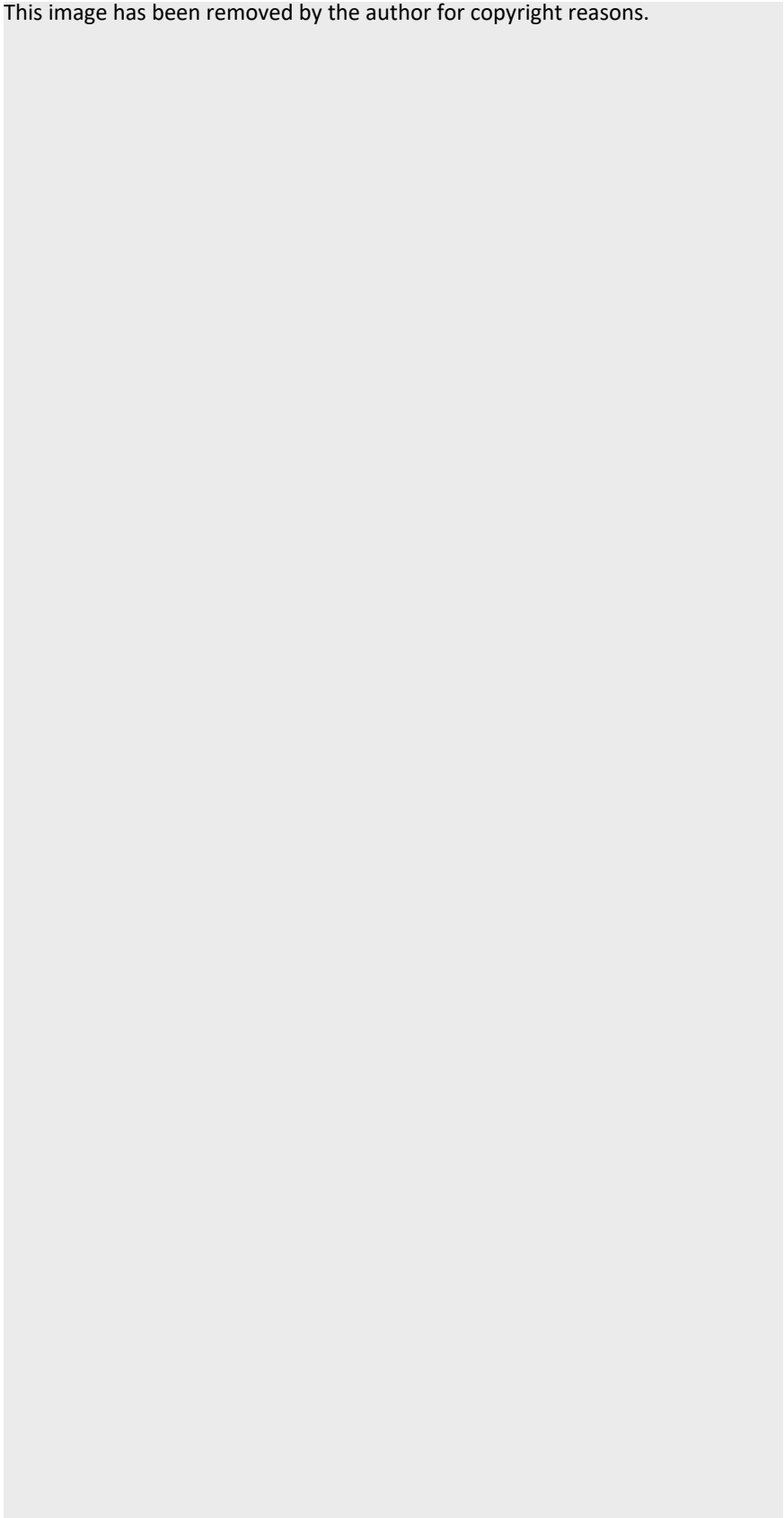
Plate VIII: FS.G.07. From Mama 1956, 63. Pl. 4.

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FS.G.08. Ratou and Tatei stela

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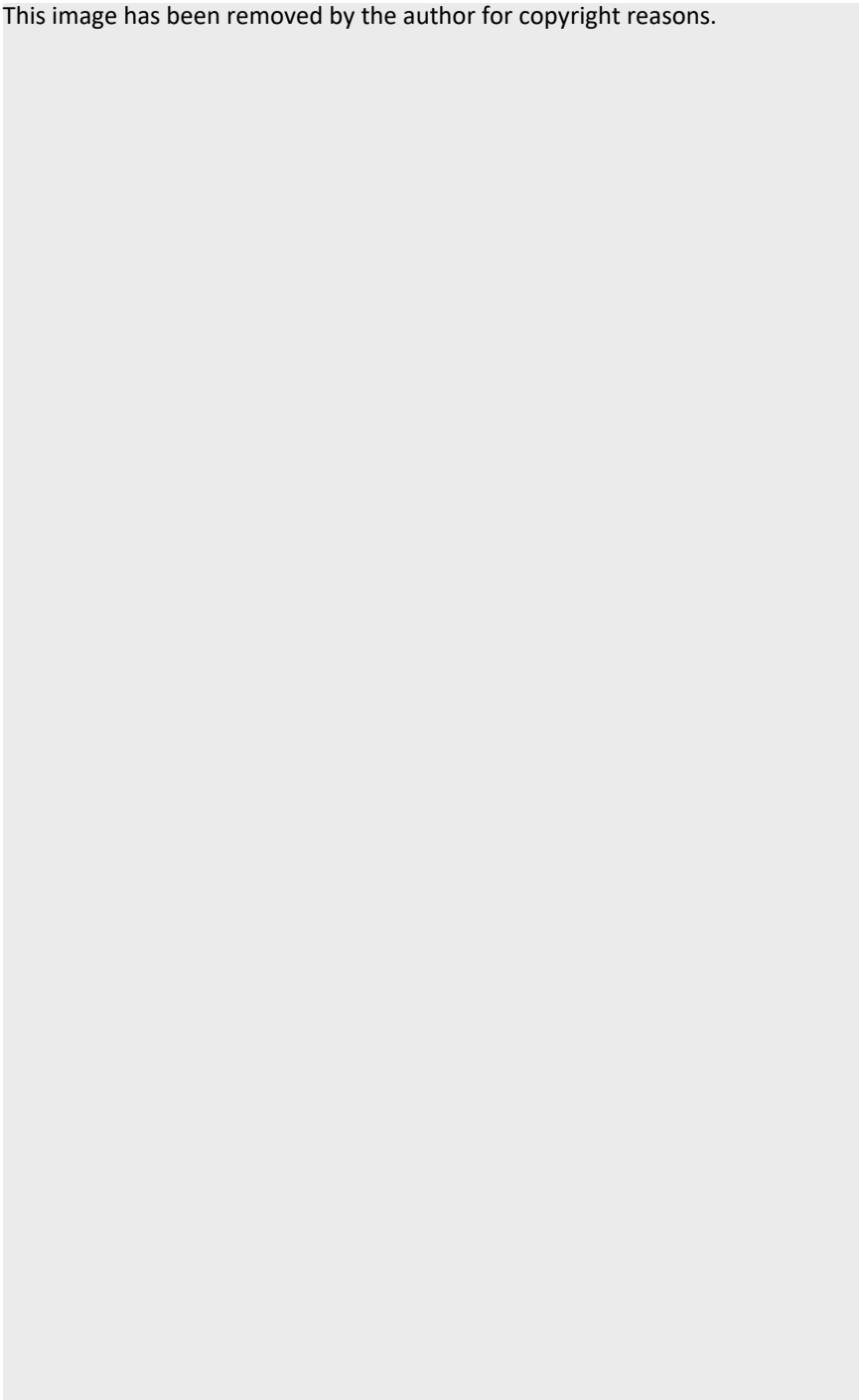
Plate IX: FS.G.08. From Mama 1956, 37. Pl. 2.

Plate: IX.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Nevine (Bahçesaray).

Henry Cutten.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.14; W. 0.64; Th. N/R. Letter H 0.025-0.03 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters and capitals; triangular pediment, palmette decoration above. In pediment, male and female, rosette (above), basket (l.) of female. Broken below, indentation across shaft.

Inscription: Διονύσιος Ι καὶ Μάρκος καὶ Ι Πατροκλης 'Ρατου Ι πάτου πατρὶ καὶ ΙΙ (5) Τατει μητρὶ ζώση Ι μνήμης χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1956). "Dionysios and Marcus and Patrokles for Ratou, their foster/stepfather, and mother Tatei, who is still living, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019.).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1956, 37. Pl. 2.

FS.G.09. Stela of Mountanos and Mouna

Plate: X (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Nevine (Bahçesaray). In a garden, supposedly newly dug up.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 01.76+; W. (pediment) 0.57+, (shaft) 0.55; Th. (pediment) 0.33, (shaft) 0.28. Letter H. 0.040 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals, between 3 incised ovals, perhaps an egg-and-dart design. Vaulted pediment, broken above; within 2 figures, male (l.), female (r.). Wool-basket in relief (l.) of female.

Inscription: Μᾶρκος καὶ Αἰμιλιανὸς Μουνταν|ῷ πατρὶ καὶ (5) Μουνα μη- τρὶ ζώση μνήμης χάριν. "Marcus and Aemilianus for Mountanos, their father, and Mouna, their mother, while she was still living, in memoriam." (Trans. Mama 2013).

Date: Imperial period

Source: Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no.262.

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Plate X: FS.G.09. From Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no.262.

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FS.G.10. Dada stela

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Plate XI: FS.G.10. From Mama 1956, 46. Pl. 3.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: XI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kestel.

Material: Limestone

Dimensions: H. 1.09; W. (top) 0.65, (shaft) 0.60, (panel) 0.43; Th. 0.32. Letter H. 0.025-0.035 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals; vaulted pediment with palmette decoration above and palmette acroteria(?). In pediment, female with basket (l.) and male. Inscription top of shaft; below, upper part of arched aedicula(?). Stela broken in two and below.

Inscription: Πετρώνιος Σουλ I ου Δαδα γυναικὶ μνή I μης χάριν καὶ ἑαυτώ I ζών ἀνέστησεν. (Trans. Mama 1956). "Petrouios Soulou set this up for his wife Dada, in memory, and for himself while he was still alive." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1956, 46. Pl. 3.

FS.G.11. Kourtios and Thia stela

Plate: XII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 85.

Find site: Bögrüdelik.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.38, (panel) 0.82; W. 0.57, (Top) 0.20; Th. 0.25. Letter H. 0.025-0.040 metres.

Description: Stela with pilasters(?); large (damaged) pediment, within male and female figures. Inscription in recessed panel, top of shaft. Small bowl sitting on a tripod(?) below text. Broken above and along right side.

Inscription: Κούρτι[ος και γ-]υνή Θία[- - σύ-]ντροφοι[ς κ-]αὶ θρέψασ[ι μ-] (5) νήμης χά[ριν. "Kourtios and his wife, Thia, (erected this) for (their) foster brothers/sisters (?) (or nurses) and foster parents, in memory." (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mclean 2002a, no. 136. Fig. 149.

Henry Cutten.

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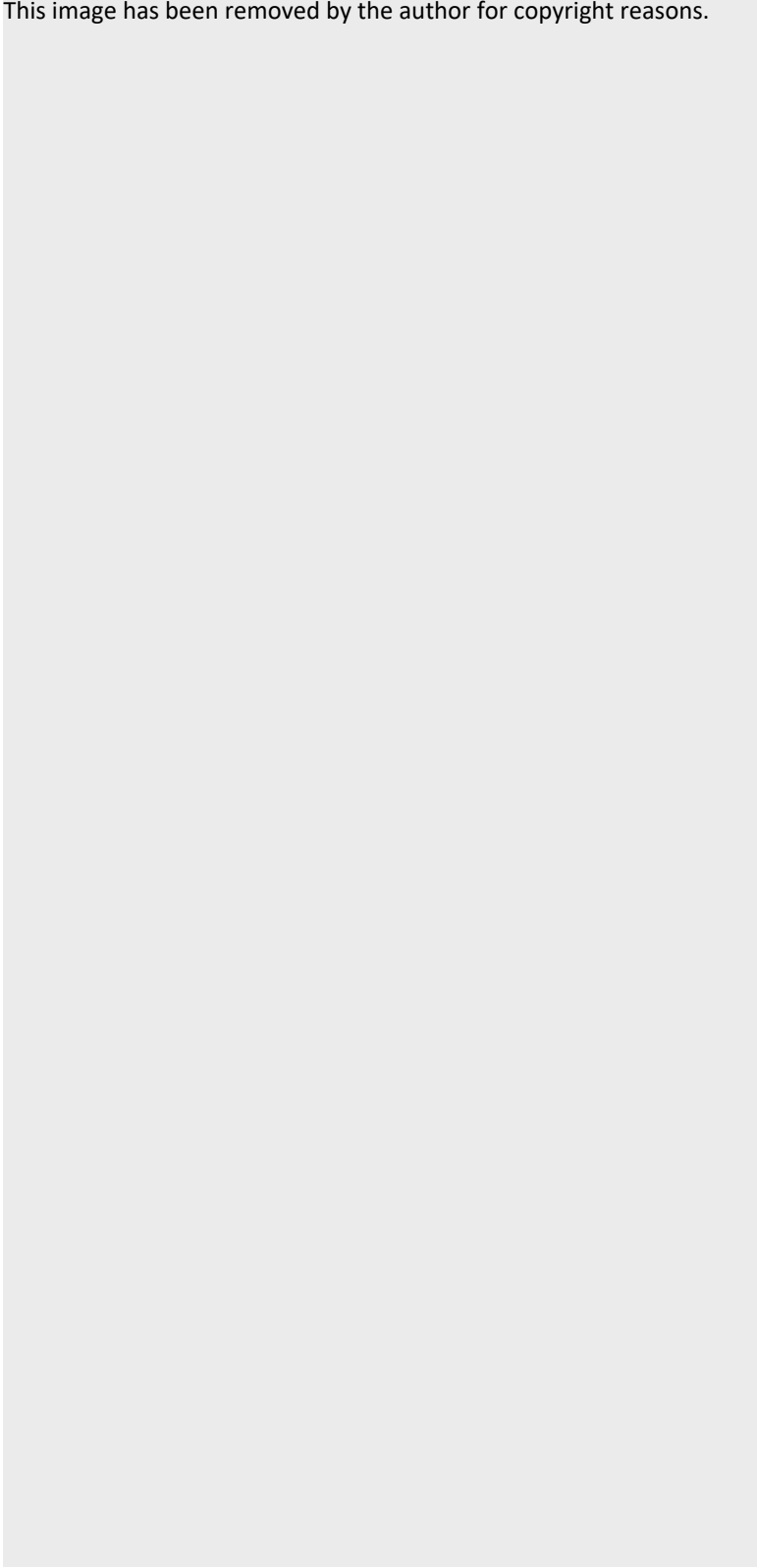
Plate XII: FS.G.11. From Mclean 2002a, no. 136. Fig. 149.

Henry Cutten.

FS.G.12. Venesiana stela.

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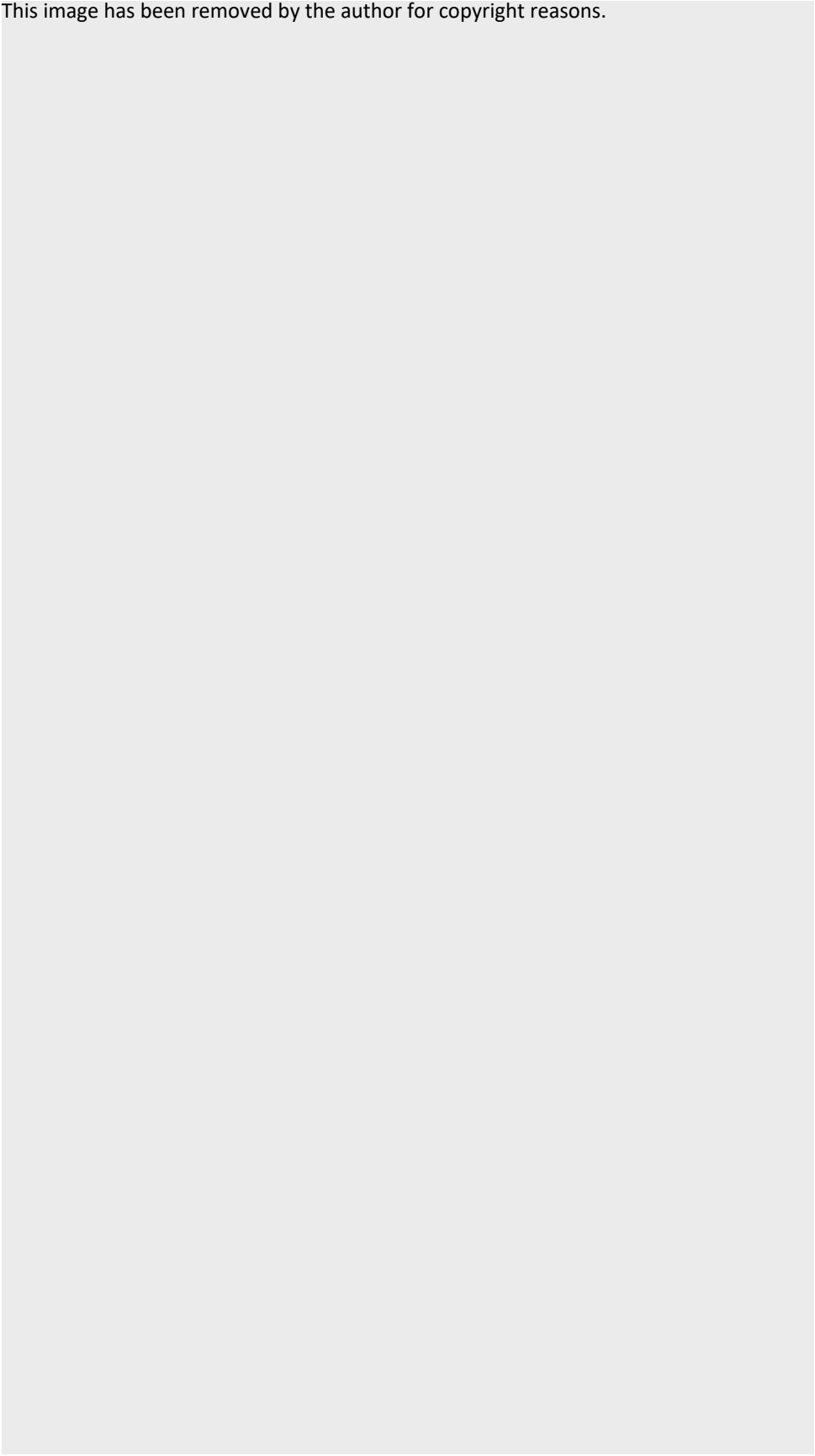
Plate XIII: FS.G.12. From Mama 1956, 384. Pl. 24.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: XIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 83.

Find site: Bögrüdelik.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.42, W. 0.59, Th. 0.28-0.37. Letter H. 0.03-0.05 metres. (Mclean 2002a).

Description: Stela with plain pilasters and capitals; large lower moulding; upper third and pediment missing (damaged). Relief in field, man (l.) and a woman (r.), on plinth. Female wearing a hat(?). Spindle-and-distaff carved on (r.) border. Inscription below figures. Broken above and below (r.).

Inscription: Φαυστος Ούενεσιάνη, μνειας εϊνε-(5) κεν τήν στήλλην. "Faustus (erected) this stela for Venesiana, in memory." (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: Imperial period

Source: Mclean 2002a, no. 135, Fig. 148.; Mama 1956, 384. Pl. 24.

FS.G.13. Kousila stela

Plate: XIV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 81.

Find site: Bögrüdelik.

Material: Marble (Mclean 2002a).

Dimensions: H. 1.45-1.53; W. 0.45 to 0.51, (panel) 0.83; Th. 0.30-0.32. Letter H. 0.025 to 0.03 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals; pentagonal pediment containing female figure holding object (papyrus roll, fish(?) in left hand; tripod supporting pan (r.) of female. Inscription on shaft in recessed panel, spindle and distaff and table supporting basket below.

Inscription: Μανης Μ(α)σο l ν ιδίᾳ Φυγατ | ρì Κουσιλα άν | έστησεν μ||(5)νήμης χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1956). "Manes, son of Masoun, set this up for his own daughter, Kousila, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019.).

Date: 2nd Century A.D. (Mama 1956).

Source: Mclean 2002a, 134. Fig. 147.; Mama 1956, 518. Pl. 28.

Henry Cutten.

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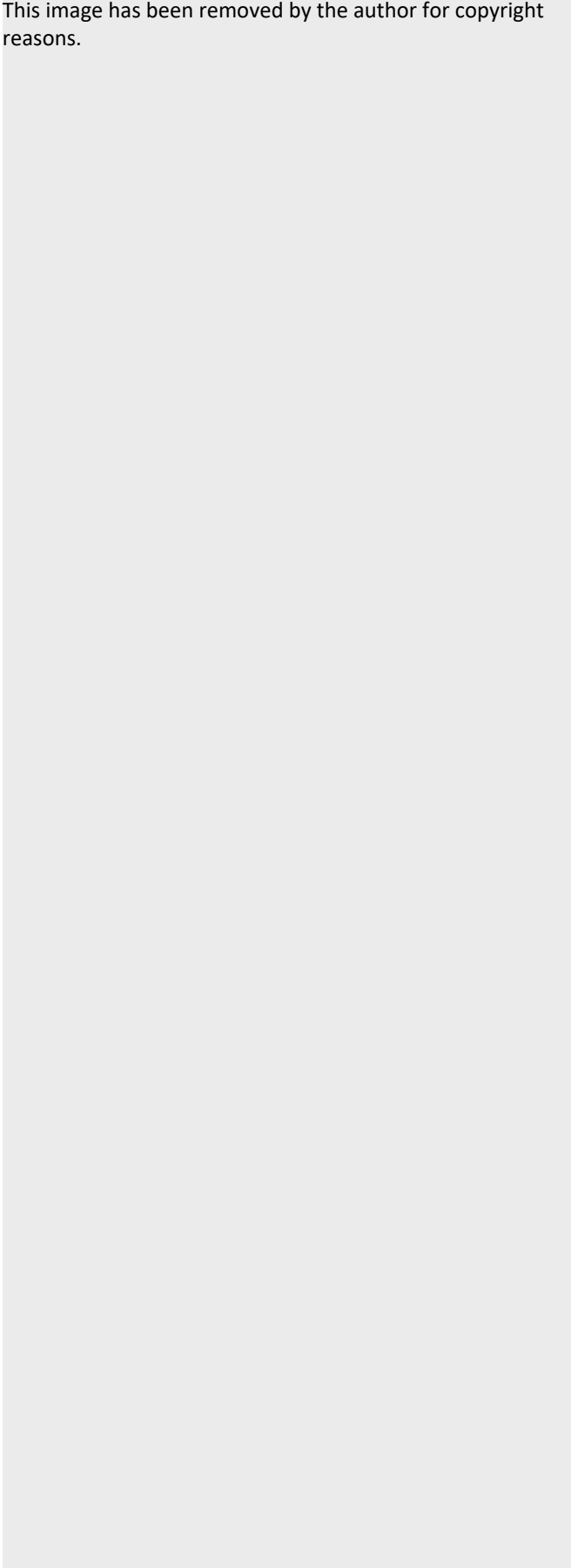
Plate XIV: FS.G.13. From Mama 1956, 518. Pl. 28.

Henry Cutten.

FS.G.14. Stela for Io

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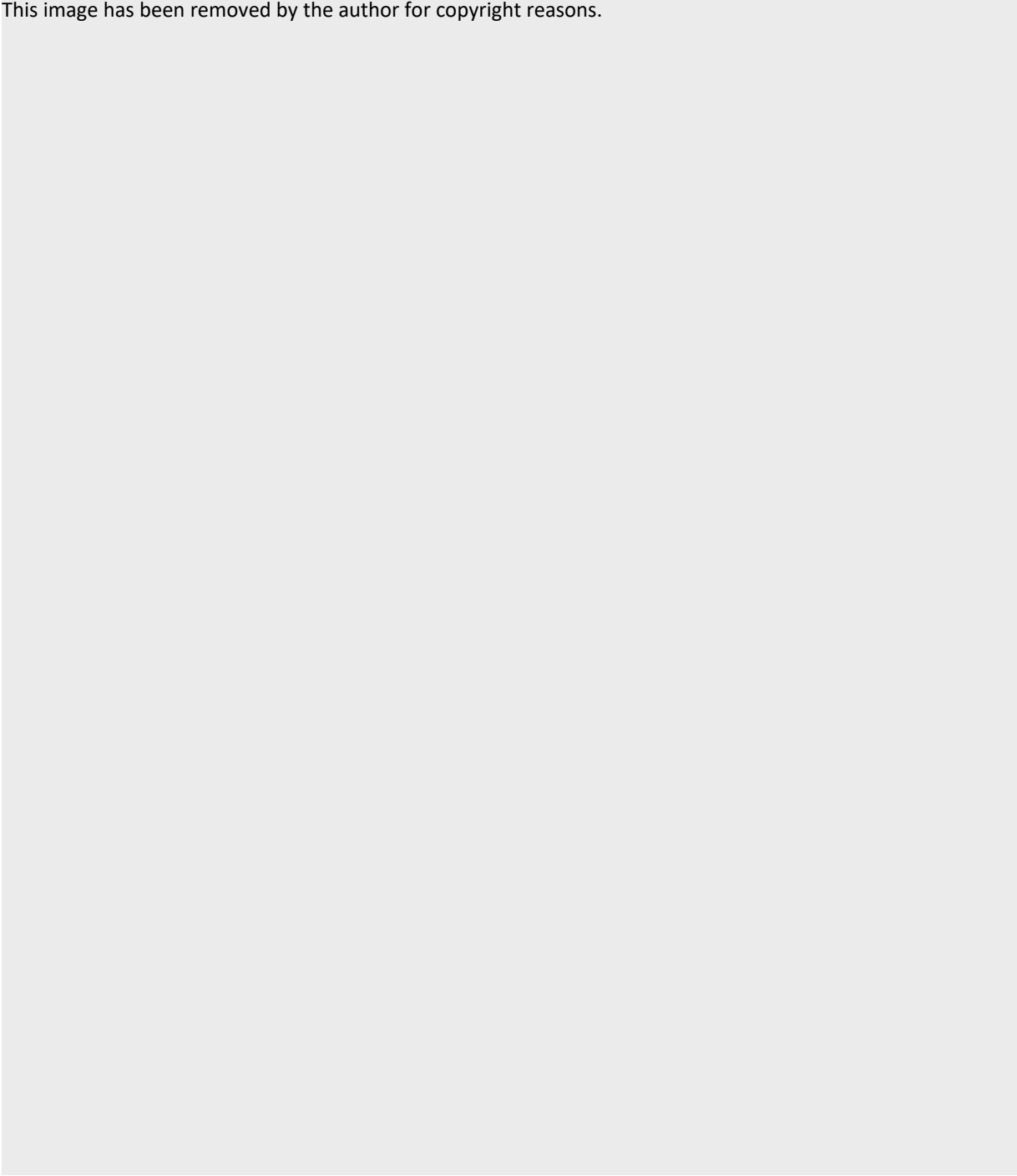
Plate XV: FS.G.14. From Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 212.

Plate: XV.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Zengen (Özkent).

Material: Limestone.

Henry Cutten.

Dimensions: H. 1.03, W. 0.52, Th. 0.30. Letter H. 0.020-0.030 metres.

Description: Stela with vaulted pediment, acroteria(?); in pediment male (l.) and female (r.), wool basket (r.) of female, in relief. Inscription in recessed panel top of shaft. Complete with wear, pitting; large crack across lower shaft.

Inscription: Πούβλιος Κρασίκιος Ῥοῦφος ἰδίᾳ Ιω γυναικὶ (5) μνήμης χά|ριν. "Publius Crassicius Rufus for his own wife Io, in memoriam." (Trans. Thonemann 2013a).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 212.

FS.G.15. Neike, Ammia and Douda stela

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Plate XVI: FS.G.15. From Mama 1956, 217. Pl. 12.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: XVI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Durgut.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 0.60; W. 0.64; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.0225-0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters(?). In field, above inscription, 2 women with girl (centre) on a plinth; basket and comb (r.) of figures; above, mirror; spindle-and-distaff (l.). Broken above and below.

Inscription: Διαδόχος Νείκη ἰδίᾳ γυν I αικὶ μνήμης χάριν καὶ I φιλάδελφος Ἀμμια γυναι I [κὶ] κ-Δουδα θυγατρὶ μνήμης I [χάριν]. (Trans. Mama 1956). "Diadochos for his own wife, Neike, and Philadelphos for his wife Ammia and daughter Douda, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019.).

Date: Imperial period

Source: Mama 1956, 217. Pl. 12.

FS.G.16. Masa and Gaius stela

Plate: XVII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1971.34.436.

Find site: Kelhasan.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.55; W. (upper moulding) 0.48, (lower moulding) 0.59; Th. 0.07-0.018. Letter H. 0.025-0.03 metres.
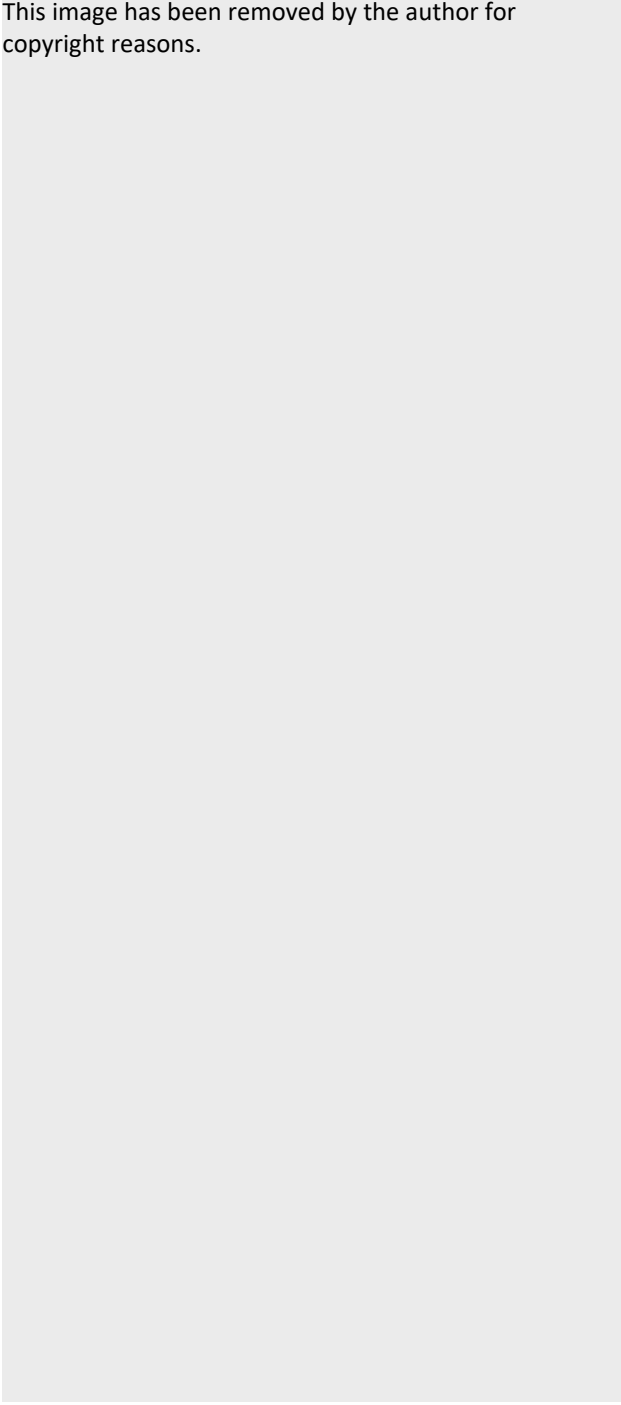
Description: Stela with plain pilasters, pediment and plain acroteria. Moulding above and below. In pediment male figure in plain cape; on field, wool basket (l.), spindle-and-distaff (r.); inscription below. Field set in recessed panel. Rough sides and rough, rounded reverse.

Inscription: Ῥουφος Μασχ τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναικι, μνήμ-ης χάριν, και Γάϊος εκυρος τῇ ἰδίᾳ νύν-Φη. "Rufus (erected this) for Masa, his wife, in memory, and Gaius, (his) father-in-law (erected this) for his own bride." (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: Imperial period

Source: Mclean 2002a, no. 137. Fig. 151.

Henry Cutten.

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Plate XVII: FS.G.16. From Mclean 2002a, no. 137. Fig. 151.

FS.G.17. Epa[ga] stela

Plate: XVIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kelhasan.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 0.66; W. 0.55; Th. 0.18. Letter H. 0.02-0.03 metres.

Description: Stela with *aedicula* on field, containing female and male figures. Vaulted pediment, with rosette and line 1 of text; on lintel, line 2; and, below *aedicula*, lines 3-5.

Inscription: [ἀνέσ]τησεν (leaf) | [. . . . .]τιαν[.] κ[. . . .]π[. .] | Τατας καὶ Σουσους Ἐπα[γά] | τ(ω) (leaf) ἰδί(leaf)ῳ πατρὶ μν||(5)ήμης χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1956). "….. Tatas and Sousous set this up for their own father, Epa[ga], in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1956, 504. Pl. 28.

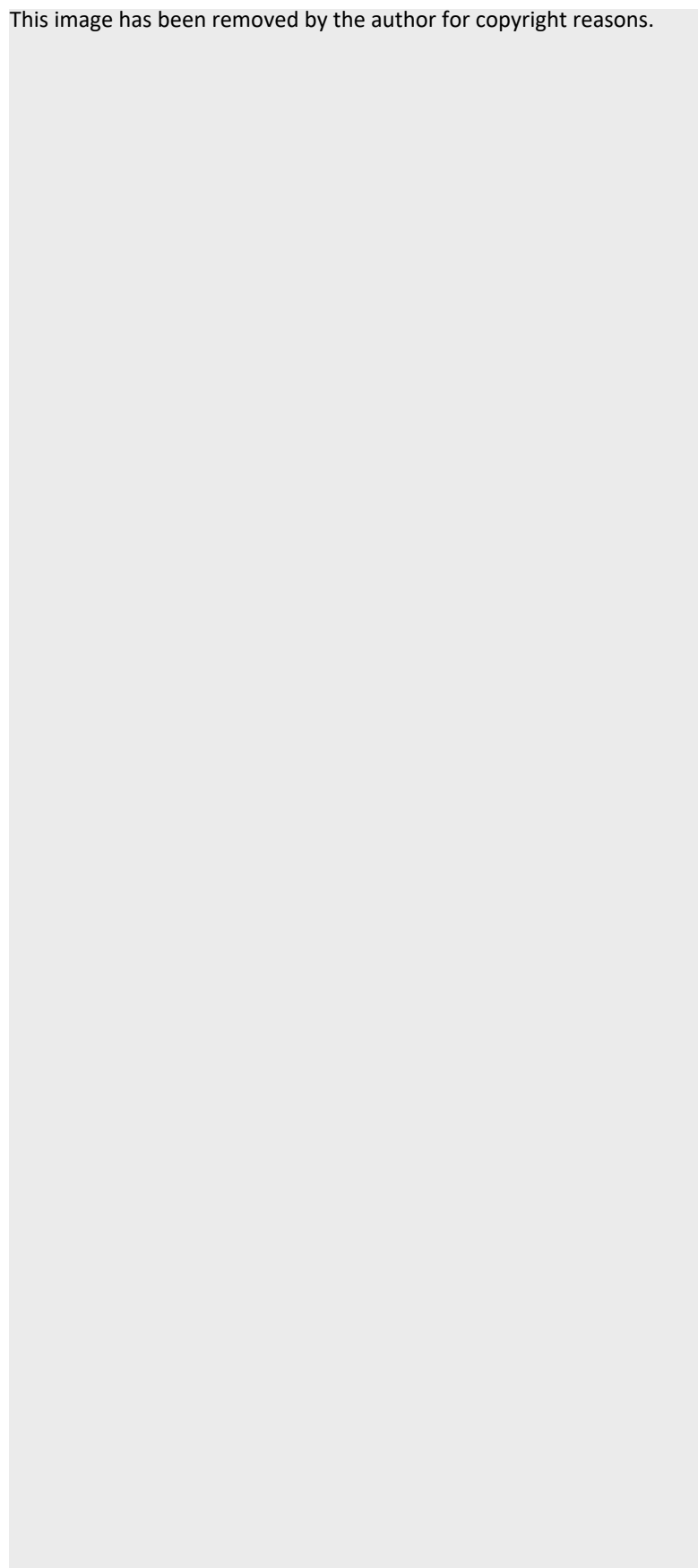This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.
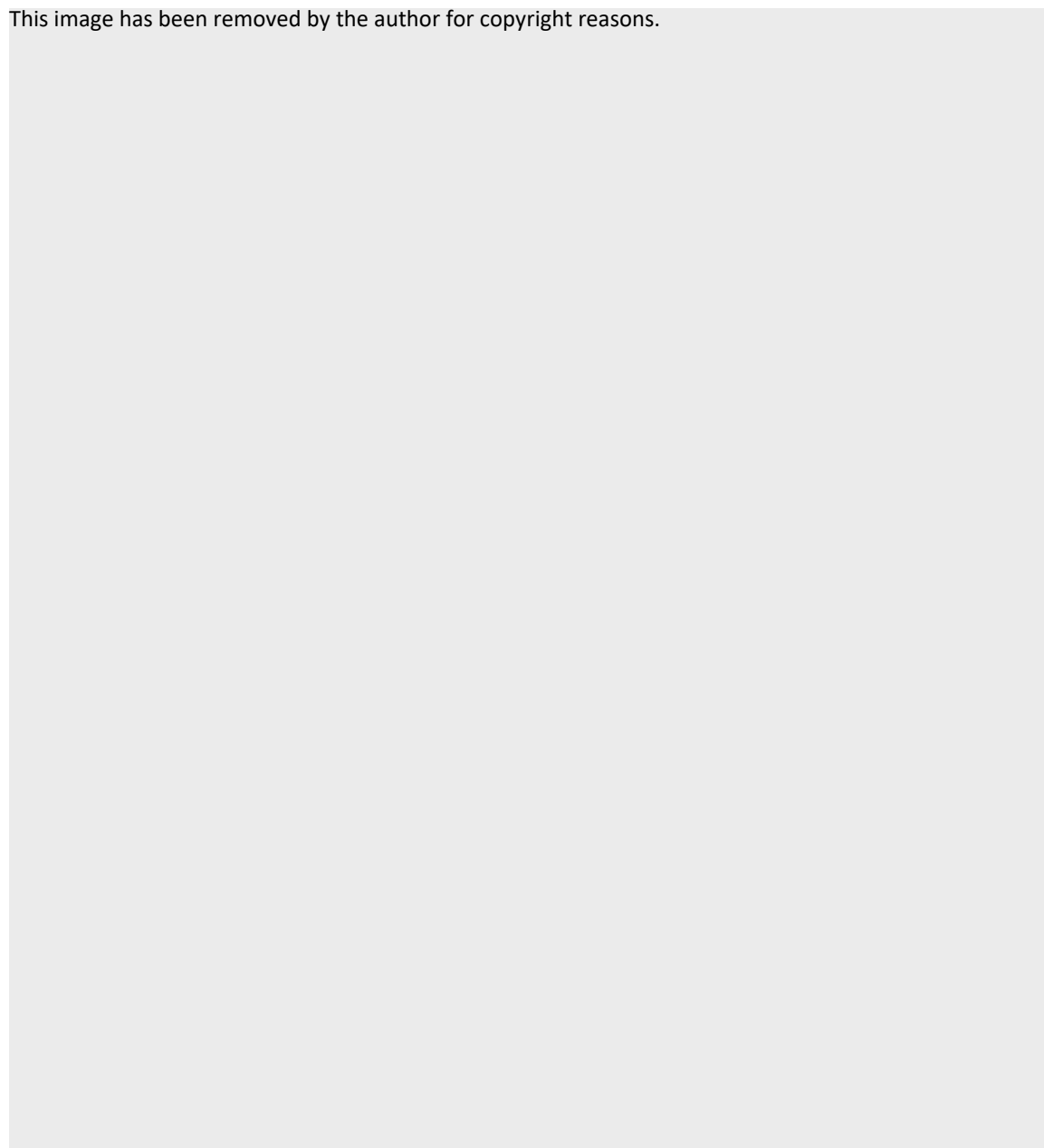
Plate XVIII: FS.G.17. From Mama 1956, 504. Pl. 28.

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FS.G.18. Masa, Sisa and Da stela

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Plate XIX: FS.G.18. From Mama 1956, 415. Pl. 25.

Plate: XIX.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kerpisli.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 0.54; w. 0.64; Th. 0.30. Letter H. 0.0175 metres.

Description: Stela with border panel on field, or aedicula(?). Within, 3 women, left pair holding hands. Inscription below and 2 sets of inscribed spindle-and-distaff, below text.

Henry Cutten.

Inscription: Χρηστη Μασα μητρι και Σισα άδελφη και Δα Νανα [άδε] λφη μνημης χαριν. (Trans. Mama 1956). "Christe for Masa, her mother, her sister Sisa, and her sister Da, daughter of Nanas, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1956, 415. Pl. 25.; Mitchell 1982.

FS.G.19. Appia stela

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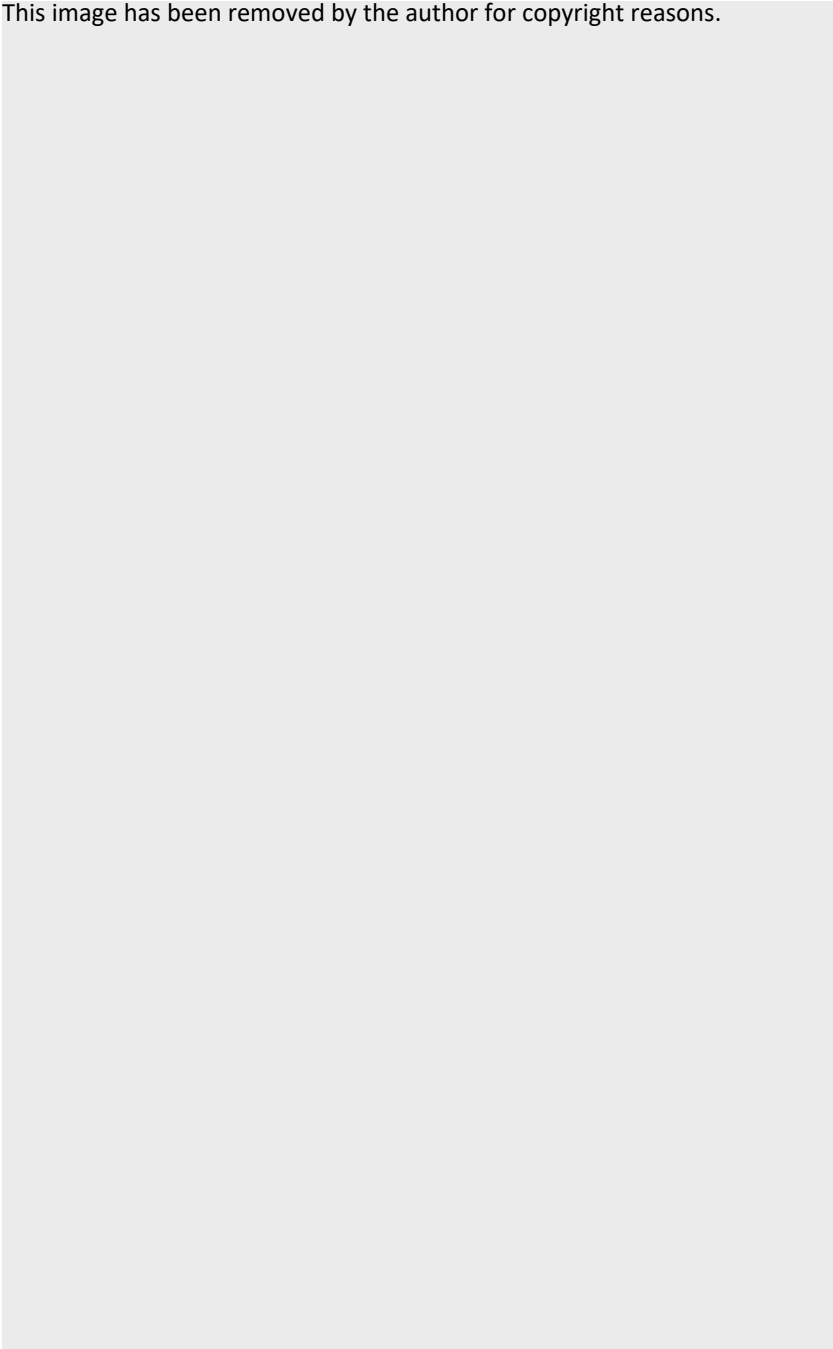
Plate XX: FS.G.19. From Mama 1956, 445. Page 140.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: XX.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kozanli.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 1.35; W. 0.53; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.02-0.03 metres.

Description: Stela with bordered field. Female figure above inscription in field. Broken above.

Inscription: Μένανδρος καὶ I Παπας [καὶ] Τιηος ʿΑ I [π]πια μητρὶ γλυκυ I [τάτη] μνήμης χάρ(ι)ν · II (5) μνημόσυνον το I ϋτʼ εστι βὶου κ ρεῖτο I (ν) λὶδος αλλο γάρού I [δέν]. (Trans Mama 1956). "Menandros and Papas and Tieos for their sweetest mother Appia, in memory. … … …" (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period

Source: Mama 1956, 445. Page 140.

FS.G.20. Paula and Isklepios stela

Plate: XXI (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kozanli.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 0.91; w. 0.54; Th. 0.23. Letter H. 0.02-0.0225 metres.

Description: broken above. Stela with plain pilasters and lower moulding. In the field, man (holding a scroll(?) and woman (holding unidentified item(?)) on plinth; below, a tripod. Text at base of shaft on pilasters and field. Broken above.

Inscription: Ἑρμης καὶ Κυριαινός κε Παϋ I λα τῷ ἰδίω ανδρὶ Ἰσκληπιῷ κε ἑατῇ I ζώσα μνήμης χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1956). "Ermes and Kuriainos for Paula, and her own husband Isklepios, and themselves, while they were still living, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1956, 447. Pl. 26.

Henry Cutten.

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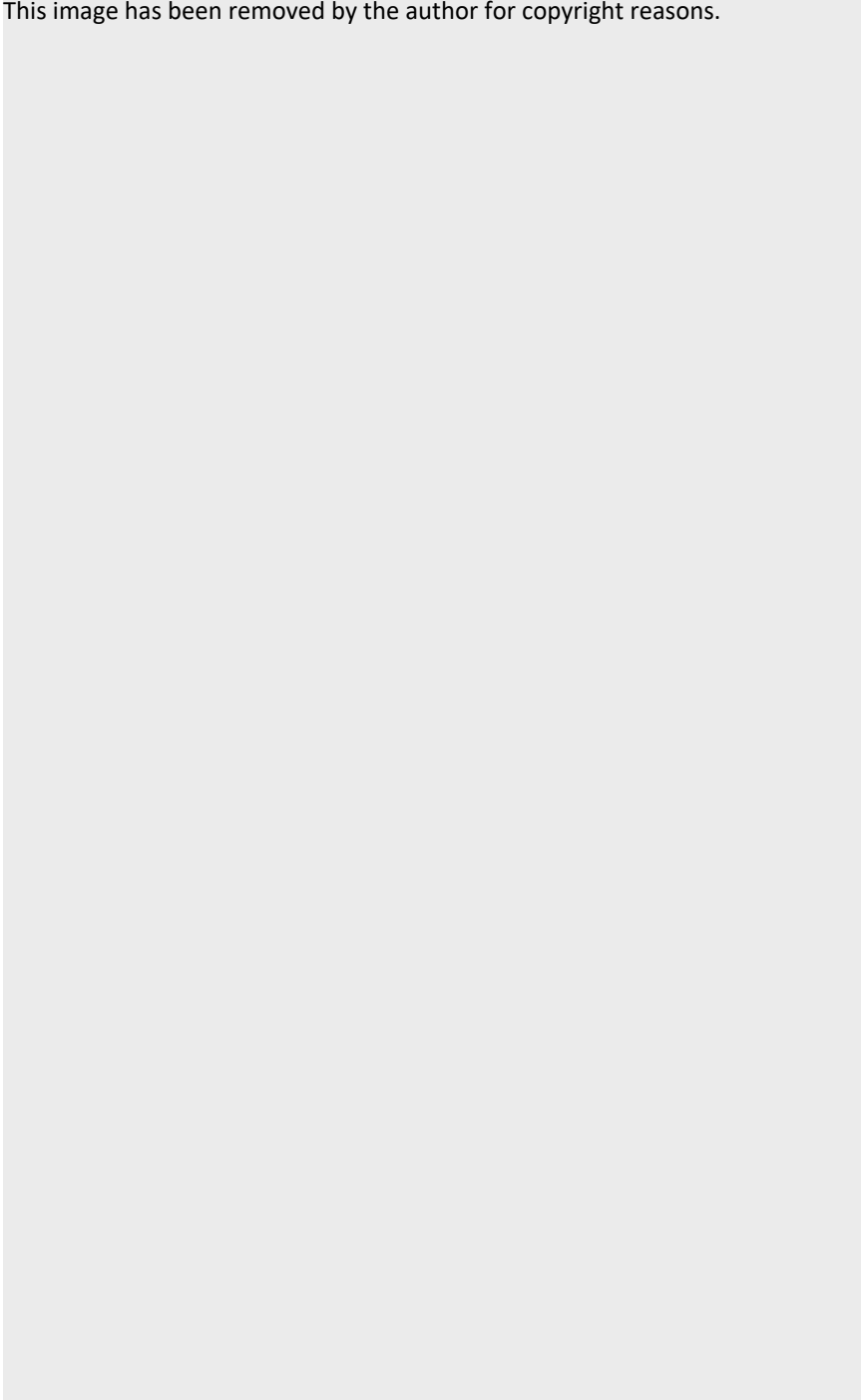
Plate XXI: FS.G.20. From Mama 1956, 447. Pl. 26.

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FS.G.21. Souero, Marcos and Ponti stela

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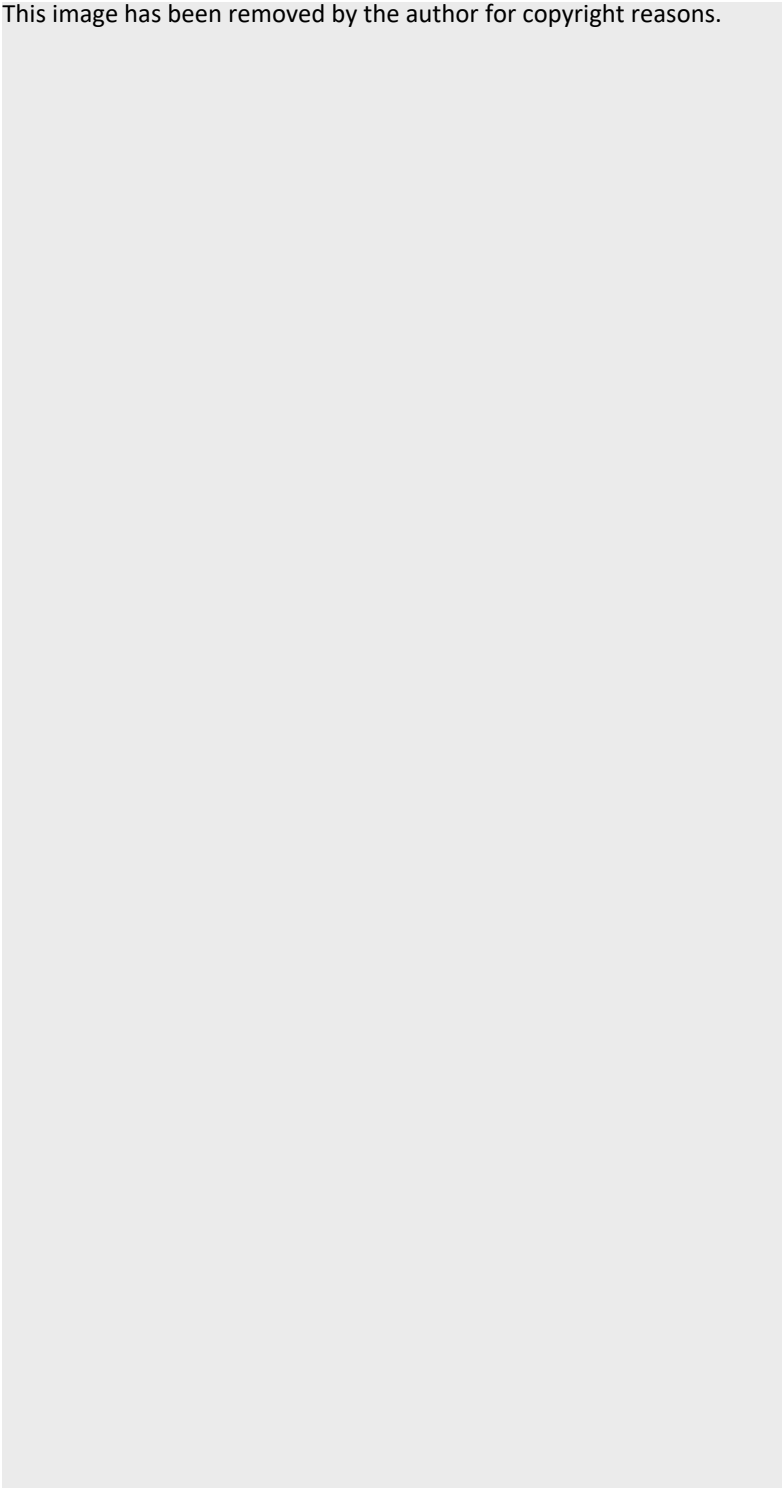
Plate XXII: FS.G.21. From Mama 1956, 545. Pl. 29.

Plate: XXII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Henry Cutten.

Find site: Kuyulu Zebir.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 1.16; w. 0.43-0.53; Th. 0.24. Letter H. 0.02-0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals and lower element; arched pediment containing a woman and 2 boys(?). Inscription at top of field, with inscribed spindle-and-distaff and basket, below.

Inscription: Χρύσανθος I Σουήρω καὶ I Μάρκω τοϊ(ς) ά I θυχεοτάτοις II (5) ὑοϊς καὶ Ποντι I κῆ γυναικὶ ζ I ώζη (sic) μνήμ I ης χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1956). "Chrysanthos (erected this) for his devoted children Souero and Marcos, and for his own wife Ponti, while (they were all/she was/he was still?) alive, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2018).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1956, 545. Pl. 29.

FS.G.22. Yellow limestone stela

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Plate XXIII: FS.G.22. From Mitchell 1982, 330. Pl. 17.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: XXIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Yurtbeyci

Material: Yellow Limestone.

Dimensions: Unrecorded.

Description: Stela damaged above, left and right. Inscription on mouldings, below. In border (pediment(?)), man and woman in relief; table and beaker (centre) and spindle-and-distaff (r.) of figures.

Inscription: "I set this up."   Ἀνέστησα. Trans. Mitchell 1982.

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D. (Mitchell 1982).

Source: Mitchell 1982, 330. Pl. 17.

FS.G.23. Asklepios stela

Plate: XXIV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Karahamzali. Now in the Ankara Baths, reported to have been brought from 90km south of Ankara on the Konya road.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.70, W. 0.42, Th. 0.37. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with vaulted pediment; tendril decoration above; boss, centre; inscription below. Within the shaft, 2 defaced busts. Broken above and below.

Inscription: Λούκιος ὑδύφ πατρ Ἀσκληπιψ μνήμης χάρι{τρ}ν ἀνέστησεν. "Lucius set this up for his father Asklepios, in memory." (Trans. Mitchell 1982).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D. (Mitchell 1982).

Source: Mitchell 1982, 401. Pl. 16.

Henry Cutten.

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Plate XXIV: FS.G.23. From Mitchell 1982, 401. Pl. 16.

FS.G.24. Stela of Preioueis

Plate: XXV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Zıvarık (Altınekin), in the wall of a house.

Material: Greyish-White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.63+; W. (upper moulding) 0.58, (shaft) 0.53; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.030 metres.

Henry Cutten.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals; large upper element/entablature, vaulted pediment(?). On shaft, female figure in relief, within *aedicula*. Inscription on lower moulding of pediment, continuing onto entablature. Broken above and below.

Inscription: Τατα Πρειουει θυγα-τρὶ μνήμης χάριν hed. "Tata, for her daughter Preioueis, in memoriam." (Trans. Mama 2013).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no.277.

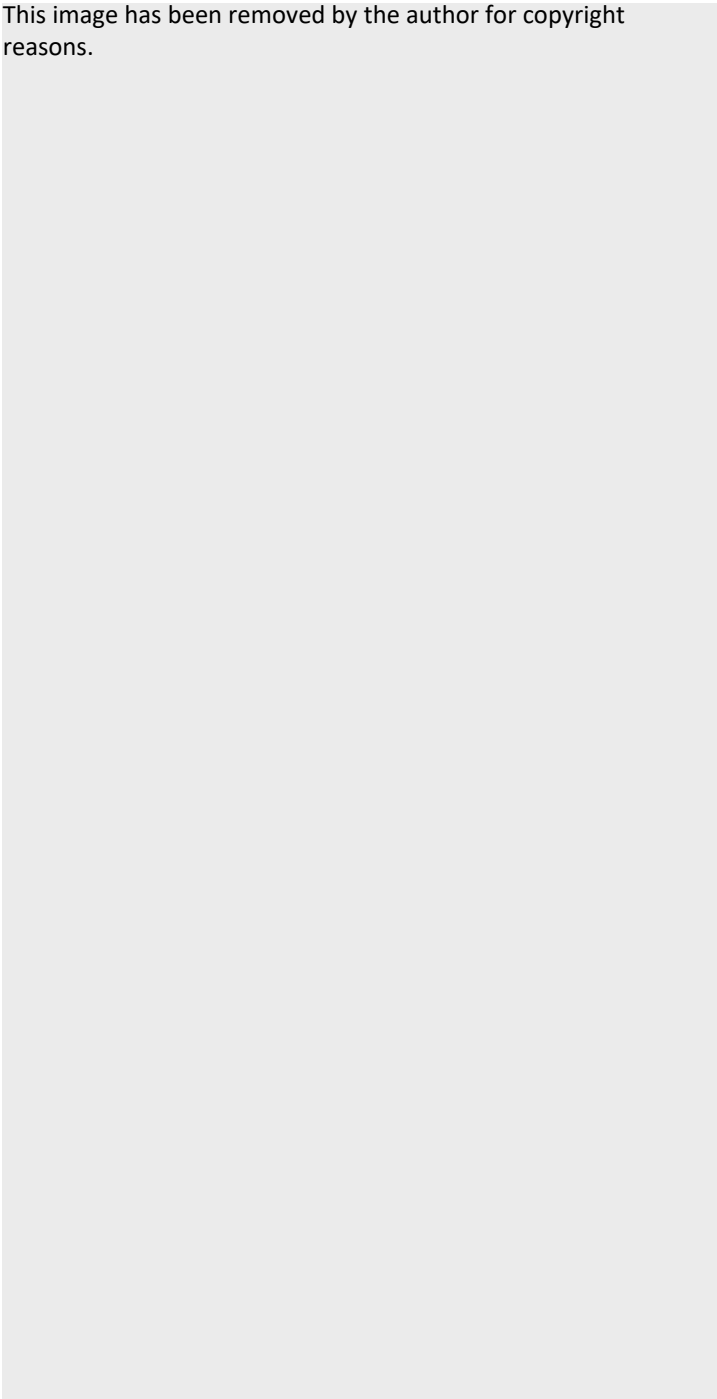This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate XXV: FS.G.24. From Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no.277.

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FS.G.25. Domne, Diogenes and Mamme stela

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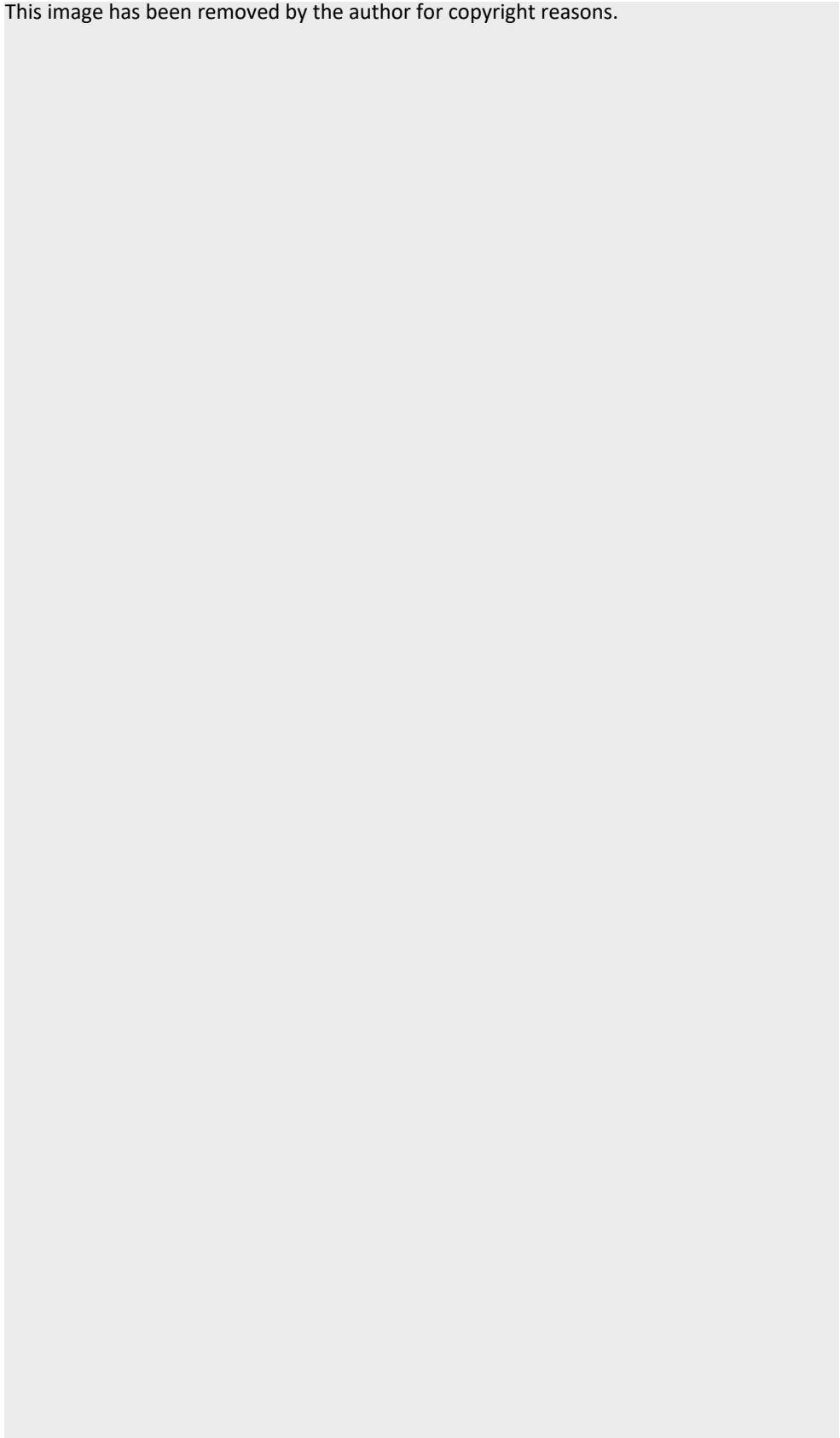
Plate XXVI: FS.G.25. From Mama 1956, 343. Pl. 22.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: XXVI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Sinanli.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 0.93: W. 0.53; Th. 0.29. Letter H. 0.025-0.035 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, lower moulding and arched pediment containing man flanked by 2 women. Inscription in field; inscribed basket and cup, below. On lower moulding, bureau and tripod with pot.

Inscription: Ἀλέξάνδρος Δό / μνη ουνβὶν γλυ / κυτάτη μνήμης / χάριν κ(α)ὶ Διογέν / / *(5) ης καὶ Μαμμη ἑαυ / τοϊς ζώντες Ἀνέσ / τησαν μνήμης χά / ριν.* (Trans. Mama 1956). "Alexandros for Domne his sweetest wife, in memory, and Diogenes and Mamme, while they were still alive, set this up for themselves, in memoriam." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1956, 343. Pl. 22.

FS.G.26. Stela with 3 figures

Plate: XXVII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Sinanli.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 1.27; W. 0.49; Th. 0.30. Letter H. 0.025-0.03 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters; lower moulding containing inscription; pentagonal pediment, containing girl (l.) (perhaps a daughter?), at centre a woman and male in *tunic*(?) or *chiton* (r.). Inscribed bureau and tripod survive at base of field. Complete, badly weather worn.

Inscription: ιος νι σεμουν κνο | υνμανει κακουν αδα | [κ]ετ γεγρειμεναν εγεδο | υ Τιοςουτ[αν . . . .] | [- - - - . (Trans. Mama 1956).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1956, 318. Pl. 21.

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Plate XXVII: FS.G.26. From Mama 1956, 318. Pl. 21.

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FS.G.27. Tertia and Mousa stela

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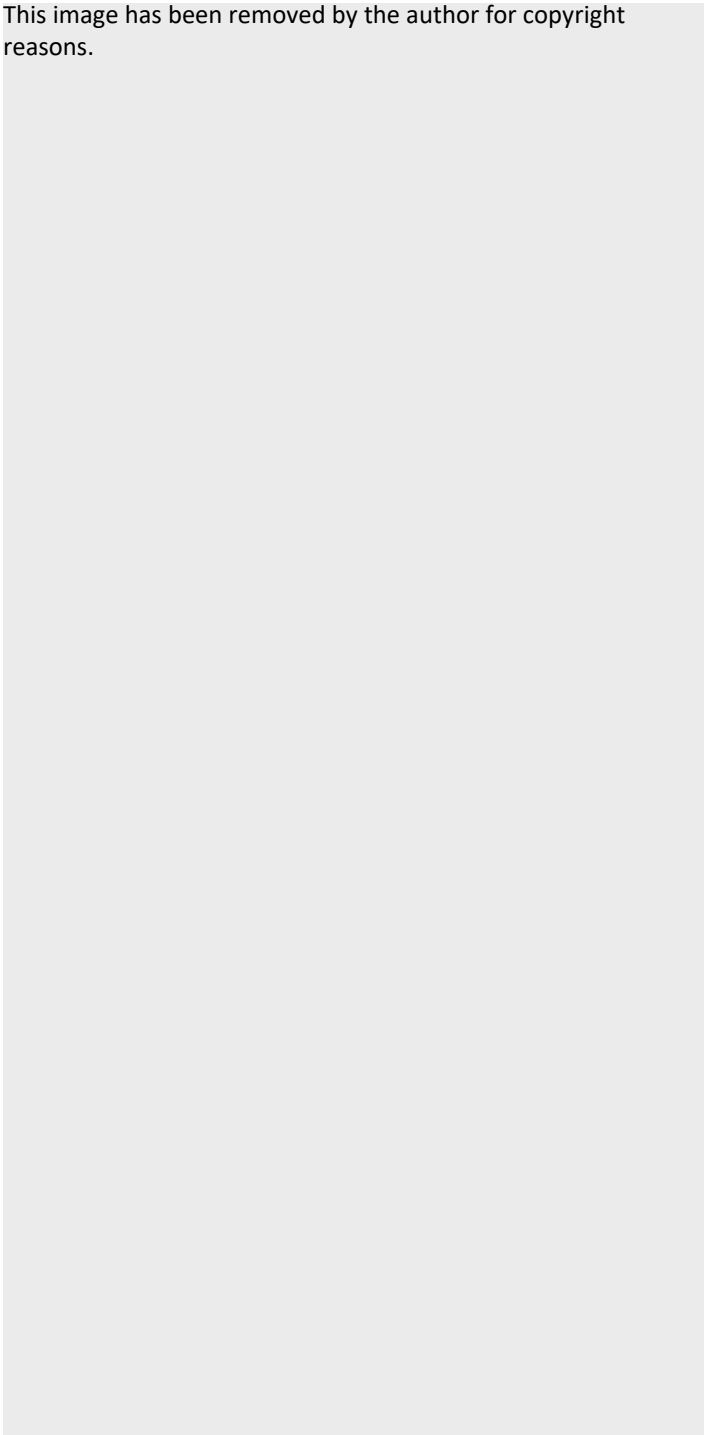
Plate XXVIII: FS.G.27. From Mclean 2002a, no. 146. Fig.
159.

Plate: XXVIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1708.

Find site: Kadinhani.

Henry Cutten.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.87, (panel) 0.37; W. (top) 0.37, (base) 0.40, (shaft) 0.35; Th. 0.20. Letter H. 0.02-0.03 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals; mouldings above and below; vaulted pediment with acroteria and palmette finial, containing roundel. Beneath upper moulding, egg pattern ornamentation. On shaft, *aedicula* with 2 female figures on plinth. Inscribed spindle-and-distaff on each pilaster. Inscription on upper moulding, below *aedicula,* and on lower moulding. Complete.

Inscription: ϝερμανό{υ}ς Τερτίᾳ καὶ Μούσῃ τέκνο<ί>ς, μνήμης χάριν·(below *aedicula*) ος τουτῳ (5) τῷ μνήμεϊ-ῳ κακόν τι πο- ν ιήσει, ὀρφανά τέκνα λίποιτο, χῆρον βίον, ο<ί>κον ἔρημον. "Germanius (erected this) for Tertia and Mousa, (his) children, in memory. Whoever should cause damage to this tomb, may his children be left as orphans, his life bereaved, (and) his house deserted." (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mclean 2002a, no. 146. Fig. 159.

FS.G.28. Tatei and Papas stela

Plate: XXIX (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kestel, in a cemetery to the south-east.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.77; W. 0.30; Th. 0.35. Letter H. 0.03-0.035 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals; upper moulding. 2 figures, male and female in pediment. Inscription on shaft. Broken, left, above and below.

Inscription: [ό δεινα Πα]πα Τατει |[Φυγατρὶ μν]ήμης | [χάριν καὶ ἑ]αντω |[ζων καὶ. . .] πιας leaf || (5) [. . . . . . . γυ]νεκὶ ζω|[ση]. (Trans. Mama 1956). "The suffering[?] Papas for his daughter Tatei, in memory, and for himself while living and . . . more[?] . . . . wife who is still living." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1956, 48.

Henry Cutten.

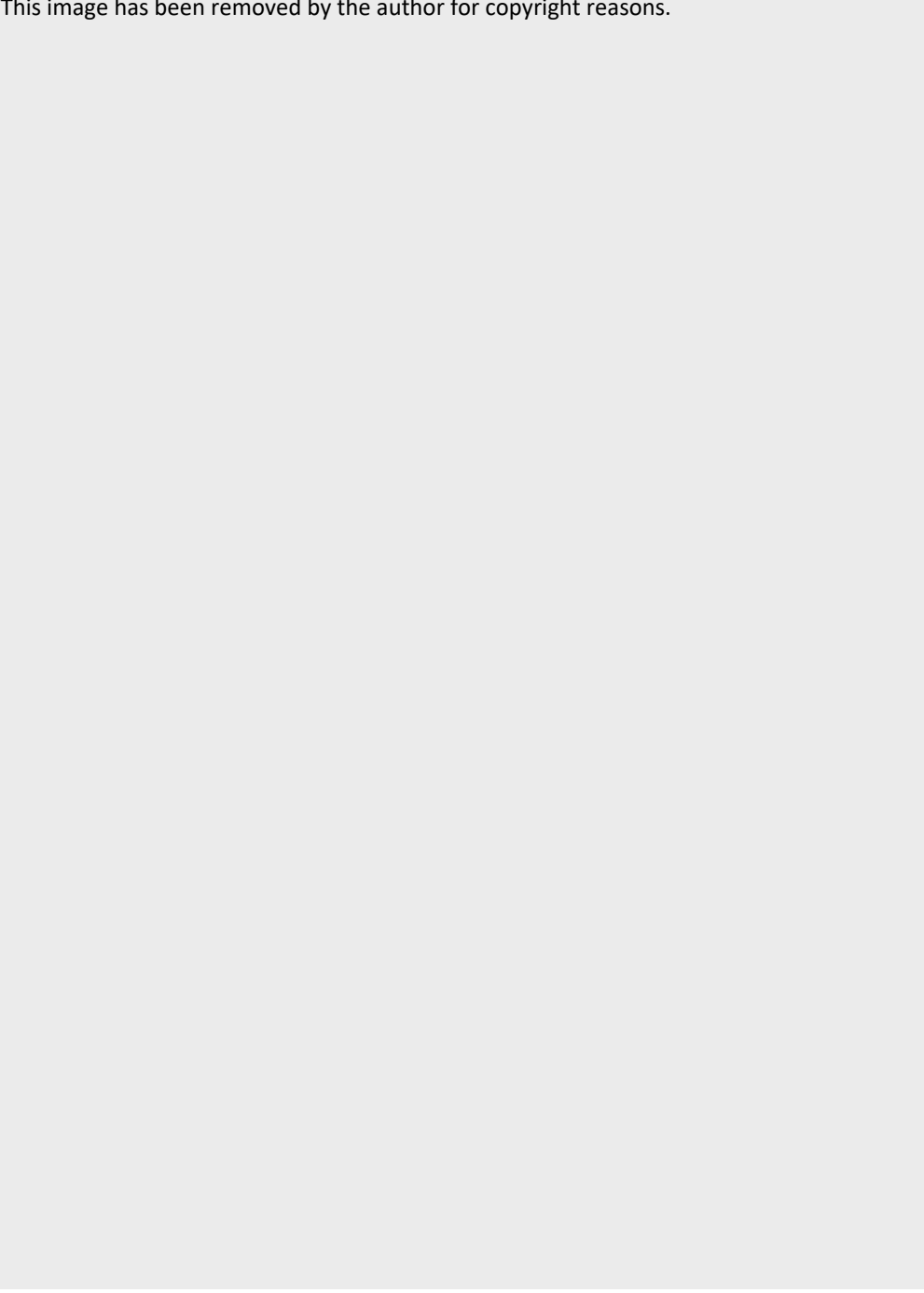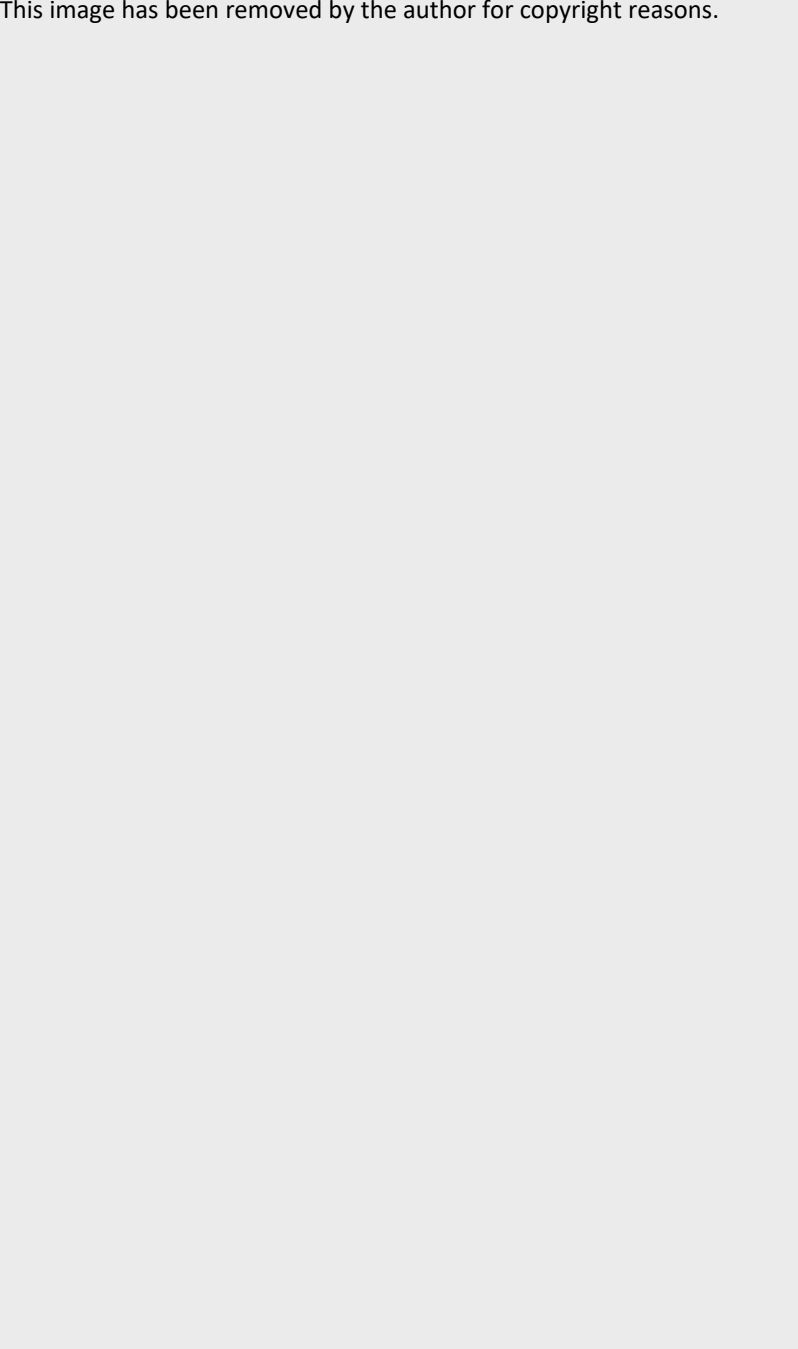This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.
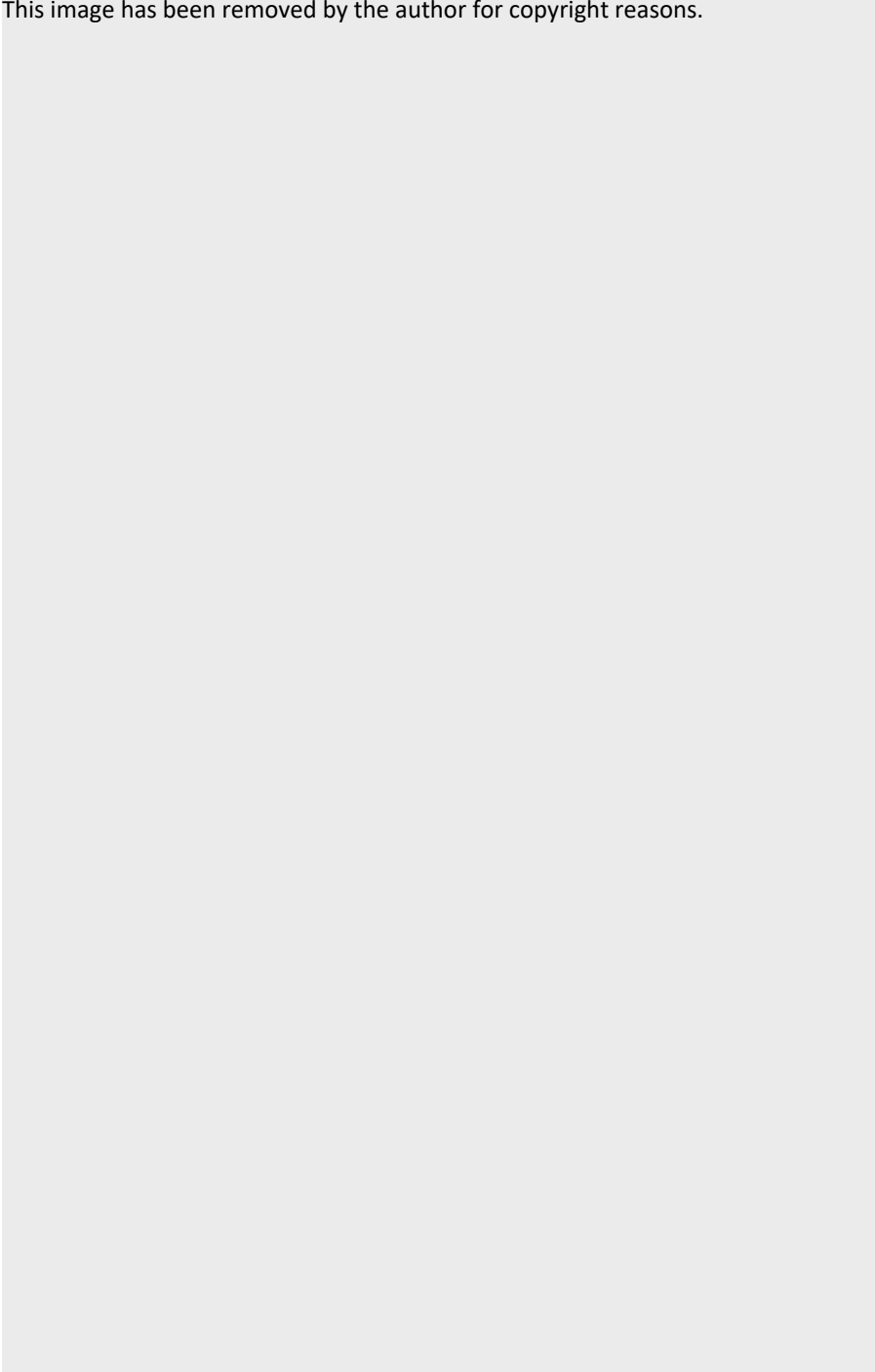
Plate XXIX: FS.G.28. From Mama 1956, 48.

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FS.G.29. Thalamos and Chreste stela

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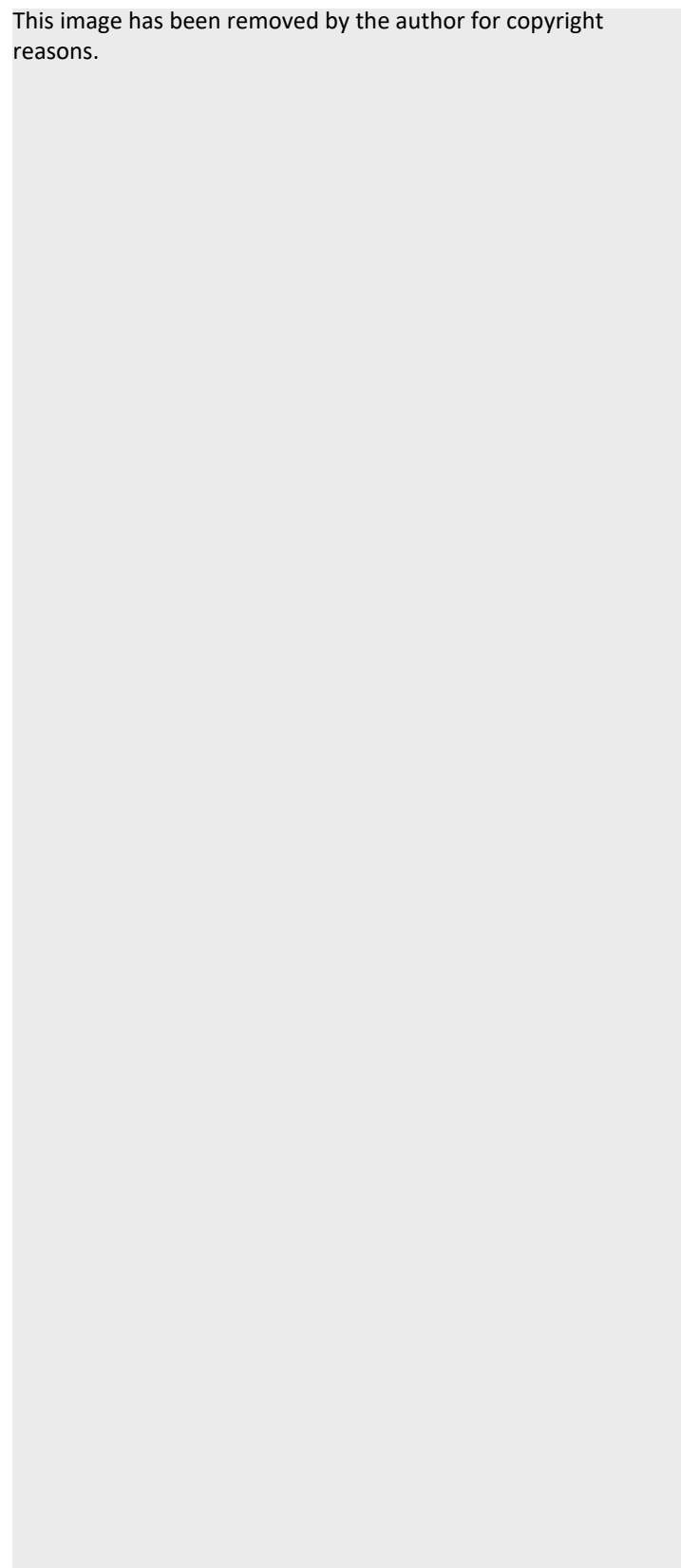
Plate XXX: FS.G.29. From Mama I, no. 29.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: XXX.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Sarayönü (Serai Onü).

Material: Bluish Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.56; W. (top) 0.63, (shaft) 0.51; Th. 0.28. Letter H. N/R.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals; upper moulding, large pediment palmette decoration above, palmette acroteria. In pediment, arched recess with male (l.) and female (r.), basket relief (r.) of female. Inscription on upper shaft, above inscribed spindle-and-distaff. Broken, right.

Inscription: Θάλαμος καὶ Χρησ-τή κυρίων Καισάρων (5) δοῦλοι ἑαυτοις leaf ζώντες μνήμη[ς ενεκεν. (Trans. Mama 1928). "Thalamos and Chreste, slaves of (their) master Kaisaron, (set this up) themselves while they were still alive, in remembrance." (Trans. Cutten 2019.)

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama I, no. 29.

FS.G.30. Paulos and Paule stela

Plate: XXXI (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kadyn Khan (Kadinhani), set high in the wall of the Khan.

Material: Bluish Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.00; W. 0.56; Th. N/R. Letter H. N/R.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, capitals(?); arched pediment, within 2 female figures on plinth, flanked by baskets. Above (l.) basket, spindle-and-distaff. Broken above and below.

Inscription: Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Παῦλος Παύλη θυγατρὶ καὶ τή συνβίω μνήμης χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1928). "Gaius, son of Julius, for his daughter Paulos, and his wife Paule, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama I, no. 34.

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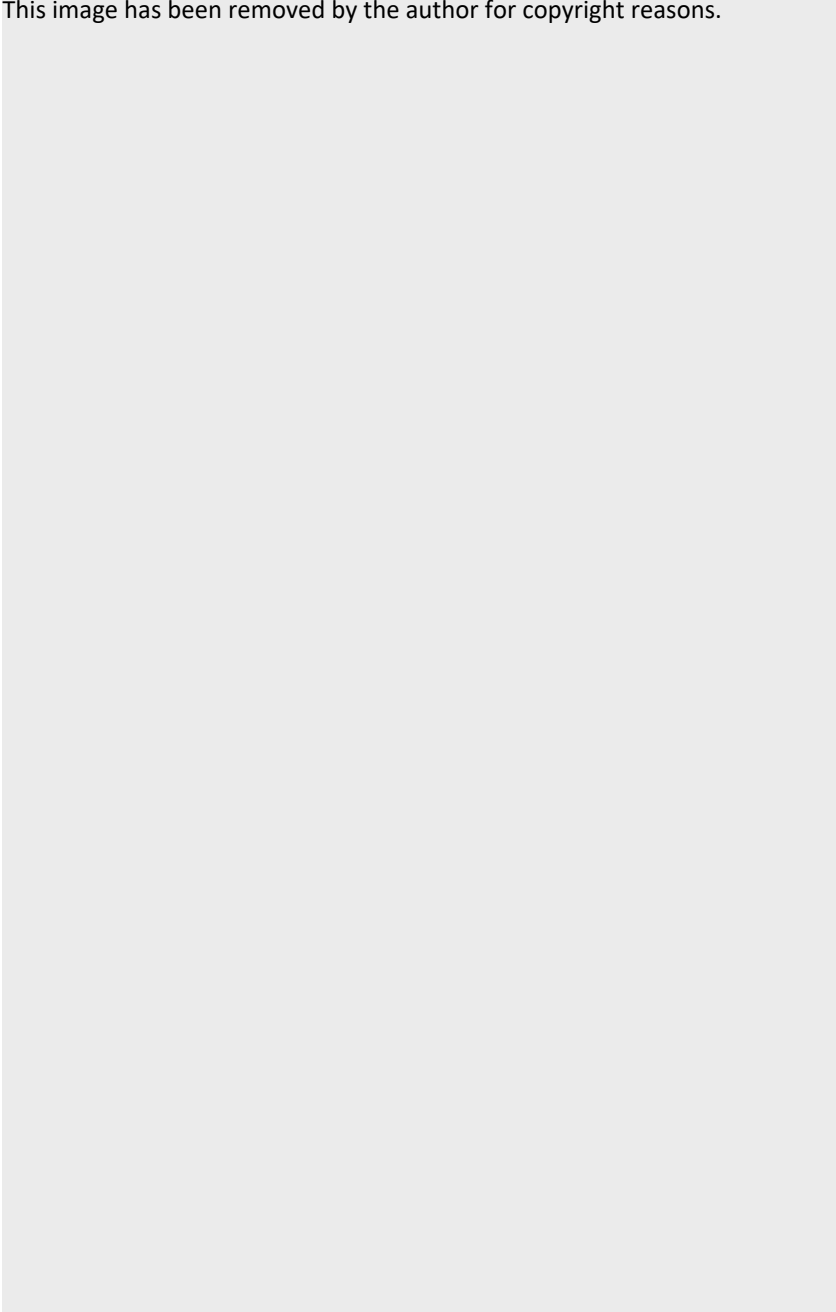
Plate XXXI: FS.G.30. From Mama I, no. 34.

FS.G.31. Julia Klaudia stela

Plate: XXXII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ladik (Laodiceia Combusta), found in the cemetery.

Material: Bluish Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.20; W. (top) 0.59, (shaft) 0.54; Th. 0.27. Letter H. N/R.

Henry Cutten.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals; vaulted pediment, palmette decoration above. Within, male and female figure, and basket (l.) of female. Broken below.

Inscription: Π. Αίλιος Ι Σωσθένης Ι Ἰουλία Κλαυ Ι δία γυναικὶ ΙΙ μνήμης χά Ι ριν καὶ ἑαντῶ Ι ζων. (Trans. Mama 1928). "P. Aelius Sosthenes for his wife Julia Klaudia, in memory, and himself while still living." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama I, no. 36.

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Plate XXXII: FS.G.31. From Mama I, no. 36.

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FS.G.32. Aelios Charitoni stela

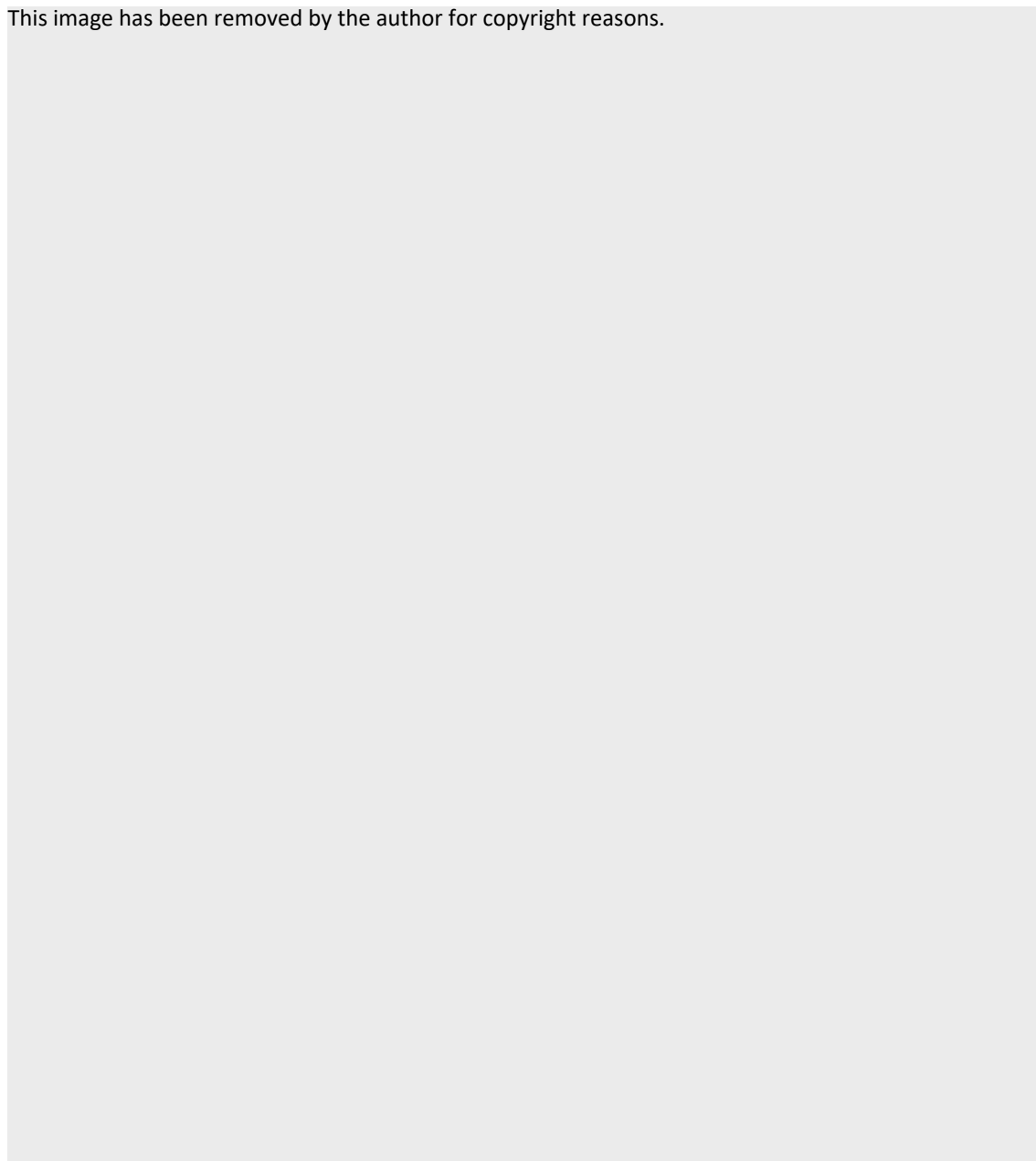This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.
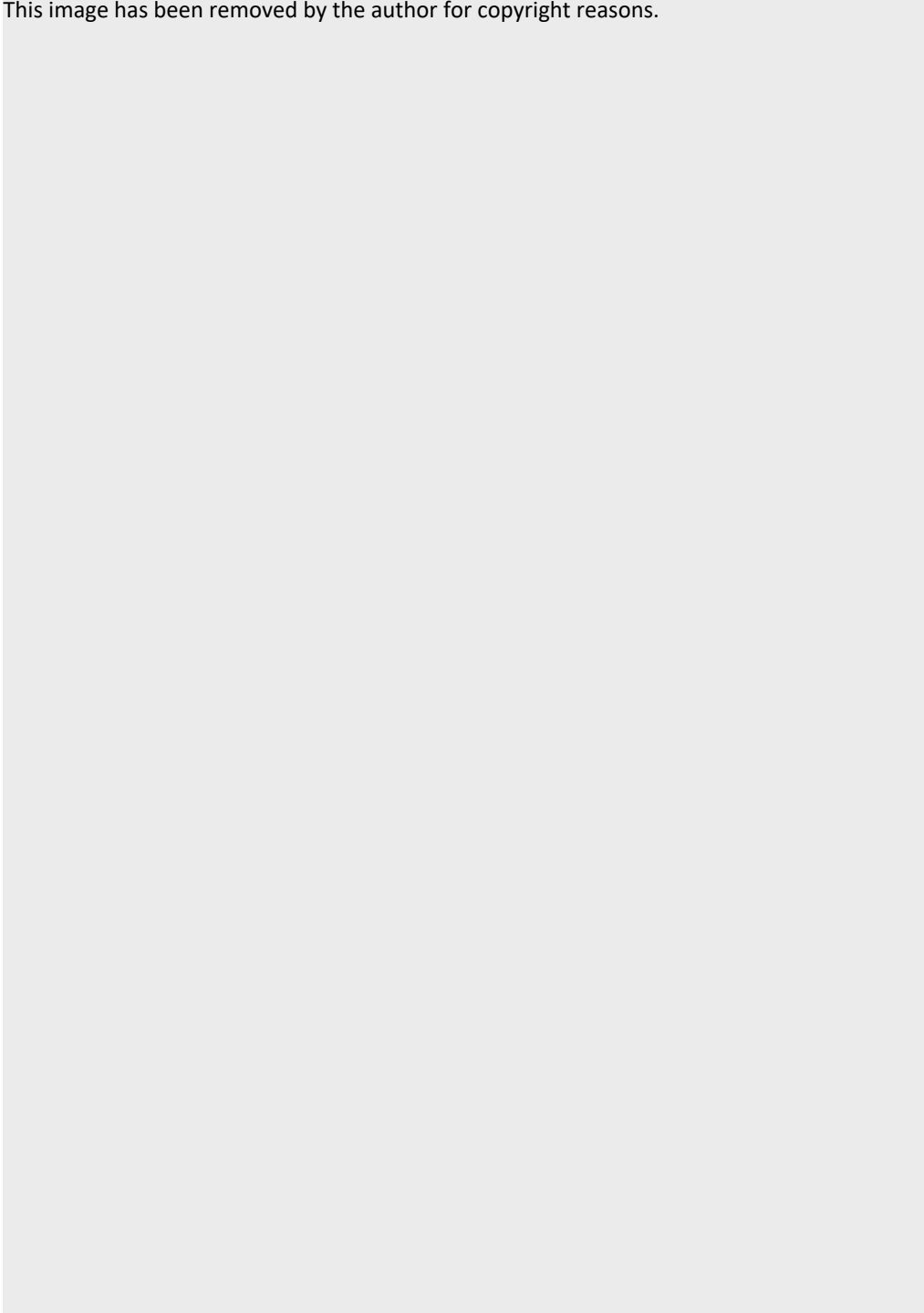
Plate XXXIII: FS.G.32. From Mama I, no. 37.

Plate: XXXIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ladik (Laodiceia Combusta).

Material: Bluish Limestone.

Henry Cutten.

Dimensions: H. 1.32; W. (top) 0.59, (shaft) 0.55; Th. 0.28. Letter H. N/R.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylistic capitals; vaulted pediment with palmette decoration above, and male and female within. Basket (l.) of female, farming implement(?) (r.) of male. Inscription top of shaft. Broken above and below.

Inscription: Αἰλία Ἀμμια Αἰλίω Χαρ-ίτωνι ανδρὶ μνήμης εν-(5)εκεν καὶ ἑατή ζώσα. (Trans. Mama 1928). "Aelia Ammia in remembrance of (her) husband Aelios Charitoni and herself, while living, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period

Source: Mama I, no. 37.

FS.G.33. Dekmianos and Bibia Paula stela

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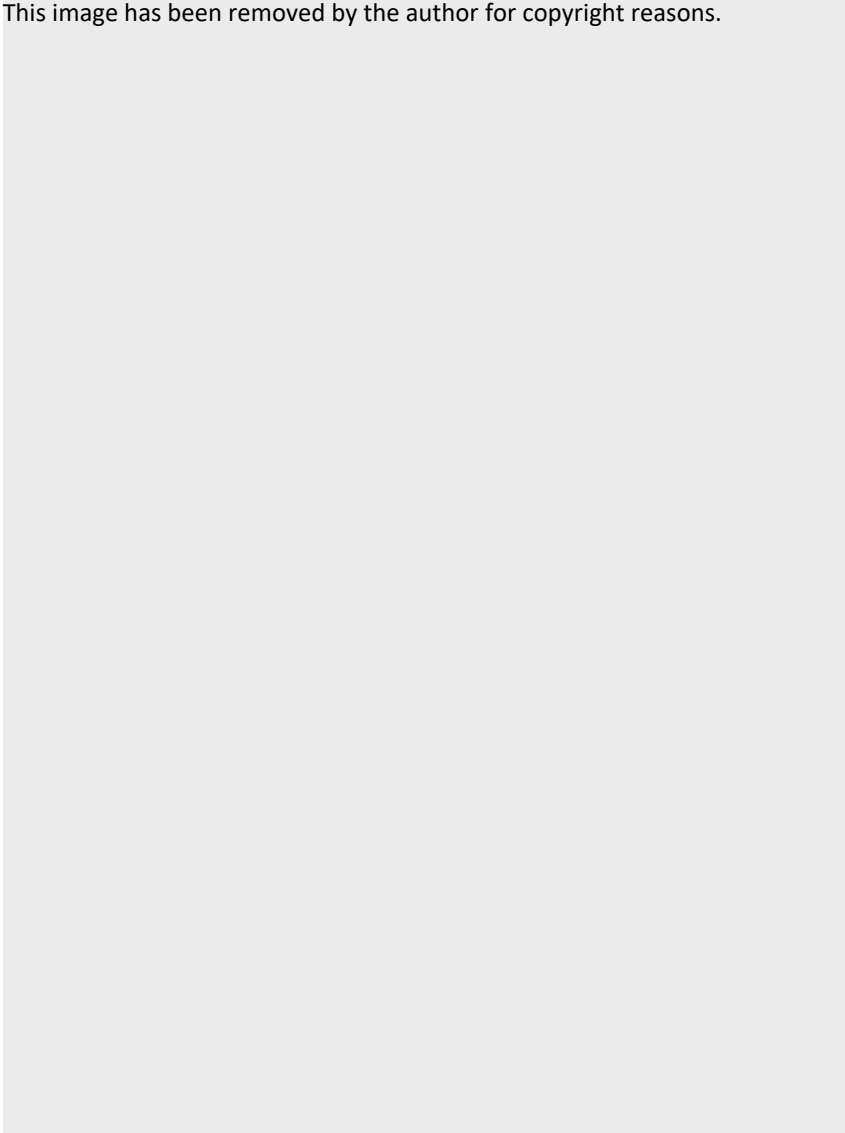
Plate XXXIV: FS.G.33. From Mama I, no. 45.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: XXXIV.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ladik (Laodiceia Combusta), in the wall of a house.

Material: Bluish Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.78; W. (top) 0.55, (shaft) 0.49; Th. 0.25. Letter H. N/R.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals; vaulted with palmette acroteria. In pediment, 2 female figures, basket on figure's (l.). Inscription field. Broken above and below.

Inscription: Δεκμιανος Κάρβω-ν Λαφρην-ος καὶ Βιβί-α Παῦλα θυ-γατρὶ μν-ή[μης χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1928). "Dekmianos, daughter of Karbon and Laphrenos, and daughter, Bibia Paula, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama I, no. 45.

FS.G.34. Flavia stela

Plate: XXXV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ladik (Laodiceia Combusta), in the cemetery.

Material: Bluish Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.85; W. 0.62; Th. 0.34. Letter H. 0.035-0.05 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, capitals(?). On shaft, male and female in an arched *aedicula* (with acroteria) with inscription below. Broken above and below.

Inscription: Ἔρως Σερ-γιανοῦ Φ-λαουία γυ-ναικὶ] καὶ • • • • • • •. (Trans. Mama 1928). "Eros Sergianos (for his) wife Flavia and . . . . ." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama I, no.108.

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Plate XXXV: FS.G.34. From Mama I, no.108.

FS.G.35. Ge stela

Plate: XXXVI (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ladik (Laodiceia Combusta), in the cemetery.

Material: Bluish Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.00; W. 0.53; Th. 0.28. Letter H. N/R.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, capitals and upper moulding; vaulted pediment, palmette acroteria with female figure at centre. On upper shaft inscription, above basket with two bunches of grapes, in relief. Broken upper left, base concealed.

Inscription: Σιλουανός Γη ἀδέλφή μνῆς χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1928). "Silouanos for his sister Ge, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama I, no. 110.

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Plate XXXVI: FS.G.35. From Mama I, no. 110.

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FS.G.36. Stela with eagle and boy

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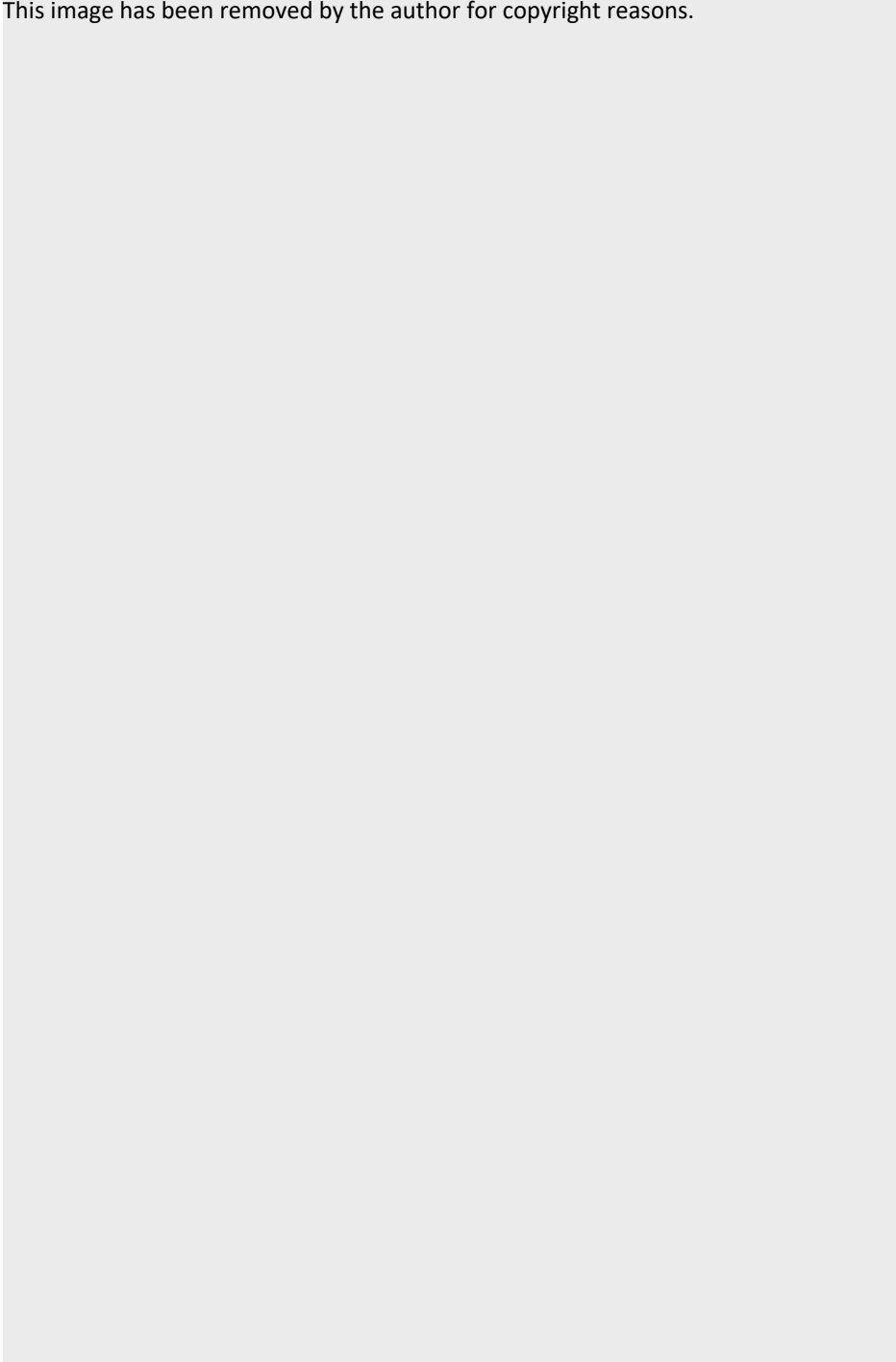
Plate XXXVII: FS.G.36. From Mama I, no. 150.

Plate: XXXVII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Shahr Oren (Mokissos (Kırşehir)), in a stable.

Material: Grey Marble.

Henry Cutten.

Dimensions: H. 0.56; W. (top) 0.29, (base) 0.34; Th. 0.19 metres.

Description: Stela with panel of shaft, and pediment; within an eagle. On the shaft, in panel, a boy. Inscription below the pediment, illegible.

Inscription: Illegible.

Date: Imperial period

Source: Mama I, no. 150.

FS.G.37. Tyrannos and Asklepia stela

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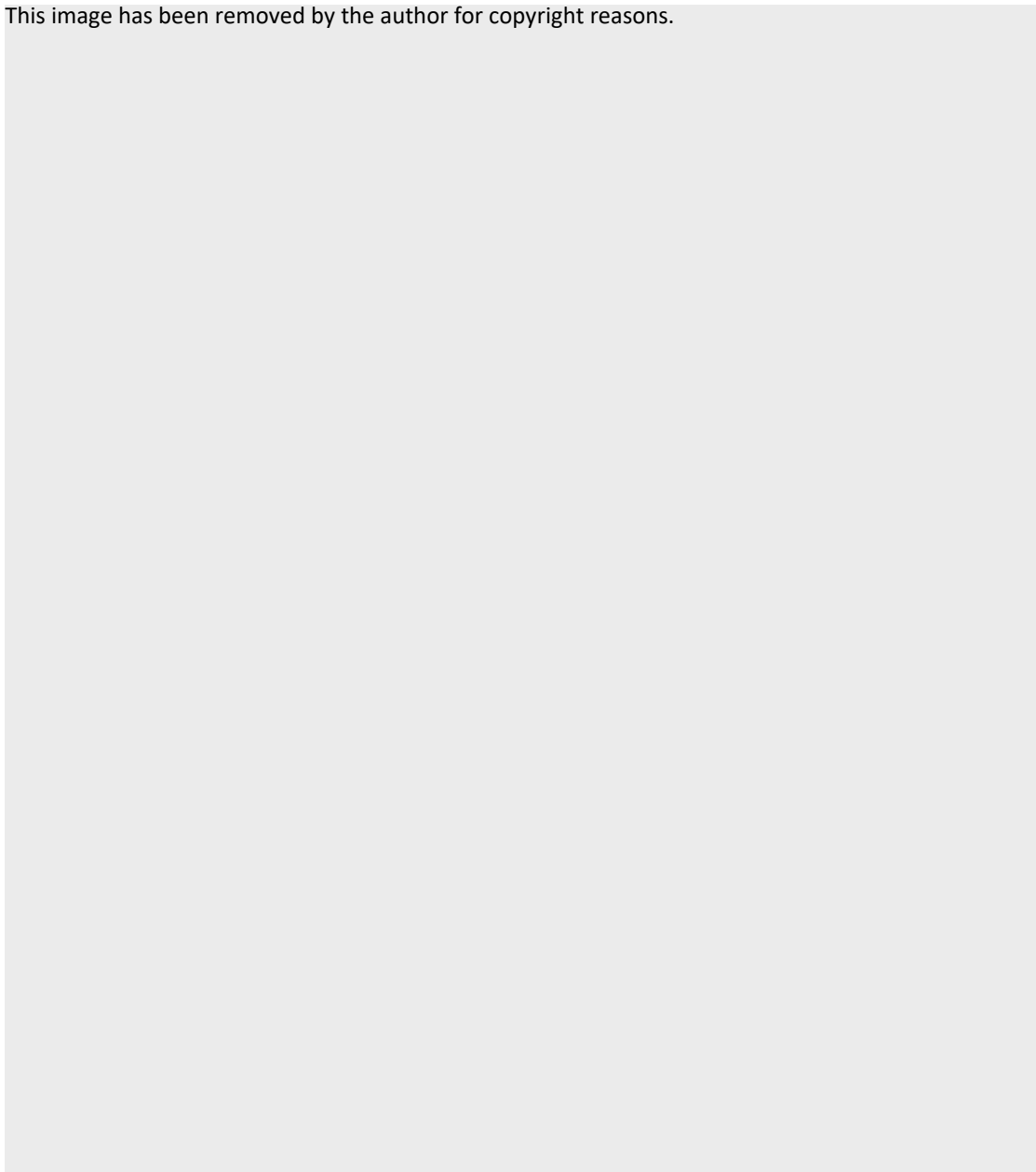
Plate XXXVIII: FS.G.37. From Mama XI, no. 251.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: XXXVIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Canimana (Kinna), in the wall of a yard.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.80+; W. 0.52+; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.015-0.020 metres.

Description: Stela with arched pediment, containing 2 busts in relief, male (l.), female (r.). On shaft, inset panel framed with Lesbian *cyma*. Line 1 of inscription on pediment lower moulding; lines 2-3 on frame above shaft panel; line 4 in the panel. Broken above, below and right.

Inscription: [Ἀ]σκλη[πιὸς Τυρ]ά̣[νν]ο̣υ [πατρὶ ἰδίῳ] Τ̣υράννῳ γλυ[κυτ]άτῳ κα[ὶ μητρὶ] ἰδίᾳ Ἀσ̣κληπίᾳ ἀνέστ[ησεν - - - - - - -] μνήμ[ης χάριν]. "Askle[pios son of Tyrannos] set this up [for his own] sweetest [father] Tyrannos, and for his own [mother] Asklepia..., in mem[oriam]." (Trans. Mama XI).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama XI, no. 251.

FS.G.38. Asklepios and family stela

Plate: XXXIX and XL (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Canimana (Kinna), in a fountain.

Material: Grey Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.53; W. (pediment) 0.80, (shaft) 0.72, (base) 0.80; Th. 0.44. Letter H. N/R.

Description: Stela with inset panelled shaft, lower moulding; arched pediment with 4 relief busts, each with right hand across chest. Line 1 of inscription on frame above panel; lines 2-4 in panel. Apparently complete; left side underwater.

Inscription: Ἀσκληπιὸς κὲ Κειρίλλα Μομιου ζῶντε⟨ς⟩ κὲ προνο͞υντες ἔστησαν ἑα-τῆς κὲ ὑοῖς Αππα κὲ Πωλί-ωνι μνήμης κάριν. "Asklepios and Kyrilla, daughter of Momios, while still living and in their right minds, set this up for themselves and their children Appas and Pollio, in memoriam." (Trans. Mama XI).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama XI, no. 252.

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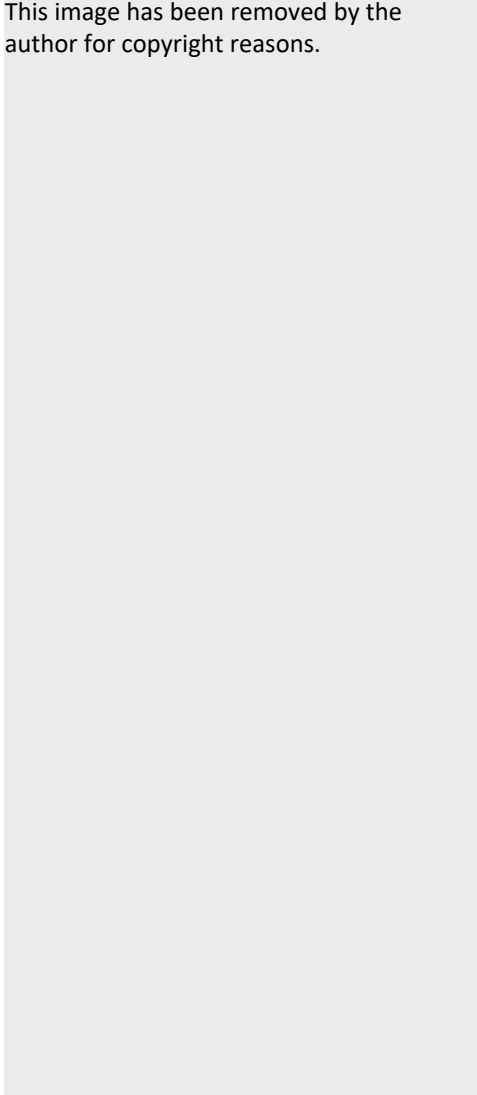This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate XXXIX: FS.G.38. From Mama XI, no. 252.

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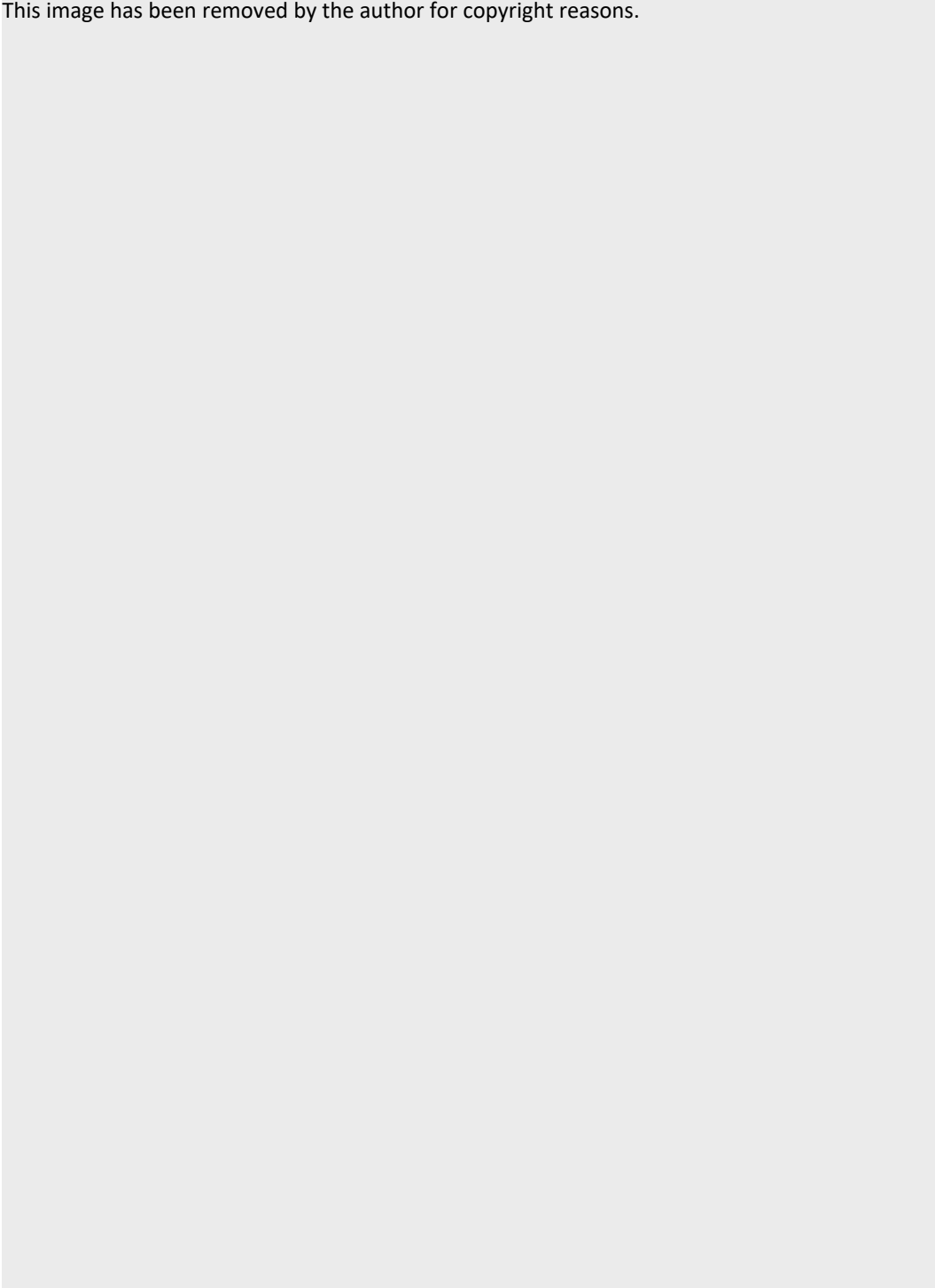
Plate XL: FS.G.38. From Mama XI, no. 252.

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FS.G.39. Funerary stela with busts

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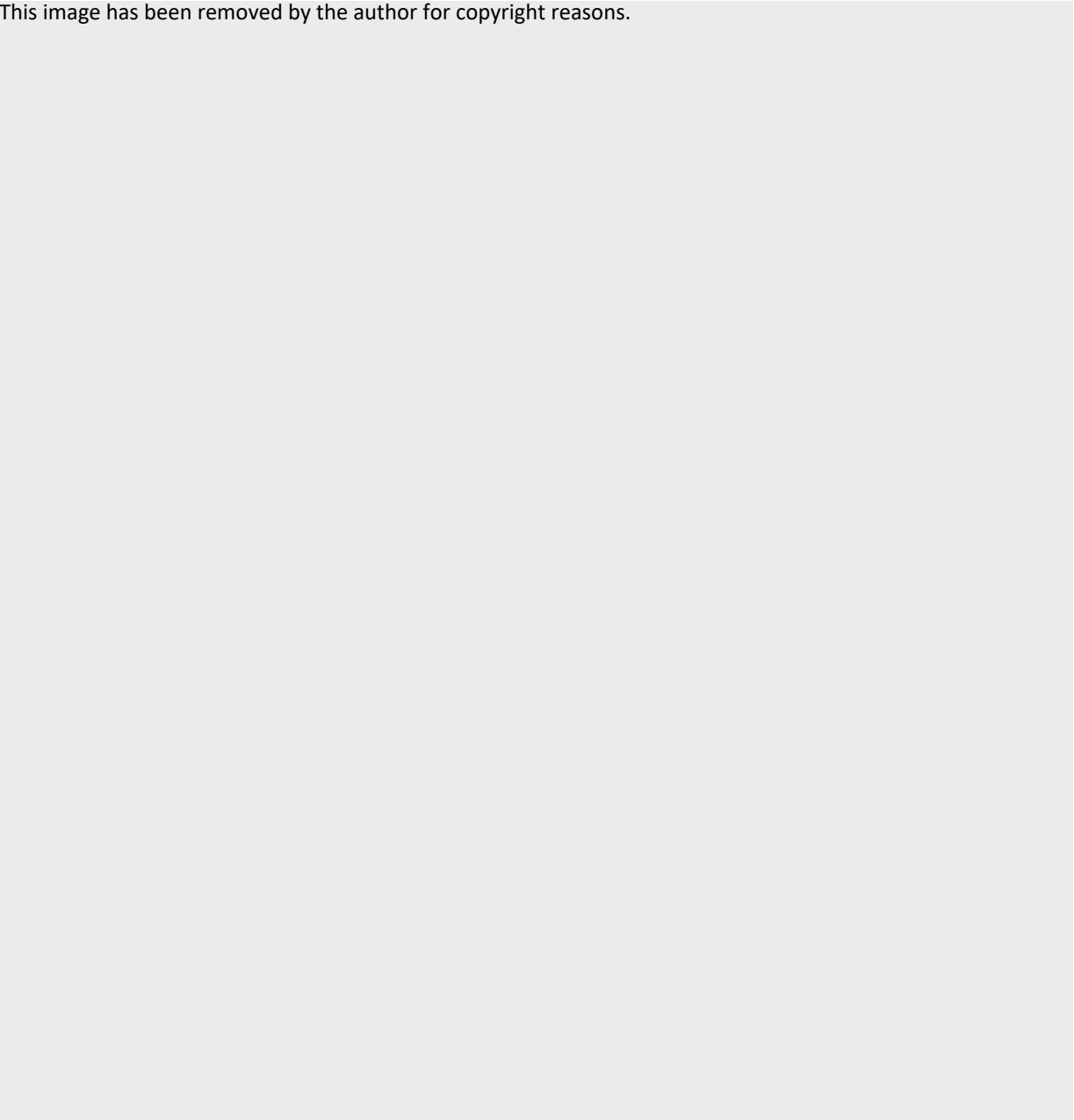
Plate XLI: FS.G.39. From Mama XI, no. 253.

Plate: XLI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Canimana (Kinna).

Material: Grey Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.73+; W. 0.73; Th. (shaft) 0.43. Letter H. 0.020-0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with inset panel on shaft, upper moulding; arched pediment, containing 2 busts in relief, female (l.) male (r.). Lines 1-2 of inscription missing (presumably on defaced upper moulding),

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line 3 at the top of panel. Within panel: incised chest with lock-plate; mirror; an *oinochoe* and *skyphos* on an animal-legged tripod table; a *pelike*; spindle-and-distaff; a billhook (middle); horse; an ox-team yoked to a plough (below). Broken above.

Inscription: "...in memoriam." [- - - - - - - - - -] [- - - - - - - - -] μνήμης χάριν. (Trans. Mama XI).

Date: Imperial period

Source: Mama XI, no. 253.

FS.G.40. Tateis stela

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Plate XLII: FS.G.40. From Mama XI, no. 266.

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Plate: XLII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ladik (Laodiceia Combusta).

Material: Grey Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.90+; W. 0.33-35; Th. 0.28. Letter H. 0.030-0.032 metres.

Description: Stela with female bust, relief, flanked (l. and r.) by incised baskets(?); line 1 of inscription below figure. On the shaft, incised circles upper left and right, flanking line 2 of inscription, representing garlands(?). Below line 3, incised wool-basket (l.); unidentified attribute above; spindle-and-distaff (r.). Recently excavated, broken above and below; back rough.

Inscription: ΜΑΡΕΙΟΣ τέκνα ΤΑΤΕ τῇ μητρ[ί]. "Mareios (?), child/children, for Tateis (?) his mother." (Trans. Mama XI).

Date: Imperial period

Source: Mama XI, no. 266.

FS.G.41. Stela for Ge

Plate: XLIII and XLIV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Küçük Boruk (Yenikuyu), lying loose on the east side of settlement.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.83; W. 0.47; Th. 0.28. Letter H. 0.028-0.038 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, upper moulding; vaulted pediment; in the pediment (l. to r.): spindle, distaff, female figure and unidentifiable object in relief. Inscription top of shaft, above wreath with two vine-leaves at top and 2 incised crescents. Left side and mouldings cut away.

Inscription: Τειμόθ[εος] Σφαίρου Γ[η (?)] θυγατρὶ μνή-μης χάριν v. vac. (5) ὃς δὲ ἂν τοῦτο ἀδικήσει, ἐννέ[α] Μῆνας ἔχοιτ[ο] καταχθονίους κεχολωμένους. "Teimoth[eos], son of Sphairos, for his daughter Ge (?), in memoriam. Whoever wrongs this (tomb), may he find the nine Mens of the underworld angered." (Trans. Mama XI).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama XI, no. 319.

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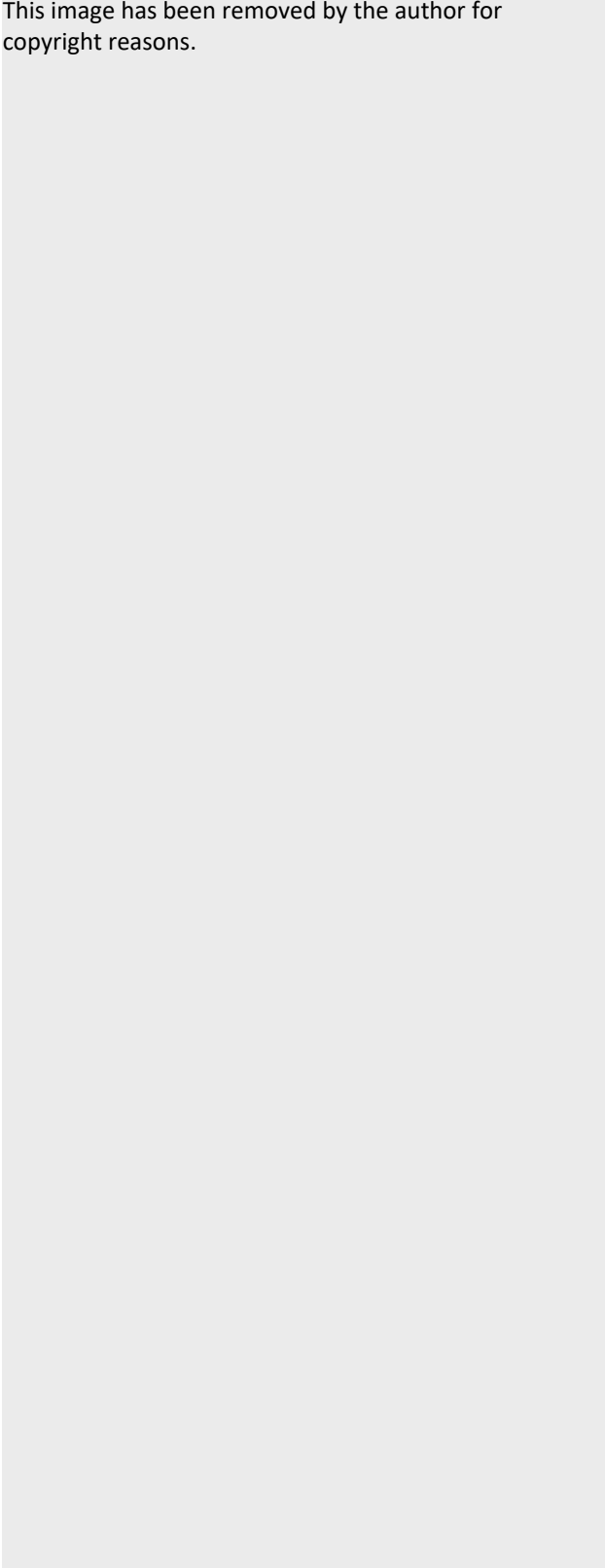
Plate XLIII: FS.G.41. From Mama XI, no. 319.

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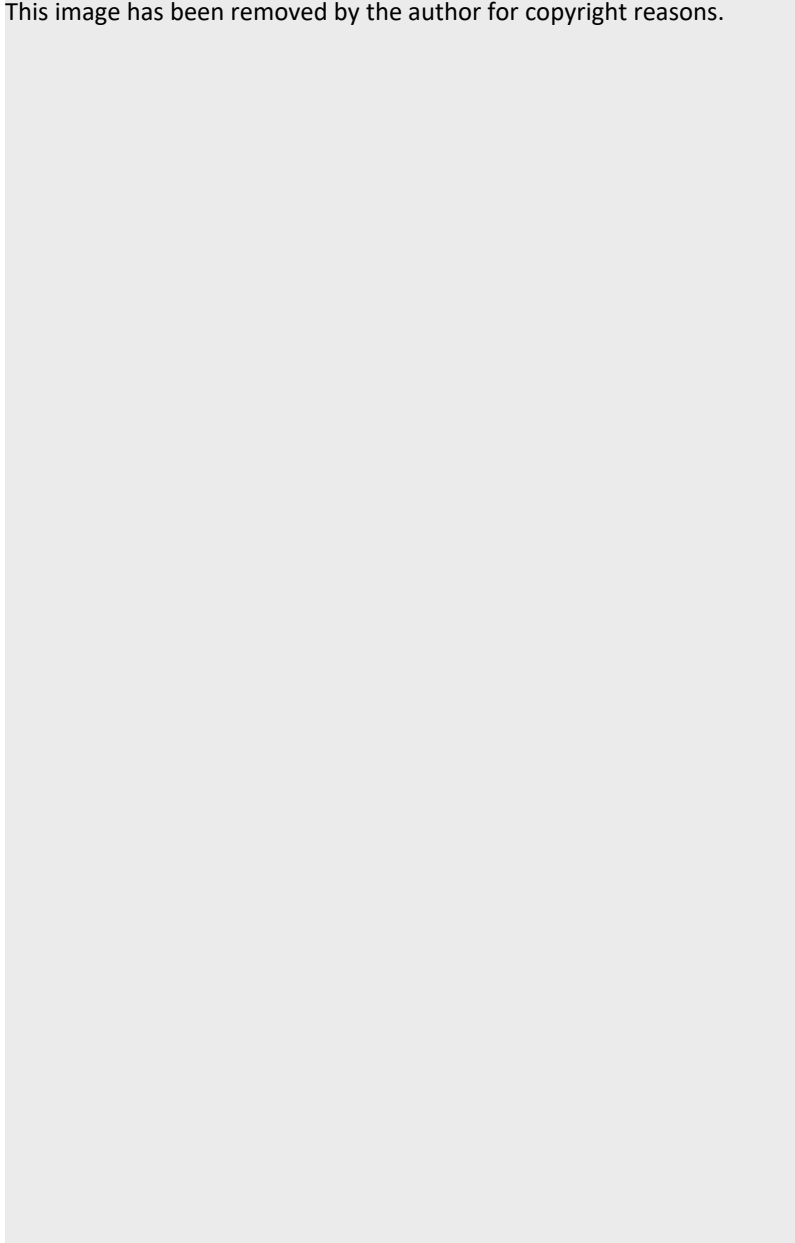
Plate XLIV: FS.G.41. From Mama XI, no. 319.

FS.G.42. Manes and Mountanous stela

Plate: XLV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 1986.3.1.

Find site: Unknown provenance.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 0.95; W. 0.60; Th. 0.13. Letter H. 0.04 metres.

Henry Cutten.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, capitals; vaulted pediment, palmette decoration above and on finial; in pediment man and woman in relief, (r.) of female 2 spindle-and-distaff, (l.) of male mattock and plough(?). Inscription top of shaft. Broken below and on finial.

Inscription: Μάνης κ-αι Μου<ν>τανός οἱ Σώσπιτ[ο-] [ς] ΜΟΥΝΑ[-$^{ca.2-3}$-][..]Ε[--$^{ca.\ 5}$--][-------]. Manes and Mountanous, sons of Sospis, (erected this for) … Trans. Mclean 2002a.

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mclean 2002a, 164.

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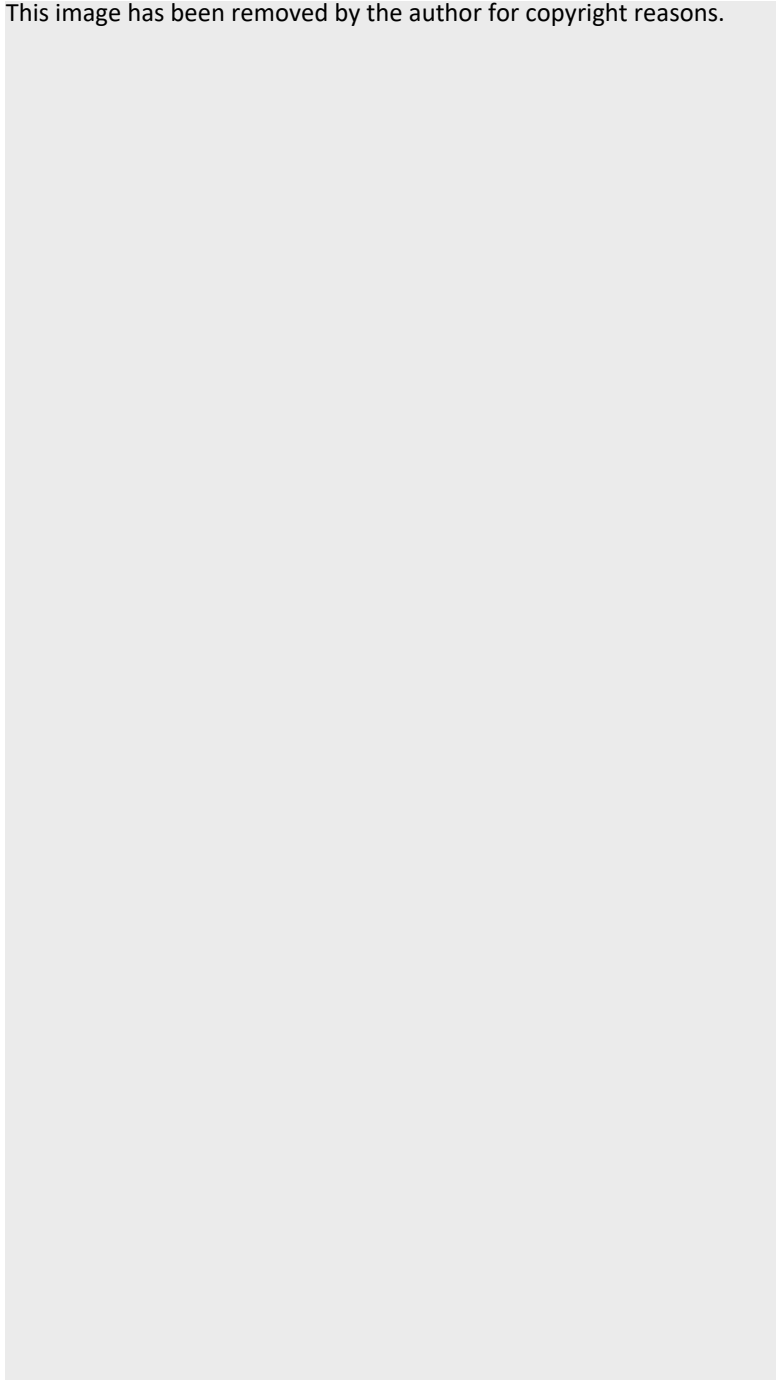
Plate XLV: FS.G.42. From Mclean 2002a, 164.

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B: Figural Stelae from Phrygia

FS.PHR.01. Stela with vine and pruning hook

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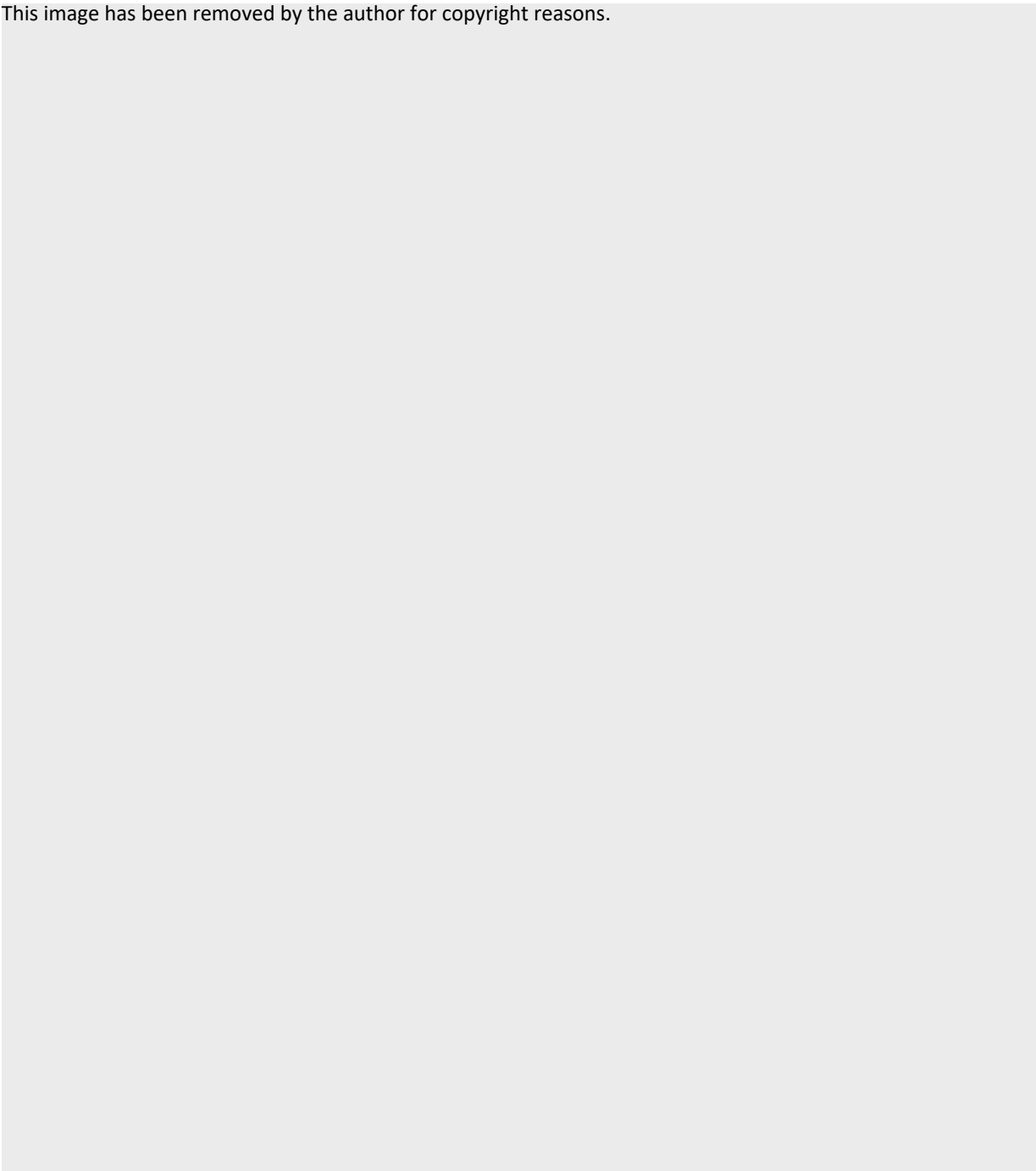
Plate XLVI: FS.PHR.01. From Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 19.

Plate: XLVI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Yassıviran (Yassıören), in a lane.

Henry Cutten.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.38+; W. (capitals) 0.55, (shaft) 0.50-0.53, (base) 0.55; Th. 0.24 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, capitals; upper and lower moulding, vaulted pediment. Between capitals, garland relief from *bucrania* (l. and r.); on shaft, worn figure with vine-plant above, left and right; below, *falx vinitoria*. Faint traces of inscription on entablature. Broken above, otherwise complete.

Inscription: Illegible.

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 19.

FS.PHR.02. Atta stela

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Plate XLVII: FS.PHR.02. From Mama 1933, no. 258.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: XLVII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Buyuk Kabaja, in a house.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.07; W. 0.42-0.46; Th. 0.21. Letter H. 0.018 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, capitals; upper moulding. On shaft, in panel, man and woman on plinth. Above panel, garland(?), inscription below. In entablature, 2 birds bending over a vase. Broken above, upper right; surface very worn.

Inscription: Καρικος Μεννέον και Οίδα Μενεκράτον ή γυνή μου έπό- (5) ησαν Άττα τω νιω μνημης χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1933). "Karicos, son of Menneon, and his wife Oida, daughter of Menekraton, made this for their son Atta, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st or 2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1933, no. 258.

FS.PHR.03. Diogenes and Amia stela

Plate: XLVIII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Buyuk Kabaja

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H.0·60; W. 0.42; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, capitals, moulding at base. On shaft, male and female figure on plinth, above inscription. Surface worn, broken above.

Inscription: Διογένης Μ[ην]a έαν-τω και τή συνβίω Ἀμια εποησα. (Trans. Mama 1933). "Diogenes, son of M[en]a, erected this for himself and his wife Amia." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1933, 249.

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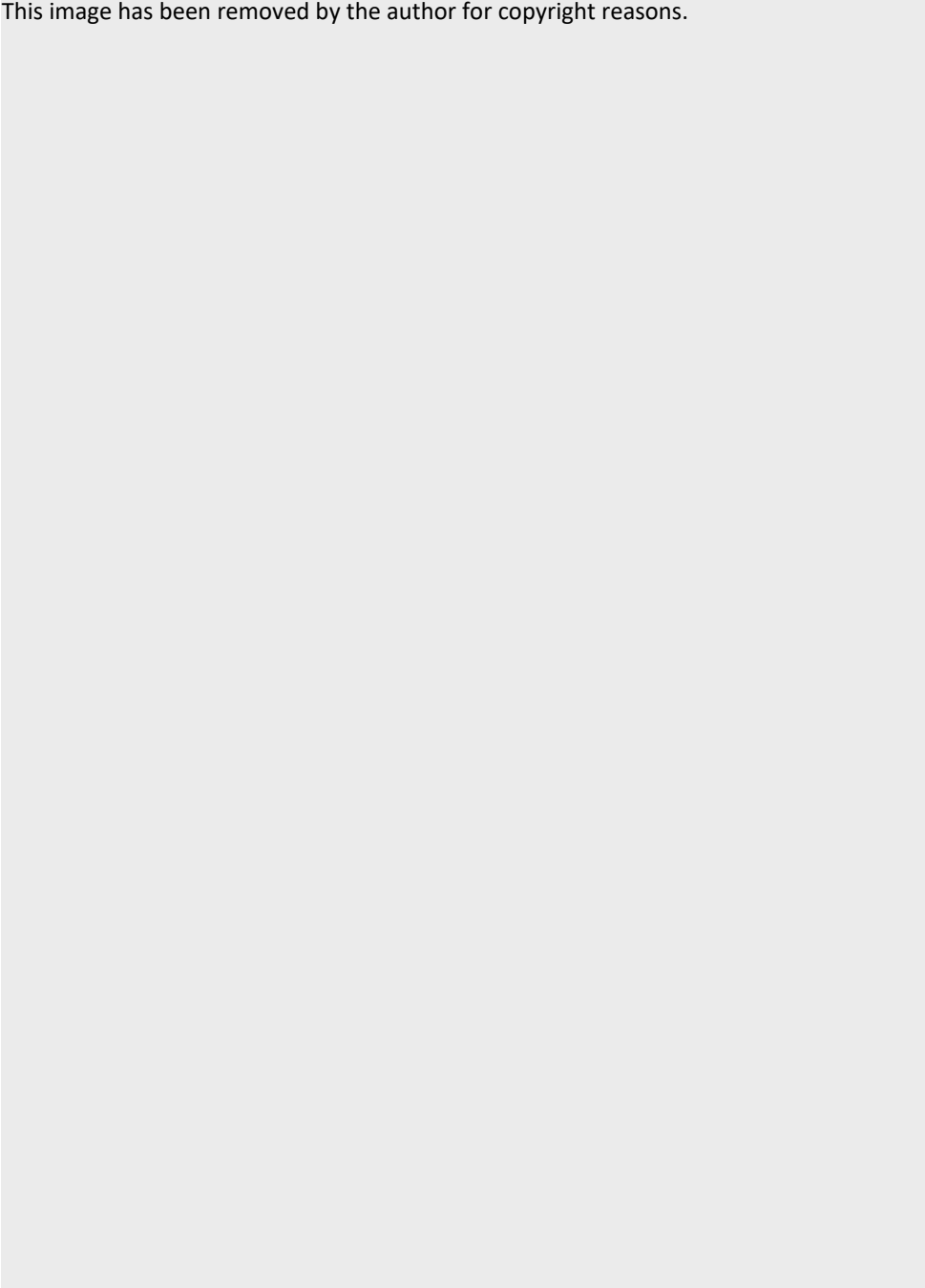
Plate XLVIII: FS.PHR.03. From Mama 1933, 249.

FS.PHR.04. Titia Ophellia stela

Plate: XLIX (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Bekilli, in a courtyard.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.14; W. 0.50; Th. 0.20. Letter H. 0.015-0.025 metres.

Henry Cutten.

Description: Stela with vaulted pediment, palmette acroteria; 6-pointed rosette at centre. On shaft, 2 female figures, defaced heads; figure (l.) significantly smaller. Inscription at top of field, around relief. Broken above and below, surface badly worn.

Inscription: … Σεκουνδα Όκρατία Γαίον θνγάτηρ Τιτία Όφελλία τη θνγατρ'ι μνήμης ενεκα έποί- ησεν συν 'Ρούφω τ- ~ω άνδρ'ι αύτης. (Trans. Mama 1933). "Sekounda, daughter of Okratia and Gaius, made this with Rufus, her husband, on account of her own daughter Titia Ophellia, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1933, no. 317.

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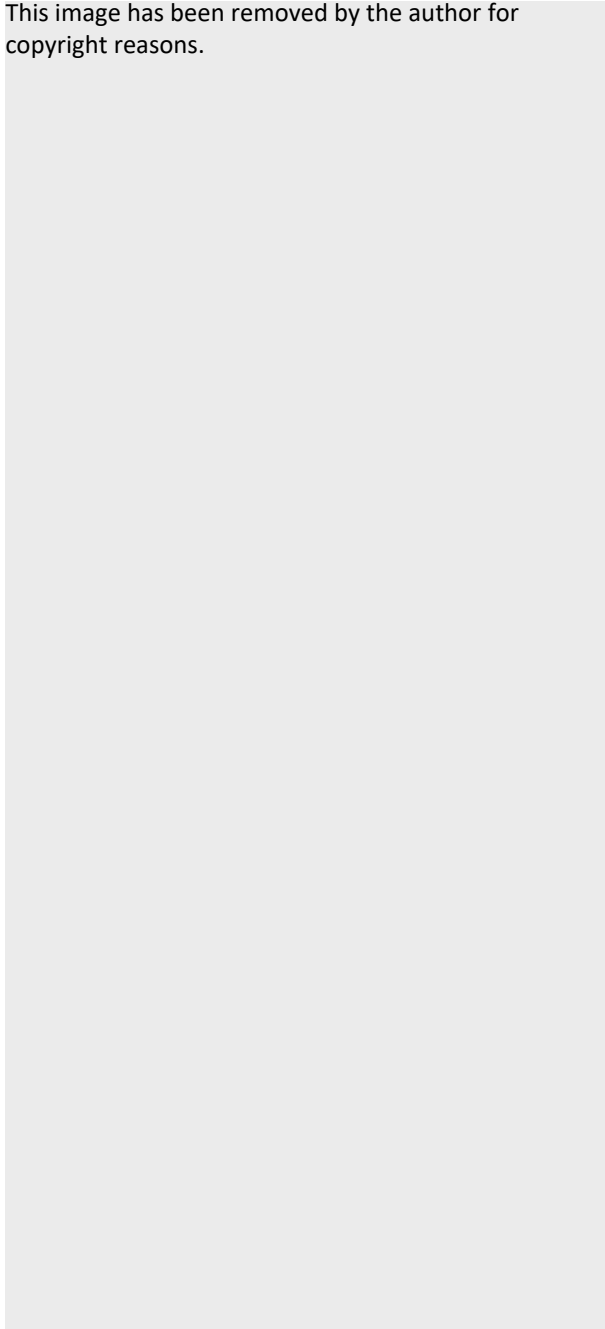
Plate XLIX: FS.PHR.04. From Mama 1933, no. 317.

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FS.PHR.05. Stela with 2 heads

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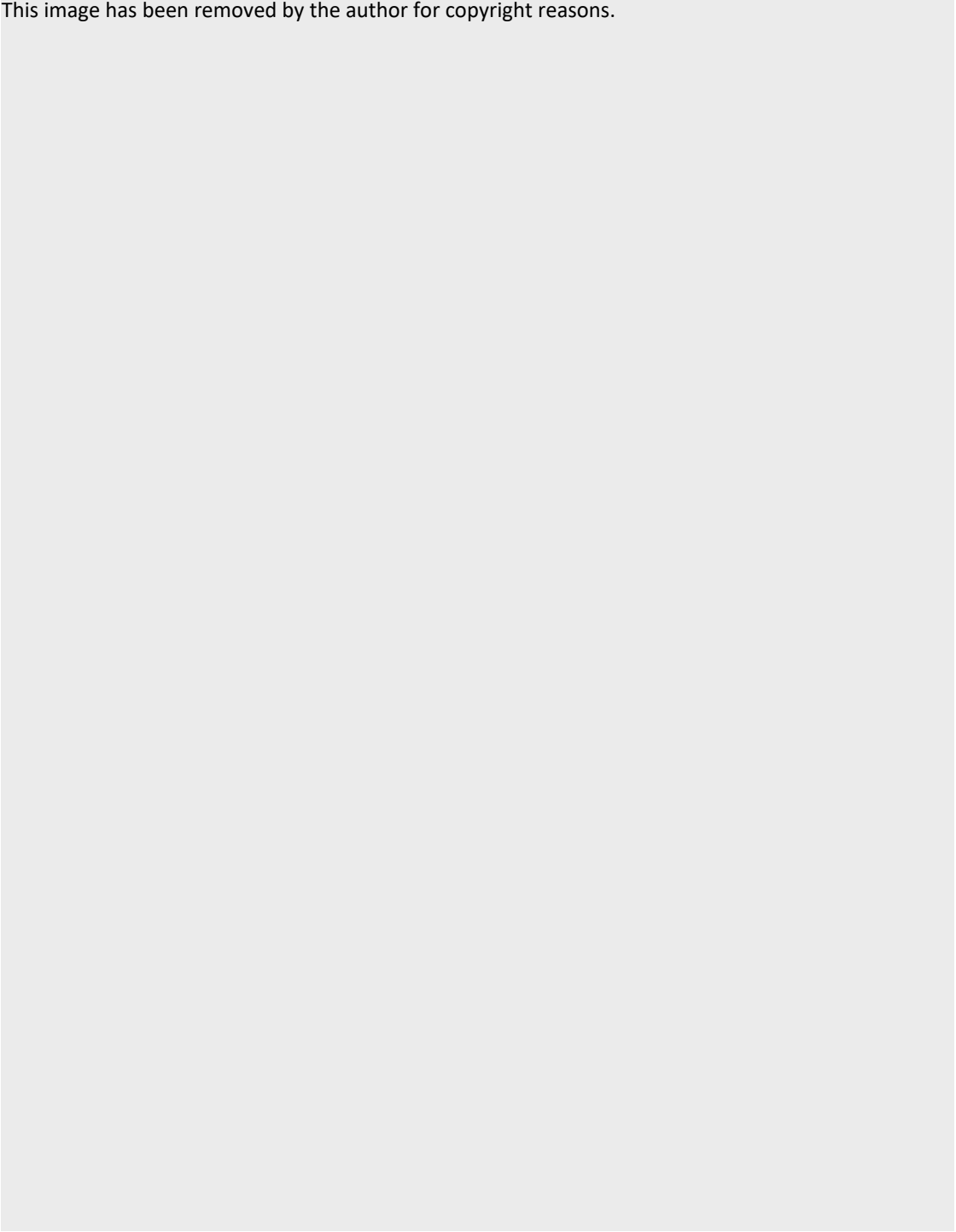
Plate L: FS.PHR.05. From Mama 1933, no. 316.

Plate: L.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Bekilli, in the cemetery wall.

Material: Limestone.

Henry Cutten.

Dimensions: H. 0.74; W. 0.56; Th. 0.15. Letter H. 0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with vaulted pediment, palmette acroteria and finial; 8-pointed rosette at centre. In the field, heads of two figures, defaced. Date of monument inscribed on base of pediment. Epitaph, below figures, lost. Damaged below.

Inscription: ἔτους σκ'. (Trans. Mama 1933). "Year 220." (Trans. Cutten 2018).

Date: A.D. 135-136.

Source: Mama 1933, no. 316.

FS.PHR.06. Figural stela

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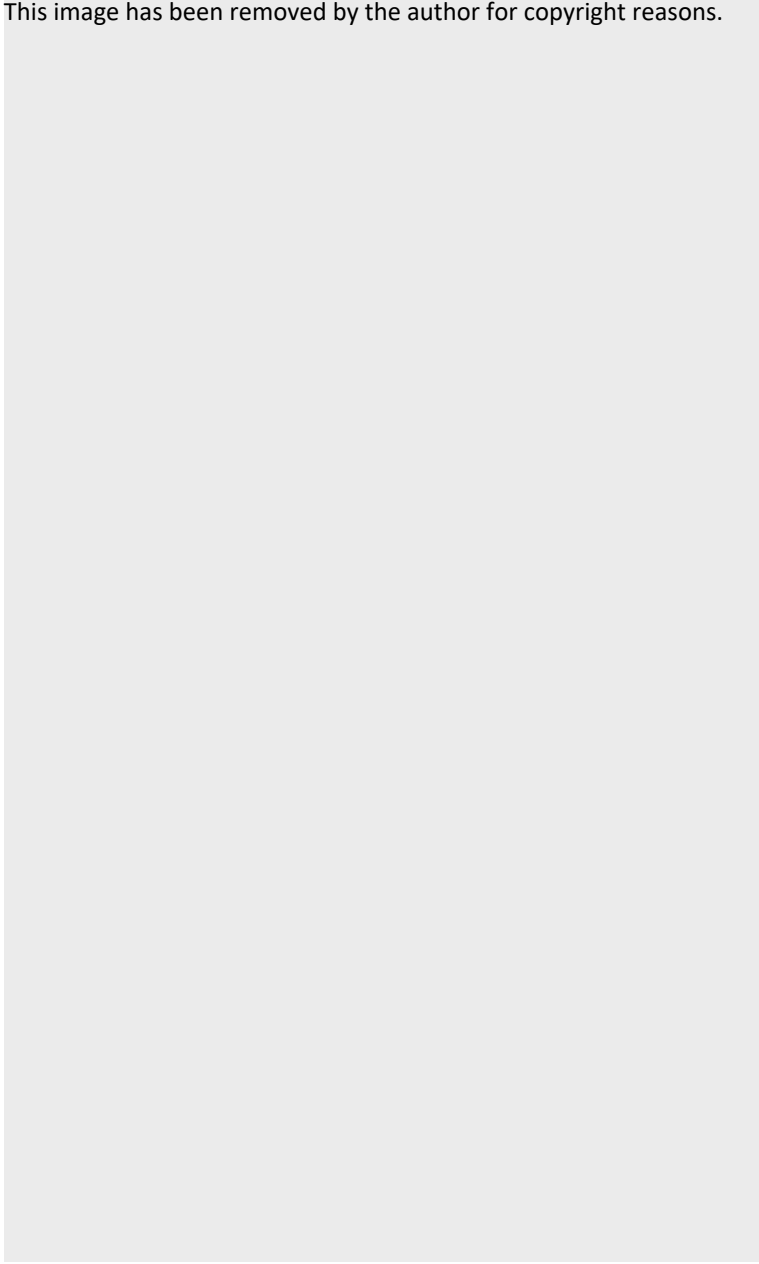
Plate LI: FS.PHR.06. From Mama 1933, no. 319.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: LI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: üch Kuyu, beside a well about 500 metres west of the village.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.11; W. 0.57; Th. 0.17. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with bordered field, lower element. On shaft, defaced woman on plinth, with casket and lock-plate on shelf, toilet bottle, spindle-and-distaff (carved horizontally) (l.); (r.) a jar(?), comb, basket. Inscription at base of field.

Inscription: (α) Above: …… . οδ . …. . . . . . . σιον πένπτη . . . . . ος καλ . μιλι . . . . .

(*b*) Below the casket: χάριν. "Farewell."

(c) In panel, below: (5) . . Κ]αι δεκέτη Ταταν έν τωδ-ε τύνβω θηκα γονενς ό λνγρος [κ]α'ι ή μήτηρ βαρνπενθής, πέντε δε μηνας άν-δρι συνοικησασαν νεαν νε-(10) ω Ι έφθασε μοιρα τούς τε σν]ναίμονς έπ*i* ον θάνατον ατ[. . . . (Trans. Mama 1933).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1933, no. 319.

FS.PHR.07. White marble stela

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Plate LII: FS.PHR.07. From Mama 1933, no. 306.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: LII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Develiler (Kagyetteia).

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.45; w. 0.50; Th. N/R.

Description: Stela with pilasters and plain lower plinth. In field, couch and reclining female; in front in centre, table with small jar and utensils. Right of the table is a dog(?), boy behind holding out in his r. hand a cup/dish; left, girl sitting on square seat. Broken above, surface worn.

Inscription: Illegible(?).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1933, no. 306.

FS.PHR.08. Artemon and Tatia stela

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Plate LIII: FS.PHR.08. From Mama 1933, no. 207.

Plate: LIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kuchuk Kabaja.

Henry Cutten.

Material: White Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.90; W. 1.36; Th. 0.28. Letter H. 0.03-0.035 metres.

Description: Pediment from a stela (or doorstone), with plain acroteria, vine branches, leaves, grape bunches in low relief, above. Within, woman and child; (r.) of woman, mirror and basket, (l.) of figure's a sheep. Inscription across base of pediment.

Inscription: 'Αρτεμων και' Τατια ε'πνησεν ιδιω θρε'ψαντι μνήμης χάριν και έαντο[ις ζων]τες κ(α)ι Τοις σ[. . (Trans. Mama 1933). "Artemon and Tatia made this for their own foster-parents, in memory, and for themselves while they were still alive and her…" (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1933, no. 207.

FS.PHR.09. Husband stela

Plate LIV: FS.PHR.09. From Haspels 1971, Pl. 612, no. 17.

Plate: LIV.

Museum and Inv. No: Afyon Karahisar Museum, inv. 725.

Find site: Yazili Kaya, Found in the excavation on the Midas Kale in 1936.

Material: White Marble.

Henry Cutten.

Dimensions: H. 0.07, W. 0.095, Th. 0.04. Letter H. 0.009 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters; vaulted pediment with plain acroteria and finial. On field, relief of male in hooded cloak. Inscription on architrave. Broken in 2 pieces, (r.) side part chipped off; surface worn.

Inscription: ανδι [- - -]. Possibly Ανδι[σι εὐχήν], or Ανδι[σει κτλ.]. (Trans. Haspels 1971). "Husband [- - -]." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Haspels 1971, Pl. 612, no. 17.

FS.PHR.10. Stela with female in *aedicula*

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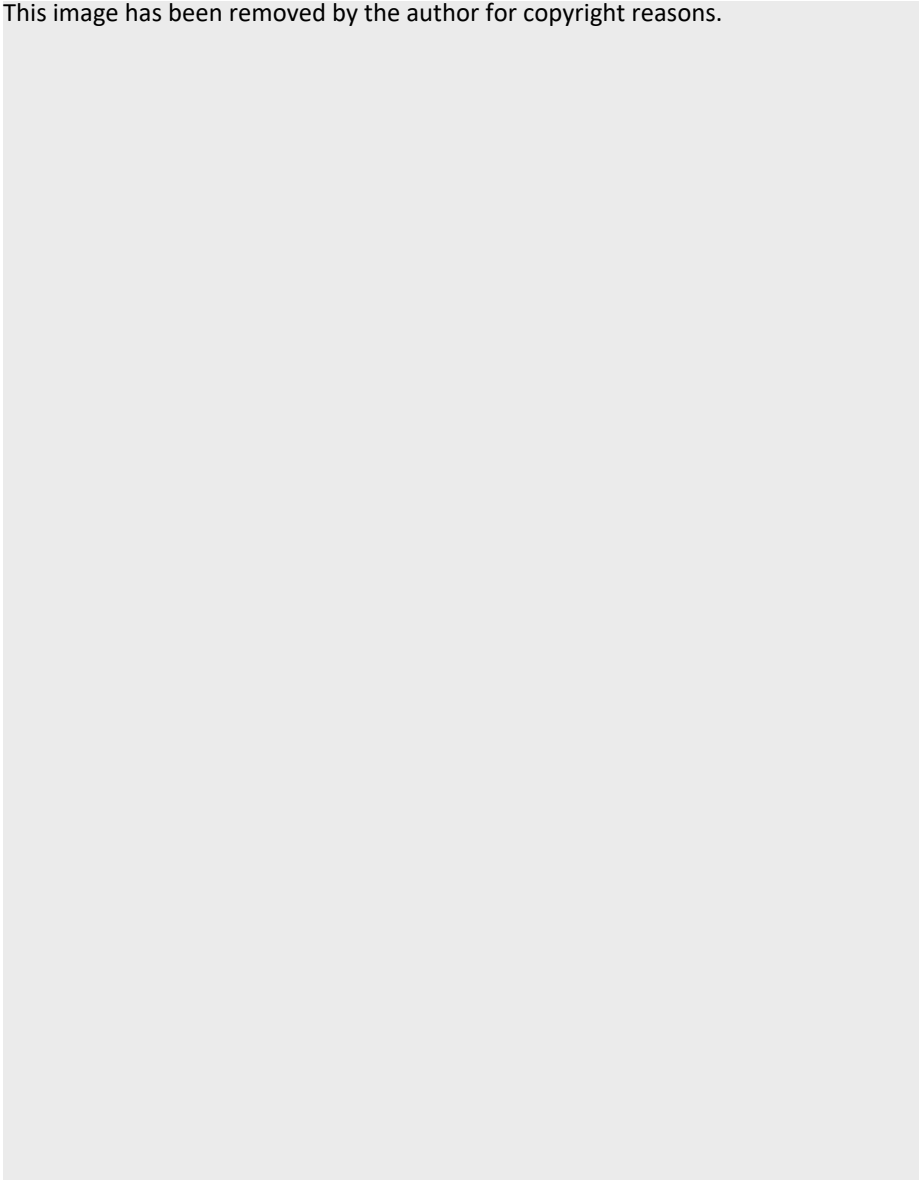
Plate LV: FS.PHR.10. From Mama 1939, Vol. VI. No. 406.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: LV.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Afyon Karahisar.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 0.67, w. 0.48, th. 0.16 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals. On shaft, female figure in ae*dicula.* Broken above and below.

Inscription: No surviving text.

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1939, Vol. VI. No. 406.

FS.PHR.11. Stela with male and female

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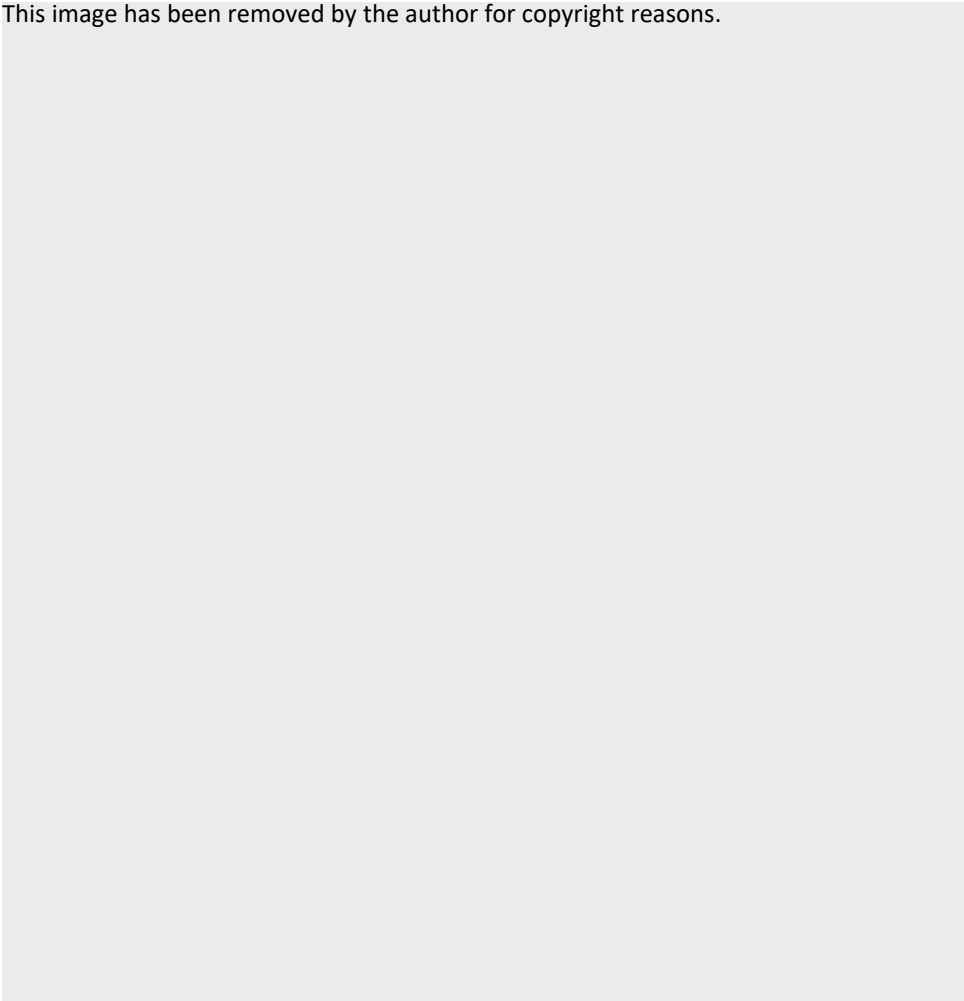
Plate LIII: FS.PHR.11. From Mama 1939, Vol. VI. 407.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: LVI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Afyon Karahisar.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 0.48, W. 0.49, Th. 0.14 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals. On shaft, male (l.) and female (r.).

Inscription: No surviving text.

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1939, Vol. VI. 407.

FS.PHR.12. Asklas stela

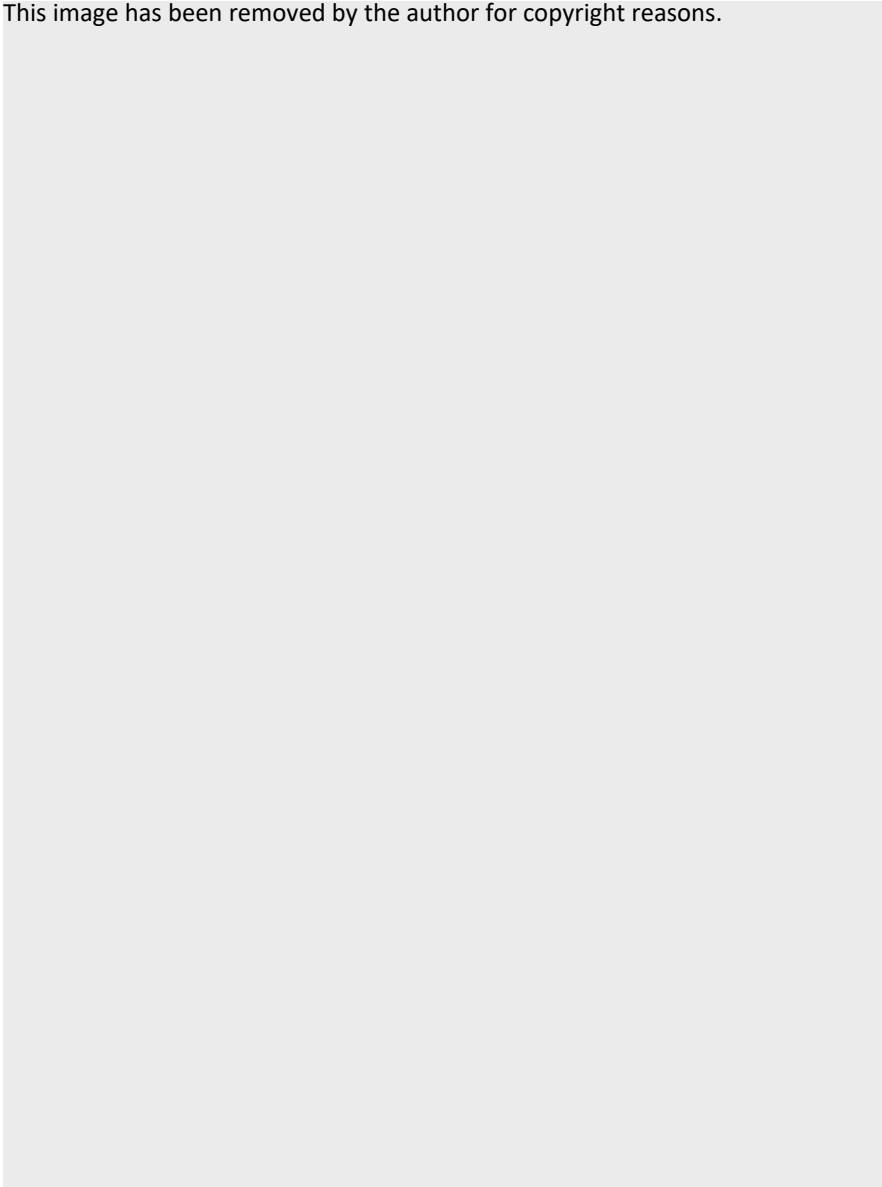This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.
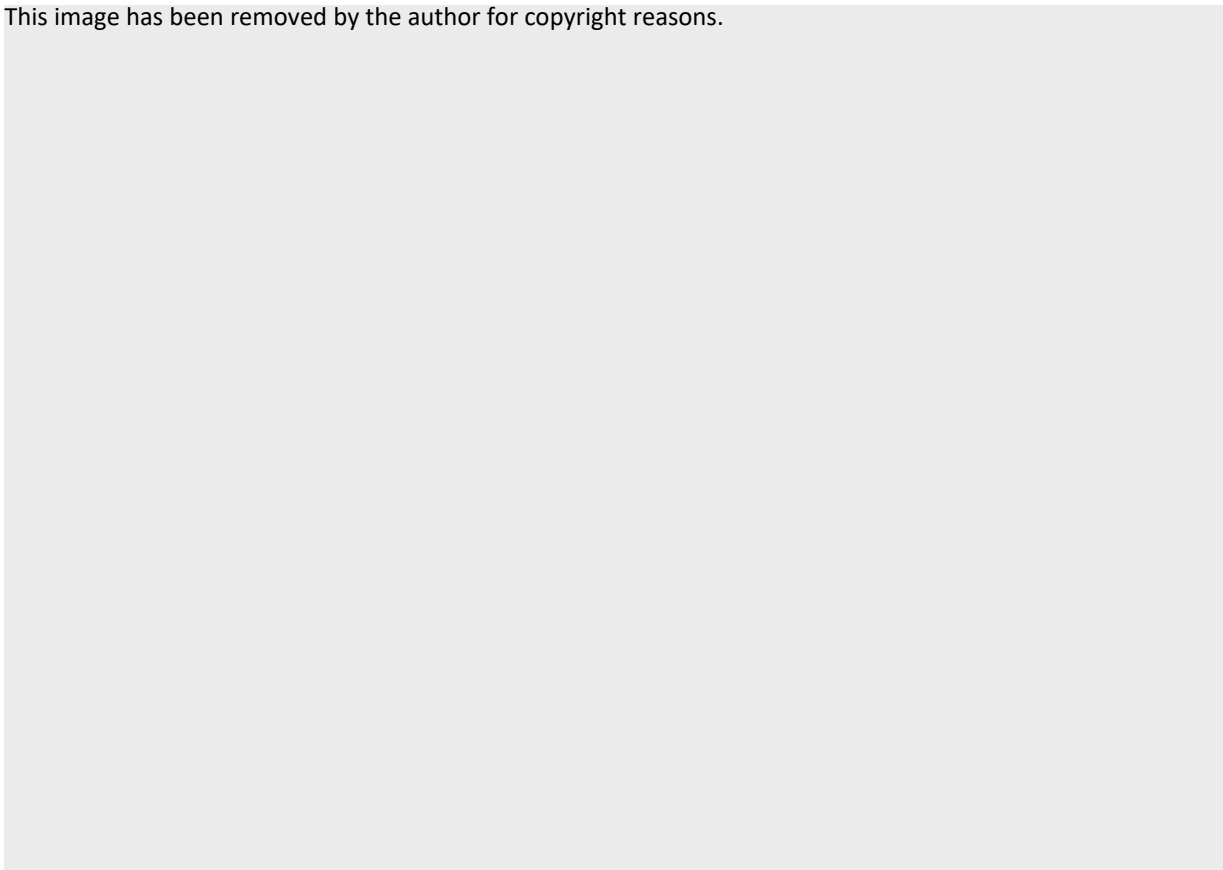
Plate LVII: FS.PHR.12. From Mama 1939, Vol. VI, no. 351.

Plate: LVII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Hocalar.

Henry Cutten.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.21, W. 028; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.015 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, capitals and lower moulding; on field female figure (long robes). Inscription in lower moulding. Broken above.

Inscription: Άσκλας έπόησεν ίκόναν Μητρός. (Trans. Mama 1939). "Asklas made this … for Metros." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1939, Vol. VI, no. 351.

FS.PHR.13. Funerary Stela

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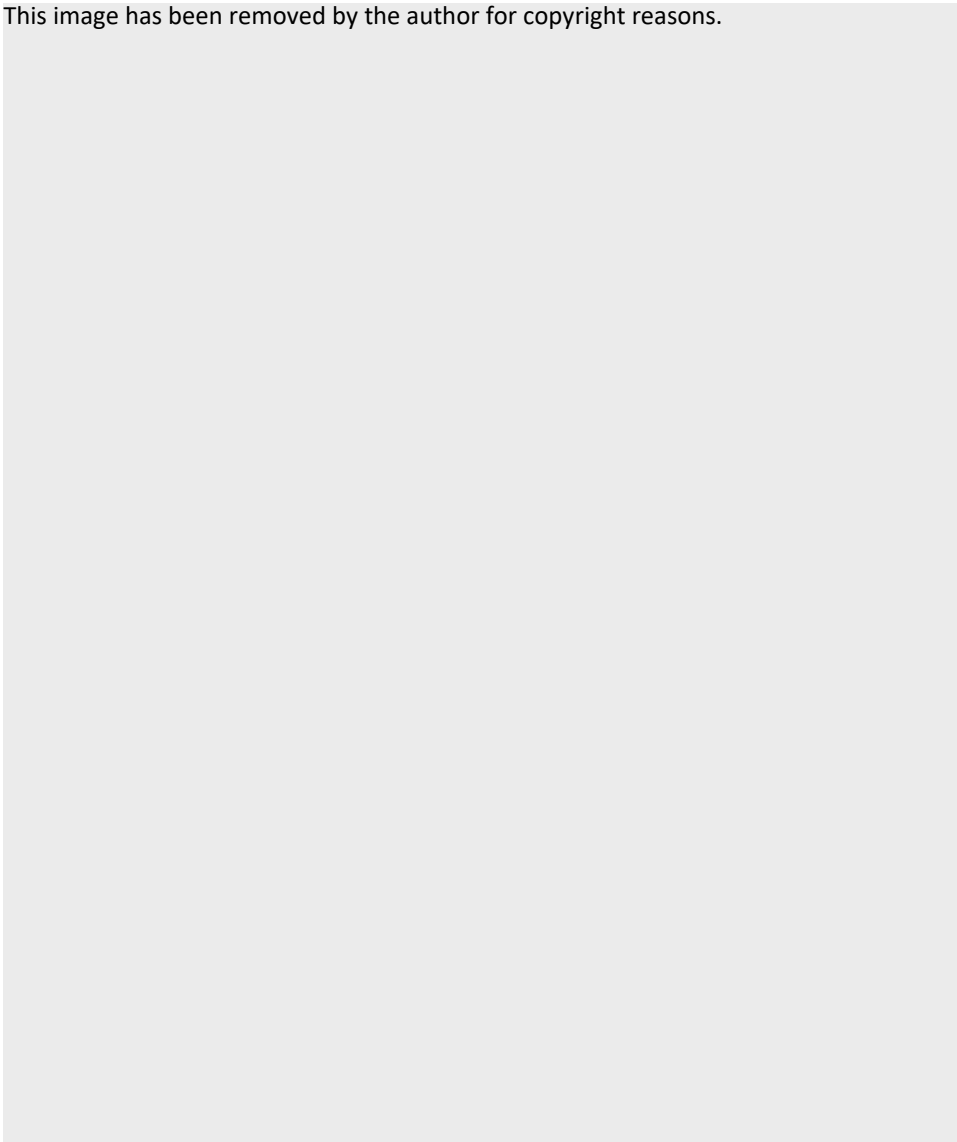
Plate LIVIII: FS.PHR.13. From Mitchell 1993, Fig. 33.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: LVIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Afyon Museum inv. E. 1978.

Find site: Isiklar Koy.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: Unrecorded.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters and large capitals. Inset on field relief of man (l.) and woman (r.) on plinth. Broken above, tenon at base.

Inscription: Text not recorded.

Date: Imperial period

Source: Mitchell 1993, Fig. 33.

Henry Cutten.

C: Figural Stelae from Pisidia

FS.PIS.01. Tatianos Barton stela

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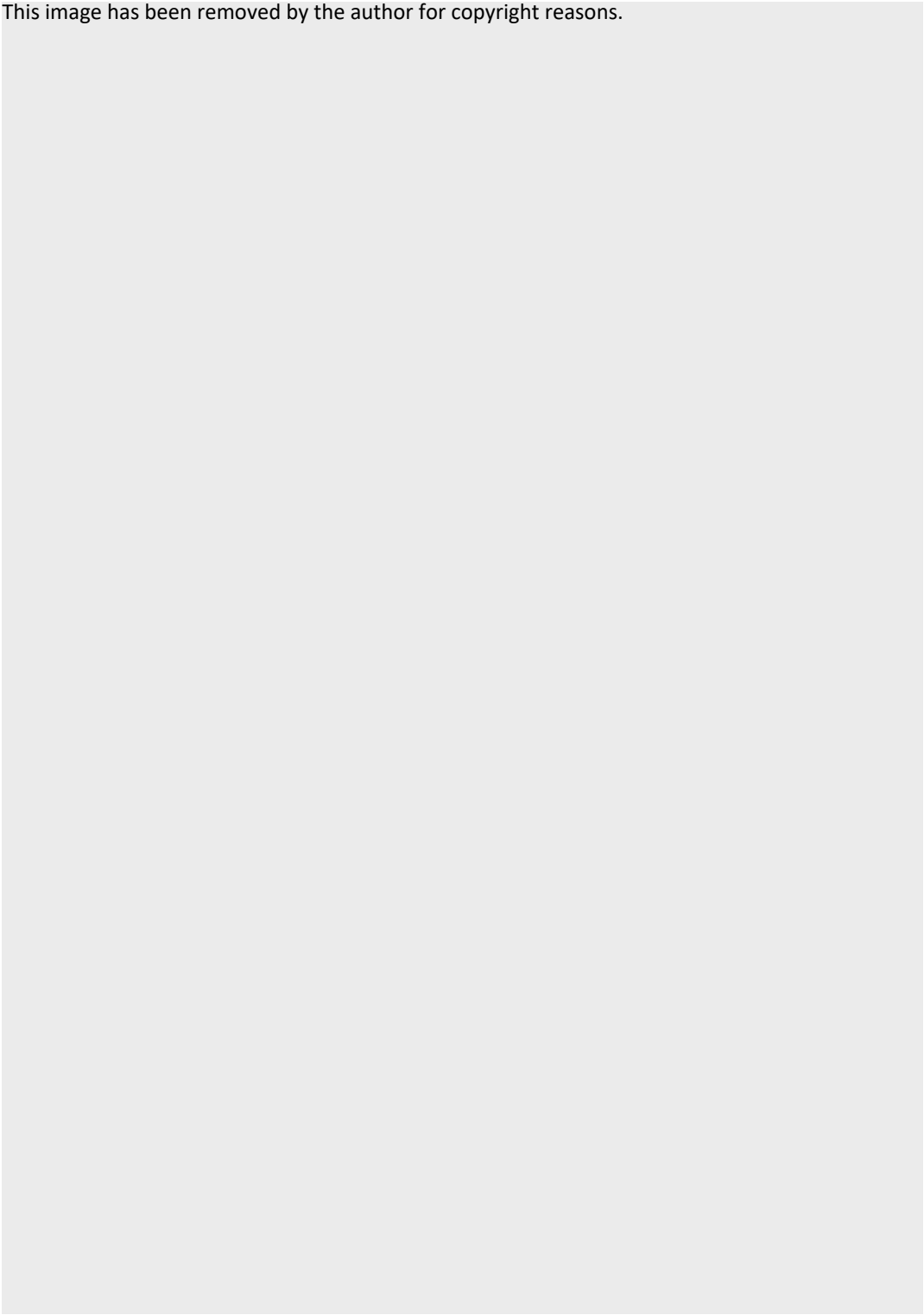
Plate LIX: FS.PIS.01. From Mama 1939, Vol. VI. No. 48.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: LIX.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Denizli.

Material: Coarse Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.85, W. 0.57, Th. 0.09. Letter H. 0.015-0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with arched pediment and tenon, an architectural *aedicule* with plain pilasters. On shaft, banquet scene; 2 reclined beardless figures in front of couch; 3-legged table, dishes on top, bird below; boy sat on plinth (l. of scene), girl (r.) holds a bowl.

Inscription: σννγενικον νε <ι> ώτερον Τατιανω Βάρτον. (Trans. Mama 1939). "… … (in the future/past?) Tatianos Barton." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1939, Vol. VI. No. 48.

FS.PIS.02. Stela with male reclining figure

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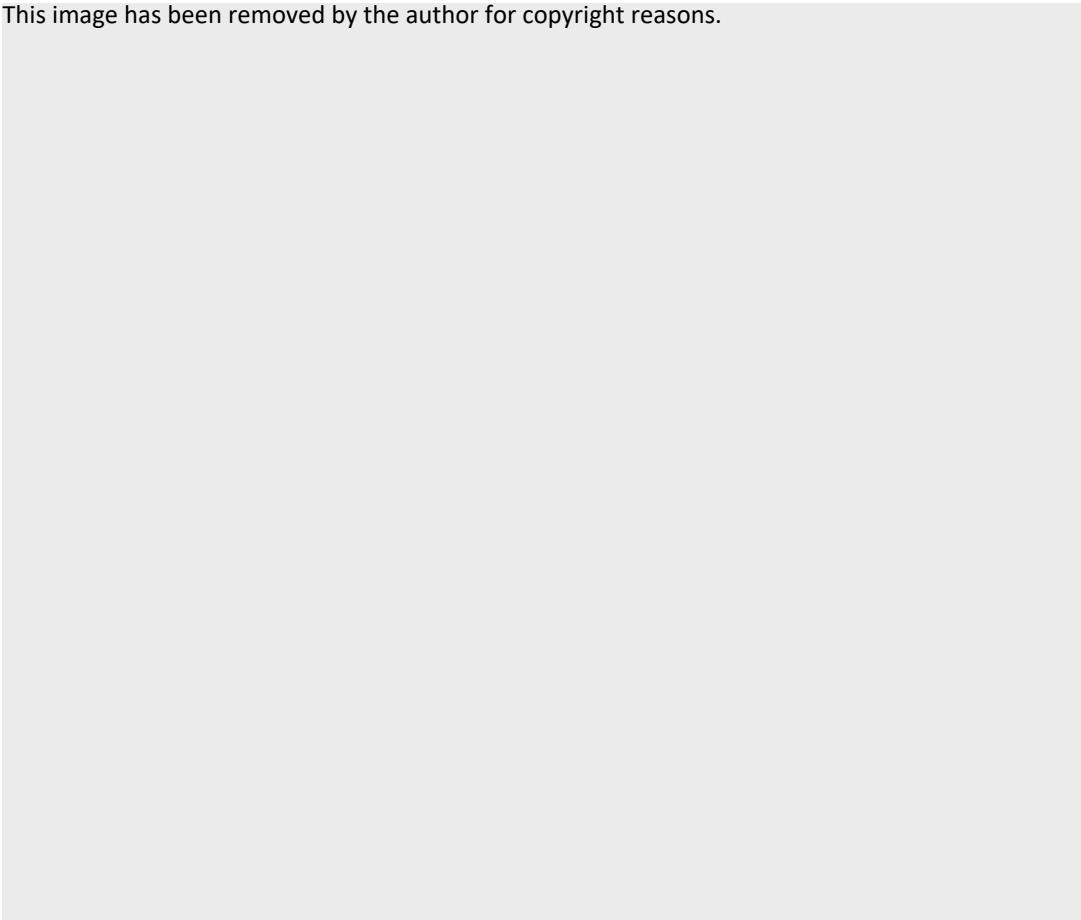
Plate LX: FS.PIS.02. From Mama 1939, Vol. VI. 50.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: LX.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Denizli, in the storehouse, from Honaz.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.71, W. O.76, Th. (edge) 0.13, (field) 0.095 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters and tenon. In field reclined man on couch, lifting cup in r. hand; in front, 4-legged table bearing food and to (r.) dog. Woman seated (l. of scene), holding child on her lap. In a recess below, 3 pigs. Broken above.

Inscription: No surviving text.

Date: 2ⁿᵈ Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1939, Vol. VI. 50.

FS.PIS.03. Morioni and Daphnos stela

Plate: LXI (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Denizli. In the Normal School garden.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.51, W. 0.25, Th. 0.19. Letter H. 0.012-0.015 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters and small, triangular pediment. In recess on field, male figure, holding cup in (r.) hand; dog (r. of figure) reaching upwards, figure's (l.) a *volumen*. Inscription on lower moulding.

Inscription: Μωρίωνι τω και Δάφνω Ἀν-[. . .]ος ὁ αδελφός. (Trans. Mama 1939). "Morioni and Daphnos for An-[…]os, their brother." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1939, Vol. VI, no. 26.

Henry Cutten.

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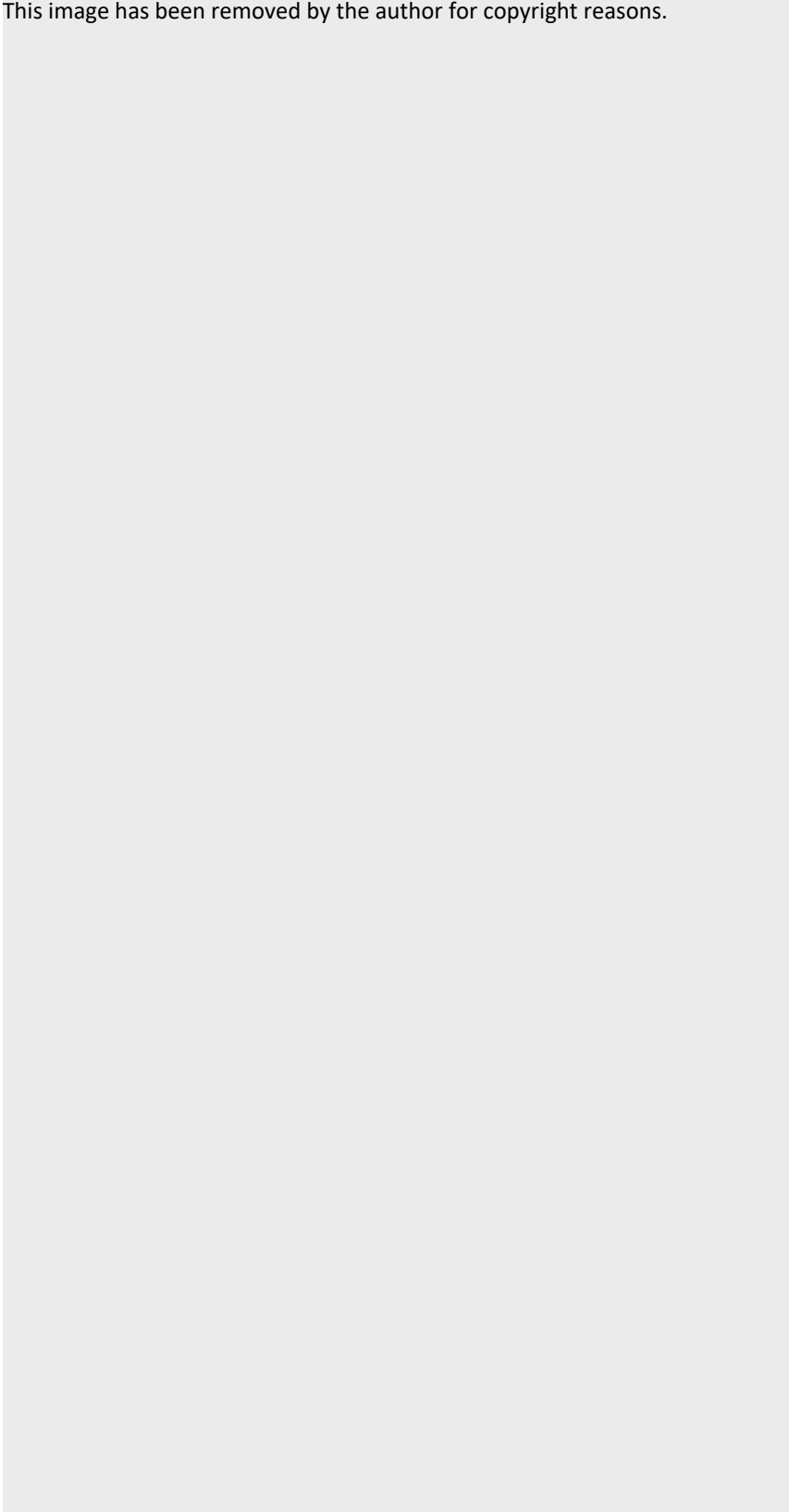
Plate LXI: FS.PIS.03. From Mama 1939, Vol. VI, no. 26.

Henry Cutten.

FS.PIS.04. Menodotos stela

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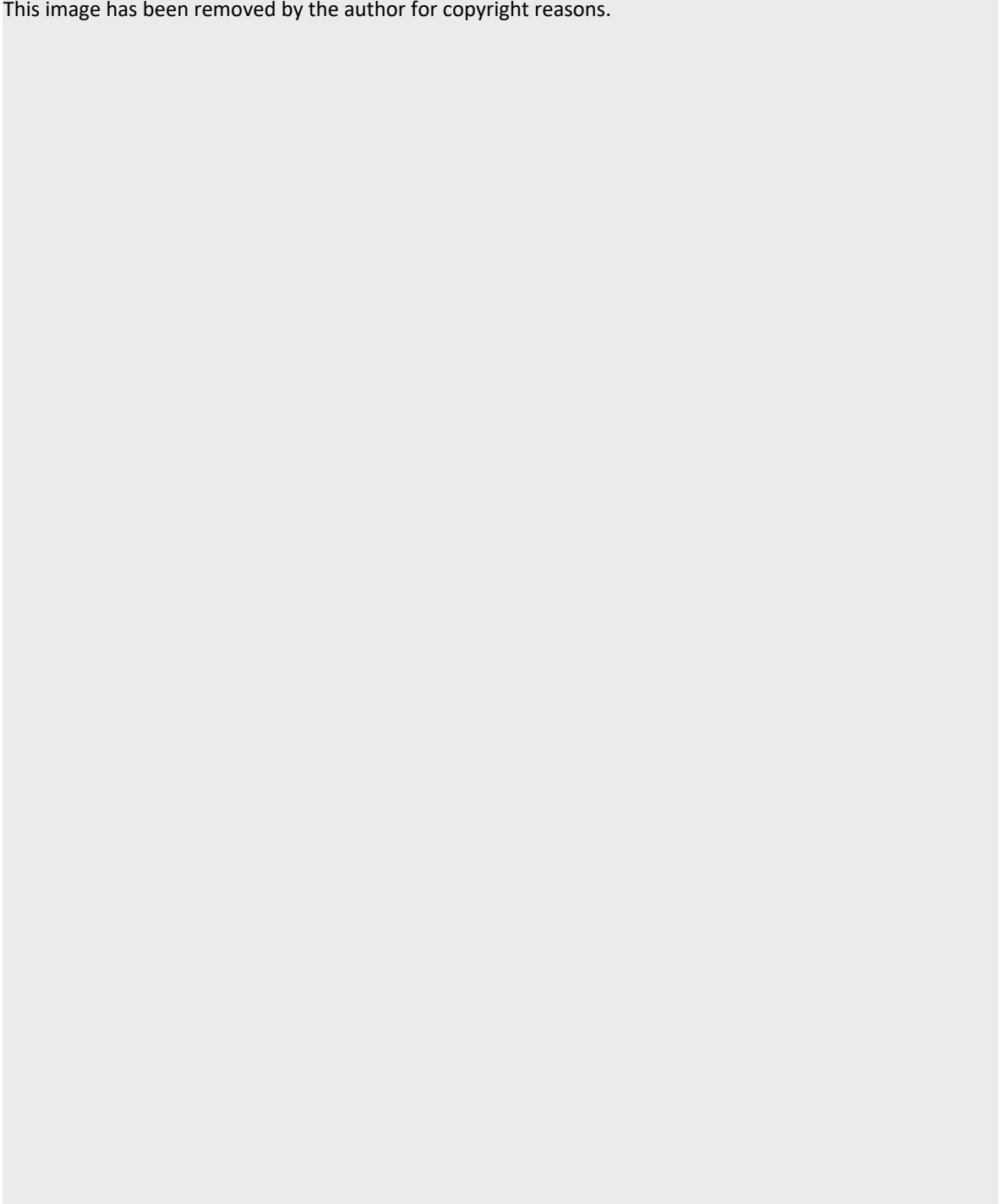
Plate LXII: FS.PIS.04. From Mama 1939, Vol. VI, no. 27.

Plate: LXII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Denizli. In the Normal School garden.

Material: Marble.

Henry Cutten.

Dimensions: H. 0.60, W. 0.47, Th. 0.17. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with plain border, pediment with 5-pointed rosette at centre, acroteria above. Field in recessed panel, at top a horse-shoe arch, man beneath; on his (r.) a *strigil*, (l.) a dog, right paw lifted. Inscription on base of pediment and horse-shoe arch.

Inscription: Μηνόδοτος ήρως χρη[στος] παροδειταις χαιρειν. (Trans Mama 1939). "Menodotos, (the) good hero, passer-by farewell." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1939, Vol. VI, no. 27.

FS.PIS.05. Glukonan stela

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Plate LXIII: FS.PIS.05. From Mama 1939, Vol. VI. No. 47.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: LXIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Denizli, in the Maarif dairesi storehouse, from Honaz.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.77, W. 0.56, Th. 0.11. Letter H. 0.02-0.03 metres.

Description: Stela with Corinthian-style pilasters, stylised capitals; architectural pediment with acroteria. Between side of pediment and the right acroterion, a pitcher. In recessed field, man and a woman on plinth. Inscription above figures and below, on lower moulding.

Inscription: Above recess: παροδείταις χαι(ρ)ιν. (2 figures) Below recess: οἱ ἑταιροι Γλύκω- ναν ἐτείμησαν. (Trans. Mama 1939). "Passer-by farewell! The companions of Glukonan made this." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1939, Vol. VI. No. 47.

FS.PIS.06. Stela with figure in arched recess

Plate: LXIV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Hacieyüplü, in the cemetery.

Material: Coarse Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.66, W. 0.48, Th. 0.29. Letter H. 0.015 metres.

Description: Stela, square at top, with moulding; arched recess on shaft. Male figure within, head broken away, (r.) arm on unidentifiable object; (l.) arm on helmet and shield(?). Base moulding, which was inscribed, broken, only 3 letters preserved (ΚΑΗ) on the base of the right pilaster. Damaged, right side.

Inscription: (ΚΑΗ). (Trans. Mama 1939). "ΚΑΕ" (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1939, Vol. VI. No. 30.

Henry Cutten.

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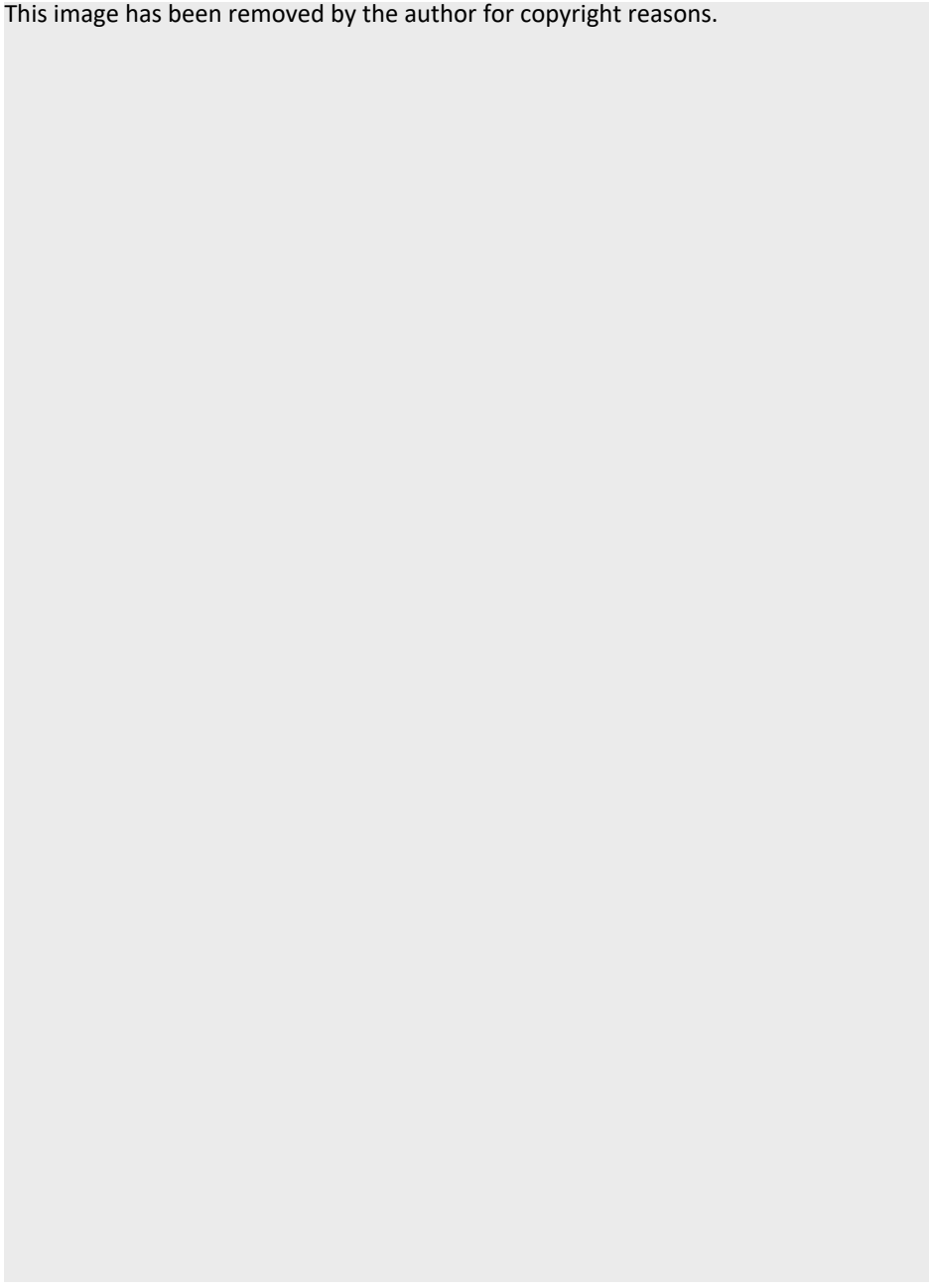
Plate LXIV: FS.PIS.06. From Mama 1939, Vol. VI. No. 30.

FS.PIS.07. Amaranthos, Helias, Ma and Heliodoros stela

Plate: LXV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Ereğli Museum [Inv. no. 1950].

Find site: Buğdaylı?

Material: Pale Sandstone.

Dimensions: H. 1.71; W. (top) 0.51, (bottom) 0.58; Th. 0.37. Letter H. 0.033 metres.

Henry Cutten.

Description: Inscription begins 0.027 metres below top of stela. Below text, horse-shoe arch with horseman figure, in cloak and brandishing a spear (l.), and woman with wreath in raised her right hand (r.). The rider's cloak is coloured red. Complete but now broken into two pieces, damage to both figures, left pilaster; back and sides rough.

Inscription: (v) Γιλης Γιλεους Ἀμάρανθον καὶ Ἡλιάδα την γυναικαν αὐτού και Μαν την θυ-γατέραν αὐτού καὶ Ἡλιόδωρον τον (v) ἀδελφον (vac) αὐτού (vac) φιλοστοργί-ας ενεκεν (vac). "Giles, (son) of Giles, (remembers) Amaranthos and Helias, his wife, and Ma, his daughter, and Heliodoros, his brother, in affection." (Trans. French 2007).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: French 2007, no. 32.

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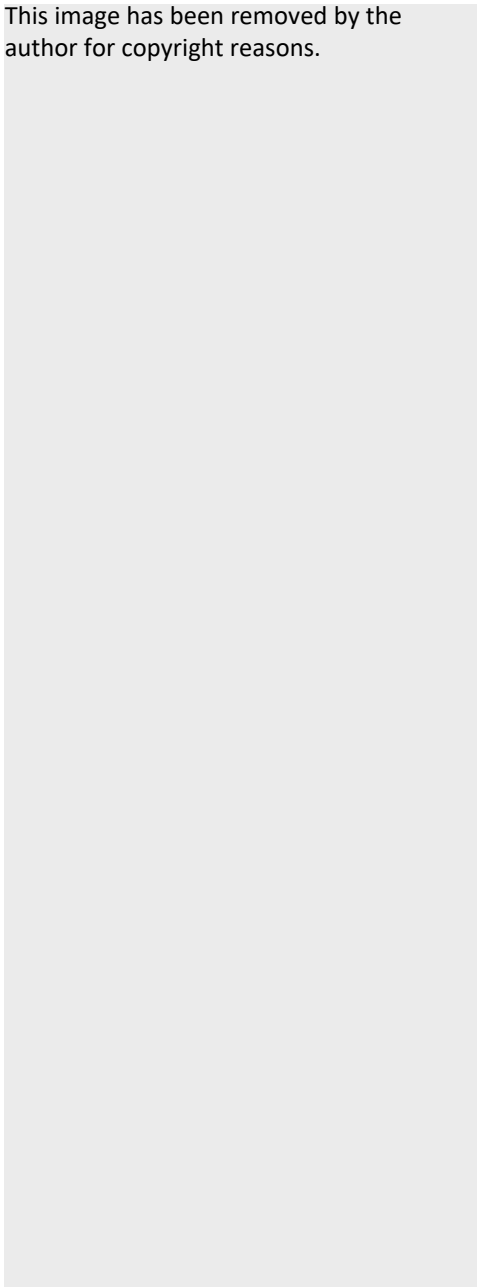
Plate LXV: FS.PIS.07. From French 2007, no. 32.

Henry Cutten.

FS.PIS.08. Eridanos stela

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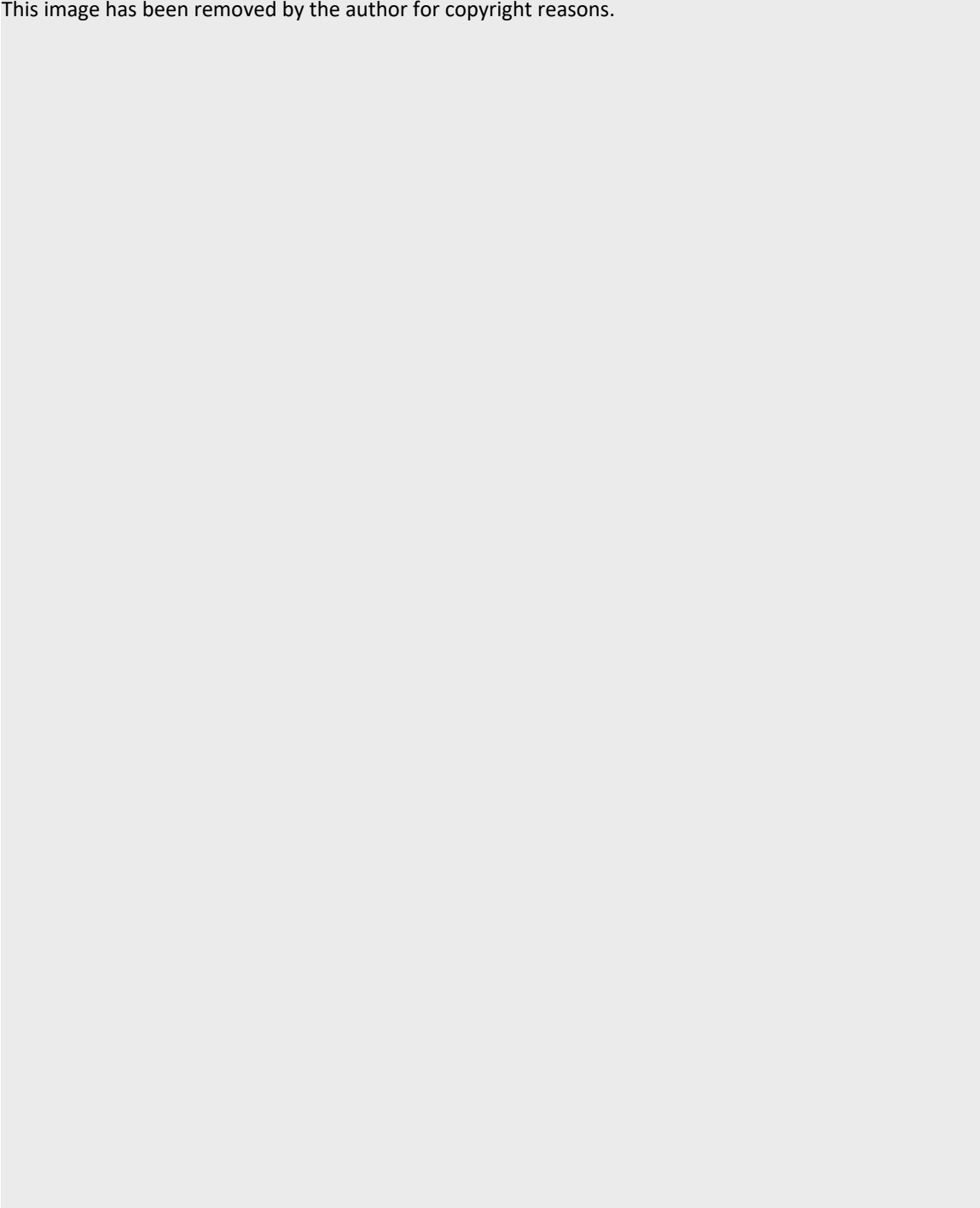
Plate LXVI: FS.PIS.08. From Horsley 2007, no. 213. Pl. 182.

Plate: LXVI.

Museum and Inv. No: Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 19.10.81.

Find site: Unknown Provenance.

Material: Limestone.

Henry Cutten.

Dimensions: H. 0.44 metres; W. 0.36; Th. 0.14. Letter H. 0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with bevelled border and inset field. A *provocator* depicted, left leg padded by greave and loincloth on trailing right led; a tall, rectangular shield wraps around the torso to the top of the shoulders. Right arm padded, holding a short *gladius,* helmet with visor holes on head. Inscription across top border.

Inscription: Ἠριδανος (vv.) νί(κας) IE>. "Eridanos (won) 15 victories." (Trans. Horsley 2007).

Date: 1st Century A.D.

Source: Horsley 2007, no. 213. Pl. 182.

FS.PIS.09. Stela of Eugenes, Menelaos, Tateis and Matia

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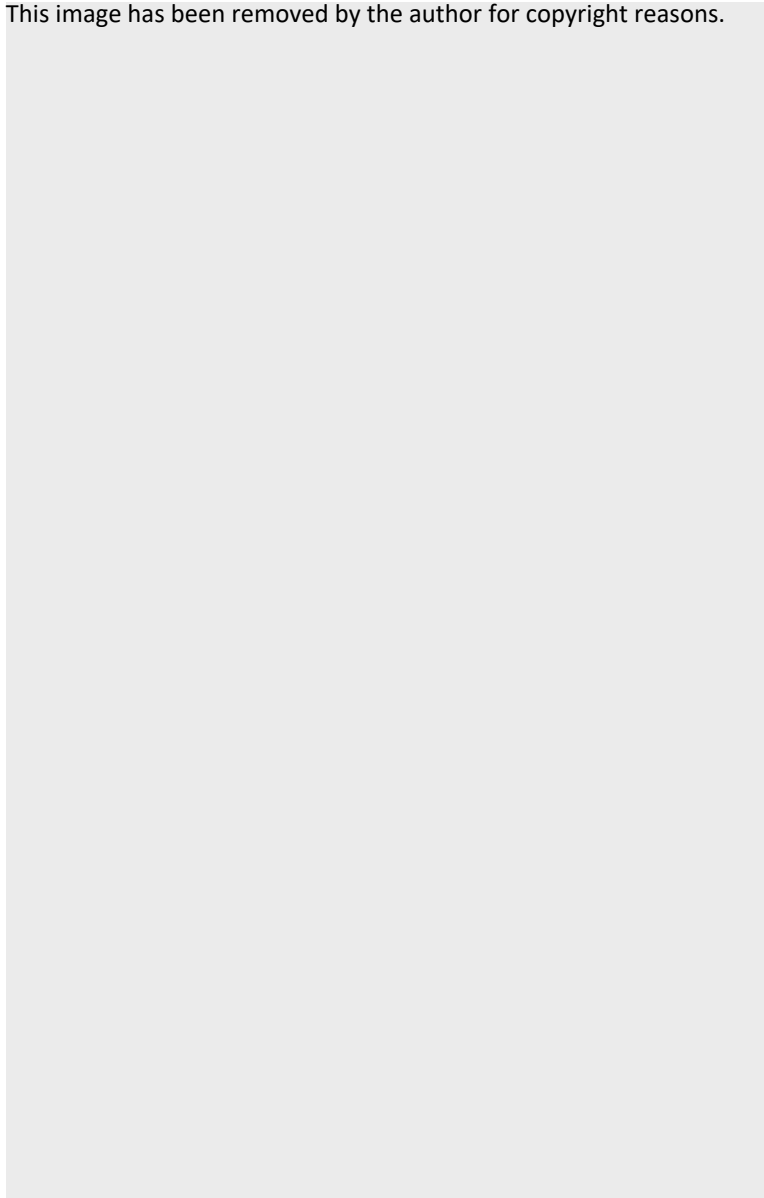
Plate LXVII: FS.PIS.09. From Horsley 2007, no. 214. Pl. 184.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: LXVII.

Museum and Inv. No: Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 215.83.94.

Find site: Unknown Provenance.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.59; W. 0.34; Th. 0.10. Letter H. 0.015 metres.

Description: Stela with arched pediment, with finial. Below, 4 seated figures, feet on plinth, 2 males (l.), two females (r.). The right arm is across their chest of the males, and the lap of female figures. Above the figures, gorgonian. Complete, some damage to base.

Inscription: Ευγένης Μουcαίου (vacat) Μηνέλαοc Ευγένου (vacat) Τατειc Ευγένου (vacat) (4) Ματια Βιγαριδδεωc (vacat) (vacat) "Eugenes, son of Mousaios; Menelaos, son of Eugenes; Tateis, daughter of Eugenes; Matia, daughter of Bigaridis." (Trans. Horsley 2007).

Date: Late 1st/Early 2nd Century A.D.

Source: Horsley 2007, no. 214. Pl. 184.

FS.PIS.10. Marcus Pacuntius stela

Plate: LXVIII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 197.22.97.

Find site: Heybeli Köyü.

Material: White Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.82; W. 0.68; Th. 0.30. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: In field, within recess, 3 figures in relief, male (centre) flanked by 3 females on plinth. Below, inscription fills lower shaft. Broken above.

Inscription: Μᾶρκος Πακούντιος ἀνέστησεν το μνημει-ον ζών καὶ φρονών ἑαυτῷ (4) καὶ τοις τεθνώσ<ι>ν γυναι-κι Ἐλπίδι καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ μητρι μνήμης χάριν (vac.) (leaf) (vac.). "Marcus Pacuntius set up the tomb in his lifetime and while of sound mind for himself, and for his deceased wife Elpis, and his own mother, as a memorial." (Trans. Horsley 2007).

Date: 1st Century A.D.

Source: Horsley 2007, no. 222. Pl. 193.

Henry Cutten.

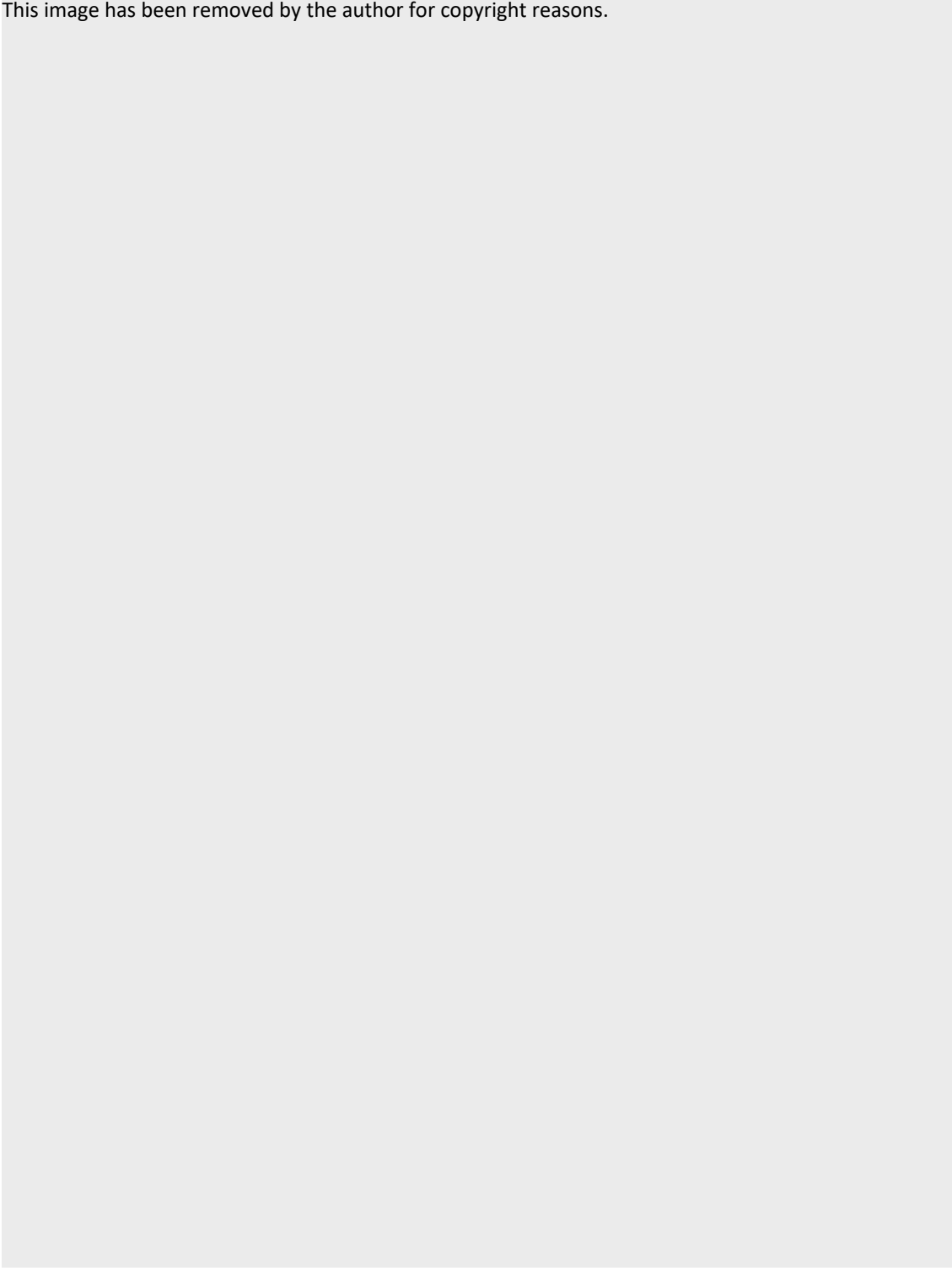This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.
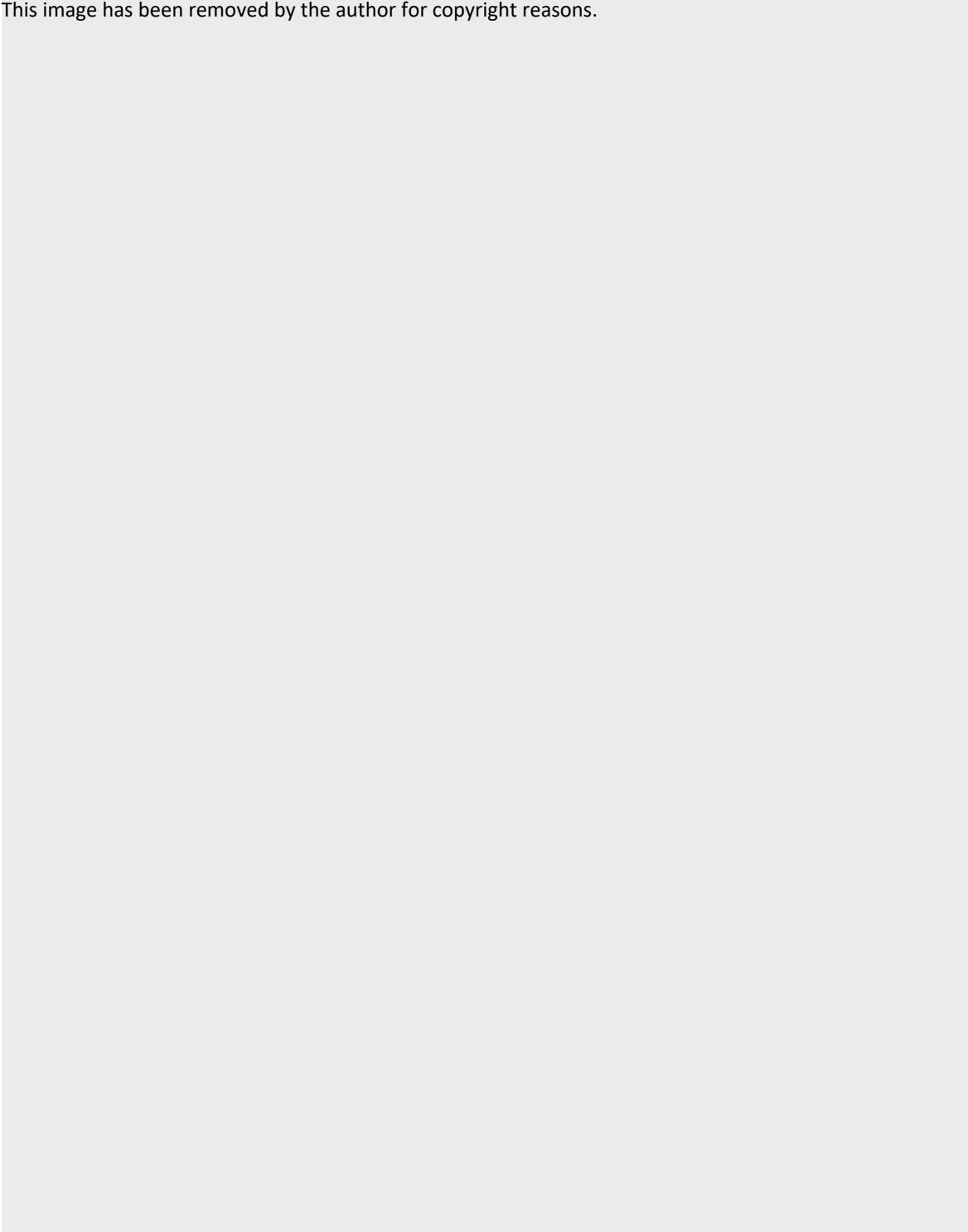
Plate LXVIII: FS.PIS.10. From Horsley 2007, no. 222. Pl. 193.

Henry Cutten.

FS.PIS.11. Artemis Ephesia stela

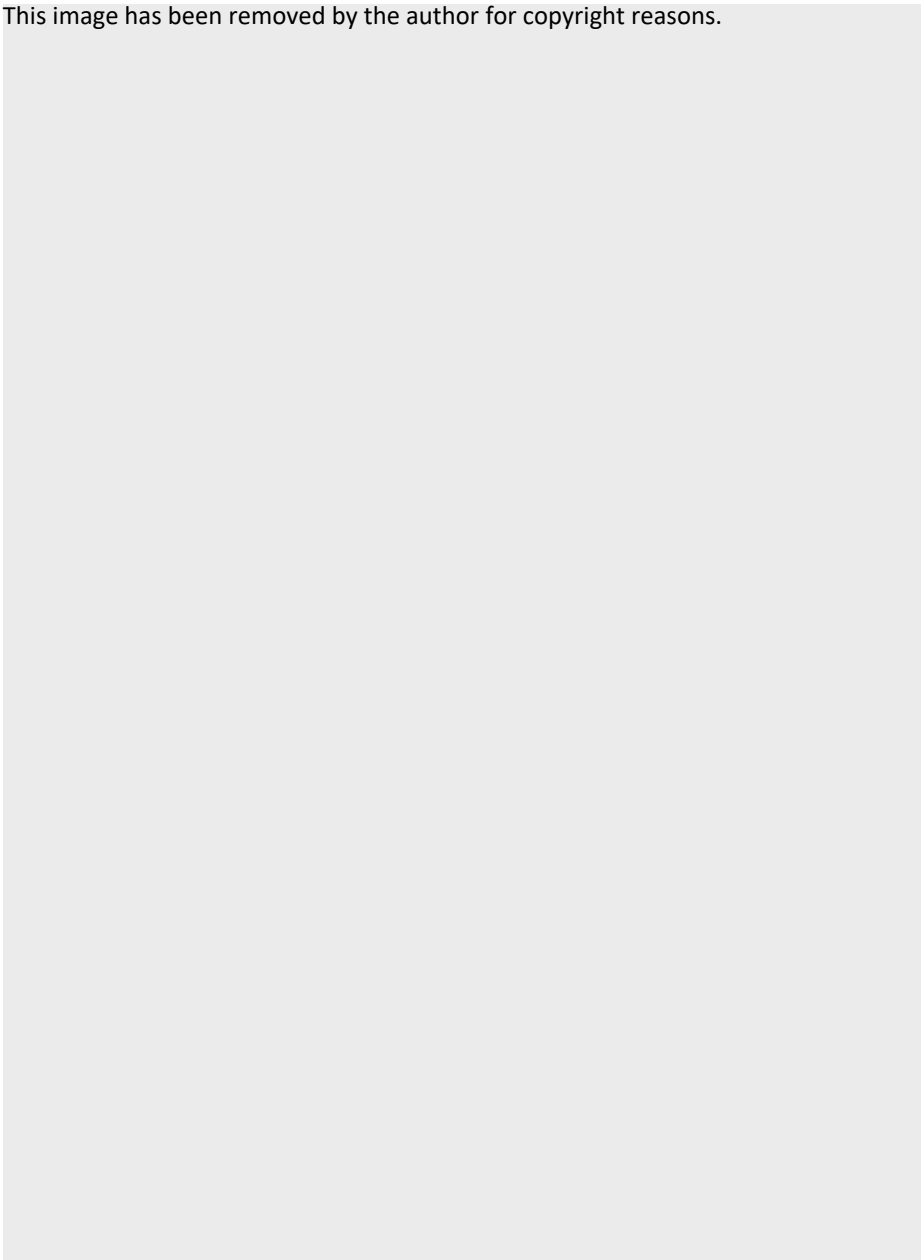This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.
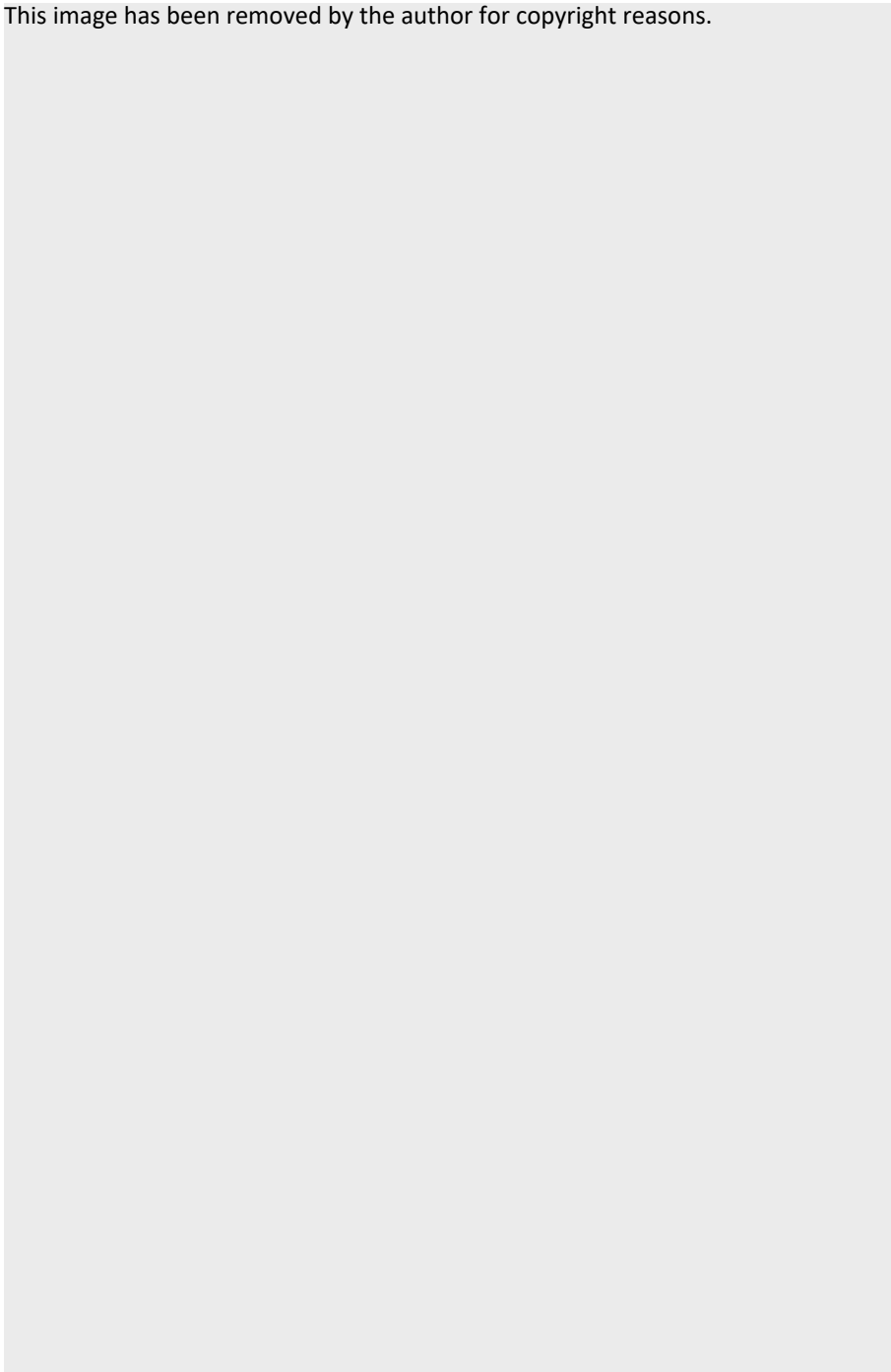
Plate LXIX: FS.PIS.11. From Horsley 1992, pl. xxxi.

Plate: LXIX.

Museum and Inv. No: Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 415.34.74.

Find site: Cremna.

Material: Limestone.

Henry Cutten.

Dimensions: H. 1.05; W. 0.55; Th. 0.14. Letter H. 0.012 metres.

Description: Stela with Corinthian-style columns, stylised capitals; vaulted pediment, ornately decoration inside and above, incl. acroteria and finial. On field, inset, clean shaven man standing (r.) of cylindrical altar, making offering/sacrificing a bull, holding *patera* in raised hand (r.). Above, left of bull, seated female figure. Inscription at base of shaft. Stela complete, minimal pitting and staining on lower shaft.

Inscription: Τροκονδαν Οσαειτος του Έρμαίου τον παρειληψότα κατα διαδοχην ίερέα ‘Αρτέμιδος Έφείας δια γένους, (4) οϊτινες κατεσκεύασαν τόν τε ναον και το αγαλμα, τετηρηκότα άγνώς και θεοπρεπώς τα ευρεθέντα και παραδοθέντα ίεροτελή μυστή-(8)ρια της θου και εις αυξησιν πλείονα άγειωχότα, και Αρτεμειν Τροκονδον την έαυτου θυγατέρα την και αύτην παραλαμβάνο-(vac.) υσαν την ίερατείαν (12) και όμοίως ενσ-(vac.) εβονσαν. (vac.) Ασύριος και Οσαεις και Τροκονδας και Πια και Ερμαστα οί Ερπιον τον έαντών πάπον και την έαντών μητέρα ενσεβείας και τειμης ενεκεν.

"(They honoured) Trokondas, son of Osaeis and grandson of Hermaios, the priest of Artemis Ephesia, having received it (the priesthood) by succession through his family, whose members provided both the temple and the statue. With integrity and in a manner befitting the goddess he watched over the solemn mysteries of the goddess which were discovered and transmitted, and he celebrated them for her/their greater magnification. And (they honoured) Artemeis daughter of Trokondas, his own daughter, who also herself taking over the priesthood is likewise acting piously. As(s)yrios, Osaeis, Trokondas, Pia, and Hermesta, the children of Herpias, (honoured) their own grandfather and their mother as a mark of piety and respect." (Trans. Horsley 1992).

Date: 1st Century A.D.

Source: Horsley 1992, Pl. xxxi.

FS.PIS.12. Dionysios stela

Plate: LXX (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 6366.

Find site: Burdur District.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.85; W. 0.48; Th. 0.12. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Inscription across width of upper element above a recessed field, with 3 figures, male at centre flanked by 2 females. Broken above and below and right.

Inscription: (vac.) Διονυσίῳ Διοδω[ρου(?)] (2) [. .]δος (v.) Έλπις Κοίντου καὶ [- - -] [θυγ]άτηρ Μ[...]Ις μνήμης χ[άριν]. "For Dionysios son of Diodoros(?), grandson of N, Elpis daughter of Quintus and N (their?) daughter (erected this) as a memorial." (Trans. Horsley 2007).

Date: 1st Century A.D.

Henry Cutten.

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Plate LXX: FS.PIS.12. From Horsley 2007, no. 211. Pl. 179.

Henry Cutten.

FS.PIS.13. Lucius Varius Neos stela.

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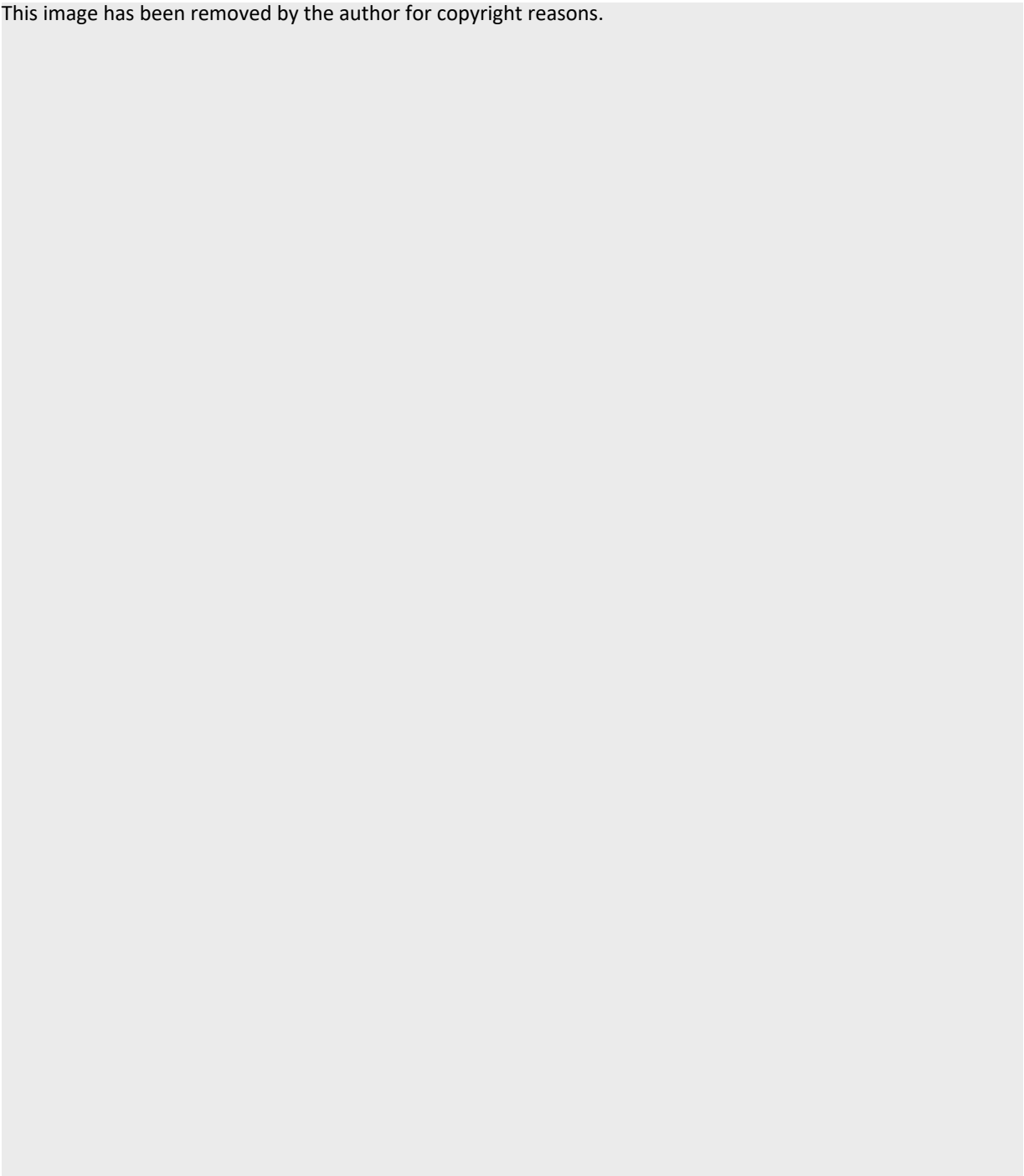
Plate LXXI: FS.PIS.13. From Horsley 2007, no. 229. Pl. 201.

Plate: LXXI.

Museum and Inv. No: Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. N/R.

Find site: Capakli.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.97; W. 0.78; Th. 0.37. Letter H. 0.015 metres.

Henry Cutten.

Description: 3 figures in relief on plinth; female (l.), males (centre and r. holding scroll). Broken above and left, reverse is concave.

Inscription: Λεύκιος Ουάριος Κοίντου Νέος (2) έαυτον και την σύμβιον και τον υίον μνή-(vv.) μης χάριν (vacat). "Lucius Varius Neos, son of Quintus, (set up) himself and his wife and his son, as a memorial." (Trans. Horsley 2007).

Date: Late 1st-early 2nd Century A.D.

Source: Horsley 2007, no. 229. Pl. 201.

FS.PIS.14. Menneas stela

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Plate LXXII: FS.PIS.14. From Horsley 2007, no. 218. Pl. 189.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: LXXII.

Museum and Inv. No: Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1087.

Find site: Komama.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.50; W. 0.44; Th. 0.17. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, capitals; deep inset niche on field with male figure on base, containing inscription. Broken above.

Inscription: Μεννέας (2) γάλλος ἑαυτον. "Menneas the Gallos (set up) himself." (Trans. Horsley 2007).

Date: 1st Century A.D.

Source: Horsley 2007, no. 218. Pl. 189.

FS.PIS.15. Domna stela

Plate: LXXIII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 57.

Find site: Konya.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.78; W. 0.43; Th. 0.16-0.19. Letter H. 0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters; vaulted pediment, with acroteria(?); within (damaged) female figure in relief and incised spindle-and-distaff. Inscription on inset field. Broken lower left side and acroteria damaged, surface pitted.

Inscription: Θουθους Σιλανου και Έγνα-τία Μενε-(5)δήμου Δόμνη θυγατρι, μνήμης χάριν. "Thouthous, son of Silenus, and Egnatia, daughter of Menedeoms, (erected this) for Domna/e, (their) daughter, in memory." (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mclean 2002a, no. 79. Fig. 85.

Henry Cutten.

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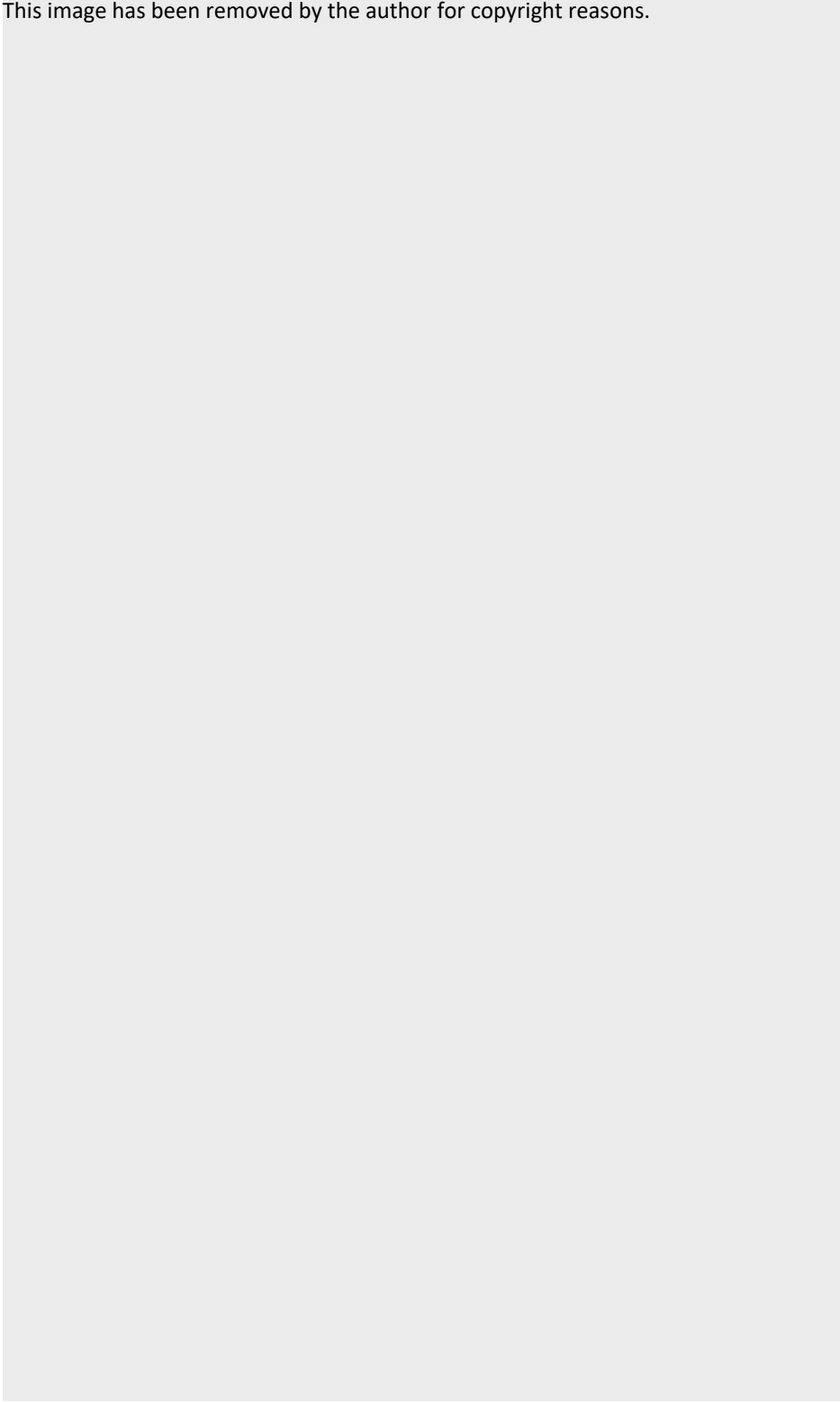
Plate LXXIII: FS.PIS.15. From Mclean 2002a, no. 79. Fig. 85.

FS.PIS.16. Elinous Stela

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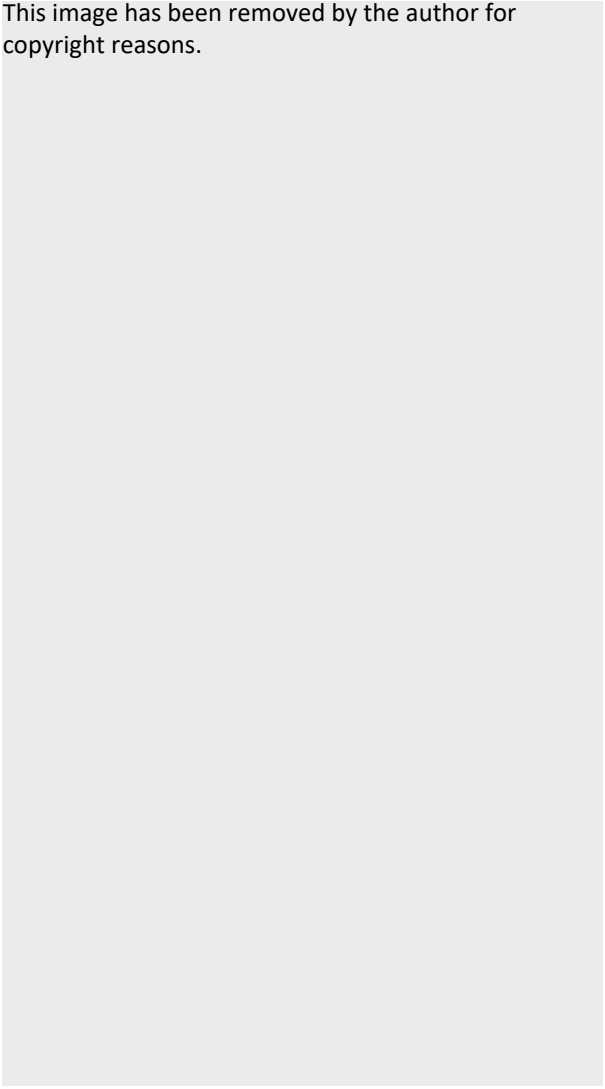
Plate LXXIV: FS.PIS.16. From Mclean 2002a, no. 98. Fig. 100.

Plate: LXXIV.

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 227.

Find site: Konya.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.56; W. 0.29; Th. 0.20. Letter H. 0.010-0.015 metres.

Description: Stela with triangular pediment and enlarged lower moulding; pediment has acroteria and finial (broken), within, a trisected roundel. On narrower field, 2 figures a youth(?) and woman in relief, on plinth. Inscription at base of pediment and below figures, on lower moulding. Complete (finial damage aside).

Henry Cutten.

Inscription: Ελινους Γαΐου Λουκίου Ούεθιου έαυτῆ ζων καί θυγ[α]- (lower moulding) τρί Άφροδιτουδι, μνήμης χάριν. "Elinous, (wife) of Gaius Lucius Vettius (?), (erected this) for herself, during (her) lifetime, and for her daughter, Aphroditous, in memory." (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mclean 2002a, no. 98. Fig. 100.

FS.PIS.17. Amata stela

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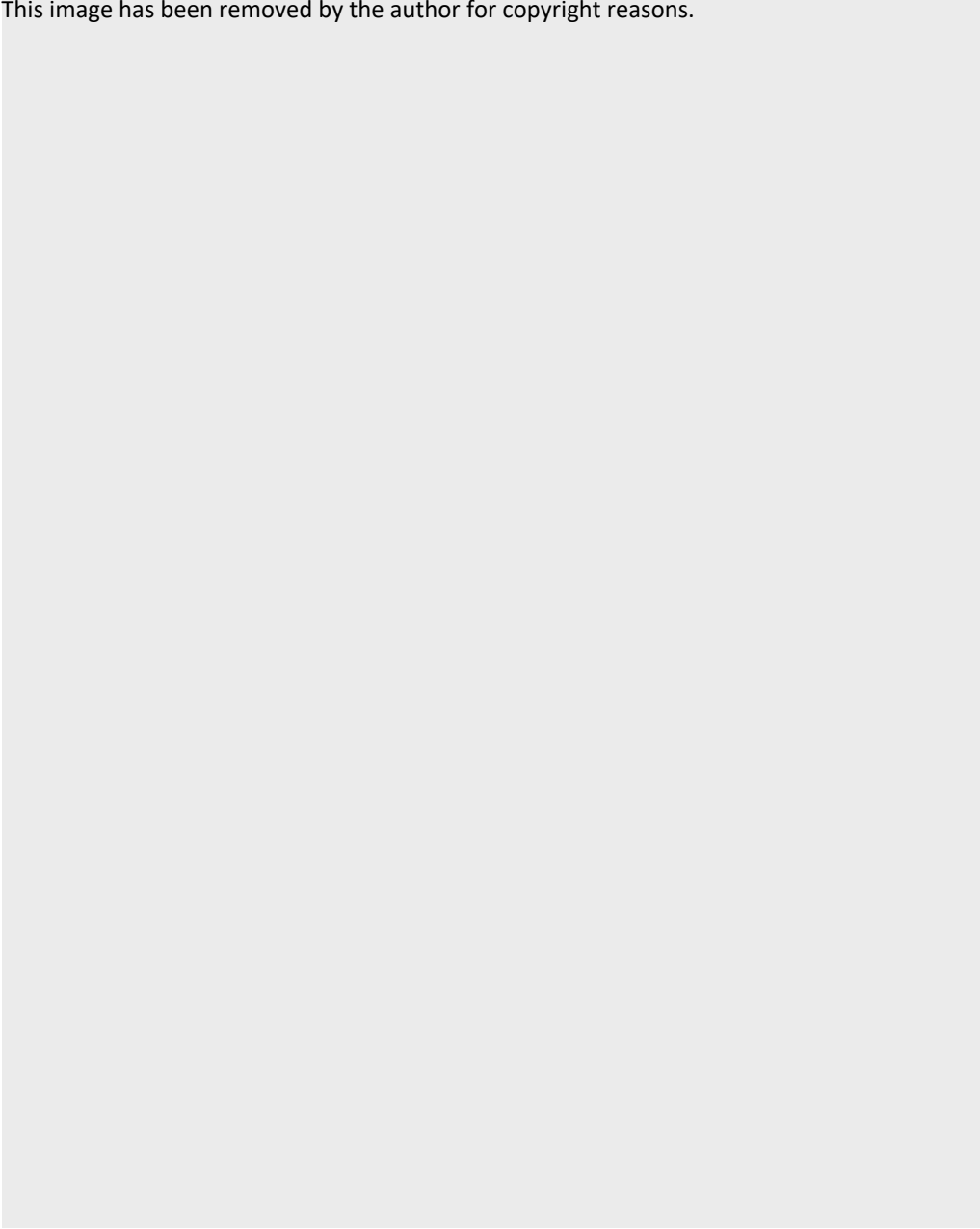
Plate LXXV: FS.PIS.17. From Mclean 2002a, no. 104. Fig. 106.

Plate: LXXV.

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 233.

Find site: Konya.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.48; W. 0.65; Th. 0.20. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Rectangular, bordered stela with pilasters, each with a bearded man beside a tree. Relief at centre depicts funerary banquet; woman at foot of a couch, carrying recumbent figure.

Henry Cutten.

Below couch, 2 small scale women, one seated in profile, other standing beside a tripod, holding vessel in left hand. Inscription on entablature. Broken bottom right.

Inscription: [- - -] ΔΕΛ[- -] Ἀμάταν, τή[ν θυγατέρ]α αὐτων, μνήμη[ς] vac. χάριν. ". . . (erected this image of) Amata, their daughter, in memory." (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mclean 2002a, no. 104. Fig. 106.

FS.PIS.18. Dokime stela

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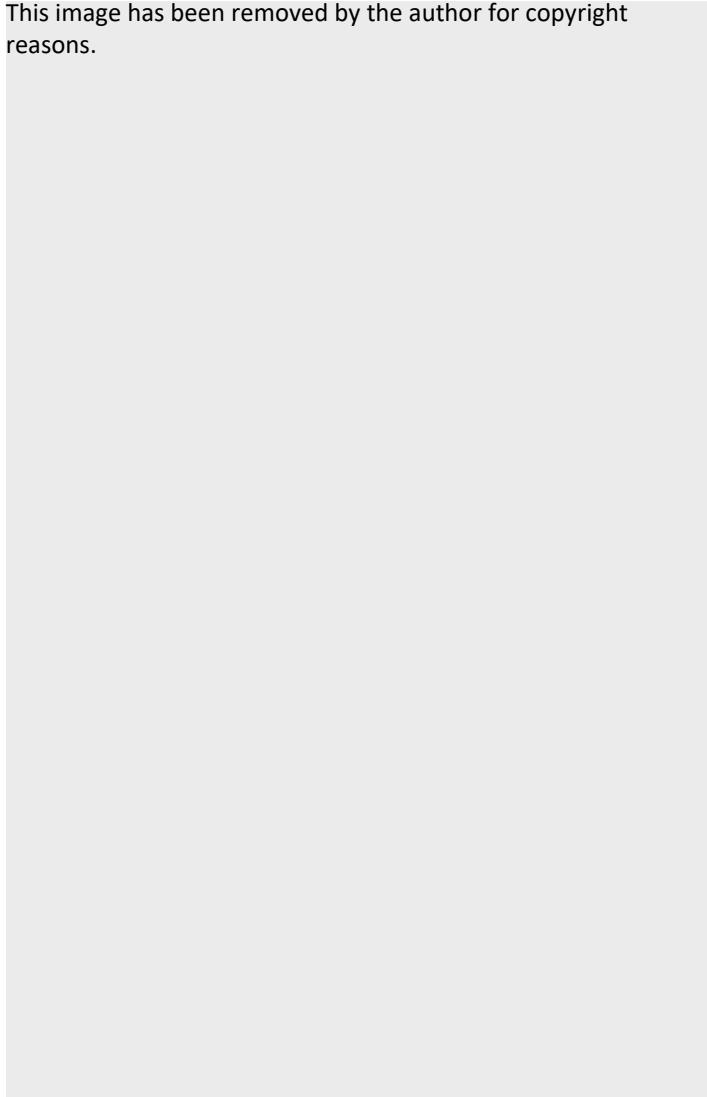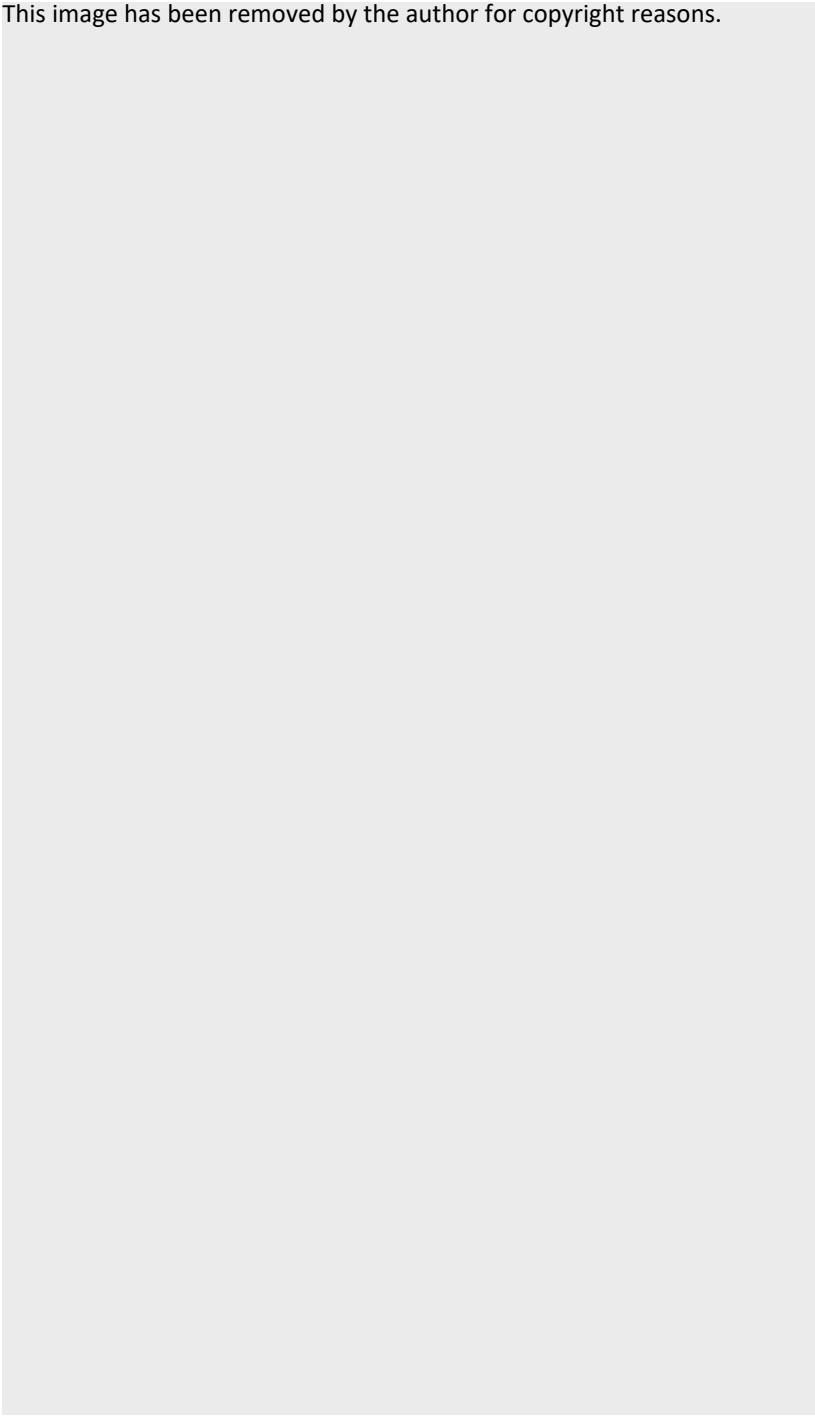
Plate LXXVI: FS.PIS.18. From Mclean 2002a, no. 108. Fig. 109.

Plate: LXXVI.

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1998.5.5.

Henry Cutten.

Find site: Konya.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.91; W. 0.49-0.51; Th. 0.29. Letter H. 0.035-0.04 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, capitals; vaulted pediment with acroteria. Floral pattern above, eagle with outspread wings within. Field incised panel, with woman (l.) and man (r.), inscription below. Broken below.

Inscription: Μαμας Δοκί-[μη θυ]γατρι. "Mamas (erected this) for Dokime, (his) daughter." (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mclean 2002a, no. 108. Fig. 109.

FS.PIS.19. Egnatia stela.

Plate: LXXVII and LXXVIII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1989.8.1.

Find site: Hatunsaray (Katin Serai).

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 3.25; W. 0.59; th. 0.33. Letter H.0.03-0.035 metres.

Description: Tall stela, triangular pediment, acroteria and finial – decorated with vine and tendril border. Badly damaged lion(?) within. bird on each acroterion. Inscription at top of shaft, with 2 *aediculae* relief scenes below; 1) upper, female (l.) and male (r.), gorgoneion or head of family member above and 2 crescent moons; 2) lower, male head suspended over 4 figures (woman, woman, man, woman). Complete.

Inscription: Πωπας ΙΕΚΟΣ υίός ἀνέστησεν Ἐγνατίᾳ Ἱερωνύμου θυγατρί, μνήμης χά νας. ριν. (first relief) (second relief). "Papas, son of [so and so], erected (this) for Egnatia, daughter of Hieronymos, in memory." (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: 2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mclean 2002a, no. 113. Figs. 116-117.

Henry Cutten.

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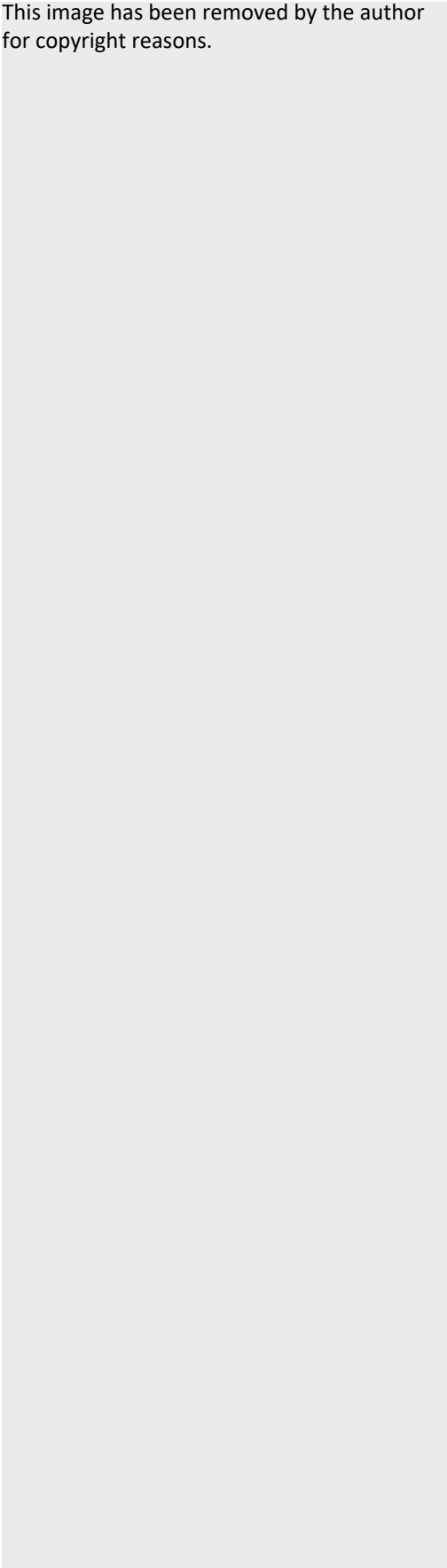
Plate LXXVII: FS.PIS.19. From Mclean 2002a, no. 113. Figs. 116-117.

Henry Cutten.

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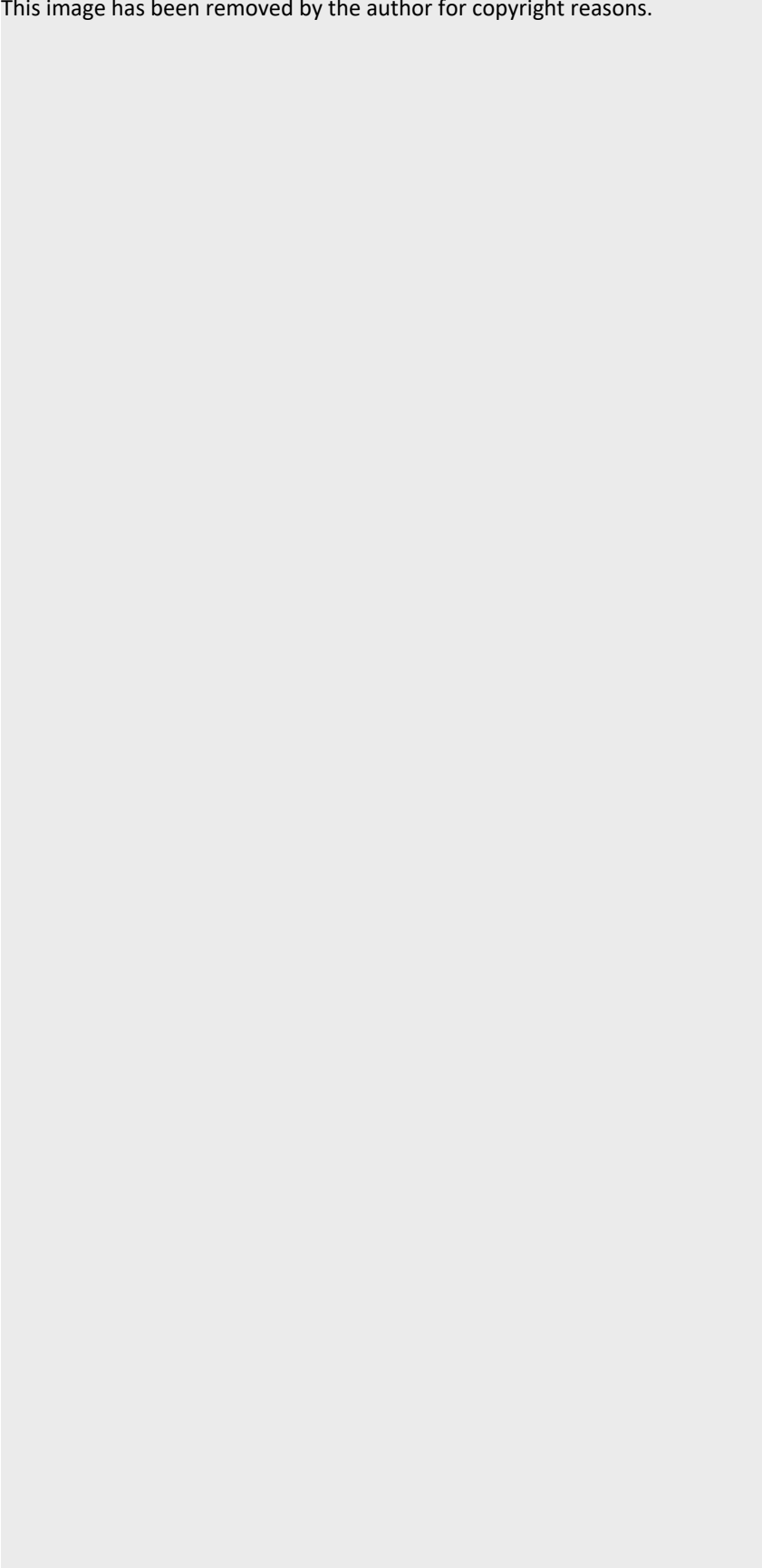
Plate LXXVIII: FS.PIS.19. From Mclean 2002a, no. 113. Figs. 116-117.

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FS.PIS.20. Otacilia Grapte Pupiliae stela

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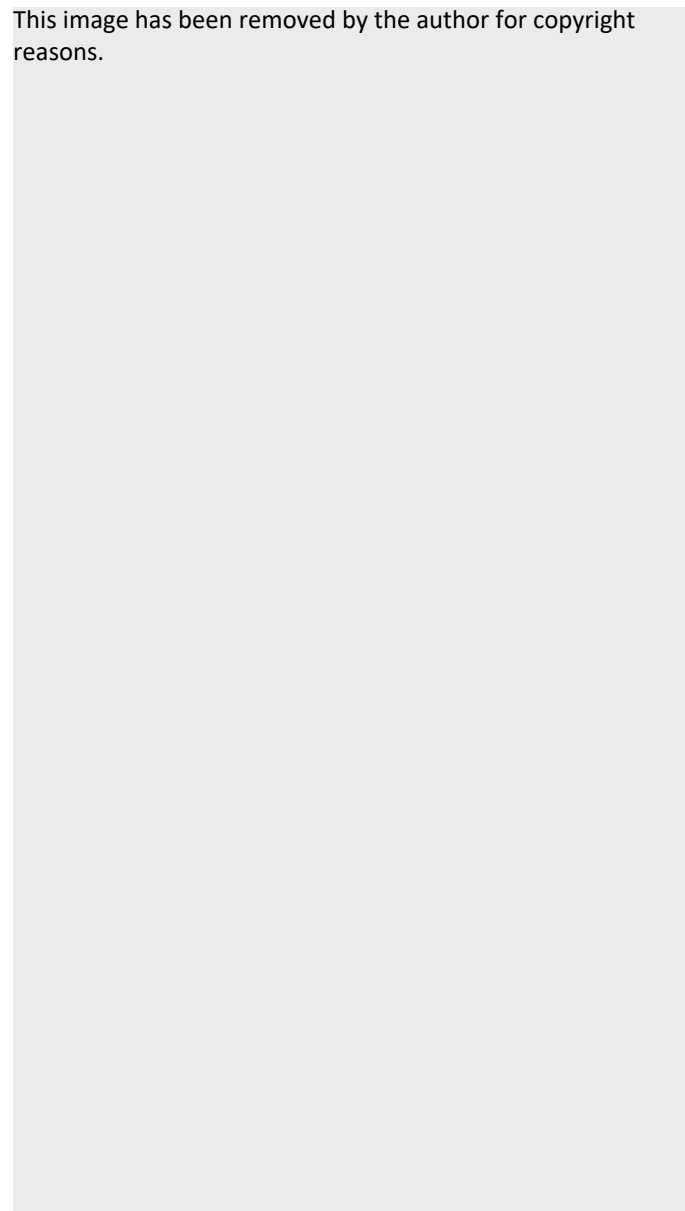
Plate LXXIX: FS.PIS.20. From Mama 1962, Vol. VIII, no. 24.

Plate: LXXIX.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Hatunsaray (Katin Serai).

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 1.05; W. 0.49; Th. 0.29. Letter H. Lines 1-3 0.02; lines 4-5 0.045 metres.

Description: Stela with *aedicula* on field, with acroteria; female figure within, hand (l.) on a jar, (r.) on a pillar; double mirror on right of shaft. Inscription on upper shaft and below relief. Defaced above, sides.

Henry Cutten.

Inscription: [- - -]hus SOC. P[.]V[.]LL[..] I [Ota]cilia Grapte [P]upilia[e] I [....] iae monomentu[m] l [d]e su[o] I I (5) uixit ann(os) XXI. (Trans. Mama 1962). "... and Otacilia Grapte Pupiliae built this monument for their daughter(?) who lived 21 years." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1962, Vol. VIII, no. 24.

FS.PIS.21. Gidissis stela

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Plate LXXX: FS.PIS.21. From Mclean 2002a, no. 131. Figs. 140-141.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: LXXX.

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1971.34.437.

Find site: Avdan.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.37; W. 0.48; Th. 0.16. Letter H. 0.015-0.03 metres.

Description: On field, *aedicula* (with acroteria); bearded man on plinth holding (knife/sword?), wearing boots; and a female on second, smaller plinth. Inscription above arch.

Inscription: Ταρασις Λονγείνου άνέστησεν την μ[η-]τέρα αύτου Γιδισσιν Πιγραμουσιο<υ> κ[αί] Λονγείνον αδελφόν αύτου στρα-τιώτην, (5) μ(νήμης) χ(άριν). "Tarasis, son of Longinus, erected (this) for his mother, Gidissis, daughter of Pigramousios, and for Longinus, (his) brother, a soldier, in memory." (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mclean 2002a, no. 131. Figs. 140-141.

FS.PIS.22. Apollo and Mania stela

Plate: LXXXI (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1986.4.1.

Find site: Dikilitas.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.50; W. 0.235; Th. 0.065 metres. Letter H. N/R.

Description: Stela with lower moulding and tenon; vaulted pediment, plain acroteria and finial. On field, relief of man holding ox by one its horns(?), arm (r.) raised, holding item related to sacrifice(?). A second man (centre), and woman (r.) stand before the ox, the former off balance, the latter holding the animal's hoof with her right hand(?). Inscription in lower shaft, around relief. Complete.

Inscription: Μέναν-δρος Κάστορο-ς Άπόλλωνι καί Μανία τῆ έαυτο<υ> άνυψιά γενομένης θεάς, άνέθηκεν, <μνήμης> χάριν. "Menandros, son of Castor, set this up for Apollo and for Mania, his cousin, having become deified, in (memory)." (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mclean 2002a, no. 150. Fig. 165.

Henry Cutten.

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Plate LXXXI: FS.PIS.22. From Mclean 2002a, no. 150. Fig. 165.

FS.PIS.23. Babeis stela

Plate: LXXXII.

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. N/R.

Find site: Unknown Provenance.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.70; W. 0.37; Th. 0.19. Letter H. 0.015 metres.

Description: Stela with border; triangular pediment with acroteria (broken above, and right), a whorl of curved lines, centre. On shaft, inset panel, containing man, holding sickle in hand (r.) and woman. Inscription on base of the stela. Broken acroteria and right-hand side, surface pitted.

Inscription: Μειρος Βαβει γυν[αι-]κί καί έατῷ ζω[ν/ντες (?)]. "Meiros (erected this) for Babeis, his wife, and for himself, while [he was/they were] still alive." (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: 1st Century A.D.

Source: Mclean 2002a, no. 167. Fig. 189.

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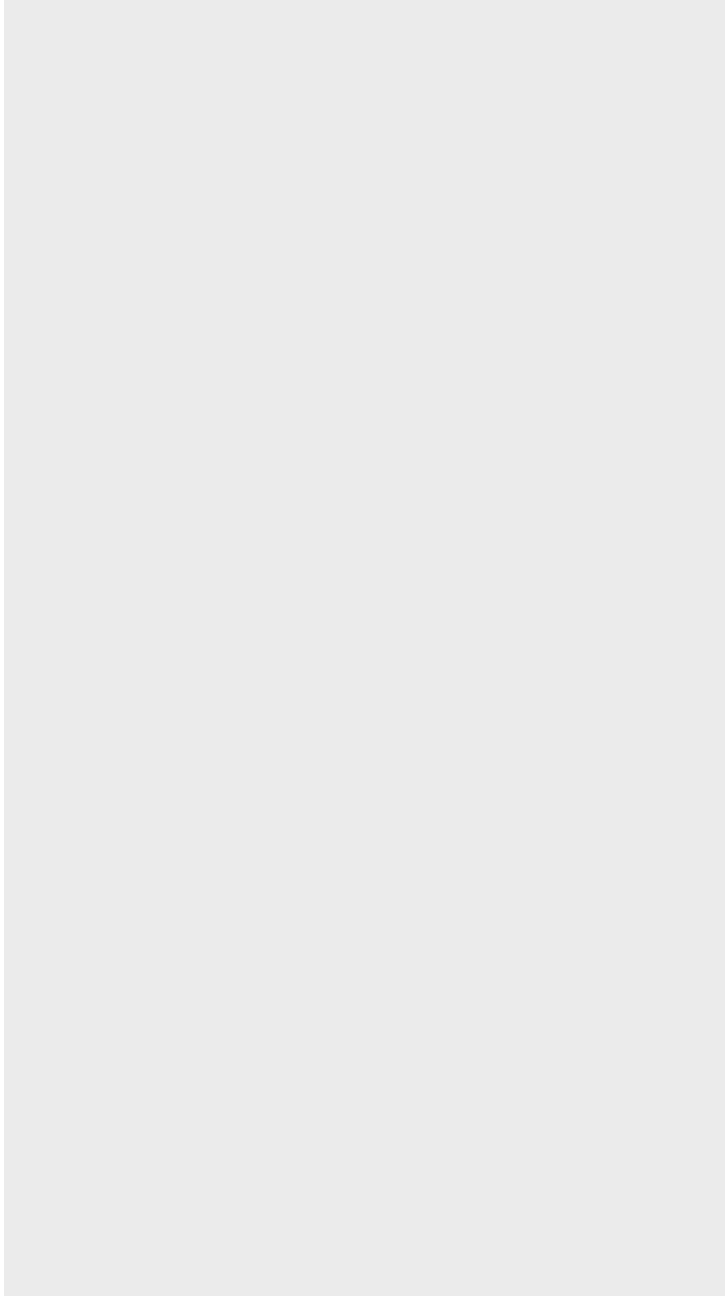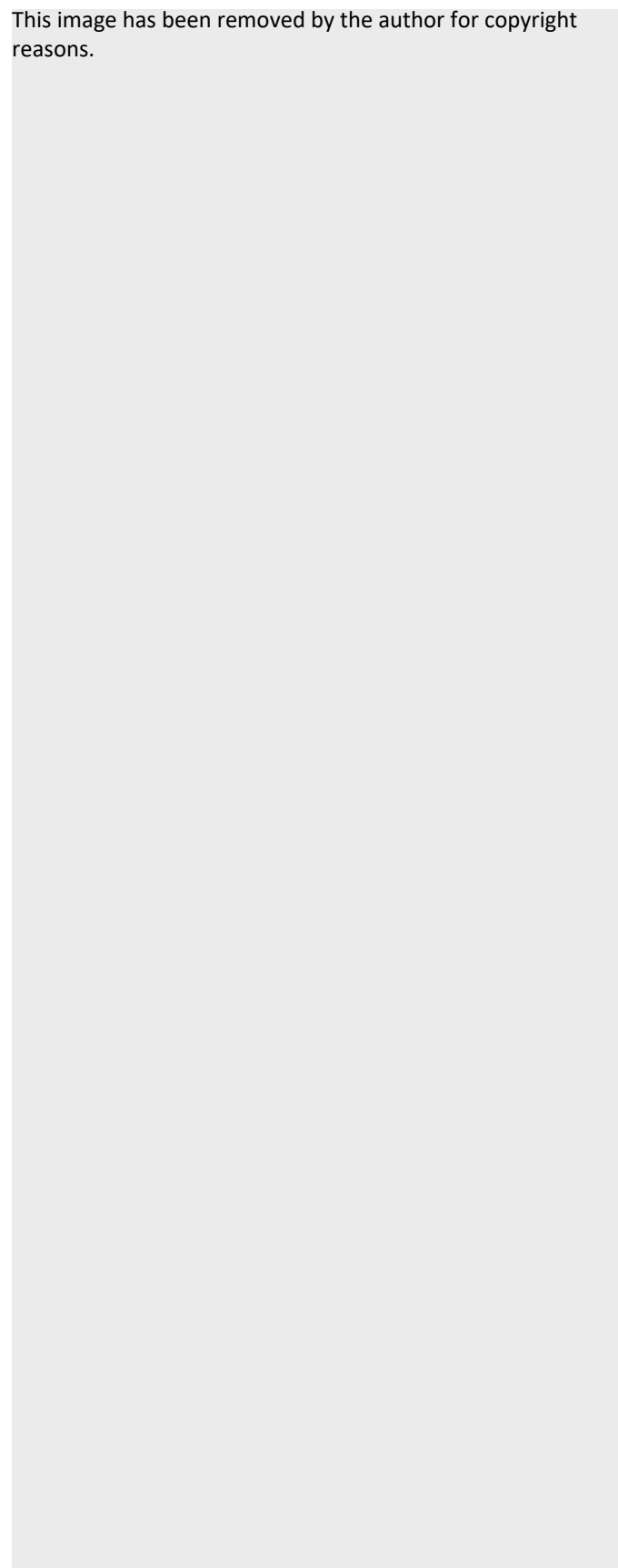
Plate LXXXII: FS.PIS.23. From Mclean 2002a, no. 167. Fig. 189.

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FS.PIS.24. Pantaleon stela

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Plate: LXXXIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Donarsa.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 1.71; W. (top) 0.57, (shaft) 0.46; Th. 0.32. Letter H. section a) 0.025-0.03; b) 0.015 metres.

Description: Stela with vaulted pediment, containing eagle, defaced. In field, mattock, man, woman, man, pruning-hook, mirror. Below, lion. Inscription on lower pediment, top and base of shaft.

Inscription: a) Πανταλέων Διοδώρου I Δουδης ή καὶ Ἀμμια I μνήμης χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1962). "Pantaleon son of Diodorous and Doudes, and Ammia, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

b) Παντάλεον Διόδωρε (sic) φύσε[ι] υ[ιέ], I Ἀττάλου οντως, έστα[θιπευσό]μενος πάντ' ο[σ'] απή[ρ]χ[ε' εχων ήσθ'] I ελάτης ποιμνης τέ[λοω πολ] II (5) [υ] άμου αρούρης<ι> δμῷ[ων ώ] I [π]ανάριστε, φιλοις φιλε, [χαίρε, φέ] I [ρι]στε, μηδε ασα το θ[ανείν] I τίς βροτος αθάνα[τος]. (Trans. Mama 1962).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1962, Vol. VIII, no. 361.

FS.PIS.25. Iulia stela

Plate: LXXXIV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 1639.

Find site: Kavak.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.41; W. 0.52; Th. 0.21-0.24. Letter H. 0.02-0.03 metres.

Description: Stela with vaulted pediment, with acroteria (right, broken), eagle in pediment; below, on field, figural group in *aedicula* (girl, woman, woman, man, (l. to r.)); crescent moon in upper comers of shaft. Inscription below *aedicula*; below text, 2 baskets and a spindle-and-distaff.

Inscription: Λούκιος Μάλλιος και Ἰουλία Σεκουνδα Ιουλίᾳ τῇ θυγατρι αύτων, μνήμ-ης ᵛ χάριν, και έαυτ-ᵛᵃᶜοί'ς (5) *vac.* ζωσι. *(relief).* Lucius Mallius and Iulia Secunda (made this) for Iulia, their daughter, in memory, and for themselves, while they were still alive. (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: 2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mclean 2002a, no. 117.

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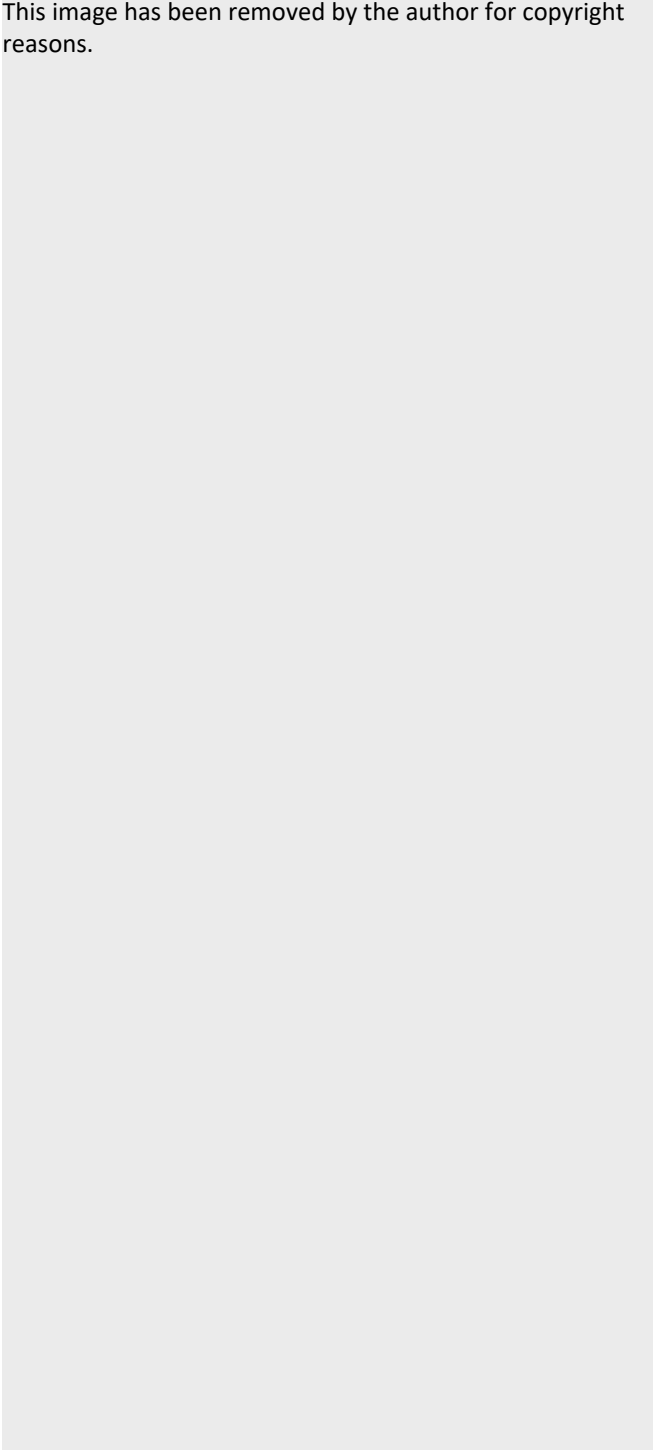
Plate LXXXIV: FS.PIS.25. From Mclean 2002a, no. 117.

FS.PIS.26. Anna stela

Plate: LXXXV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 845.

Find site: Halici.

Henry Cutten.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.76; W. 0.55; Th. 0.17. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with vaulted pediment, acroteria and finial, decorated in a curvilinear design. Within relief of a woman. Inscription at top of shaft. Broken below.

Inscription: Παπας Απα Ανναι τῇ ἑαυτου γυναικι, φ[ι]λοστοργίας ενεκεν. Papas, son of Attas, (erected this) for Anna, his wife, with affection. (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mclean 2002a, no. 147.

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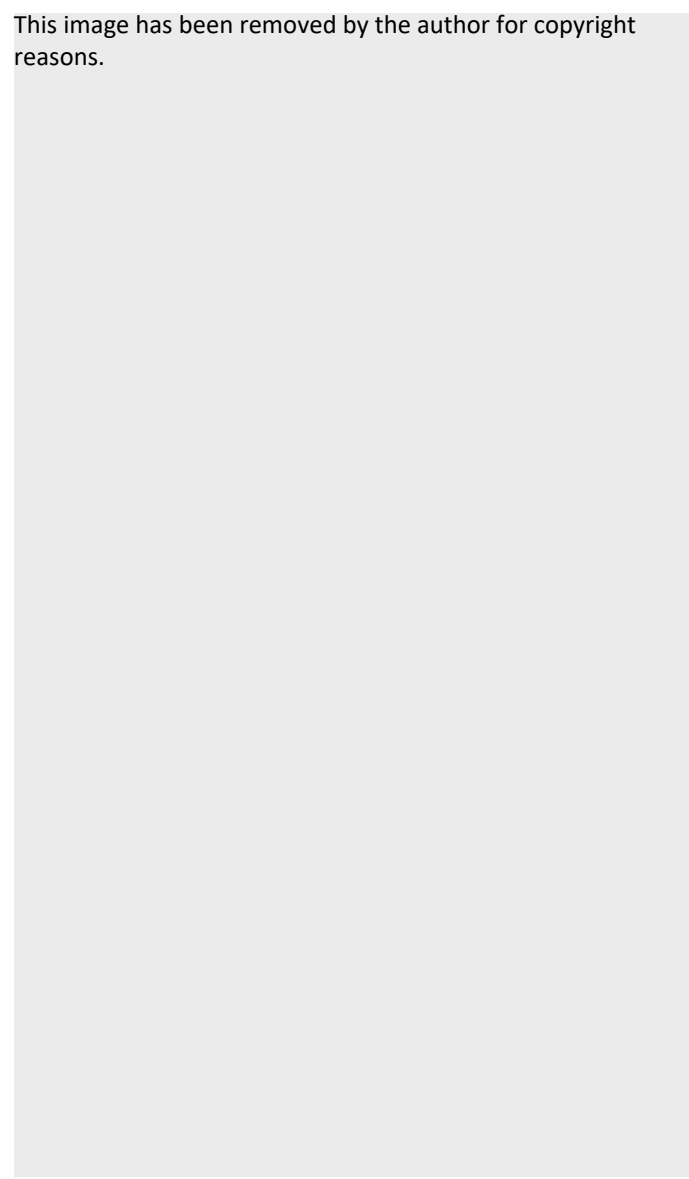
Plate LXXXV: FS.PIS.26. From Mclean 2002a, no. 147.

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FS.PIS.27. Zezis, Zesis and Ouasses stela

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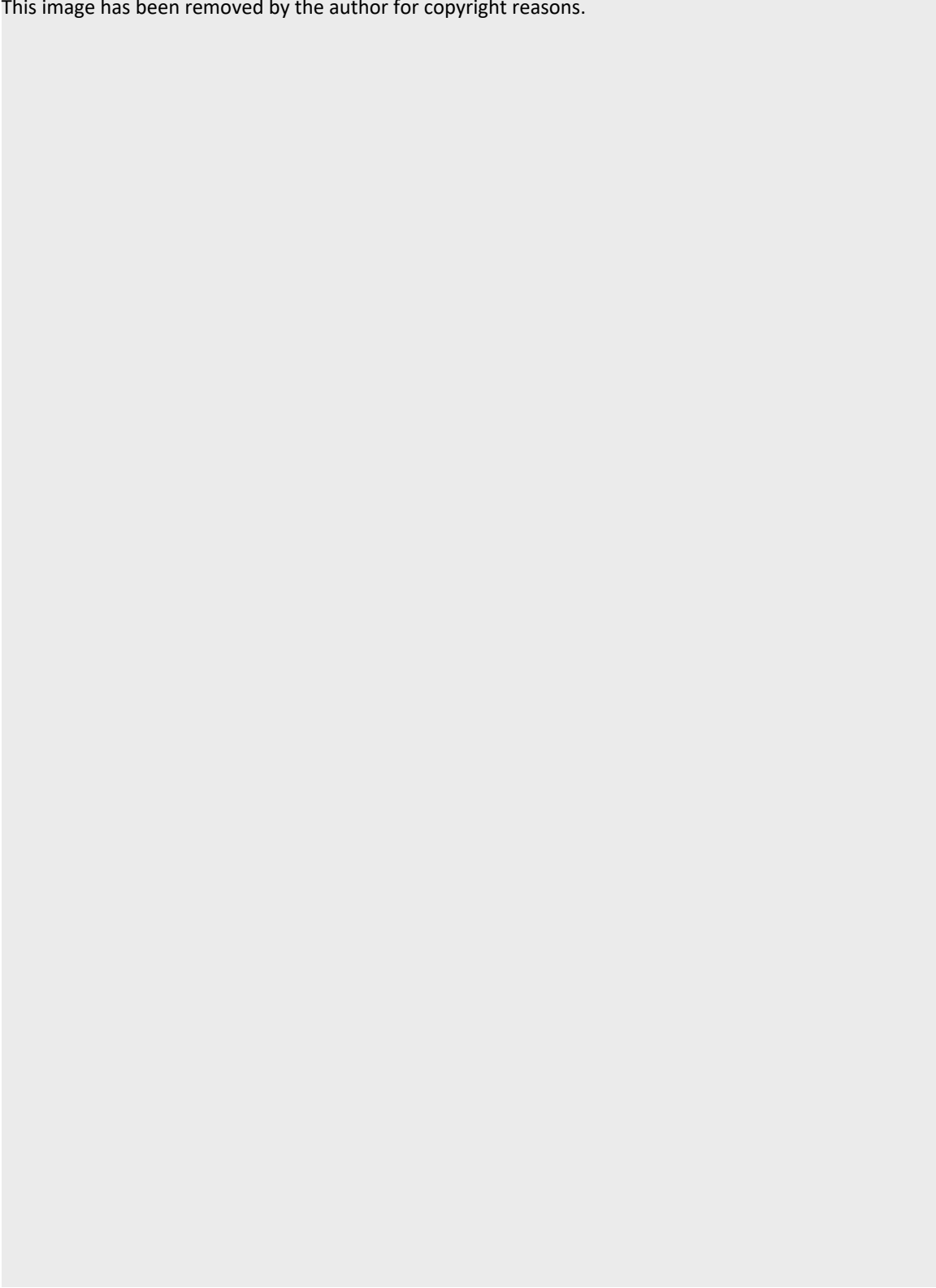
Plate LXXXVI: FS.PIS.27. From Mclean 2002a, no, 151.

FS.PIS.27. Zezis, Zesis and Ouasses stela

Henry Cutten.

Plate: LXXXVI.

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 1344.

Find site: Mustafa (near Seydisehir).

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.70+, (panel) 0.34; W. 0.36; Th. 0.16. Letter H. line 1: 0.01; lines 2- 11: 0.015-0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with large *aedicula* above, tapering towards base, with portrait group in relief (woman, man, man, woman, (l. to r.). Inscription at *aedicula base* continuing below, flanking second figural group, man and woman (l. of text). Broken above and left side.

Inscription: Ιμμαθις Νησιος θυγάτηρ ἀνέστη-σεν Ζηζιν Ἴνδου τόν (5) ἀνδρά αύτης και τάκνα Ζηζι-ν και Ουασ-σην και [- ᶜᵃ ² -] (10) [- ᶜᵃ ² -]Ν, Θερσις Ἴνδου, Ν[- ᶜᵃ ² -] [- ᶜᵃ ⁴ -]Ν, μνήμης [χάριν]. "Immathis, daughter of Nesis, set up (this image of) her husband, Zezis, son of Indos, and (her) children, Zezis and Ouasses, and [So-and-so], Thersis, son of Indos, [So-and-so], in memory." (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: 1ˢᵗ-2ⁿᵈ Century A.D.

Source: Mclean 2002a, no, 151.

FS.PIS.28. Tadous stela

Plate: LXXXVII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 1986.3.1.

Find site: Unknown Provenance.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 0.58; W. 0.33; Th. 0.12. Letter H. 0.03 metres.

Description: Stela with triangular pediment, plain acroteria; rosette in pediment. On shaft, male figure of a man, left hand holding sickle; inscription both sides of figure.

Inscription: Τας Ταδι θρεπτψ μνήμης χάριν. "Tas (erected this) for Tadous, (his) foster child, in memory." (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mclean 2002a, no. 165.

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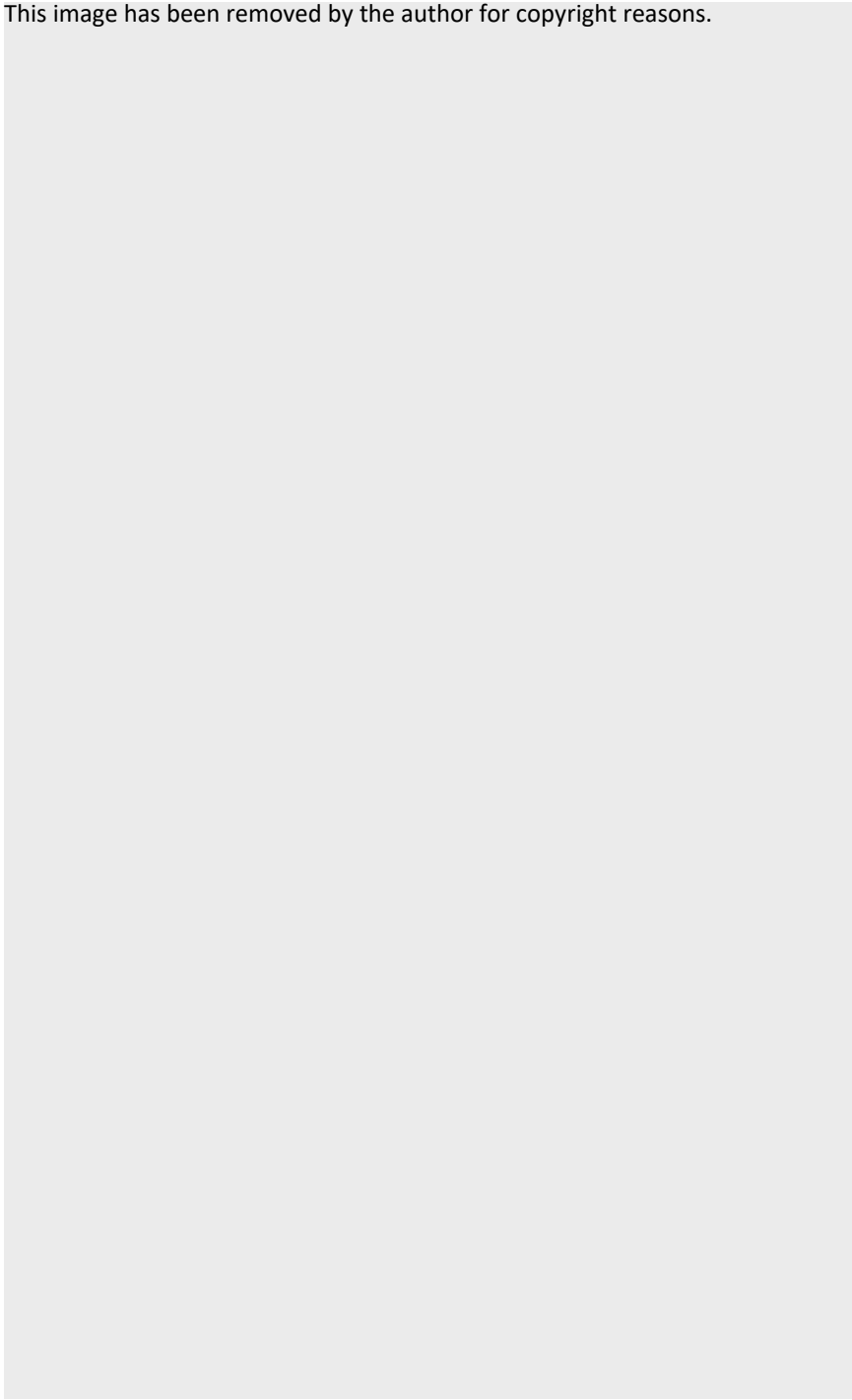
Plate LXXXVII: FS.PIS.28. From Mclean 2002a, no. 165.

FS.PIS.29. Stela with eagle in pediment

Plate: LXXXVIII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 1996.8.19.

Find site: Unknown Provenance.

Material: Limestone.

Henry Cutten.

Dimensions: H. 0.59; W. (upper moulding) 0.26, (base) 0.31; Th. 0.09. Letter H. 0.02-0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with pentagonal pediment, acroteria, finial; eagle in pediment (facing right); inset panel on shaft, figures of boy holing a purse by handle (l.) and man a scroll (?) (r.), within. Inscription at base in lower moulding. Broken below, right.

Inscription: [--ca. 11-13--]NHO [--ca. 13-14--]ANHY [--ca. 14-15--]EN. (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mclean 2002a, no, 170.

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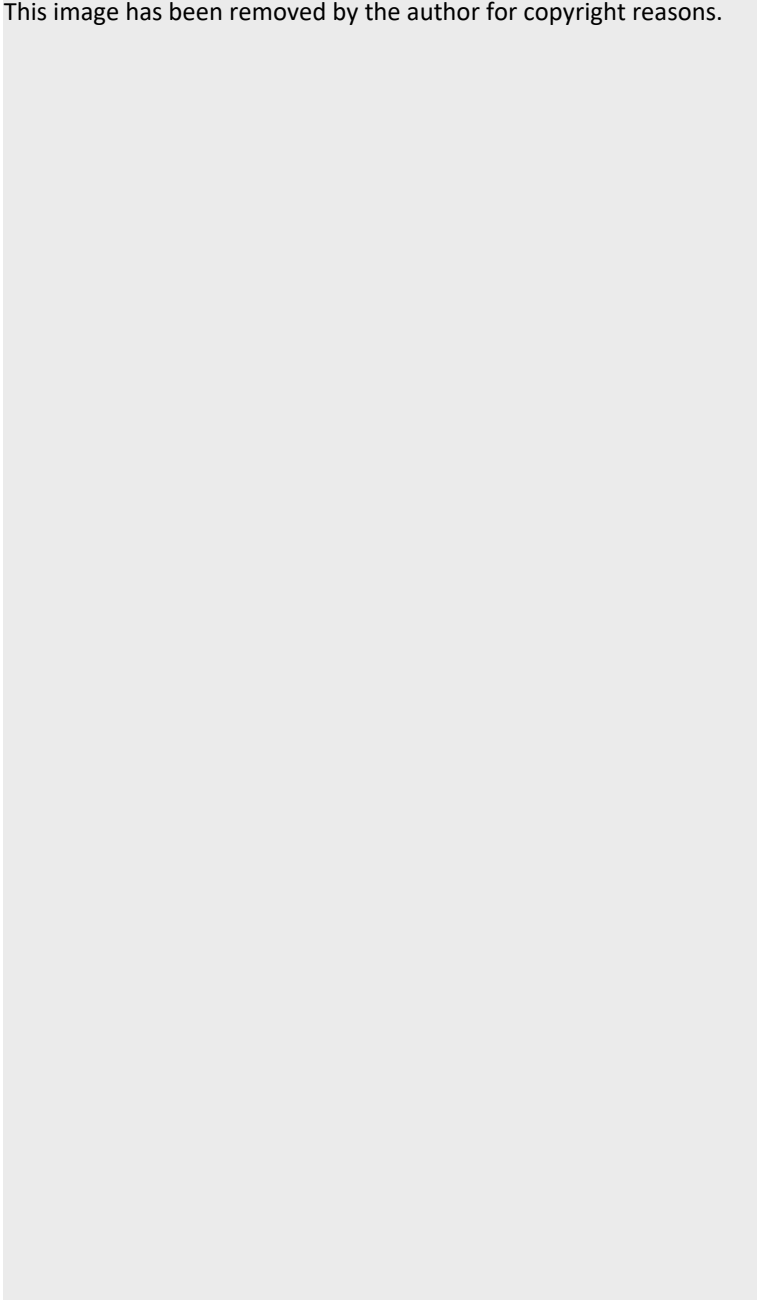
Plate LXXXVIII: FS.PIS.29. From Mclean 2002a, no, 170.

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FS.PIS.30. Imma(s) stela

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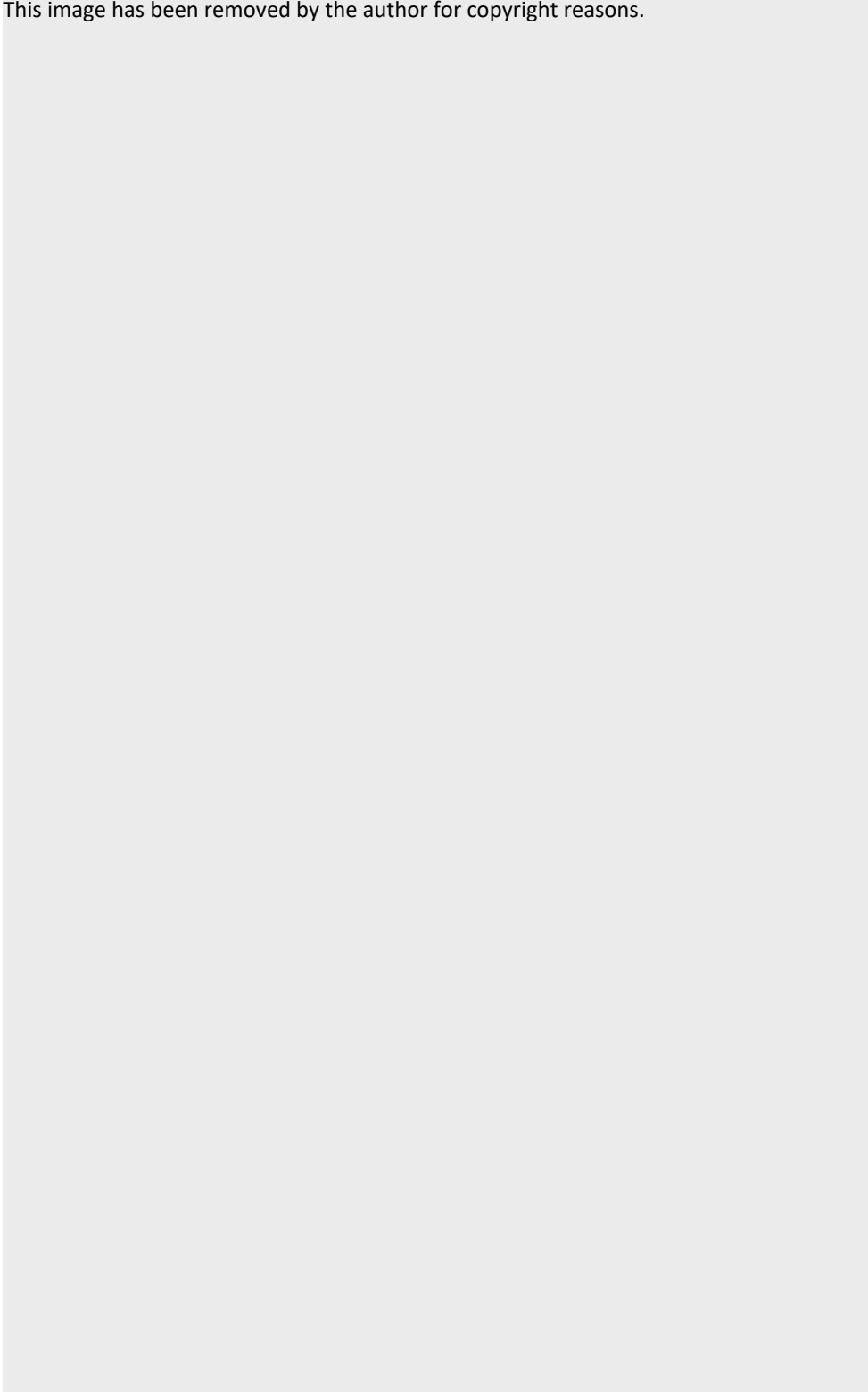
Plate LXXXIX: FS.PIS.30. From Mclean 2002a, no. 171.

FS.PIS.30. Imma(s) stela

Henry Cutten.

Plate: LXXXIX.

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. N/R.

Find site: Unknown provenance.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 0.67; W. 0.33; Th. 0.13. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with triangular pediment and pilaster/border surrounding field; 6-leaved rosette in pediment. On shaft, inset panel with 3 female figures and one male to the right (heads damaged). Inscription below, on lower moulding/plinth. Broken upper left of stone, surface damaged.

Inscription: Ἀθηνίων Γαίου ἀνέστησεν Ιμμαν την γυναίκα αὐτψ. "Athenion, son of Gaius, set up (this image of) Imma(s), his wife." Trans. Mclean 2002a.

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mclean 2002a, no. 171.

FS.PIS.31. Apollodotos and Tateina(?) stela

Plate: XC (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 5098.

Find site: Burdur District.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.36; W. 0.53; Th. 0.19. Letter H. 0.015 metres.

Description: Field a recessed panel, 4 figures in relief – 2 at foot of couch. On the couch, outstretched male; female seated at his feet. Beneath couch, basket. Text on border below. Broken left side, reverse concave, rough cut.

Inscription: Ἀπολλόδοτον - και – Τατειν[αν? -] (2) τους Μενεσθέος – και – Μ[±4 -] (v.) Ἄπαλος – και Νικάδας – κ[αι ±4-5 -]. "Attalos and Nikadas and N (memorialised) Apollodotos and Tateina(?), the children of Menestheus and M…" (Trans. Horsley 2007).

Date: late 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Horsley 2007, no. 206.

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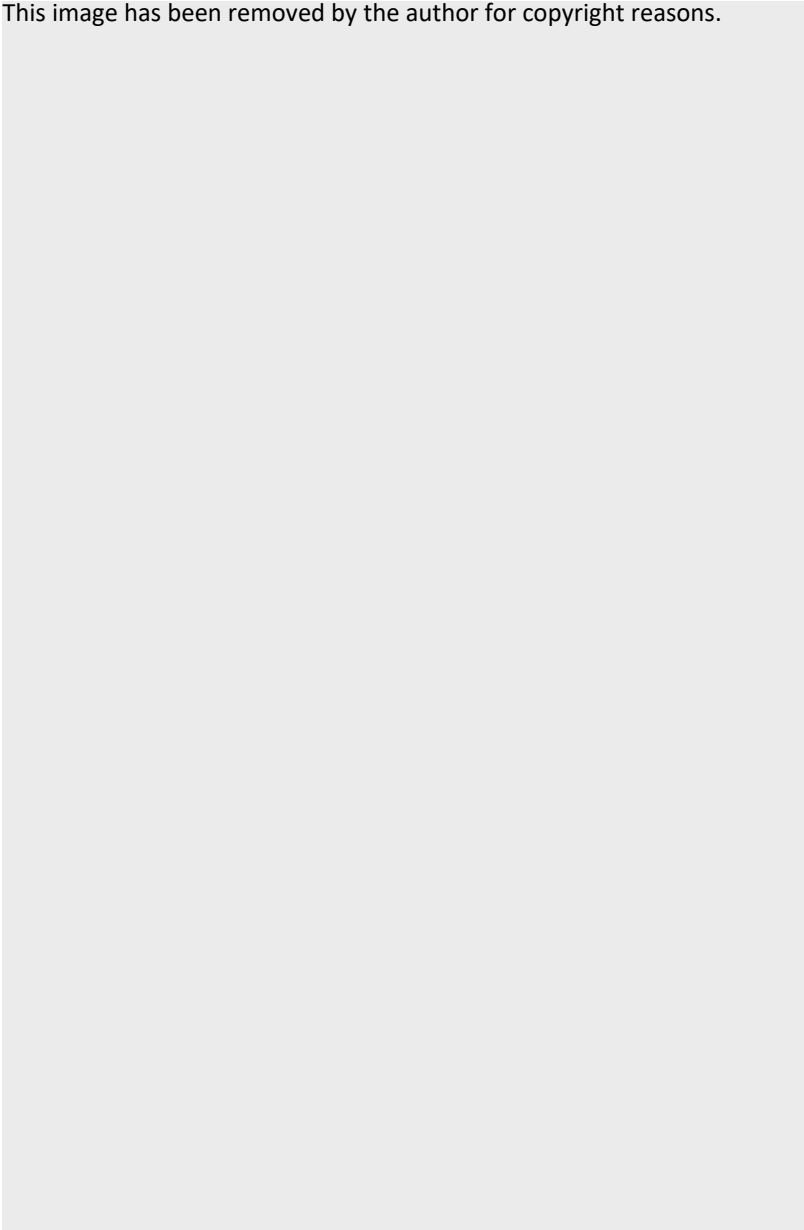This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate XC: FS.PIS.31. From Horsley 2007, no. 206.

FS.PIS.32. Hermogenes stela

Plate: XCI (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 4.1.94.

Find site: Unknown provenance.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.37; W. (top) 0.27, (shaft) 0.24; Th. 0.12. Letter H. 0.01 metres.

Description: Stela with triangular pediment, acroteria; in tympanum, *triskeles* in low relief. On shaft, standing male (l.) and seated(?) female (r.). Text above relief. Broken above and below.

Inscription: Μαρκία…. Τ..Η..- (above relief) (2) νονος δεις Ἑρμογέ-[νει τῷ νίῷ(?) μνήμης] (below relief) (4) [χάριν]. "Marcia *N,* daughter of –non, son of –non, for Hermogenes [her son(?), as a memorial]." (Trans. Horsley 2007).

Date: 2nd Century A.D.

Source: Horsley 2007, 265.

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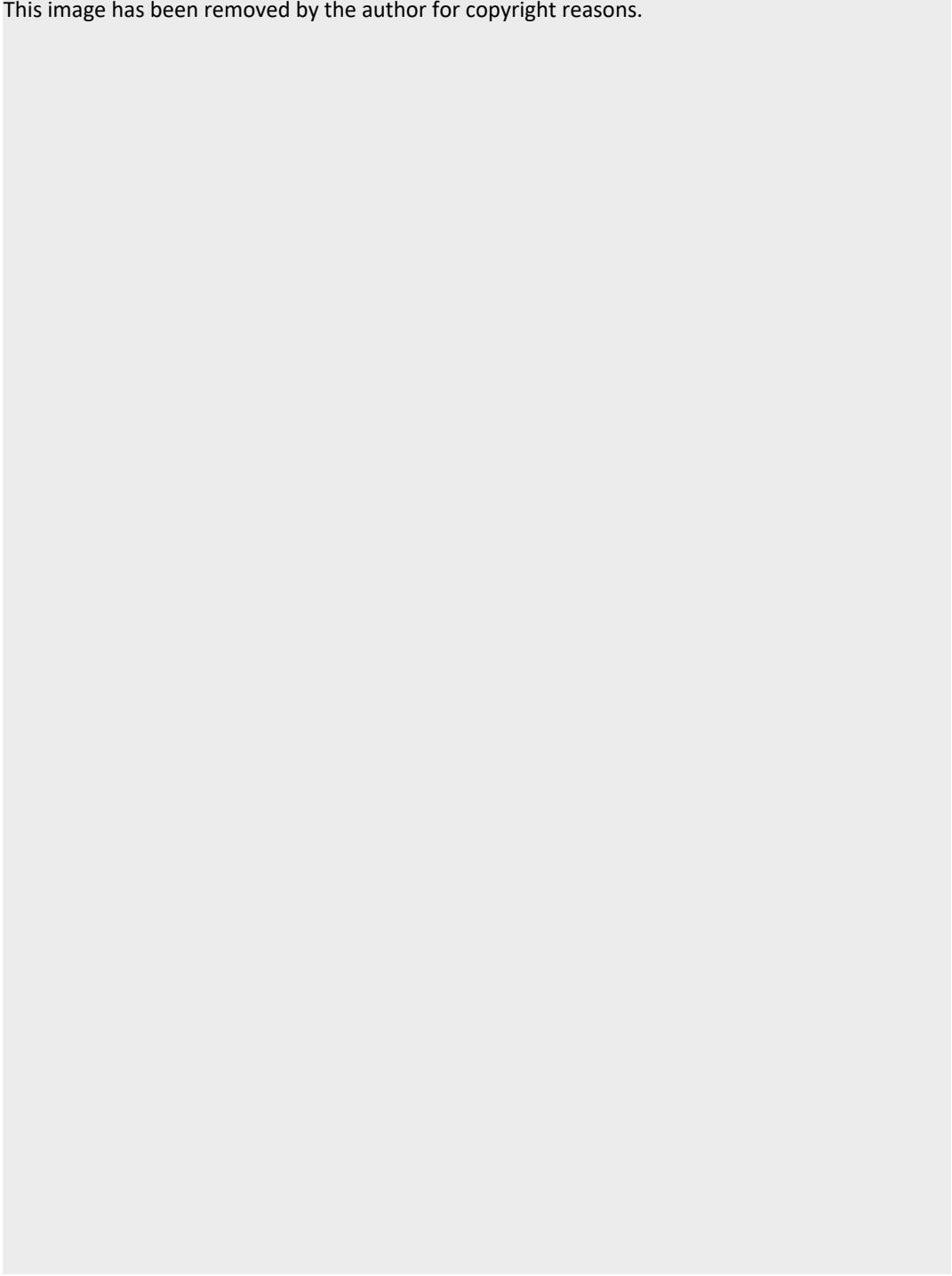
Plate XCI: FS.PIS.32. From Horsley 2007, 265.

FS.PIS.33. Hieron stela

Plate: XCII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 5413.

Find site: Burdur District.

Henry Cutten.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.25; W. 0.22; Th. 0.07. Letter H. 0.01 metres.

Description: Stela with low, triangular pediment, disk within; plain acroteria. On field, recessed panel, 2 standing figures clasping hands within. Text on the lower moulding/element underneath. Complete, badly pitted and weather worn.

Inscription: Μεμνέας Ιαδο[c] (2) δουλος ʽΙέρωνι μνήμης χάριν. "Menneas, slave of Ias, for Hieron, as a memorial." (Trans. Horsley 2007).

Date: 2nd Century A.D.

Source: Horsley 2007, no. 266.

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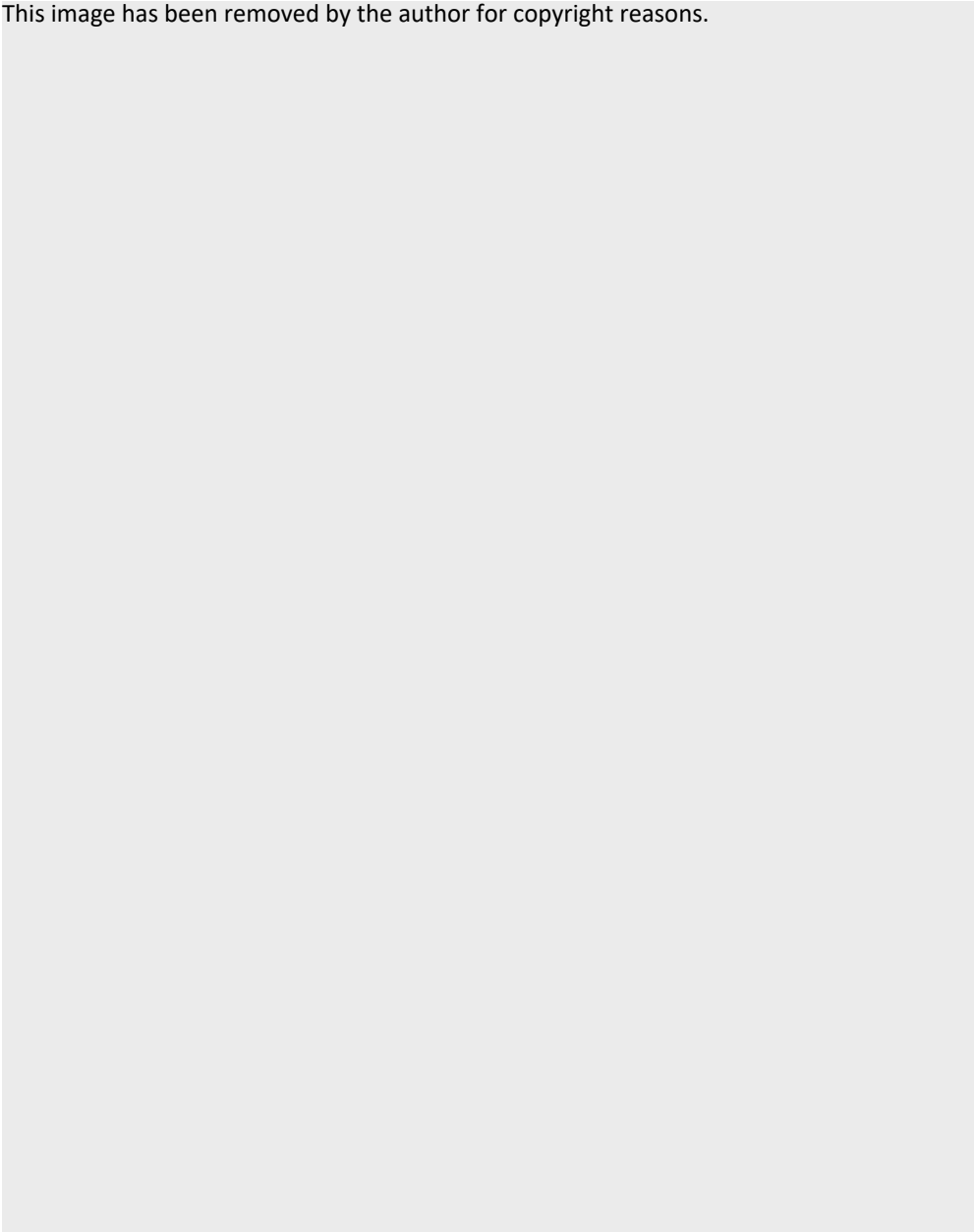
Plate XCII: FS.PIS.33. From Horsley 2007, no. 266.

Henry Cutten.

FS.PIS.34. Mokh.sa.p. stela

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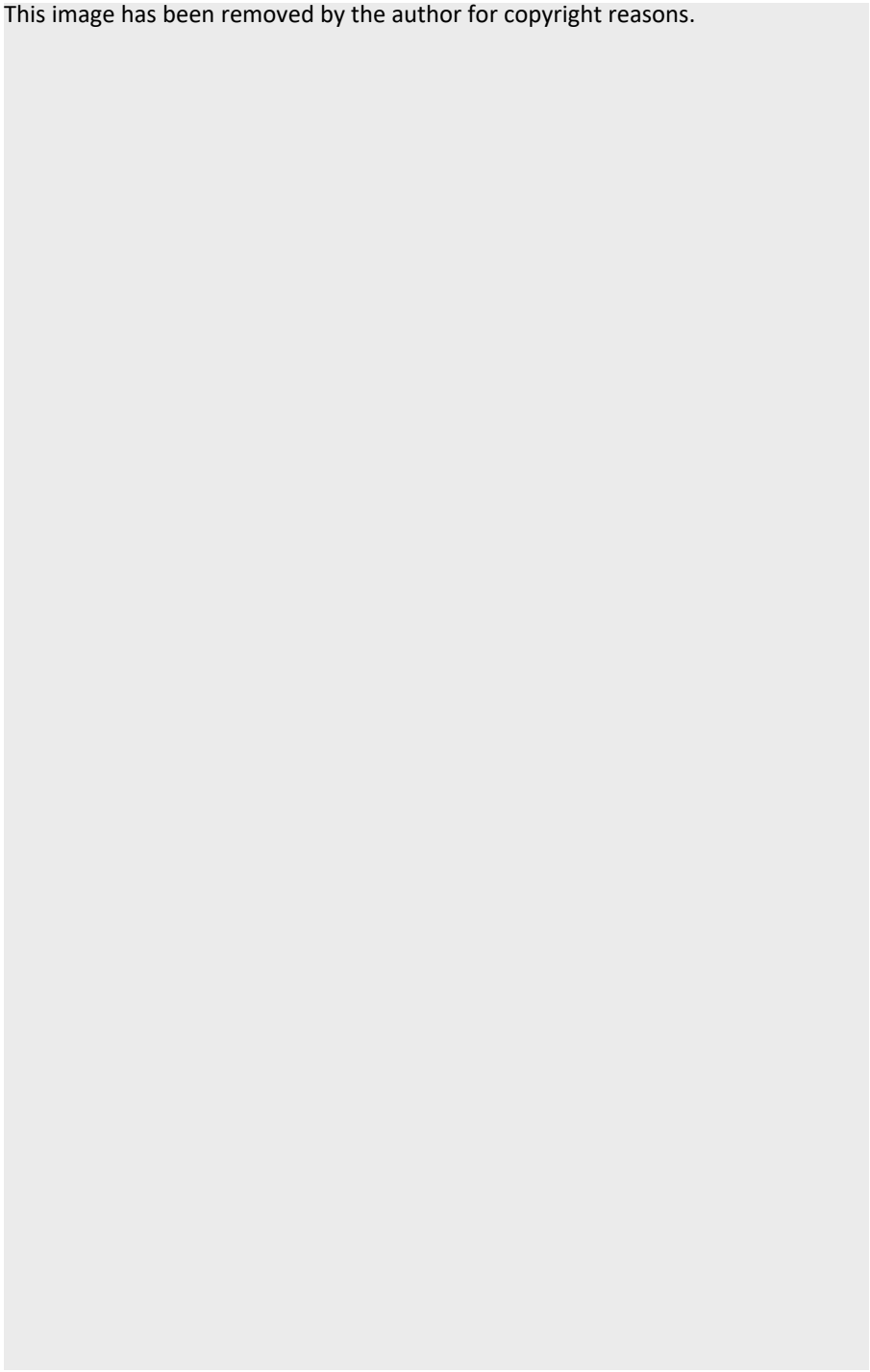
Plate XCIII: FS.PIS.34. From Horsley 2007, 284.

Plate: XCIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 4095.

Find site: Timbriada (Sofular).

Henry Cutten.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.47; W. 0.24; Th. 0.17. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with gabled top with rosette(?). Relief of short-haired male on plinth in field. Inscription located above relief. Broken above and below.

Inscription: MOX. CA. Π . [μν]ήμη[ς] χά-[ριν]. "Mokh.sa.p(?), as a memorial." (Trans. Horsley 2007).

Date: 2nd Century A.D.

Source: Horsley 2007, no. 284.

FS.PIS.35. Menneas stela

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Plate XCIV: FS.PIS.35. From Horsley 2007, no. 314.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: XCIV.

Museum and Inv. No: Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 5049.

Find site: Burdur District.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.11; W. 0.60; Th. 0.34. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals; lower moulding/plinth; triangular pediment with arch at base, palmette acroteria; in tympanum, eagle with outspread wings. Below, within inset, arched niche female, on plinth. Inscription on base, very abraded.

Inscription: Μεννέας δicόλωνος (2) θηκεν E. P. COEI γυ-[ναικ]α NENE. μνήμης [(*vac.*) χ]άρ[ι]ν. "Menneas, son of Menneas, grandson of Solon, set up *N* his wife …, as a memorial." (Trans. Horsley 2007).

Date: 2nd Century A.D.

Source: Horsley 2007, no. 314.

FS.PIS.36. Meltine stela

Plate: XCV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Uluborlu, in Salman Mahale fountain.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.93; W. 0.46-0.52; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, elaborate capitals; pediment over arch, with acroteria. On field, female figure. Hole in the centre for the spigot destroyed some of the inscription, at base of shaft.

Inscription: Εἴδο[μενευς Μ]ελτίνη γυνα[ικι τη]ν στήλην μ[νήμης χ]άριν. (Trans. Mama 1933). "Eidomeneus for his wife Meltine (set up) this stela, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2018).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1933, Vol. IV. no 203.

Henry Cutten.

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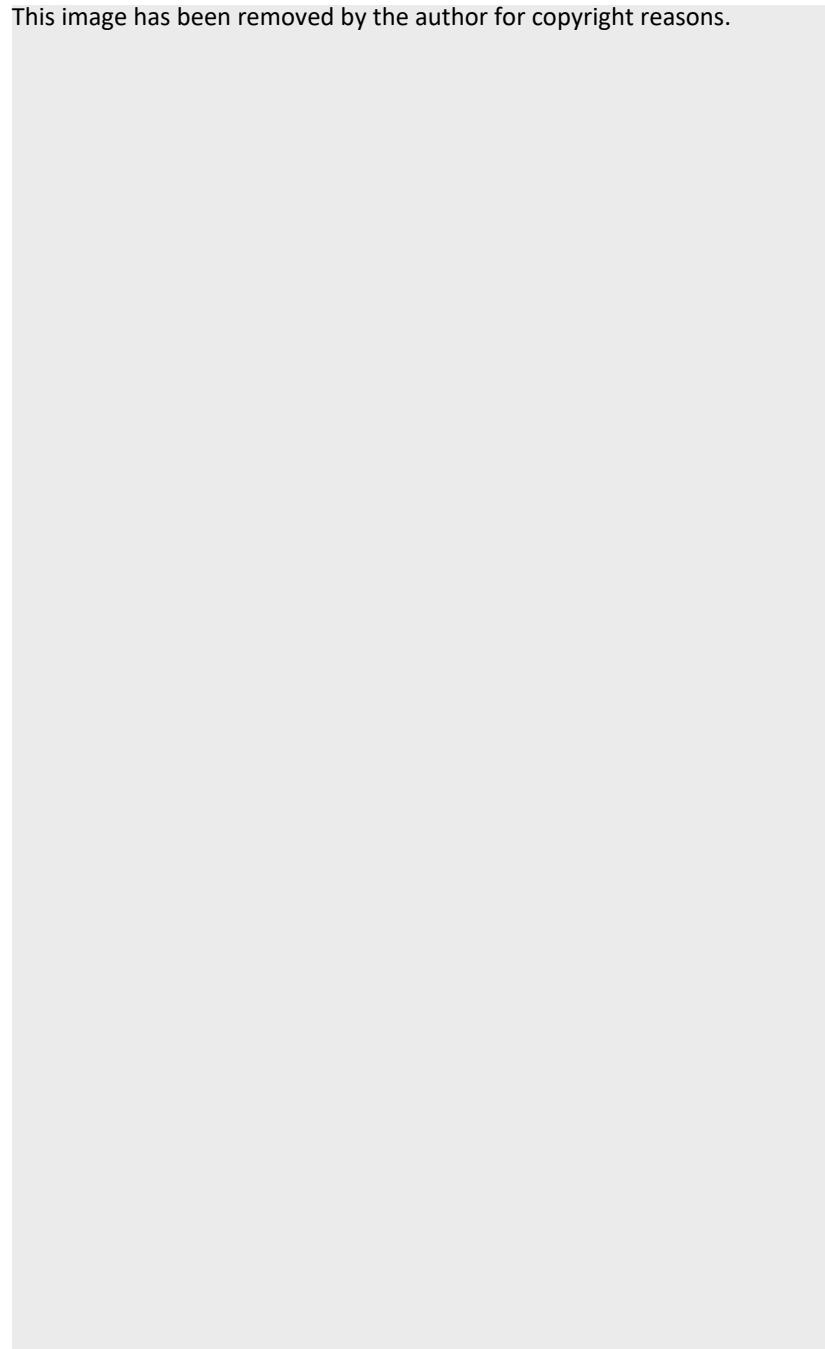
Plate XCV: FS.PIS.36. From Mama 1933, Vol. IV. no 203.

FS.PIS.37. Funerary stela of M. Numerius

Plate: XCVI (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Karaağaç, in a yard.

Material: Brown Limestone.

Henry Cutten.

Dimensions: H. 0.54; W. 0.34; Th. 0.20. Letter H. 0.015-0.020 metres.

Description: Stela with pilasters, capitals; arched pediment. Within, male figure (l.), with left hand passing item to small male figure (r.) who holds sharp item in his left hand. Inscription on lower moulding.

Inscription: Μ̣(ᾶρκον) Νουμέριον Γ(αΐου) Ἀουιλίου (?) ἡ γυνὴ μνήμης χ v. ά v. ριν. "His wife (set this up for) M(arcus) Numerius, son of G(aius) Avilius (?), in memoriam." (Trans. Mama XI).

Date: Imperial period.

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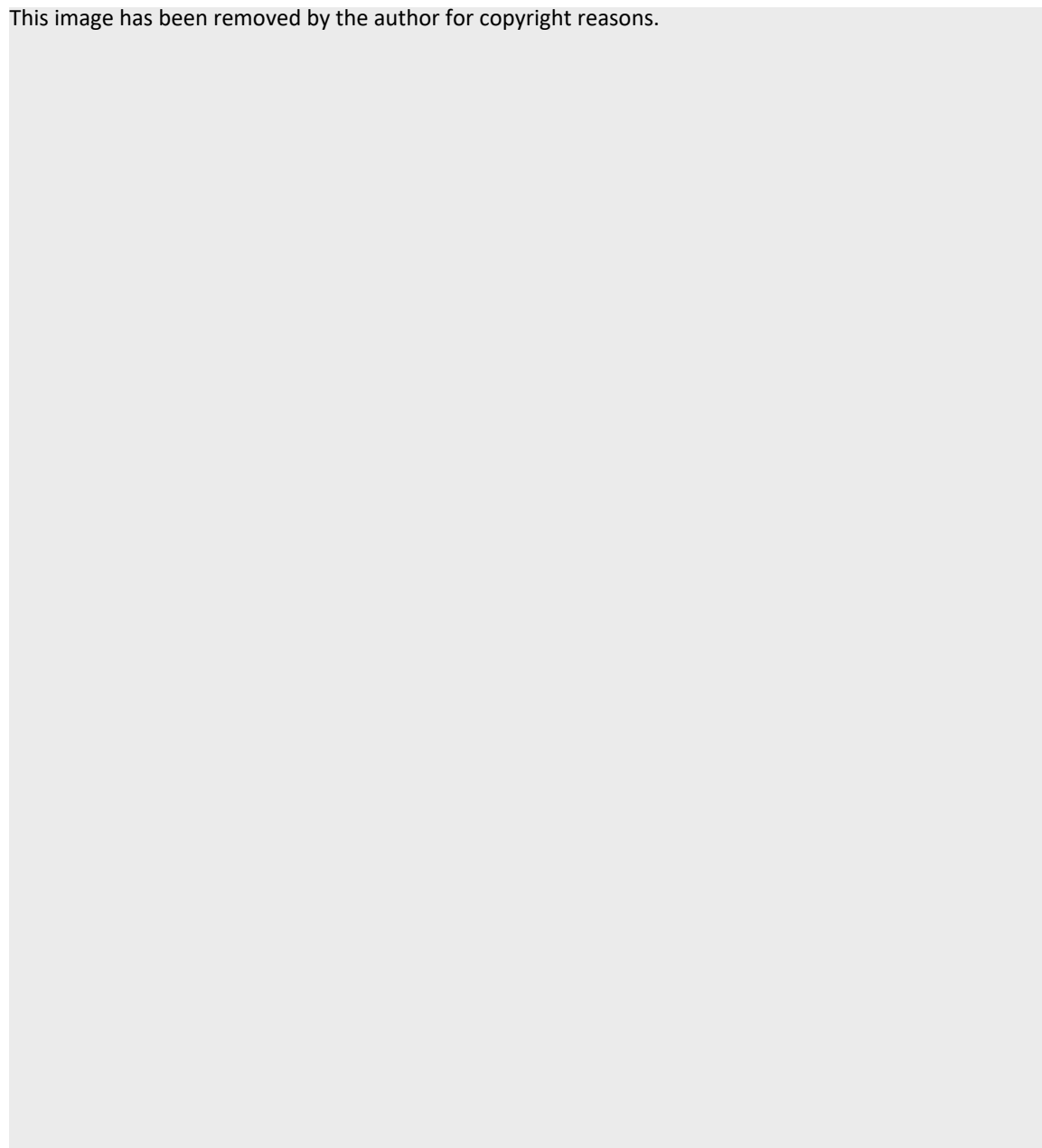
Plate XCVI: FS.PIS.37. From Mama XI, no. 376.

Henry Cutten.

D: Motif-only stelae from Galatia

OS.G.01. Auximos and Athenodoros stela

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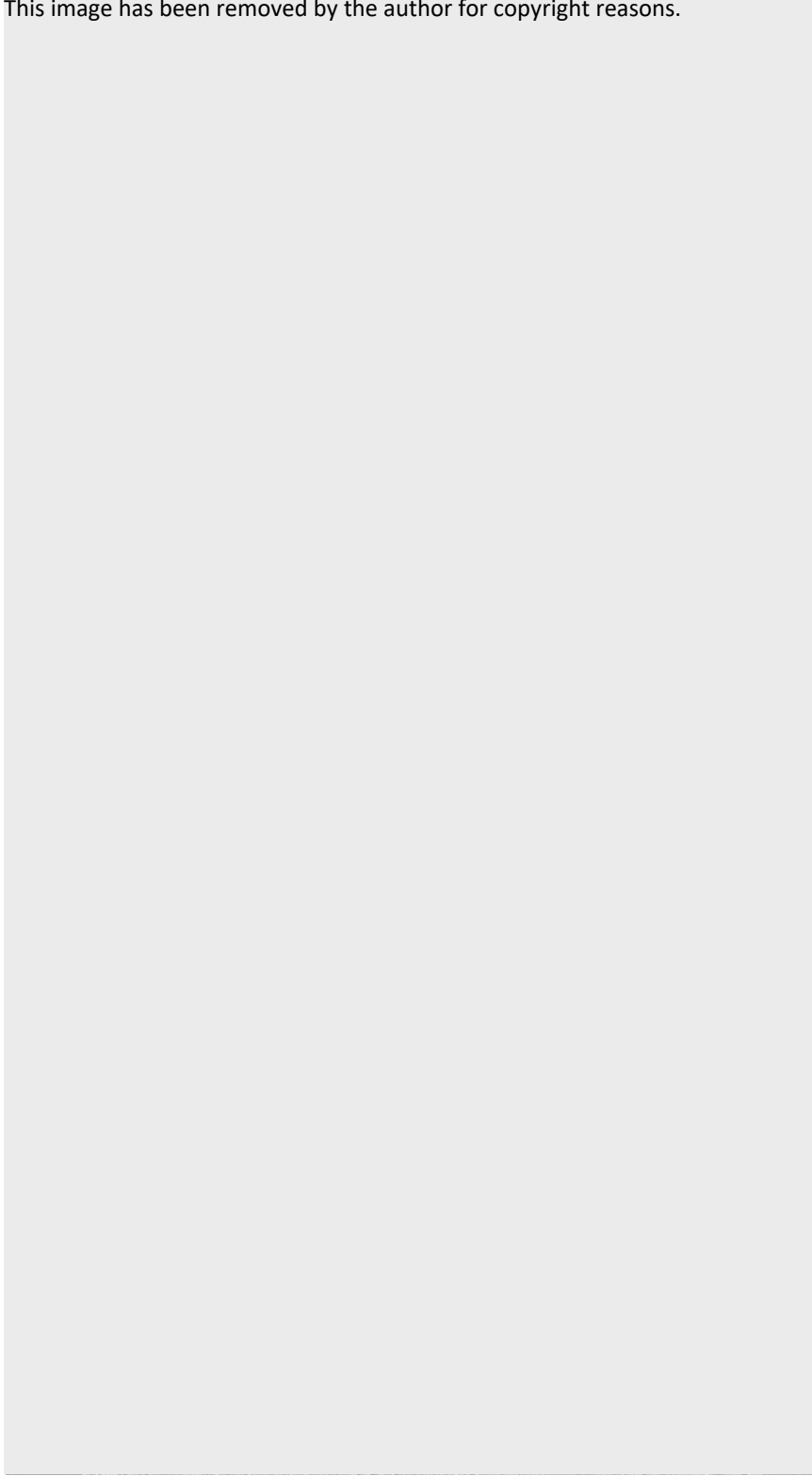
Plate XCVII: OS.G.01. From French and Mitchell 2012, 430 no. 241.

Plate: XCVII.

Museum and Inv. No: In the Roman Baths, Ankara, Inv. no. 9039.

Find site: Unknown Provenance.

Material: Ankara Andesite.

Dimensions: H. 1.61; W. 0.42; Th. 0.16. Letter H. 0.045-0.050 metres.

Description: Rectangular stela with triangular pediment, within acroteria, upraised hands; 8-pointed star, in circle, in pediment. Remains of finial. Inscription on shaft. Complete.

Inscription: Αὐξίμψ καὶ Ἀθηνοδώ-ρψ Ἥλιος (leaf) (4) τέκνοις (leaf) ἀτελέστοις ἑπταετείς μνή- (8) μης χάριν. "Helios for Auximos and Athenodoros, his children, who died before their time, aged seven years, in memory." (Trans. French and Mitchell, 2012).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: French and Mitchell 2012, 430 no. 241.

OS.G.02. Dionysias stela

Plate: XCVIII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: In the Roman Baths, Ankara, Inv. no. 113.547.99.

Find site: Unknown Provenance.

Material: Hard, Pale Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.77; W. (shaft) 0.28; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.03-0.035 metres.

Description: Stela with triangular pediment, palmette acroteria, with large, semi-circular rings in upper element; finial, centre, 3 concentric rings surrounding central rosette. At the centre of the pediment, boss. At top of field, 2 bull's heads, wooden plough between. Inscription from middle to base of shaft. Surface is worn and damaged in places.

Inscription: Δίων καὶ Εἰρήνη Διονυσιάδι θυγα-(4)τρὶ μνήμης χάριν. "Dion and Eirene for Dionysias, their daughter, in memory." (Trans. French and Mitchell 2012).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: French and Mitchell 2012, 440 no. 254.; Mitchell 1977, no. 22.

Henry Cutten.

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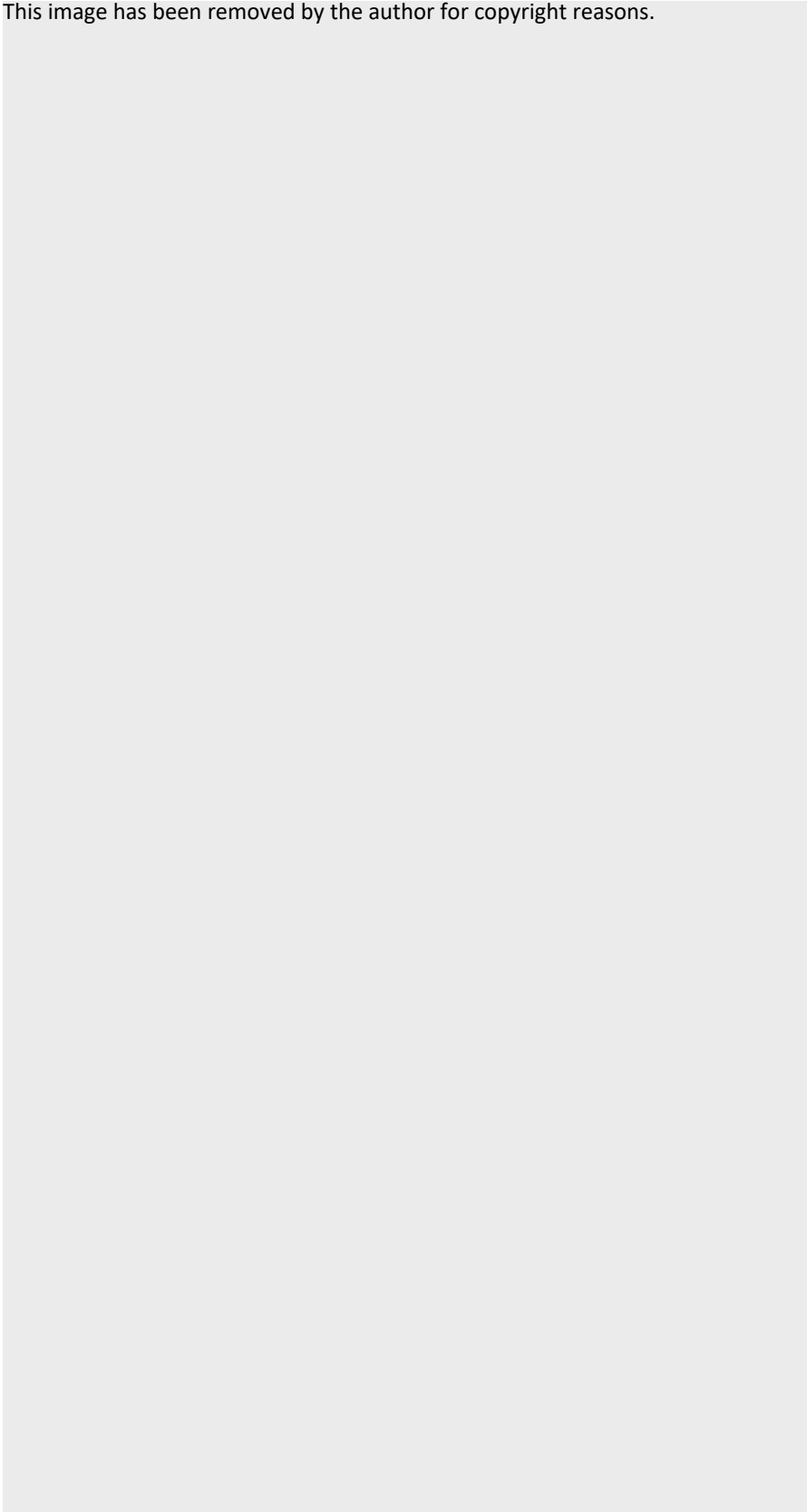
Plate XCVIII: OS.G.02. From French and Mitchell 2012, 440 no. 254.

Henry Cutten.

OS.G.03. Tatei stela

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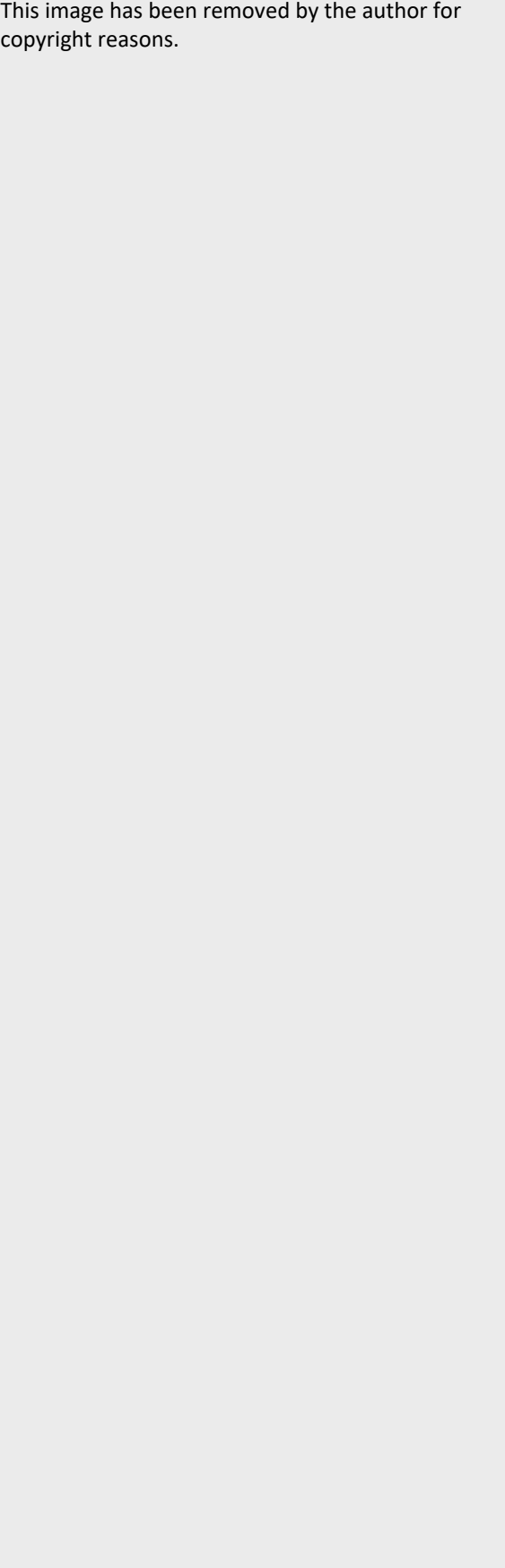
Plate XCIX: OS.G.03. From Mama 1956, 289. Pl. 17.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: XCIX.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Azizie.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 1.89; w. (top) 0.43, (shaft) 0.38-0.44, (base) 0.51; Th. 0.20. Letter H. 0.025-0.325 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, large capitals; lower moulding; elaborately decorated pediment with large upper element and narrow triangle, surmounted by acroteria; in the field, wreath with fillets; inscription below. Damage at top.

Inscription: Διόφαντ|ος Διοφά|ντου Τα|τει γυνα||(5)ικὶ μνήμης | χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1956). "Diophantos, son of Diophantas, for his wife Tatei, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2018).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1956, 289. Pl. 17.

OS.G.04. Menophanes stela

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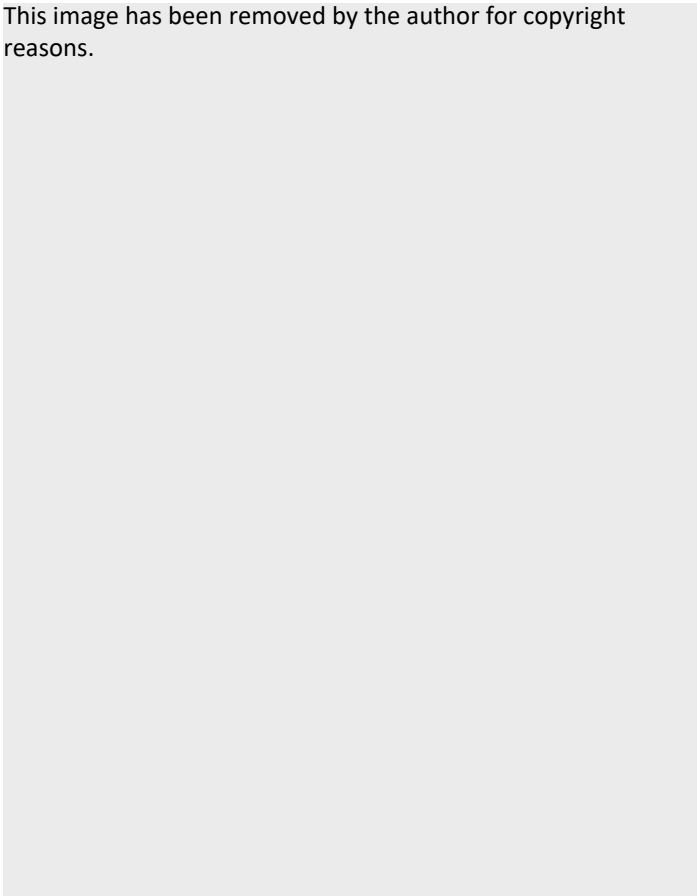
Plate C: OS.G.04. From Mitchell 1982, 52. Fig. 1.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: C.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Guce.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: Unrecorded.

Description: Stela with inscription above hammer and pruning hook. Broken above.

Inscription: ἐτείμ[ησαν] γονετς [Μην]οφ-ανην Δ[α]δής κε Δόμνα μν-(5) ήμης χάριν. "Dades (?) and Domna, his parents, honoured Menophanes (?), in memory." (Trans. Mitchell 1982).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mitchell 1982, 52. Fig. 1.

OS.G.05. Onesimos stela
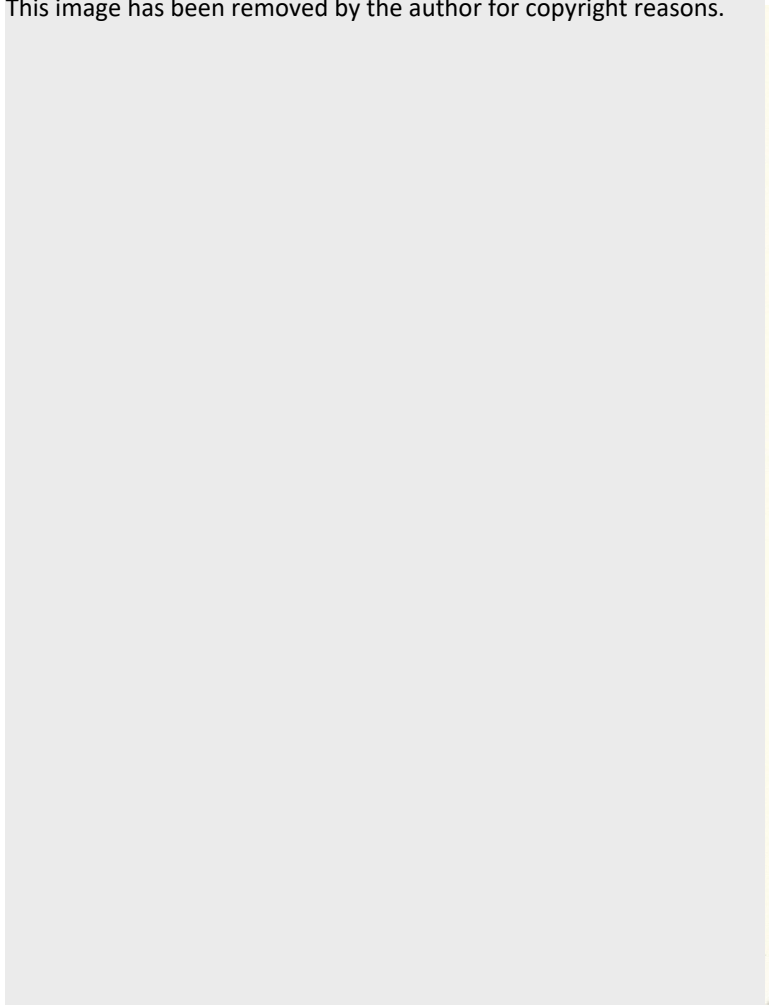
Plate CI: OS.G.05. From Mitchell 1982, 54. Pl. 3.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Guce.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: Unrecorded.

Description: Stela, pediment with large, palmette finial. On lower shaft, inscription; reliefs of keys, an axe, and stylised garland above. Broken below.

Inscription: έτείμ ησεν Διόδω-ρος ʽΟΝήσιμον μνήμης χάριν. "Diodoros honoured Onesimos, in memory." (Trans. Mitchell 1982).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mitchell 1982, 54. Pl. 3.

OS.G.06. Mamme stela

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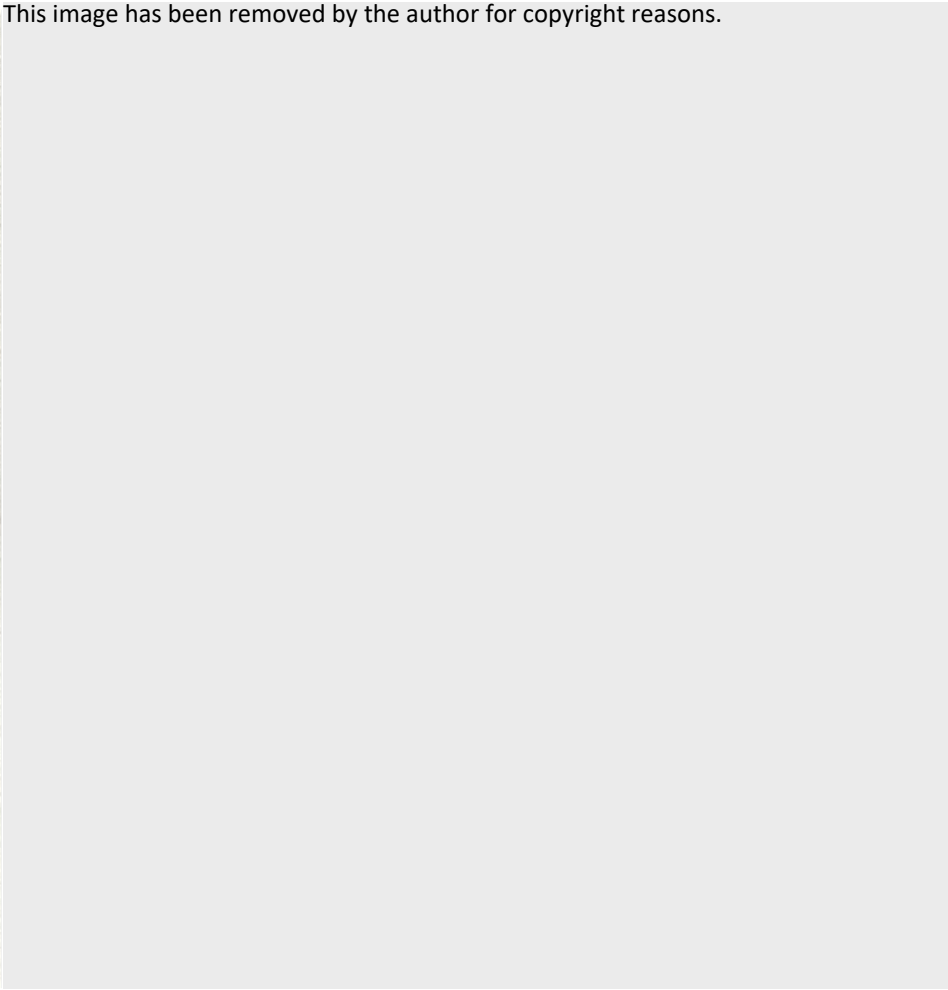
Plate CII: OS.G.06. From Mitchell 1982 60. Pl. 3.
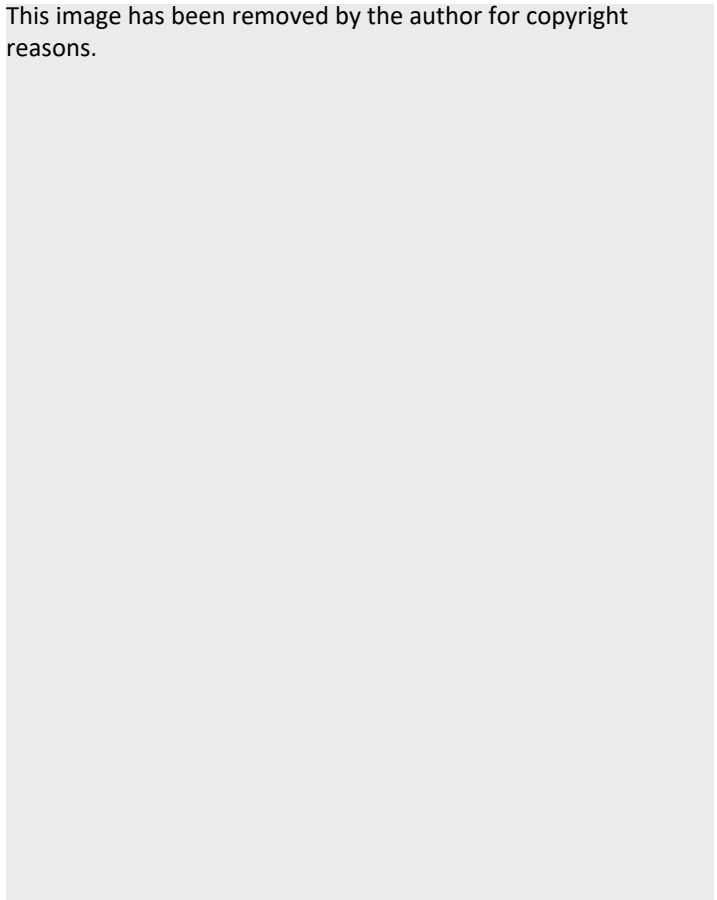
Henry Cutten.

Plate: CII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kayi, 2km East of the village.

Material: Grey Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.705; W. (shaft) 0.37; Th. 0.17. Letter H. 0.033 metres.

Description: Stela with triangular pediment, palmette acroteria and finial; within pediment incised object(?). Inscription on shaft. Broken below.

Inscription: ἐτείμησαν Μαμμην Αειτας σύνβιον καὶ τέκνα αὐτων ·Ρουφος _ _ _ _ _ _ _. "Aeitas and their children Rufus and …… honoured his wife Mamme." (Trans. Mitchell 1982).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mitchell 1982 60. Pl. 3.

OS.G.07. Menas stela

Plate: CIII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Sariyar.

Material: Bluish-Grey Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.53; W. 0.73; Th. 0.41. Letter H. 0.033 metres.

Description: Stela with large, arched *aedicula* on shaft; plain pilasters, triangular pediment, palmette acroteria and finial. Rosette at pediment centre, 4 rosettes, 2 above pediment, 2 either side of arch. Inscription above pediment. Complete.

Inscription: Μηνα Καμολου χαῖρε. (Trans. Mitchell 1982). "Menas Kamolos, farewell!" (Trans. Cutten 2018).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mitchell 1982, 157. Pl. 8.

Henry Cutten.

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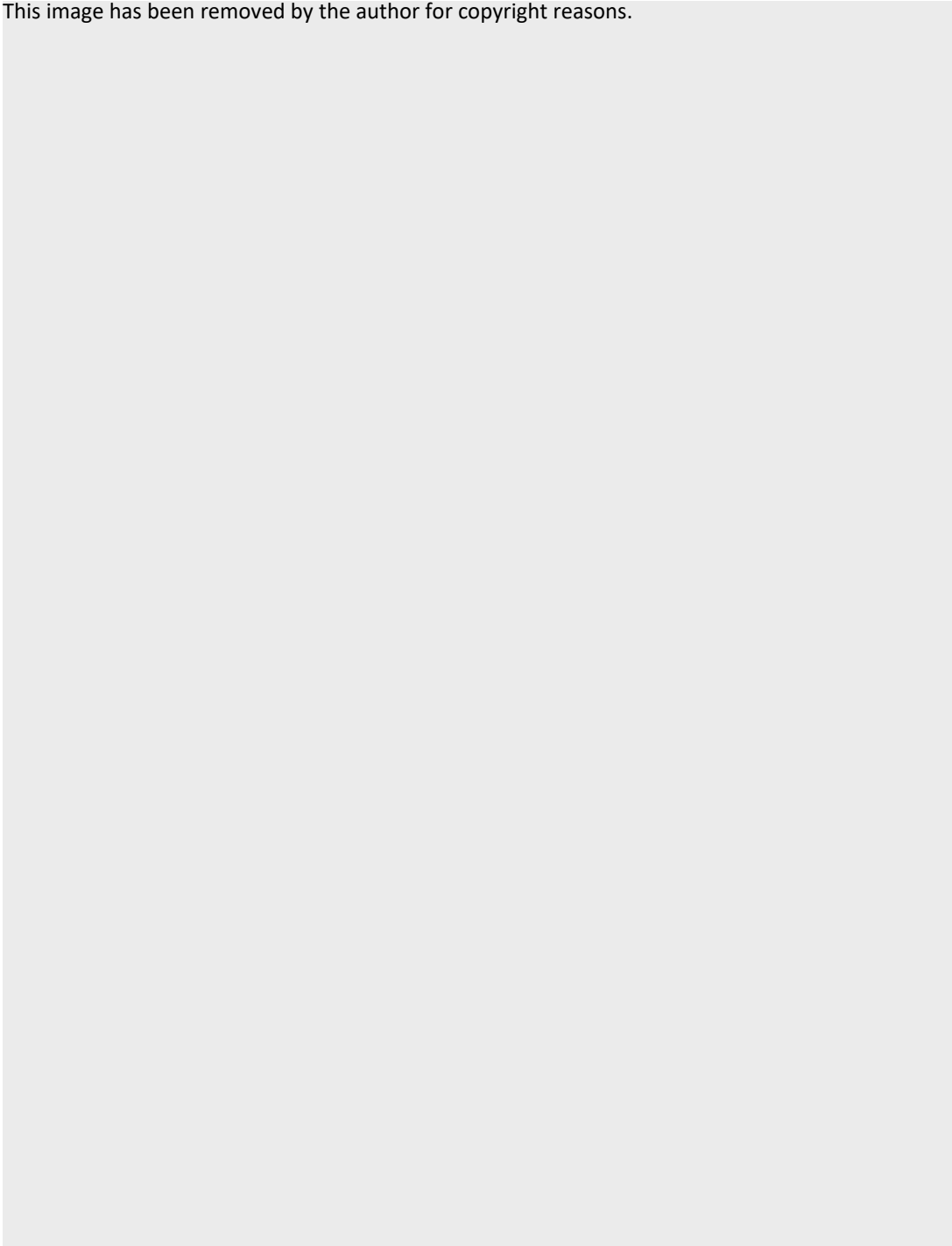
Plate CIII: OS.G.07. From Mitchell 1982, 157. Pl. 8.

OS.G.08. Olorix and Epatorigos stela

Plate: CIV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kavak.

Henry Cutten.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.62; W. (shaft) 0.45; Th. 0.18. Letter H. 0.025-0.028 metres.

Description: Stela with upper moulding; bordered triangular pediment, palmette acroteria and finial. Basket at centre. Inscription on shaft with herring bone patterned garland/wreath. Broken below(?).

Inscription: ΔΙΑΣΤΟΛΉ[--] Ολοριγος θυγάτ[ηρ] Επατοριγου δε γυνη {ν} χαίρε. "….. Daughter of Olorix, wife of Epatorigos, farewell." (Trans. Mitchell 1982).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mitchell 1982, 85. Pl. 4.

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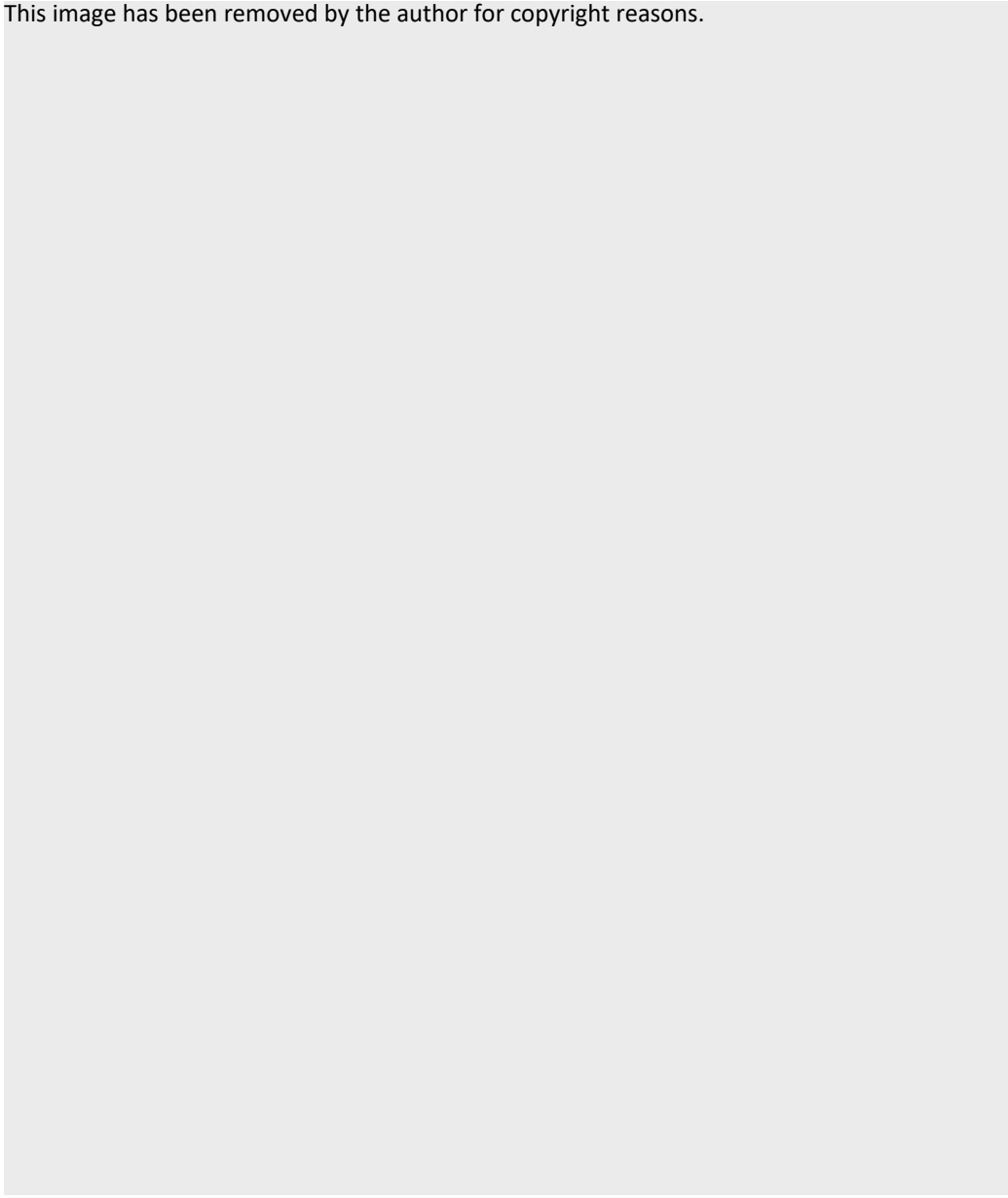
Plate CIV: OS.G.08. From Mitchell 1982, 85. Pl. 4.

Henry Cutten.

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OS.G.09. Eutycheia stela

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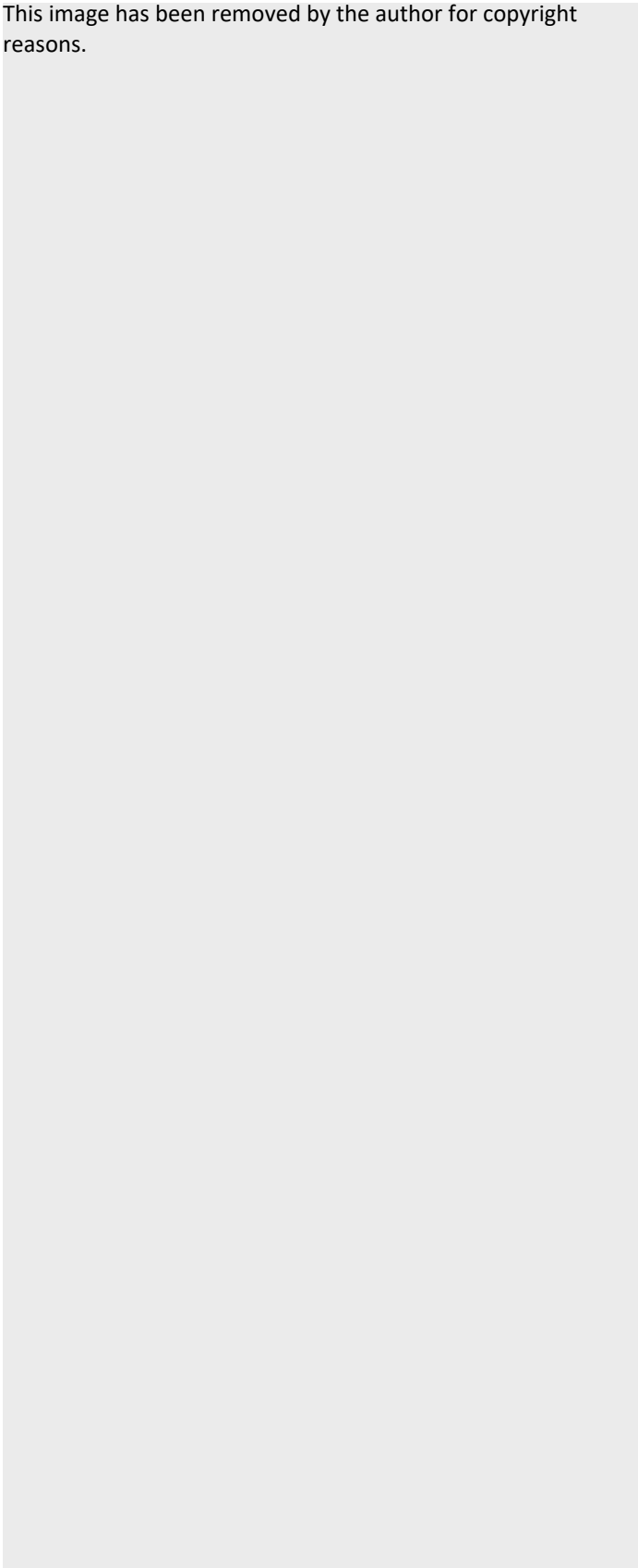
Plate CV: OS.G.09. From Mitchell 1982, 112. Pl. 29.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CV.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Nasreddin Hoca, in spring ca. 30 minutes west of the village.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: H. ca. 1.50; W. ca. 0.40; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, ornate capitals, stylised above; narrow triangular pediment, floral acroteria. Large upper element ornately decorated. Inscription on shaft below inscribed wreath, distaff, spindle and comb. Complete.

Inscription: Γάιος και Μάρκος Εύτυχ-είαι τηι {ι} αίαυτων μητρι (5) ζώση φρονούση άνέστησαν. "Gaius and Marcus set this up for their mother Eutycheia, while she was living and conscious." (Trans. Mitchell 1982).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mitchell 1982, 112. Pl. 29.

OS.G.10. Nisde stela

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Plate CVI: OS.G.10. From Mitchell 1982, 120. Pl. 5.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CVI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Tutlu.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.00; W. 0.435; Th. 0.28. Letter H. 0.03-0.038 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters; inscription in lower shaft, inscribed wreath and fillets, above. Broken above.

Inscription: Γάιος Μεν-άνδρου τ-η έαυτοϋ γ-υναικι' Νισ-(5) δη και τέκνα Φιλόνεικος και Μανδανασυν Αίμιλία νύνφη-(10) ς σπούδην άνέστησαν μνήμης χάριν έτους θμρ'. "Gaius, son of Menandros, for his own wife Nisde, and their children Philoneikos and Mandana with the bride Aimilia, zealously set this up, in memory. In the year 149." (Trans. Mitchell 1982).

Date: A.D. 124.

Source: Mitchell 1982, 120. Pl. 5.

OS.G.11. Asklepia and Domne

Plate: CVII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Karacaören.

Material: Grey Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.10; W. 0.48; Th. 0.28. Letter H. (lines 1-3) 0.02-0.025, (lines 4-6) 0.03-0.035 metres.

Description: Stela with triangular pediment, containing 6-pointed rosette. Inscription on shaft (top and base); inscribed wreath with fillets, separating text. Broken (r.) and above pediment.

Inscription: Παπίας Μενεσ[τράτο-] υ τη έαυτοϋ γ[υναι-] κει ʹΑσκληπία και Δό-(5) μνη θυγατρι μνήμης χάριν. "Papias, son of Menestratos, to his wife, Asklepia, and to his daughter Domne, in memory." (Trans. Mitchell 1982).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mitchell 1982, 123. Pl. 6.

Henry Cutten.

Plate CVII: OS.G.11. From Mitchell 1982, 123. Pl. 6.

OS.G.12. Magne stela

Plate: CVIII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Atlas.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.78; W. 0.42; Th. 0.27. Letter H. 0.023 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, lower element. On shaft, relief of wreath with fillets, above comb; inscription on remainder of shaft and onto lower element. Broken above.

Inscription: Τέρτιος Μάγνου και Βερονίκη ἡ γυνη αὐτοϋ(5) Μάγνη θυ-γατρι μνή{μη} μης χά-ριν <u>vac</u> συ(ν) σπούδη και Μά-(10)ρκου τοϋ ἀδελφοϋ κα-ι Κυρίλλης –θυγάτρος τοϋ Τερτιου και [Μ]άγνου τοϋ {του} ά-(15)δελφοϋ αύτης συ δε παροδειτ[α] χ[αι]ρε.

Henry Cutten.

"Tertius son of Magnus and Beronike his wife for their daughter Magne, in memory. Also with the zeal of Marcus his brother and Kyrille, daughter of Tertius, and Magnus her brother. You too, passer-by, farewell." (Trans. Mitchell 1982).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mitchell 1982, 128. Pl. 6.

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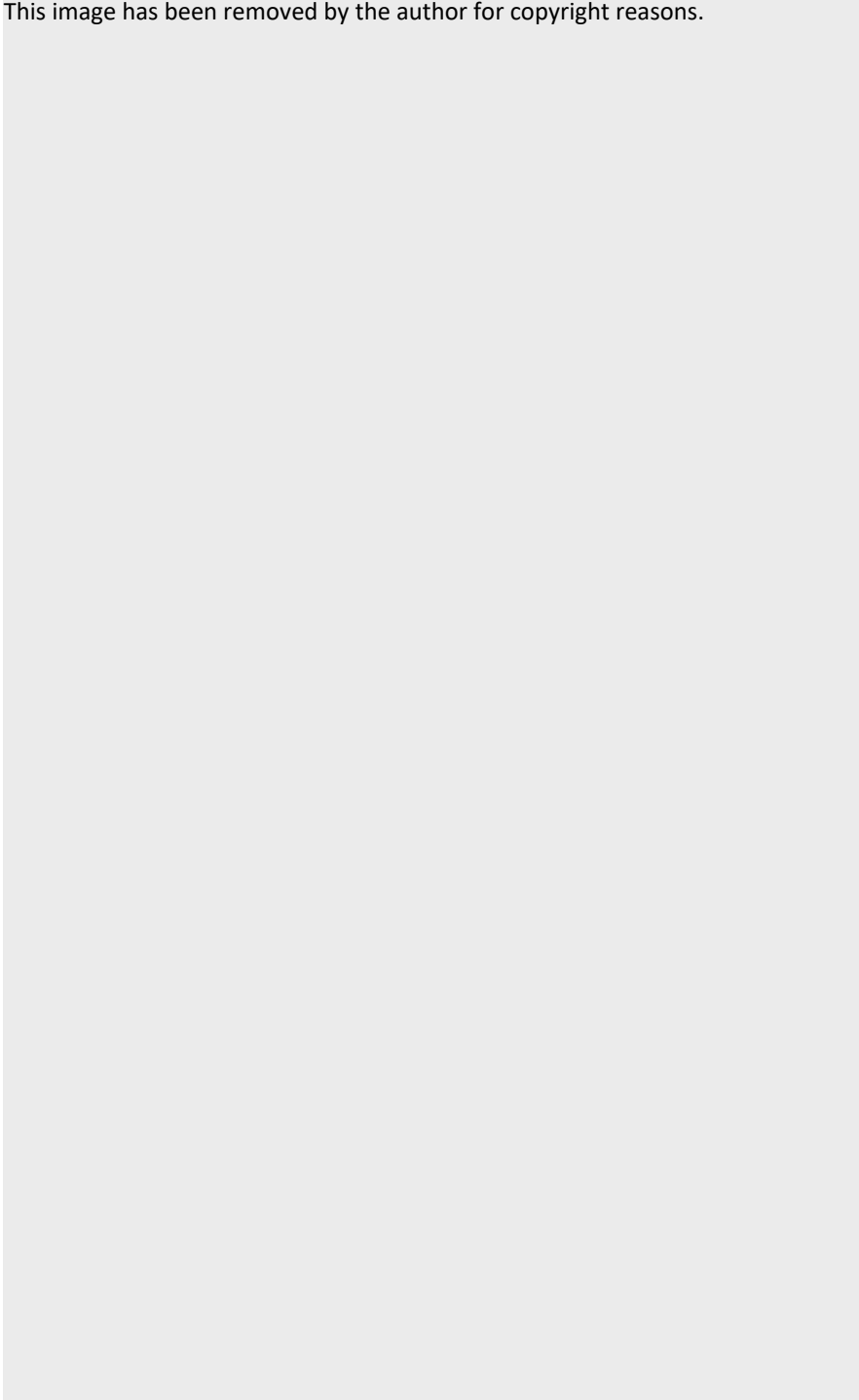
Plate CVIII: OS.G.12. From Mitchell 1982, 128. Pl. 6.

Henry Cutten.

OS.G.13. Manos stela

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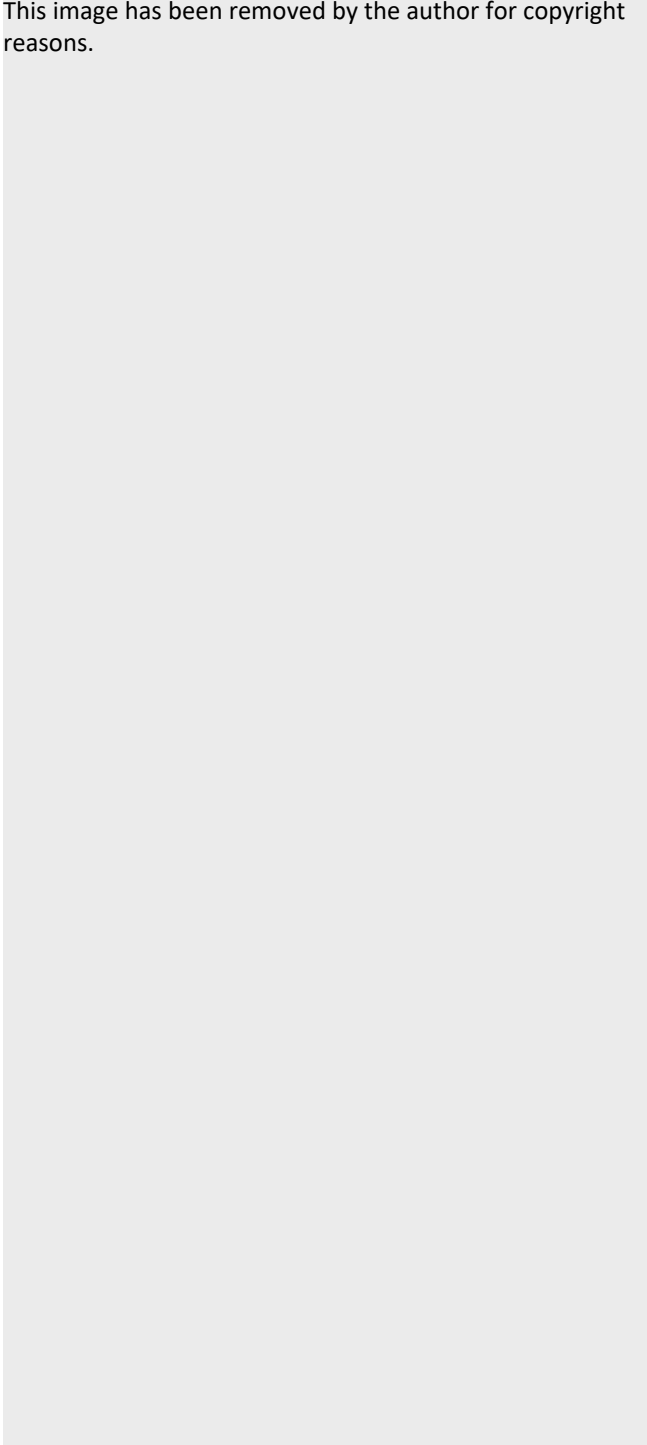
Plate CIXI: OS.G.13. From Mitchell 1982, 279 Pl. 17.

Plate: CIX.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kirazoglu, in mosque wall.

Henry Cutten.

Material: Grey Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.96; W. 0.40, (base) 0.49; Th. 0.25. Letter H. ca. 0.022 metres.

Description: Stela with field broken into 2 panels. Wreath in relief above, inscription on middle section and into lower panel, containing wreath with fillets. Broken above and below, surface weathered.

Inscription: [- - - - -] Μανος Α·ω• • •NWKETE• ΥΔΥW·ΔIWNTI• Ν γλυκυτάτων άνεσ-(5) τησεν μνή-μης χάριν. (Trans. Mitchell 1982). "- - - - - Manos … … … … sweetest … set this up in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mitchell 1982, 279 Pl. 17.

OS.G.14. Domnos stela

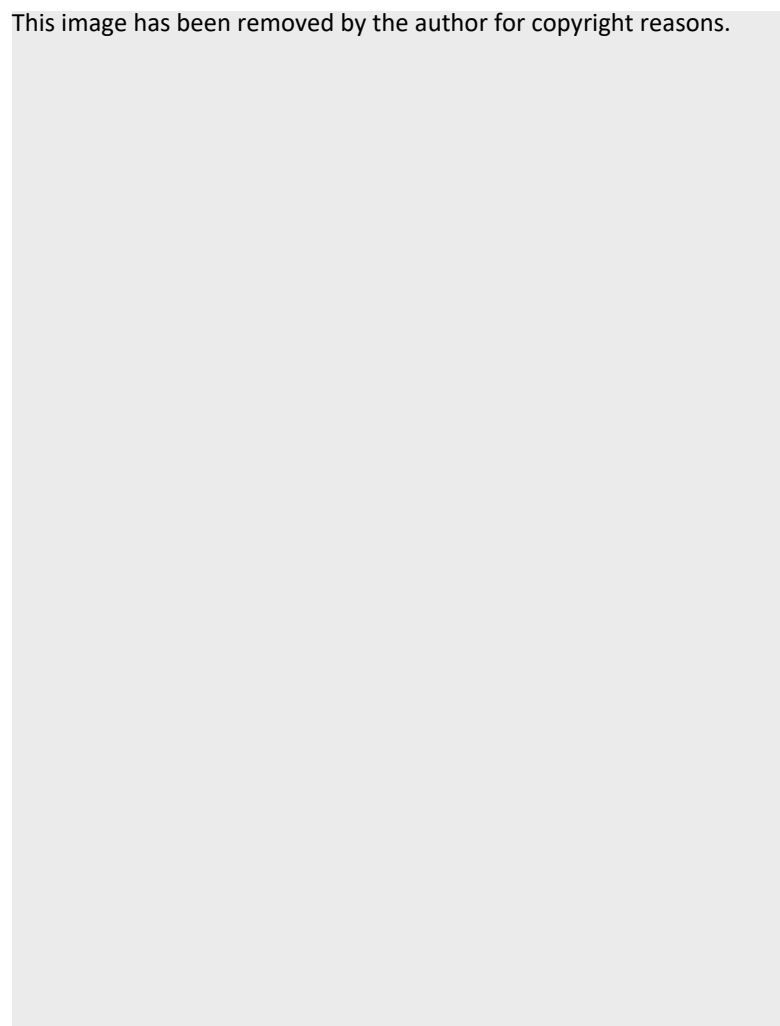This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CX: OS.G.14. From Mitchell 1982, 310. Pl. 12.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CX.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kutluhan Cami.

Material: Grey Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.49; W. 0.49; Th. 0.22. Letter H. 0.015 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters. On shaft, chest, basket, spindle-and-distaff, beaker on table (?), and chest (?), above the inscription. Broken above, below and right.

Inscription: Λουκρήτιος [και- - - -] ὑφ Δόμνφ [και ἑαυτοϊς] ζώντες [ἀνέστησαν μνήμης] χάριν. "Lucretius and ….. set this up for their son Domnos …. and for themselves while they were still alive, in memory." (Trans. Mitchell 1982).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mitchell 1982, 310. Pl. 12.

OS.G.15. Marcus stela

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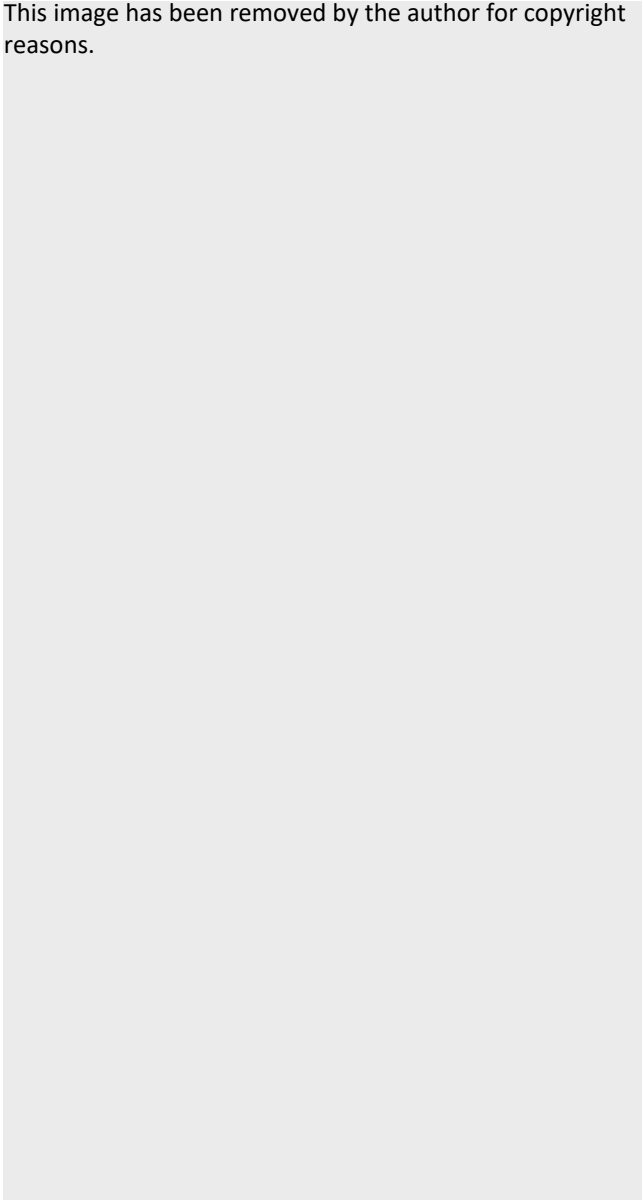Henry Cutten.

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Plate: CXI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Yurtbeyci.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.40; W. 0.55; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with pentagonal pediment containing relief of lion. Broken on all sides.

Inscription: Μάνης Μάρκου πατρι ἀνέ[στησε μνή-] [μης χάριν]. "Manes, son of Marcus, set this up for his father, in memory." (Trans. Mitchell 1982).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mitchell 1982, 327 Pl. 13.

OS.G.16. Zotice stela

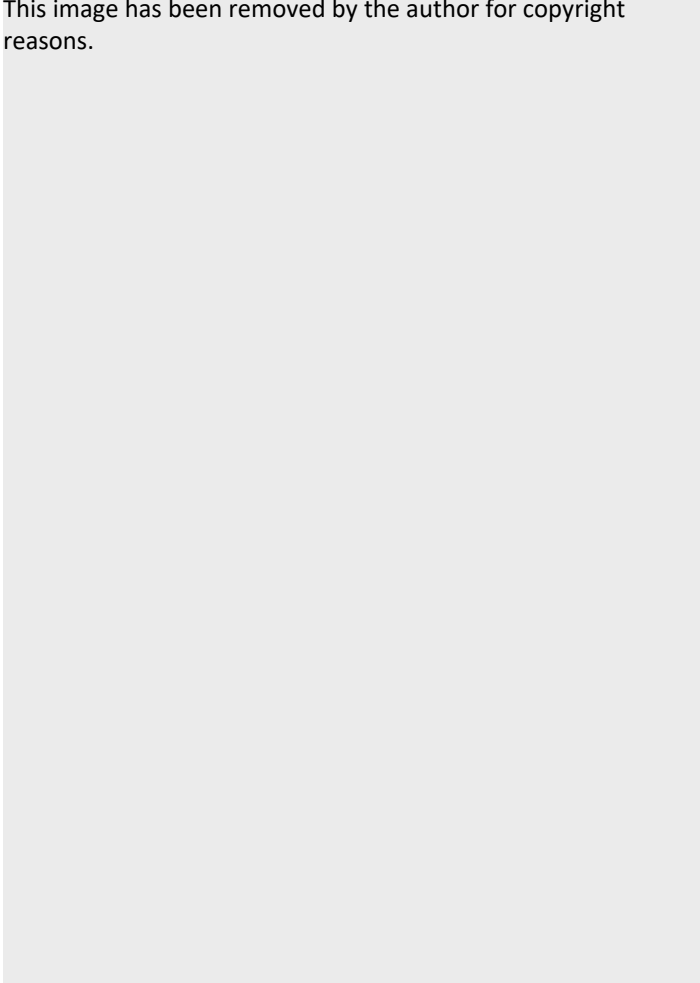This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CXII: OS.G.16. From Mitchell 1982, 398. Pl. 15.

Henry Cutten.

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Plate CXIII: OS.G.16. From Mitchell 1982, 398. Pl. 15.

Plate: CXII and CXIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Karahamzali.

Material: Red Sandstone.

Dimensions: H. 0.90; W. 0.48; Th. 0.23. Letter H. 0.025-0.032 metres.

Description: Stela with triangular, panelled pediment. In field, panel containing chest, with beaker, comb, mirror, and spindle-and-distaff with thread. Inscription above and below recessed panel on shaft. Broken above and below.

Inscription: Τ φλάουιος Ούαλεντίων Ζωτικη-θυγατρι μνήμης χάριν·(5) Πατροείνος Ζωτικ[- -]. "Titus Flavius Valention for Zotice, his daughter, in memory. PatronIus……" (Trans. Mitchell 1982).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mitchell 1982, 398. Pl. 15.

Henry Cutten.

OS.G.17. Marcus Iulius Eumelus stela

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Plate CXIV: OS.G.17. From Reinartz 1964, 118. Fig. 1.

Plate: CXIV.

Museum and Inv. No: Alaca Museum, Inv. No. N/R.

Find site: Alaca.

Material: White Limestone.

Dimensions: Unrecorded.

Description: Stela with triangular pediment, containing round boss; large acroteria and finial above. Inscription on shaft, in recessed panel. Damage at base.

Henry Cutten.

Inscription: Μ. ʹΙούλιον Εύμηλον τον φιλόσοφον και πάση άρετη κε-(5)κοσμημένον, τον πιστότατον και πάντων φίλον, τον χρηστον και γλυκυν πατέρα (10) τα τέκνα μνήμης. "His children (for) Marcus Iulius Eumelus, the philosopher adorned with every virtue, the most devoted friend of all, their good and dear father, in memory." (Trans. Mitchell 1982).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Reinartz 1964, 118. Figs. 1 and 1a.

OS.G.18. Gaianus stela

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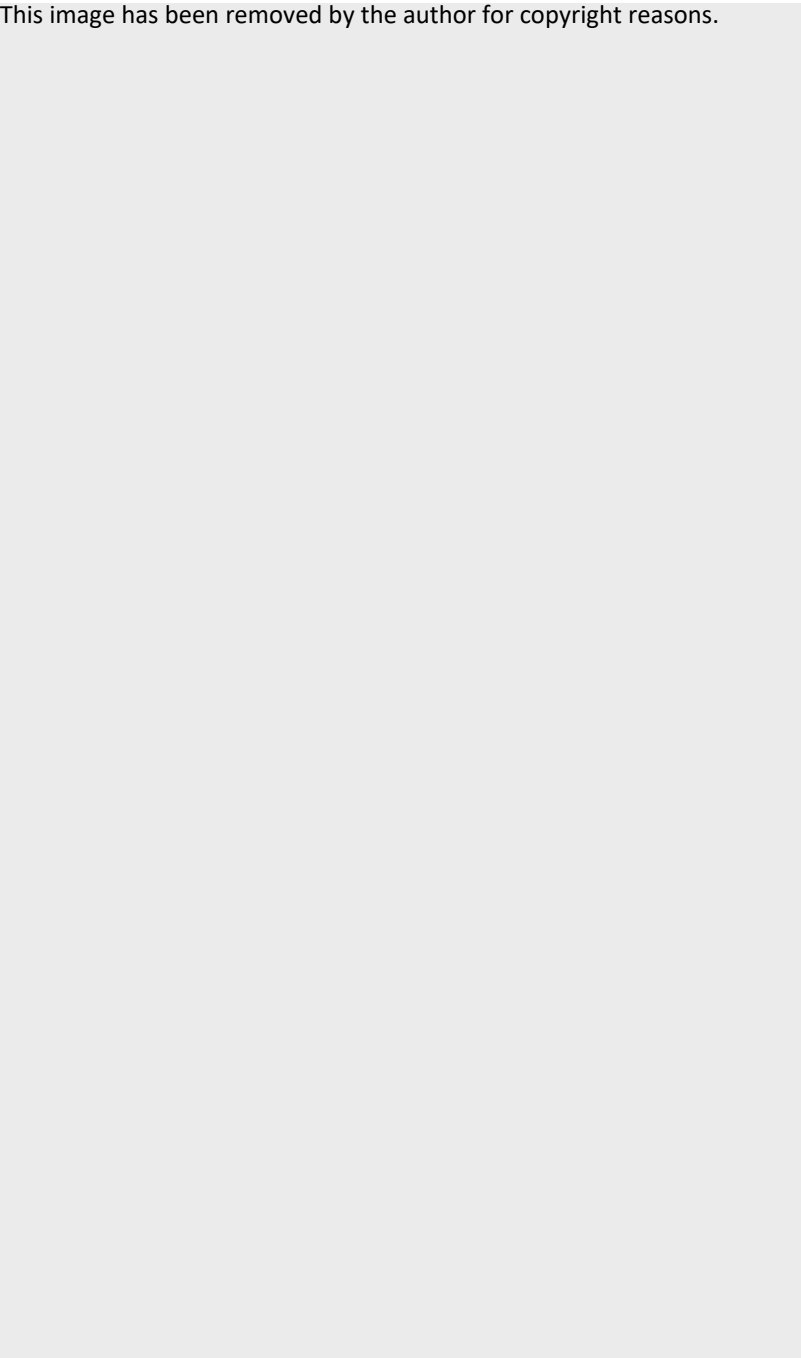
Plate CXV: OS.G.18. From Mitchell 1982, 520. Pl. 17.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CXV.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Alaca.

Material: Grey Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.58; W. 0.31; Th. 0.13. Letter H. 0.02-0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with boss in pediment, inscription on shaft, garland below. Broken above.

Inscription: Ἀκυλία τδ ἱδίο άνδρι Γαιανω (5) μνήμες χάρις. "Akylia, to her husband Gaianus, in memory." (Trans. Mitchell 1982).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mitchell 1982, 520. Pl. 17.

OS.G.19. C. Clitius Granius stela

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Plate CXVI: OS.G.19. From Mitchell 1982, 83. Pl. 4.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CXVI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Beykoy, seen in the cemetery in September 1973.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: Unrecorded.

Description: Stela with triangular pediment, plain acroteria and defaced boss in pediment. Inscription on shaft. Broken below.

Inscription: C. Clitius C.f. Vel. Granius annorum IIII. Oro quaesoque, pater, quam minimum (5) te adflictes nat[o] [amisso - - - - -]. "C. Clitius Granius, son of Caius, of the tribe Velina, four years old. I beg and beseech, father, that you torment yourself as little as possible, having lost your child ....." (Trans. Mitchell 1982).

Date: 1st Century A.D.

Source: Mitchell 1982, 83. Pl. 4.

OS.G.20. Tib. Claudius Cassius stela

Plate: CXVII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Yozgat Museum, Inv. No. 679.

Find site: Karadikmen. Brought from the village in 1989.

Material: Coarse, Crystalline Marble.

Dimensions: H. (upper half) 0.96, (lower half) 1.06; W. (shaft) 0.413; Th. (shaft) 0.14. Letters H. 0.049 metres.

Description: Stela with triangular pediment, acroteria above with antithetic tendrils; sides palmette acroteria. On shaft inscription above mouldings and a wreath, in relief. Under base, a tenon. In 2 pieces, broken below; chipped and damaged. Reverse rough.

Inscription: Τιβέριος (2) Κλαύδιος Κάσσιος (4) ζων έαυ- (vac) τωι. "Tiberius Claudius Cassius, while living, for himself." (Trans. French 2007).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: French 2007, no. 3.

Henry Cutten.

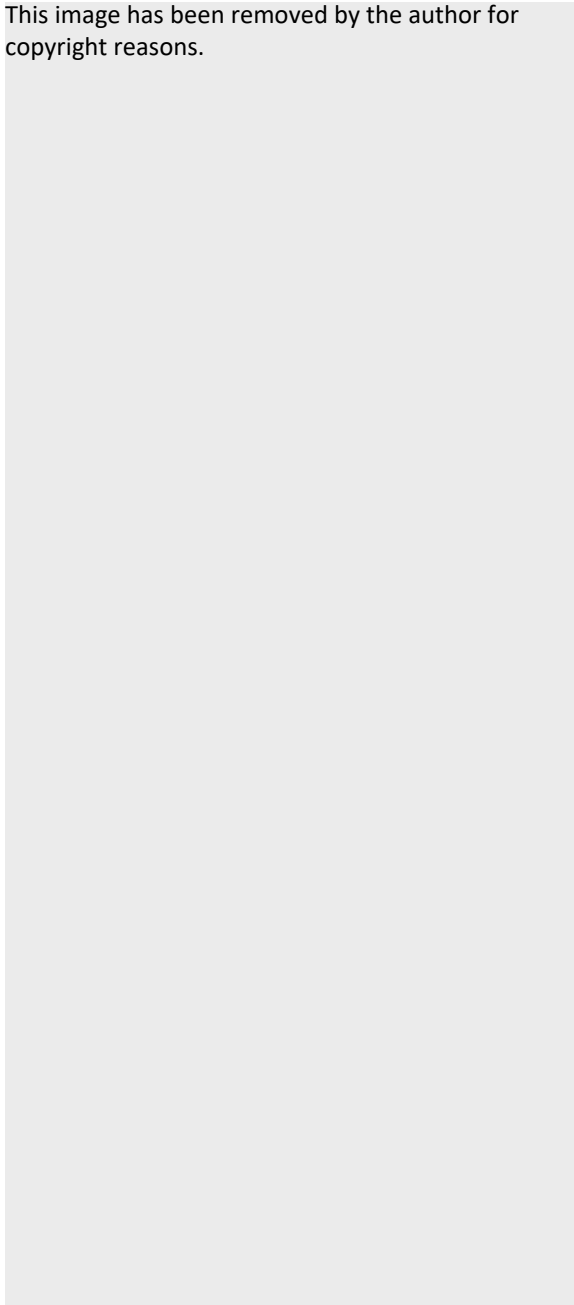This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.
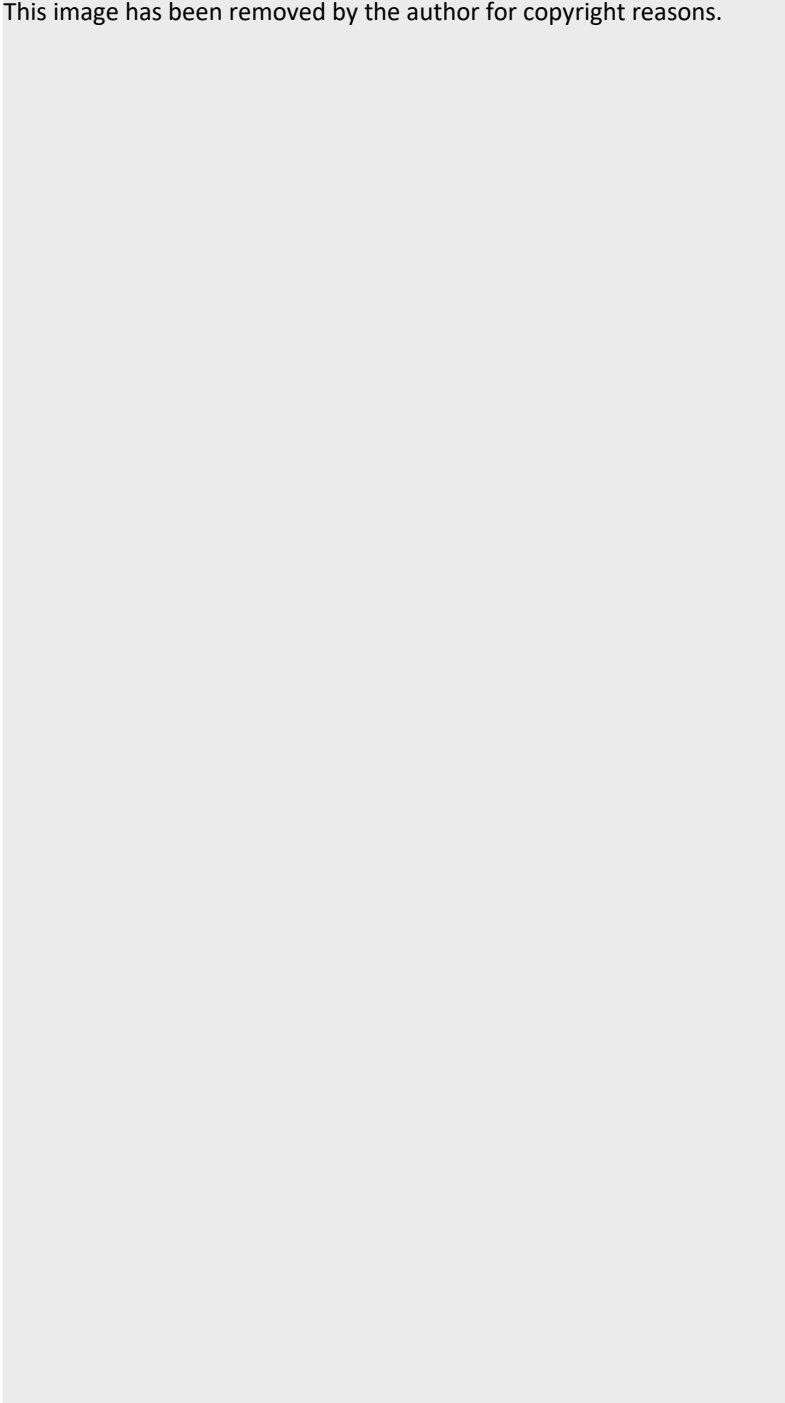
Plate CXVII: OS.G.20. From French 2007, no. 3.

OS.G.21. Dionysios stela

Plate: CXVIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Hacıbektaş Museum, Inv. No. 254.

Find site: Hacıbektaş.

Henry Cutten.

Material: Coarse, Crystalline Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.70; W. (top) 0.255, (bottom) 0.295; Th. 0.084. Letter H. c. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with triangular pediment, stylised anthesterion and acroteria; inscribed with stylised leaves. Inscription on shaft, below inscribed krater. Tenon at base. Complete, worn surface.

Inscription: ᾽ΑνοΠτηνη Cπινινίου Διονυcίω τω. ἀ-(4) δελφφ μν-ήμη(c) χάριν (vase and tendrils). "Anoptene, (daughter) of Spininios, for Dionysios, (her) brother, in memory." (Trans. French 2007).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: French 2007, 15.

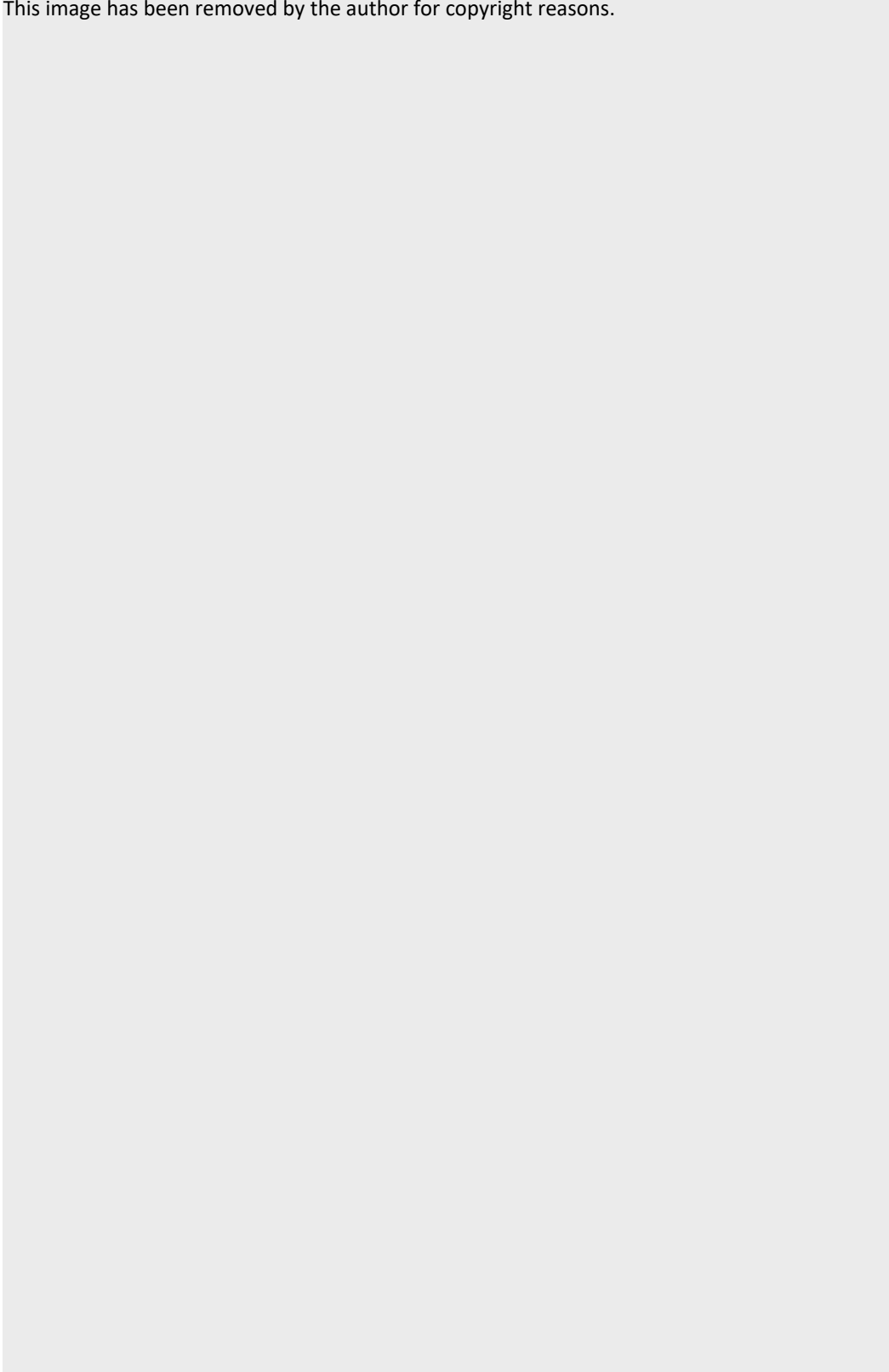This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CXVIII: OS.G.21. From French 2007, 15.

Henry Cutten.

OS.G.22. Prokris stela

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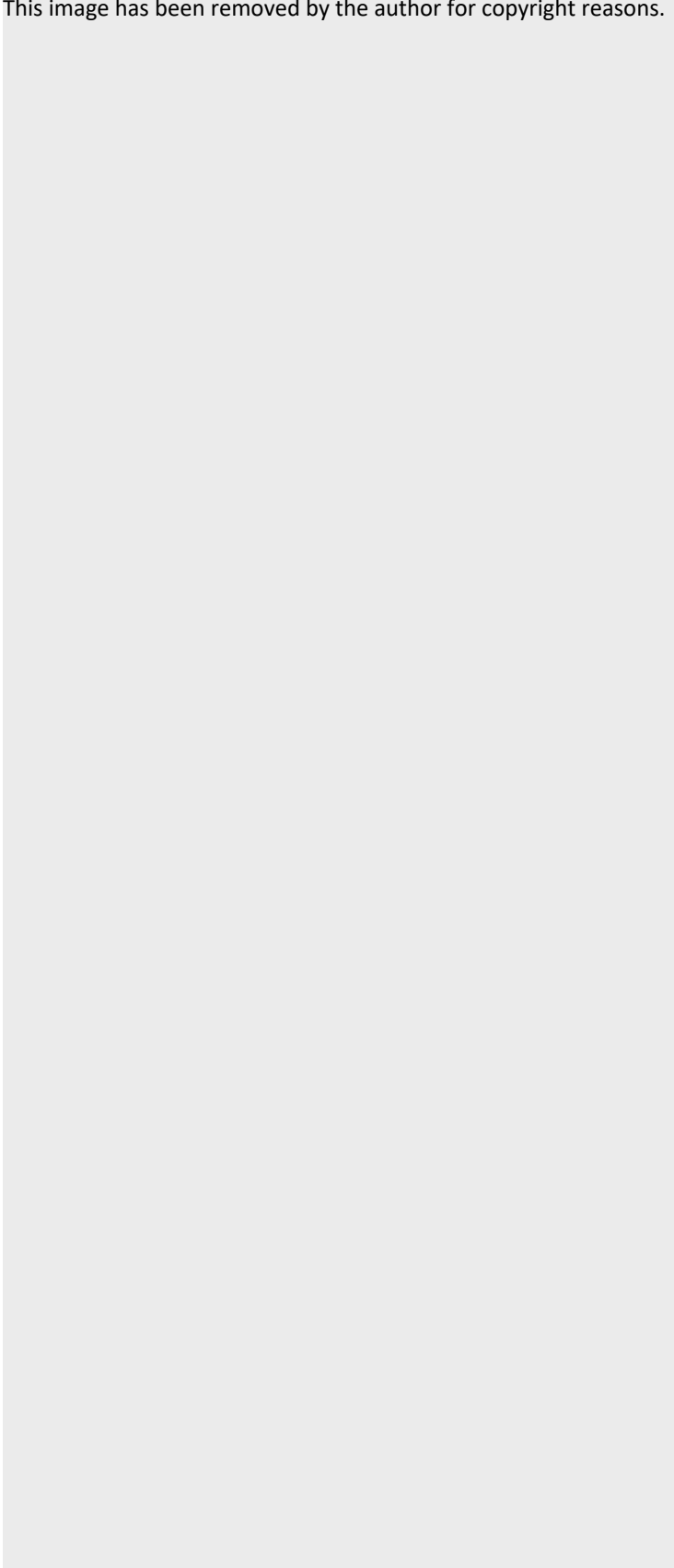
Plate CXIX: OS.G.22. From French 2007, 16.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CXIX.

Museum and Inv. No: Hacıbektaş Museum, Inv. No. 252.

Find site: Hacıbektaş.

Material: Coarse, Crystalline Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.825; w. (top) 0.255, (bottom) 0.295; Th. 0.084. Letter H. (line 2) 0.018, (line 3) M 0.022 metres.

Description: Stela with narrow upper moulding, plain shaft with inscription at top; below text, incised wreath(?) and basket. Tenon under base. Broken top right, large crack through surface.

Inscription: Μειδὶας Cυν[••••] (2) Πρόκριδι τή ἱδ[ίą] γυναικὶ μνή-(4) μης ενεκεν. "Meidias, (son) of Syn[-] for Prokris, his very own wife, in memory." (Trans. French 2007).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: French 2007, 16.

OS.G.23. Kobaba stela

Plate: CXX (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Aksaray Museum, Inv. No. 41.1.74.

Find site: Aksaray.

Material: Soft Tufa.

Dimensions: H. (ex.) c. 0.77; W. (pediment base) 0.48; Th. 0.25. Letter H. (line 2) 0.028 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters supporting pediment, arrow design at base; circular finial containing 6-petalled flower, flanked by half-palmette acroteria. In pediment, bird standing in basket. Inscription on shaft. Broken below, chipped on right.

Inscription: Διογένης Νε-(2) άνθου Κοβαβα Ἀππα (4) τηι ἱδίą γυναικὶ μνήμης (6) [χάριν]. "Diogenes, (son) of Neanthos, for Kobaba, (daughter) of Appas, his very own wife, [in] memory." (Trans. French 2007).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: French 2007, no. 29.

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Plate CXX: OS.G.23. From French 2007, no. 29.

Henry Cutten.

OS.G.24. Mousa stela

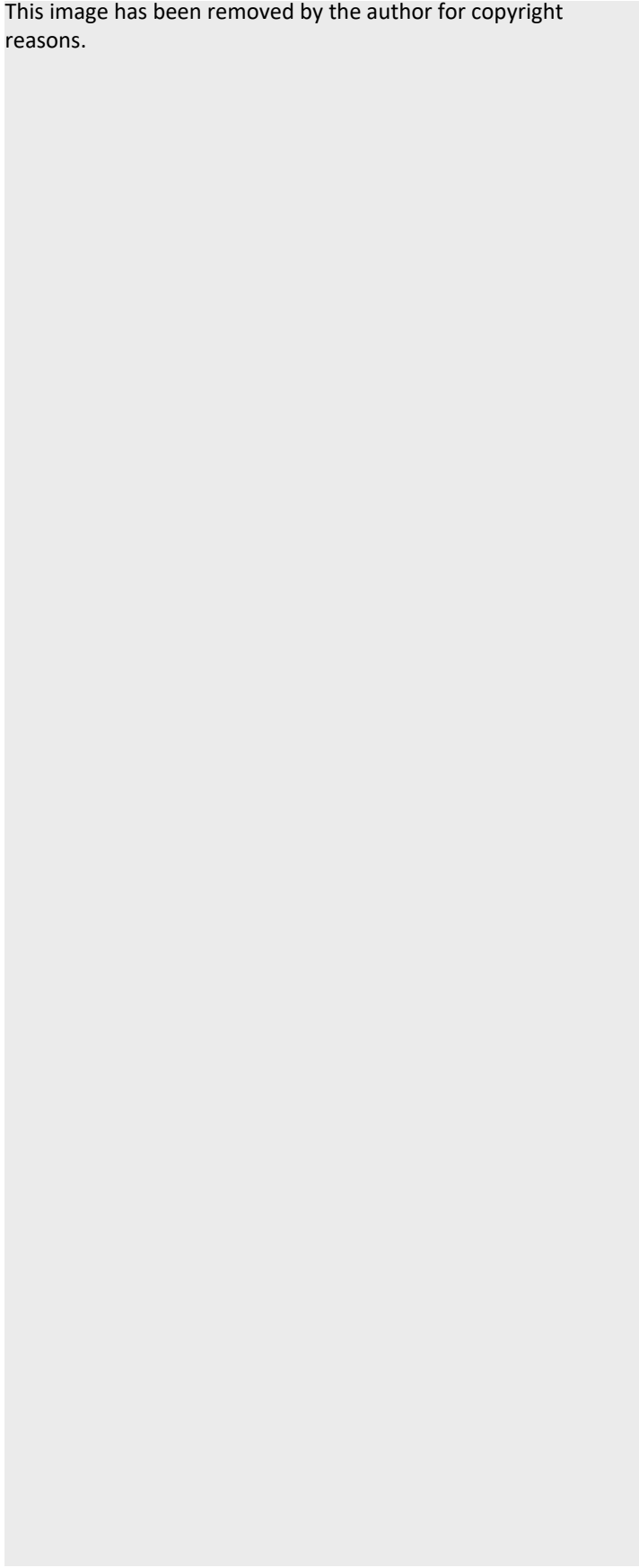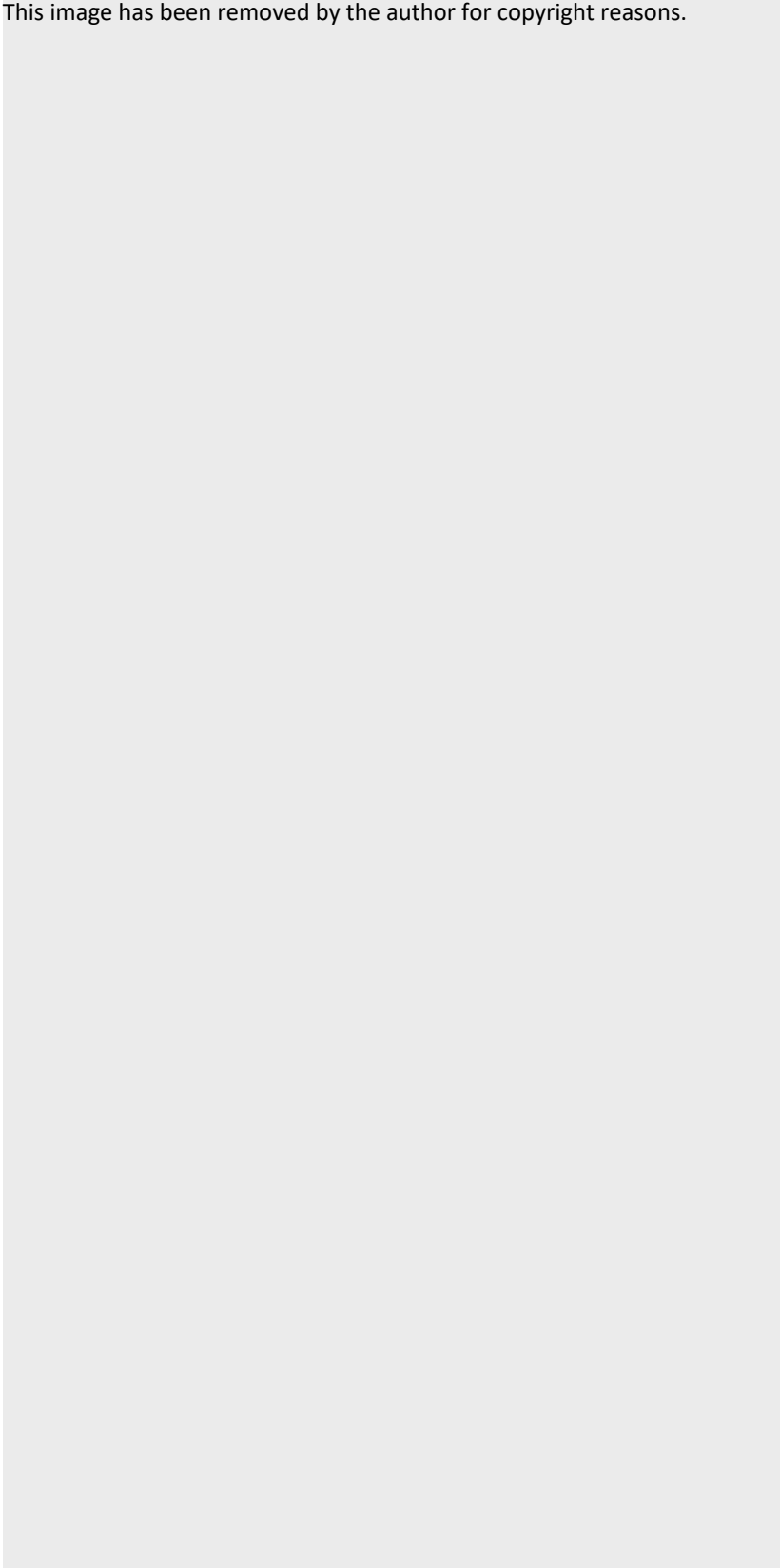This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CXXI: OS.G.24. From French 2007, no. 42.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CXXI.

Museum and Inv. No: Kayseri Museum, Inv. No. N/R.

Find site: Kayseri.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.96; W. (pediment base) 0.34, (top of shaft) 0.333; Th. 0.18. Letter H. 0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with triangular, bordered pediment; inside, flower in relief; above, anthesterion decorated with incised floral motif; corner acroteria incised with half-palmette decoration flanking. On shaft, inscription and double circle, below. Complete, traces of red colouring on surface.

Inscription: Μα Ἰ. Λονγείνου (2) Μούαςη τῆ ἰδ(ί)ᾳ θυγατρι μνήμης ενε-(4) (vac) κα. "Ma, (daughter) of I(ulius) Longinus, for Mousa, her very own daughter, in memory." (Trans. French 2007).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: French 2007, no. 42.

OS.G.25. Licinia stela

Plate: CXXII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Sivas Museum, Inv. No. N/R.

Find site: Kiremitli.

Material: Hard, Pale Limestone.

Dimensions: H. (ex.) 1.00; W. (top of shaft) 0.44; Th. 0.13. Letter H. 0.040 metres.

Description: Stela with triangular pediment, within a disk with 3 incised lines, in relief. Simple mouldings and plain shaft, below. Inscription at top; wreath in relief at foot of shaft. Broken above and below.

Inscription: [Μ]ητρǫδωροϲ (2) [.] ΛϹΟΥ Λικινίᾳ [Δ]ημητρίου τῆ κ[αι] Κυρίλλιη τῆ παναρέτφ γυναικ[ί]. "Metrodoros, (son) of [Ia]sos (?), for Licinia, (daughter) of Demetrios, also named Cyrilla, his all-virtuous wife." (Trans. French 2007).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: French 2007, no. 46.

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Plate CXXII: OS.G.25. From French 2007, no. 46.

Henry Cutten.

OS.G.26. Manes stela

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Plate CXXIII: OS.G.26. From Mama 1956, 58. Page 127.

Plate: CXXIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kunderaz.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. (visible) 1.14; W. 0.63; Th. 0.27. Letter H. 0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with pilasters, stylised capitals. Inscription on shaft and onto right pilaster. Above text a mattock and a pruning-hook. Broken above, base concealed. Sides and back rough.

Inscription: Ξνικός κέ | Μακεδών πρ|όγον(ο)ι έστησα[ν] | Μανη πατροπο || (5) ήτω μνής χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1956). "Xnikos and Makedon set this up (for) Manes, their fathers and ancestors/forefathers, in memory/in remembrance." (Trans. Cutten 2018).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1956, 58. Page 127.

Henry Cutten.

OS.G.27. Julianus and Domna stela

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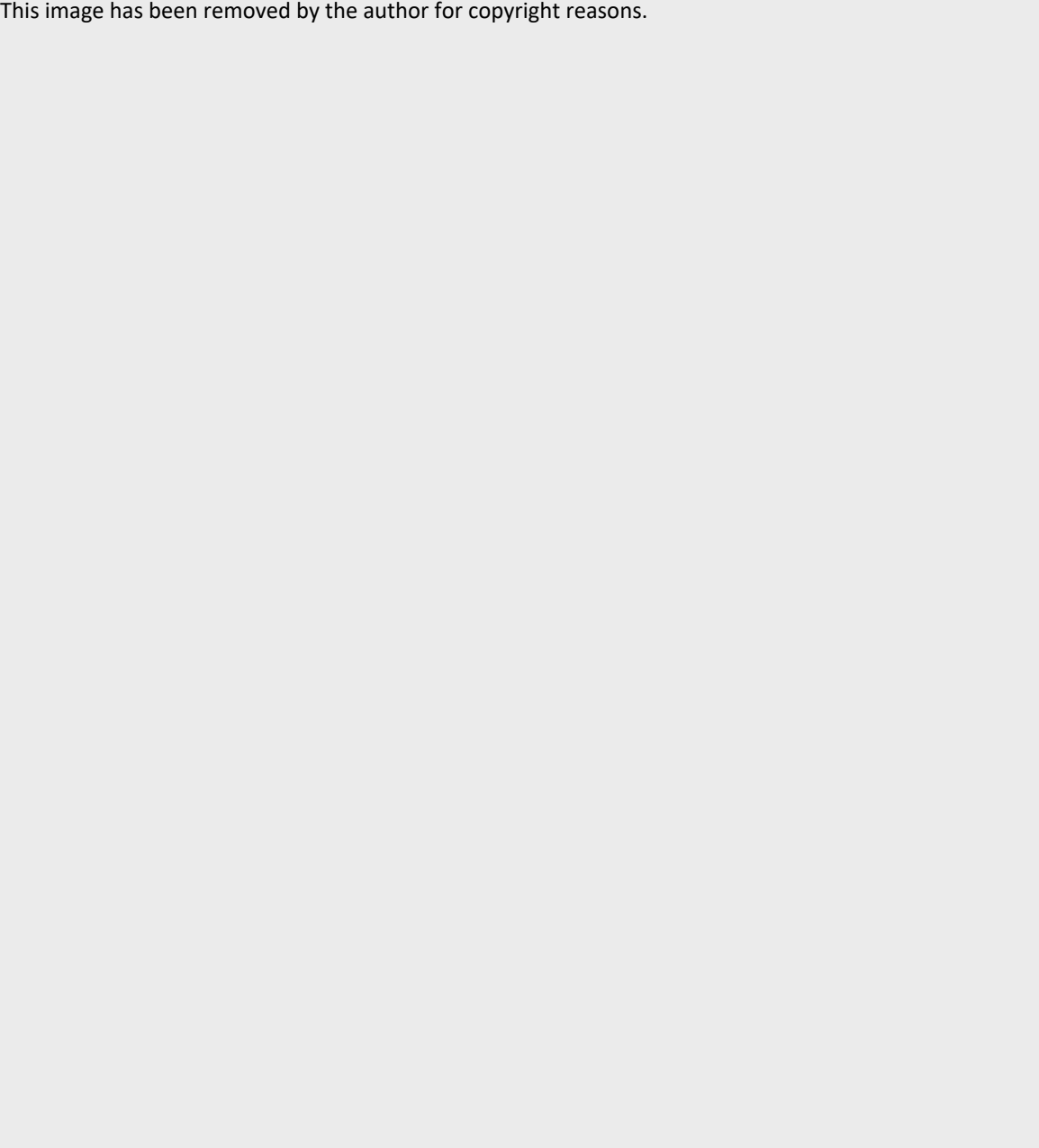
Plate CXXIV: OS.G.27. From Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 224.

Plate: CXXIV.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kulu, in a cemetery on the east edge of the village.

Material: White Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.41; W. (upper moulding) 0.52, (shaft) 0.48; Th. 0.36. Letter H. 0.035-0.040 metres.

Henry Cutten.

Description: Stela without pediment(?), plain pilasters; upper moulding with incised depictions of animal-legged tripod table, an *oinochoe* underneath, and one-handled *skyphos* on top (l.); chest with lock-plate (centre), spindle-and-distaff (r.). Inscription on the shaft. Complete; buried below.

Inscription: Ἰουλιαν-ὸς Νεικίο-υ ἰδίᾳ γυ-ναικὶ γλυ-(5)κιτάτῃ Δό-μνᾳ Γεμ-ελλείνου μνήμης χάριν κ(ὲ) ἐαυ-(10)τῷ *hed*. "Julianus, son of Neikias, for his own sweetest wife Domna, daughter of Gemellinus, in memoriam, and for himself." (Trans. Mama 2013).

Date: 2nd Century A.D. onwards.

Source: Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 224.

OS.G.28. **Urbana and Prisca stela**

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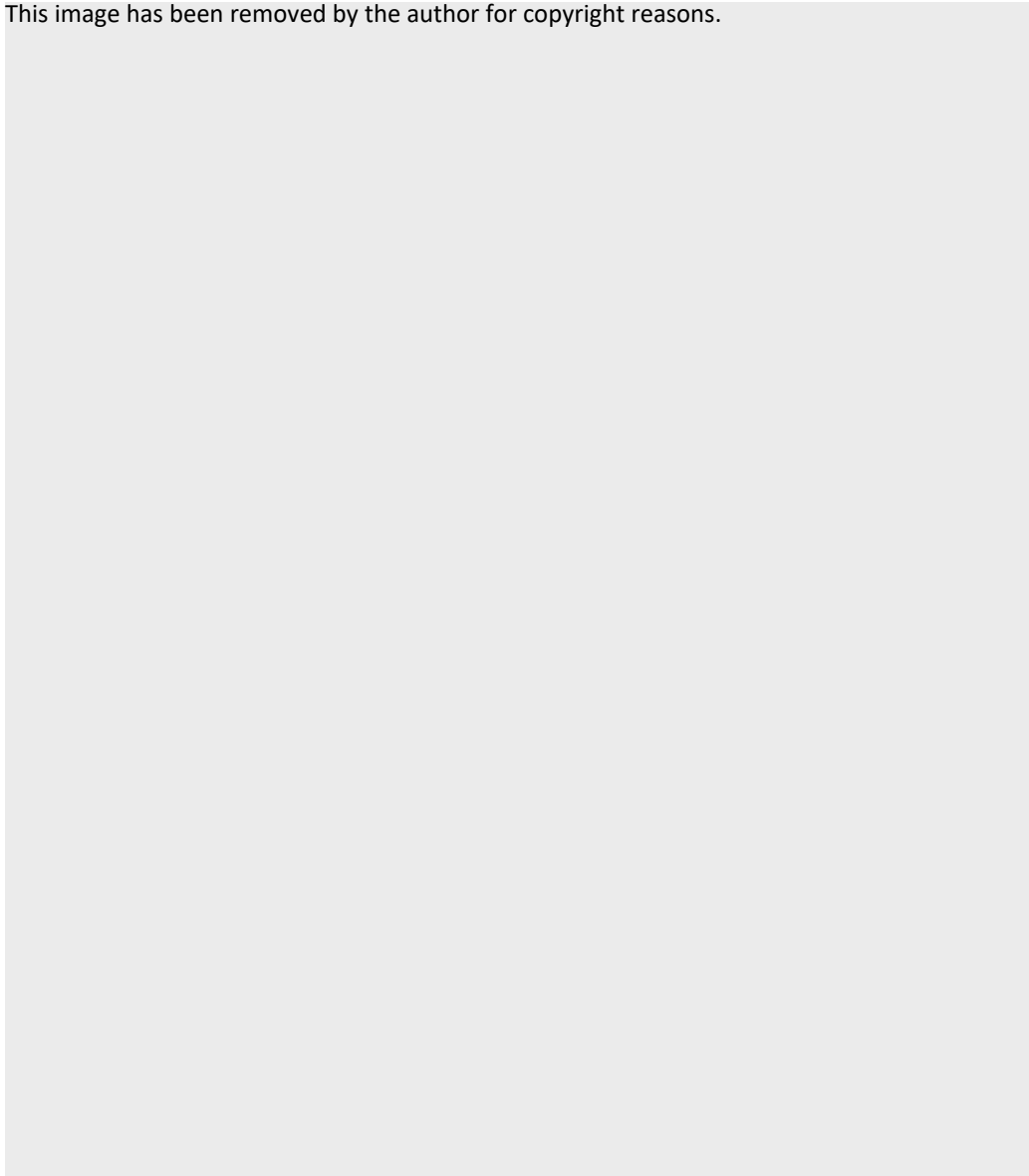
Plate CXXV: OS.G.28. From Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 246.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CXXV.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Karakilise, in the steps of a house near the fountain.

Material: Grey Limestone.

Dimensions: Unrecorded.

Description: Stela with vaulted pediment, corner acroteria; round boss in relief at centre; on shaft, inset panel with plain moulding containing inscription. Broken above.

Inscription: Οὐρβᾶνα{να} τῇ ἑαυτῆς θυγα- τρὶ Πρείσκῃ γλυκυτάτῃ ἀ-(5)νέστησεν μνήμης χά- ριν. "Urbana set this up for her own sweetest daughter Prisca, in memoriam." Trans. Mama 2013.

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 246.

OS.G.29. Papas and Aphrodeisia stela

Plate: CXXVI (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ladik (Laodiceia Combusta), at Gâvur Mezarı, above Kör Kuyu. 500m above the village on the slope of a hill, facing east; newly excavated from the ruins of a church.

Material: Blue and White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.38; W. 0.54; Th. 0.28. Letter H. 0.040 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, previously with upper and lower mouldings (removed, left edge recut as part of a string-moulding for the church (no facsimile)). Inscription on inset panel on shaft. Broken above.

Inscription: Παπας Μαν-ου {τα}εἰατ-ῷ καὶ τῇ ⟦ε⟧ ἰδ-ίᾳ γυναικ ⟦ε⟧ ἰ 5ˌἈφ˩ ⟦ο⟧ ροδει-σίᾳ ζῶντε ⟦ι⟧ ς μνήμης χά- ριν. "Papas son of Manes, for himself and his own wife Aphrodeisia, while they were still living, in memoriam." (Trans. Mama 2013).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 263.

Henry Cutten.

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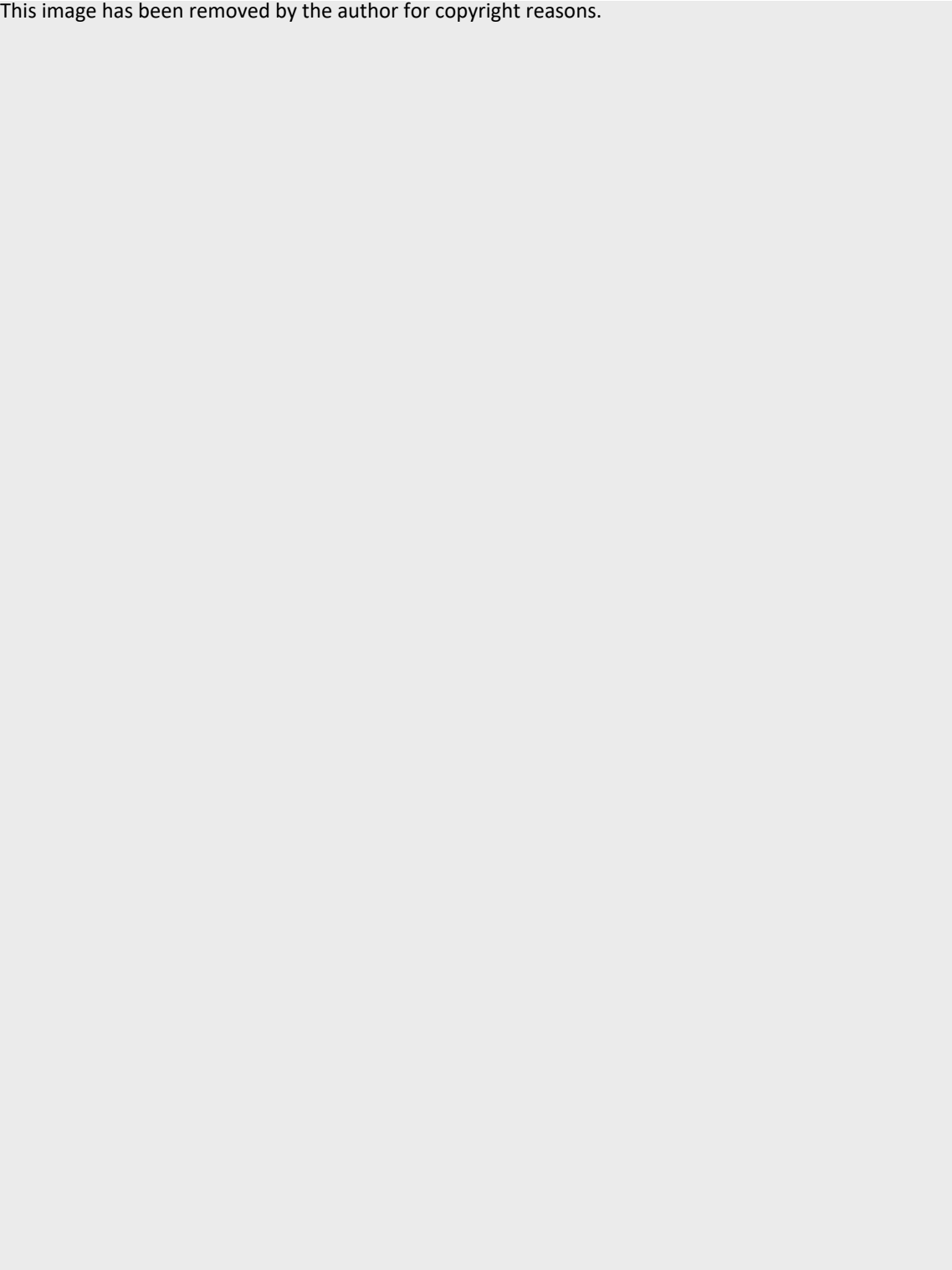This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CXXVI: OS.G.29. From Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 263.

Henry Cutten.

OS.G.30. stela for Appe

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Plate CXXVII: OS.G.30. From Mama 2013, Vol. XI. no. 321.

Plate: CXXVII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Mernek, in a house wall.

Material: Grey Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.92; W. 0.33; Th. 0.20. Letter H. 0.020-0.030 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, inscription in a recessed panel. Broken above.

Henry Cutten.

Inscription: ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟ- ΥΚΟΥ Αππ- η γλυκυτάτ- η θυγατρὶ μ- (5) νήμης χά- ριν. "Kyria..., for Appe, his/her sweetest daughter, in memoriam." (Trans Mama 2013).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 2013, Vol. XI. no. 321.

OS.G.31. Stela of a Pannonian soldier

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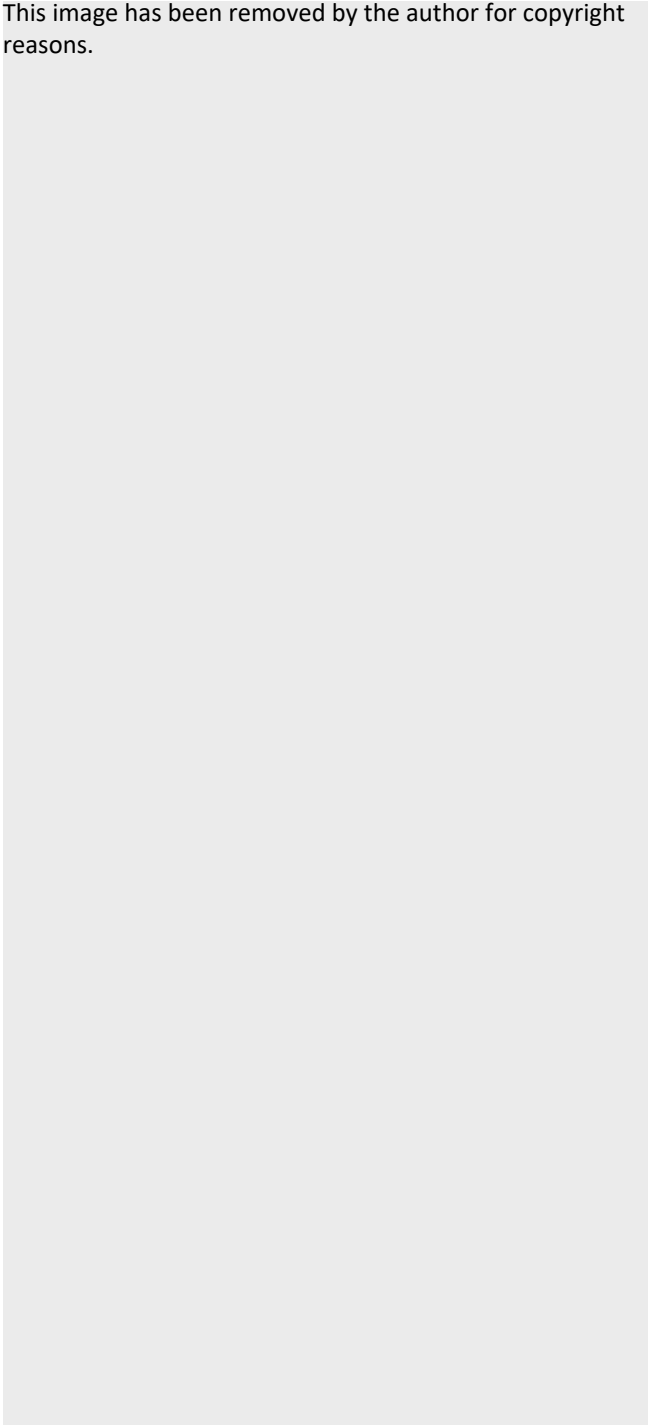
Plate: CXXVIII.

Museum and Inv. No: In storage in depot of Gordion museum, Inv. No: 13039 I 659.

Find site: Gordion, recovered in the boundaries of Gordion's outer town, NW of Gordion's Citadel Mound.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 1.42; W. (base) 0.545, (top) 0.415; Th. (base) 0.24 (top) 0.135. Letter H. 0.05 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, elaborate capitals and lower element. On shaft, inscription. Broken above, tenon at base; back and sides rough cut.

Inscription: Trito Batoni(s f) mil(iti) Coh(ortis) VII Breuc(arum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) eq(uitatae) dom(o) Pann(onia) ann(arum) XXXII, st(ipendiorum)XII. Mersua Dasi (f) vexil(larius) coh(ortis)eiusd(em) her(es) posuit.'

"To Tritus, son of Bato, soldier of the *cohors VII Breucorum c.R. equitata,* whose home was Pannonia, who lived for 32 years, served for 12 years. His heir, Mersua, son of Dasius, *vexillarius* of the same cohort, set up this monument." (Trans. Goldman 2010).

Date: Late 1st - early 2nd Century A.D.

Source: Goldman 2010, fig.2.

OS.G.32. Onalenti stela

Plate: CXXIX (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ancyra, in the Roman Baths.

Material: Bluish-grey Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.61; W. 0.34; Th. 0.12. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with narrow pilasters and shallow pediment, with acroteria. Broken below.

Inscription: Τρνφων Ανξίμον λιθονργός Ονάλεντι'Αλεξάνδρον φίλφ και Καλι(5)τη συμβίφ αύτον την στήλην άνέστησε εννοίας ενεκεν. χαίρε δ προσελθών κέ άνάγνονς. (Trans. Mitchell 1977).

"Tryphon son of Anximon, lithographer/stonemason(?), and his wife Kalite set up this stela on account of (their) friend Onalenti, son of Alexandros, in remembrance. Farewell! You (passer-by) attract(?) and read." (Trans. Cutten 2018).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mitchell 1977, no. 17.
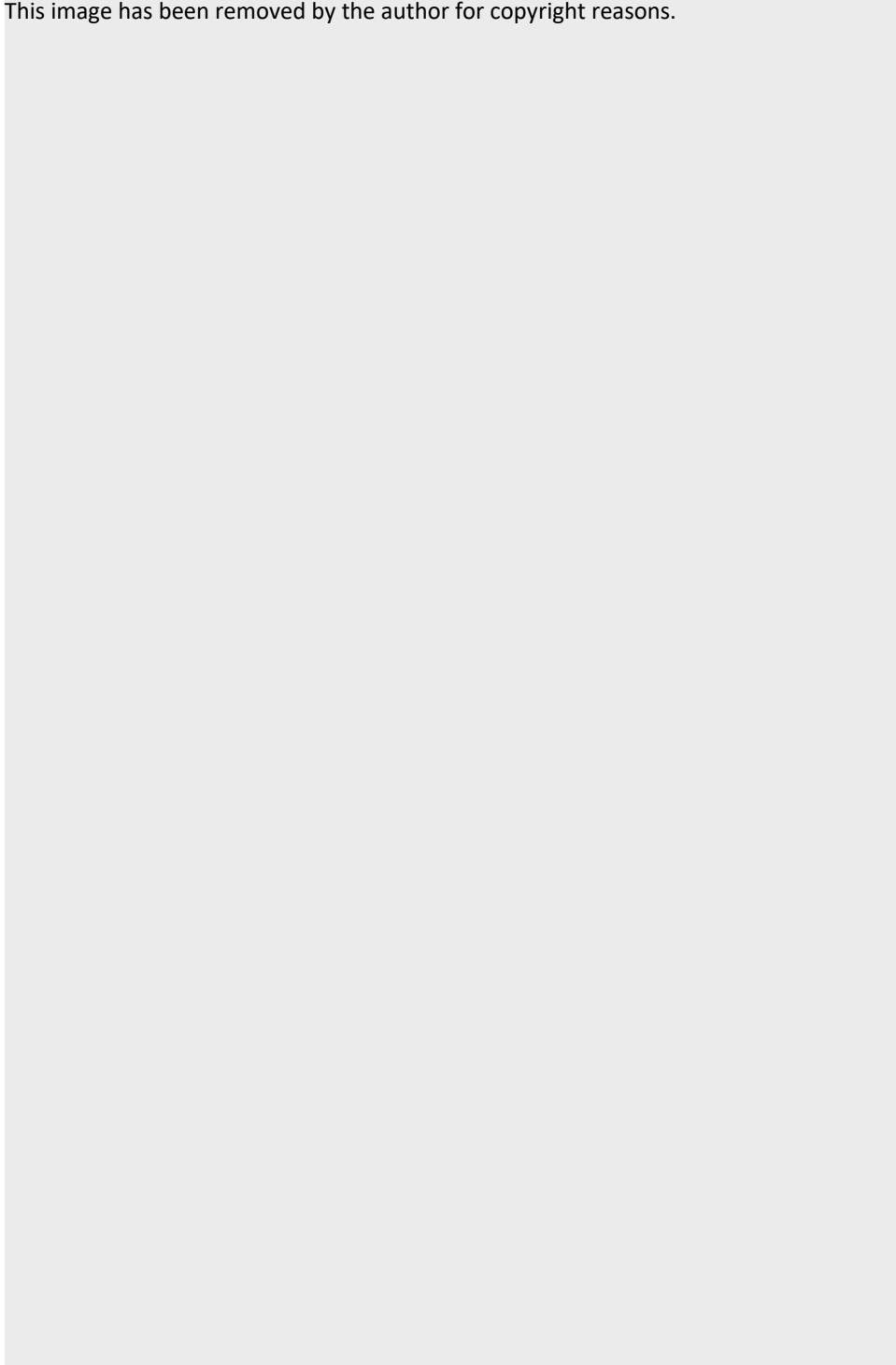
Henry Cutten.

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Plate CXXIX: OS.G.32. From Mitchell 1977, no. 17.

OS.G.33. Stela

Plate: CXXX.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Mesarlik, 6 miles north of Zivarik.

Henry Cutten.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. (visible) 0.70; W. 0.40; Th. 0.20. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, inscription in field, acroteria and triangular pediment. Circular boss, centre of pediment. Complete(?).

Inscription: Φλά. Ἐλ|λάδιος | νείός Δό|νμου πρε||(5)σβ. πολύ | κύδιμος | ἐνθάδε | κίτε. (Trans. Mama 1956.)

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1956, 104(d). Pl. 7.

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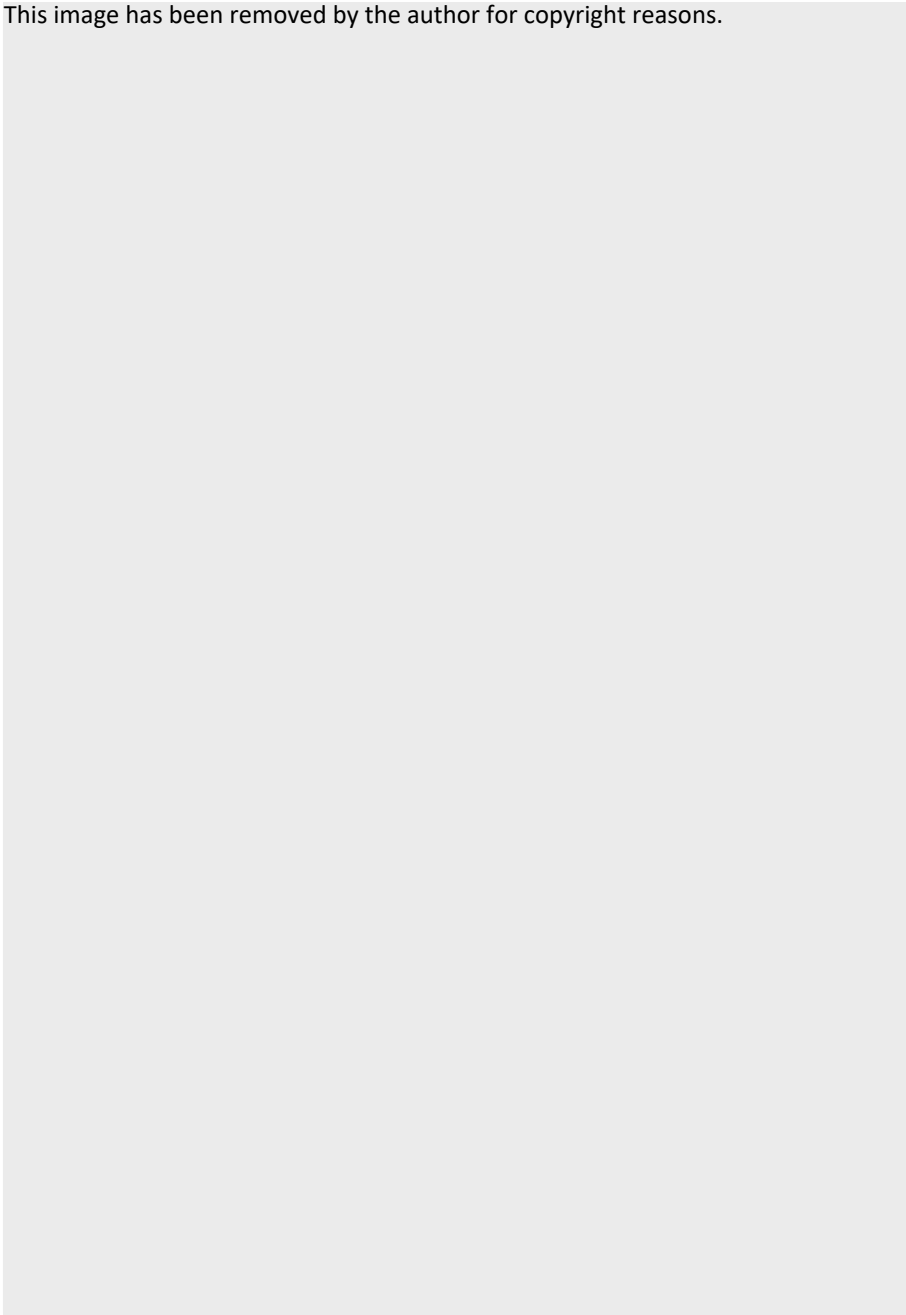
Plate CXXX: OS.G.33. From Mama 1956, 104(d). Pl. 7.

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OS.G.34. Dorymenes stela

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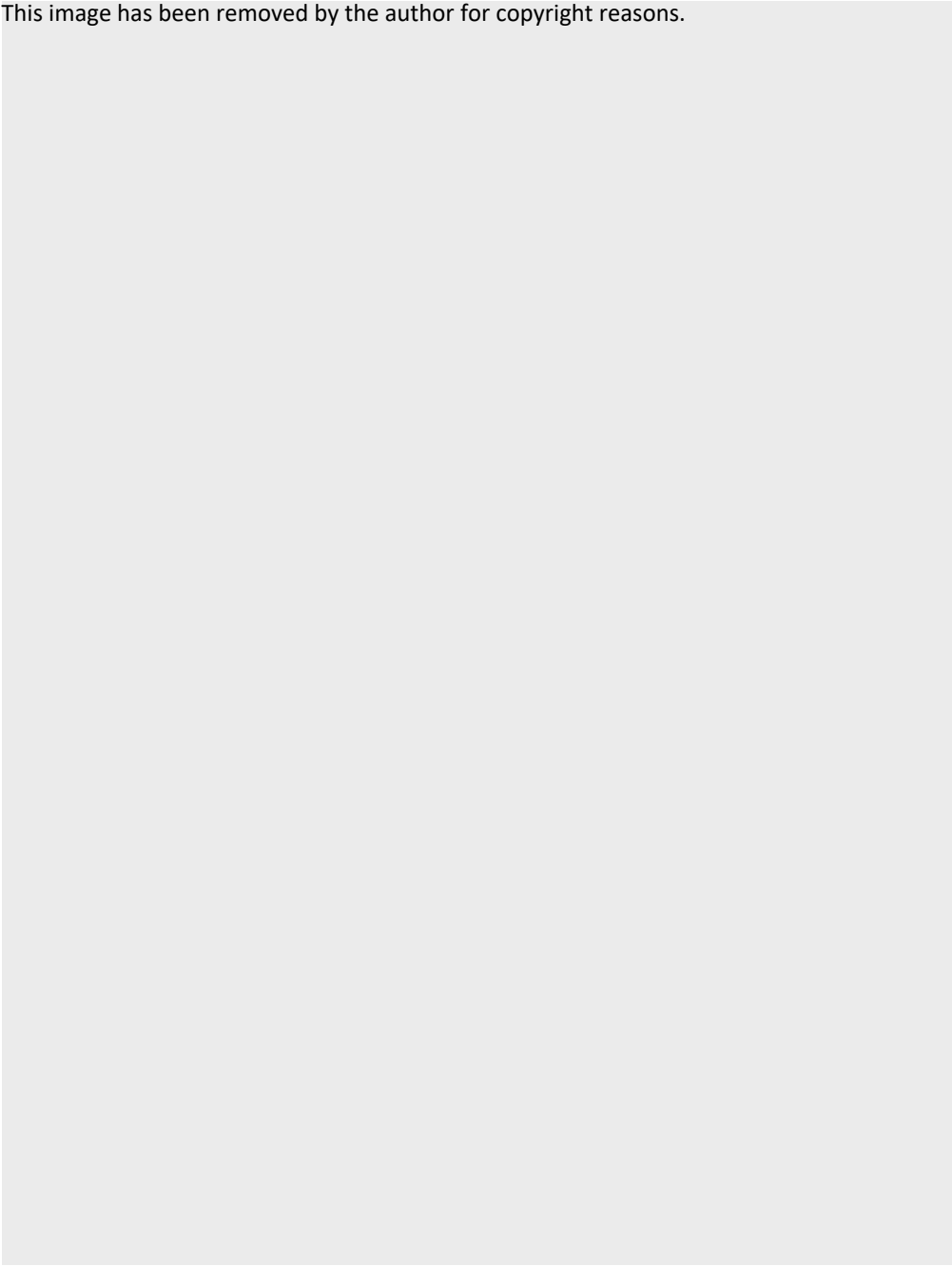
Plate CXXXI: OS.G.34. Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no.284.

Plate: CXXXI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Zengicek (Koçyaka), in a yard.

Material: Greyish Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.38+; W. 0.58; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.025-0.040 metres.

Henry Cutten.

Description: Upper part of stela with gabled pediment and acroteria, decorative entablature; in pediment, round boss. Inscription on entablature, likely continuing on (lost) shaft. Broken above and below.

Inscription: Ματὼ (?) Μάρκου Δορυ-μένει ἀνδρὶ σεμν[ο]-[τάτῳ - - - - - - - - -]. "Mato (?), daughter of Marcus, for her most noble husband Dorymenes..." (Trans. Mama 2013).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no.284

OS.G.35. Appa stela

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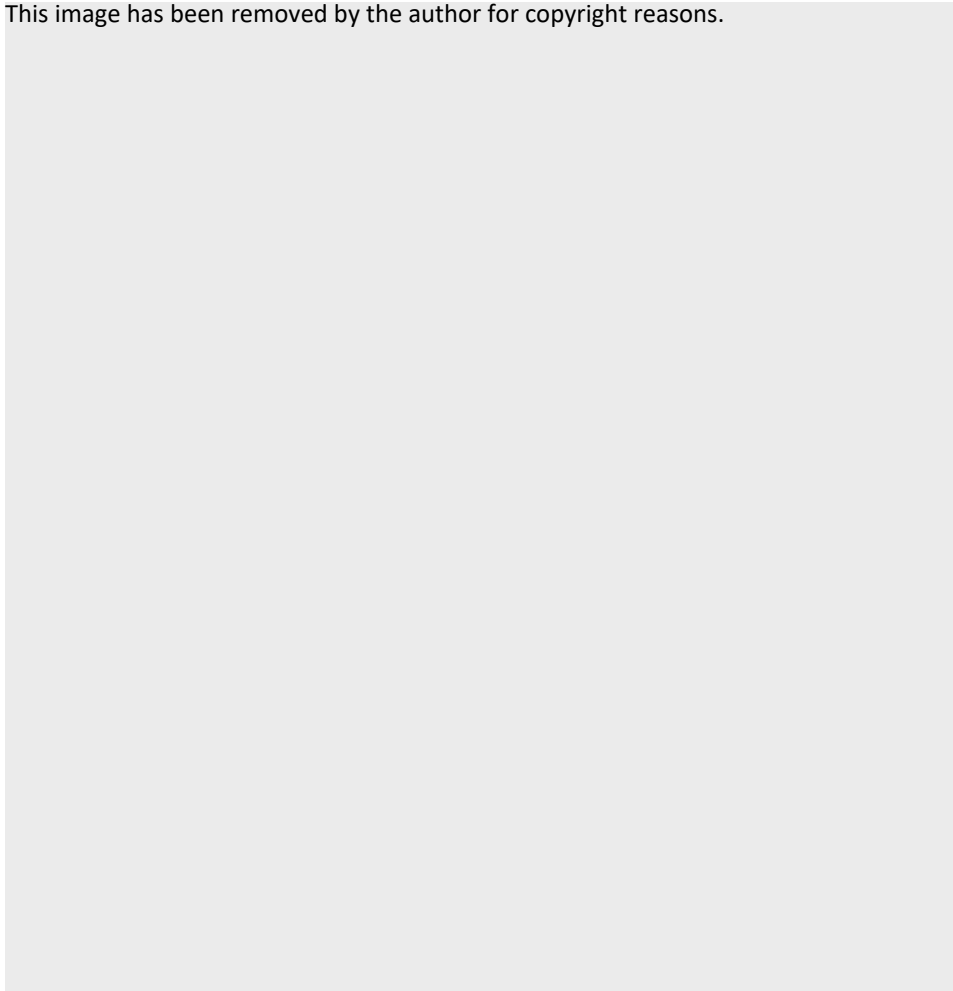
Plate CXXXII: OS.G.35. From Mama 1956, 55. Page 126.

Plate: CXXXII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kunderaz.

Henry Cutten.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.46; W. (top) 0.21, (base) 0.25; Th. 0.22. Letter H. 0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with remains of seated lion in pediment, on plinth. Inscription on shaft. Broken above and below.

Inscription: Δορυμειος | τῷ νιῷ | Ἀππα μνής | ἔνεκεν. (Trans. Mama 1956). "Dorymeios, for my own Appa, in remembrance." (Trans. Cutten 2018).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1956, 55. Page 126.

OS.G.36. Gaius stela

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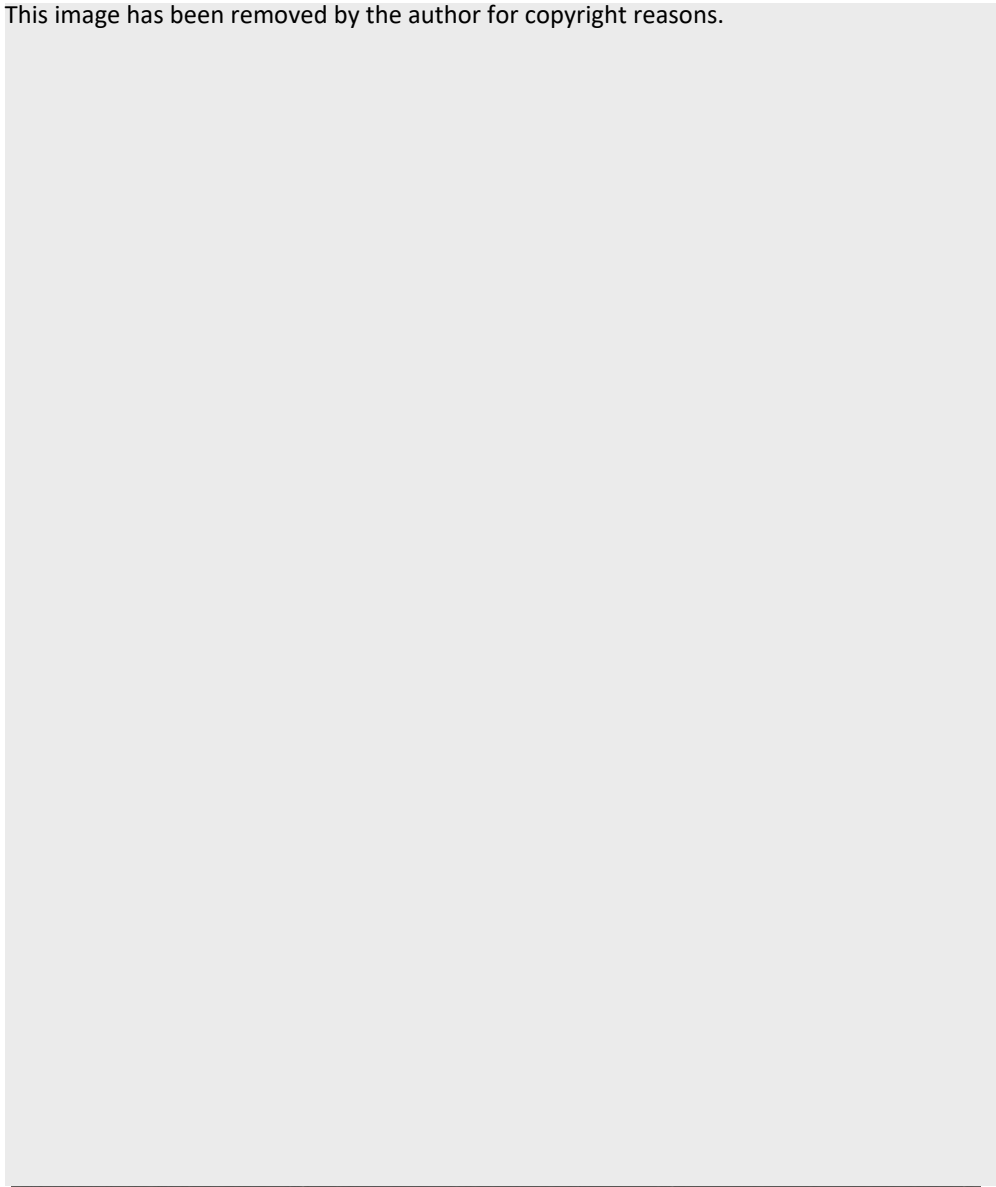
Plate: CXXXIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ladik (Laodiceia Combusta)

Material: Bluish Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.85; W. (top) 0.50, (shaft) 0.49; Th. 0.29. Letter H. N/R.

Description: Stela with vaulted pediment, palmette acroteria. In pediment, raised circular plaque with 6-leaved rosette. Broken above and base concealed.

Inscription: Κ]οϊντος Ἐρενινος Γαϊω τώ αδελφώ μνήμης ενεκεν. (Trans. Mama 1928). "Kointos Ereninos for his brother Gaius, in remembrance." (Trans. Cutten 2018).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama I, no. 46.

OS.G.37. Kamma stela.

Plate: CXXXIV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ladik (Laodiceia Combusta), in the cemetery.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.92; W. (top) 0.47, (shaft) 0.43; Th. 0.25. Letter H. N/R.

Description: Stela with vaulted pediment, palmette acroteria; within relief of lion, facing left. On shaft, below the inscription, a basket and spindle-and-distaff. Complete.

Inscription: Ἀγαθοκλης ἑατω ζων καὶ αδελφη Καμμα μνήμης ενεκεν. (Trans. Mama 1928). "Agathokles (for) himself, while living, and brother Kamma, in remembrance." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama I, no. 93.

Henry Cutten.

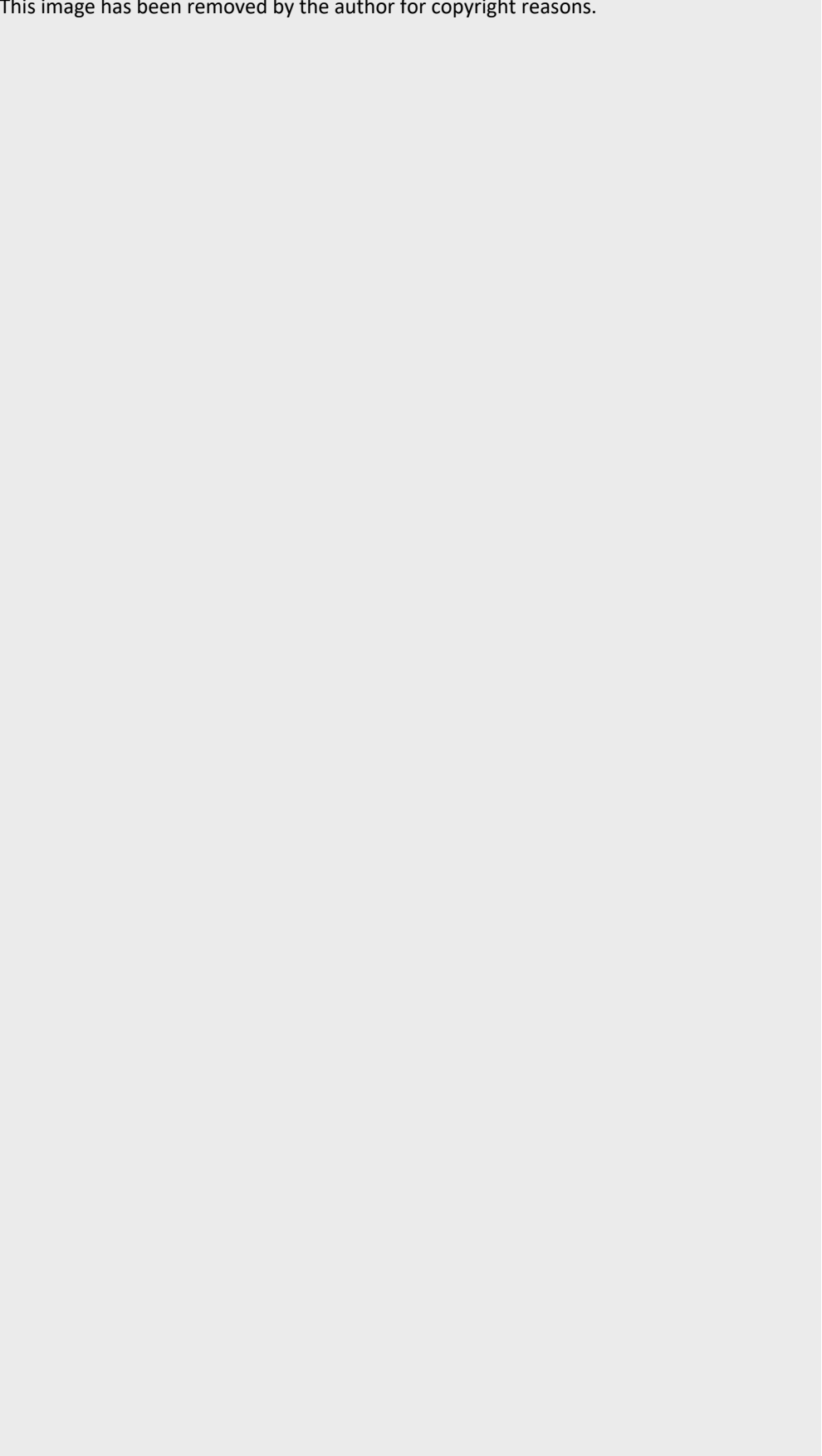This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CXXXIV: OS.G.37. From Mama I, no. 93.

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OS.G.38. Epiktetos stela

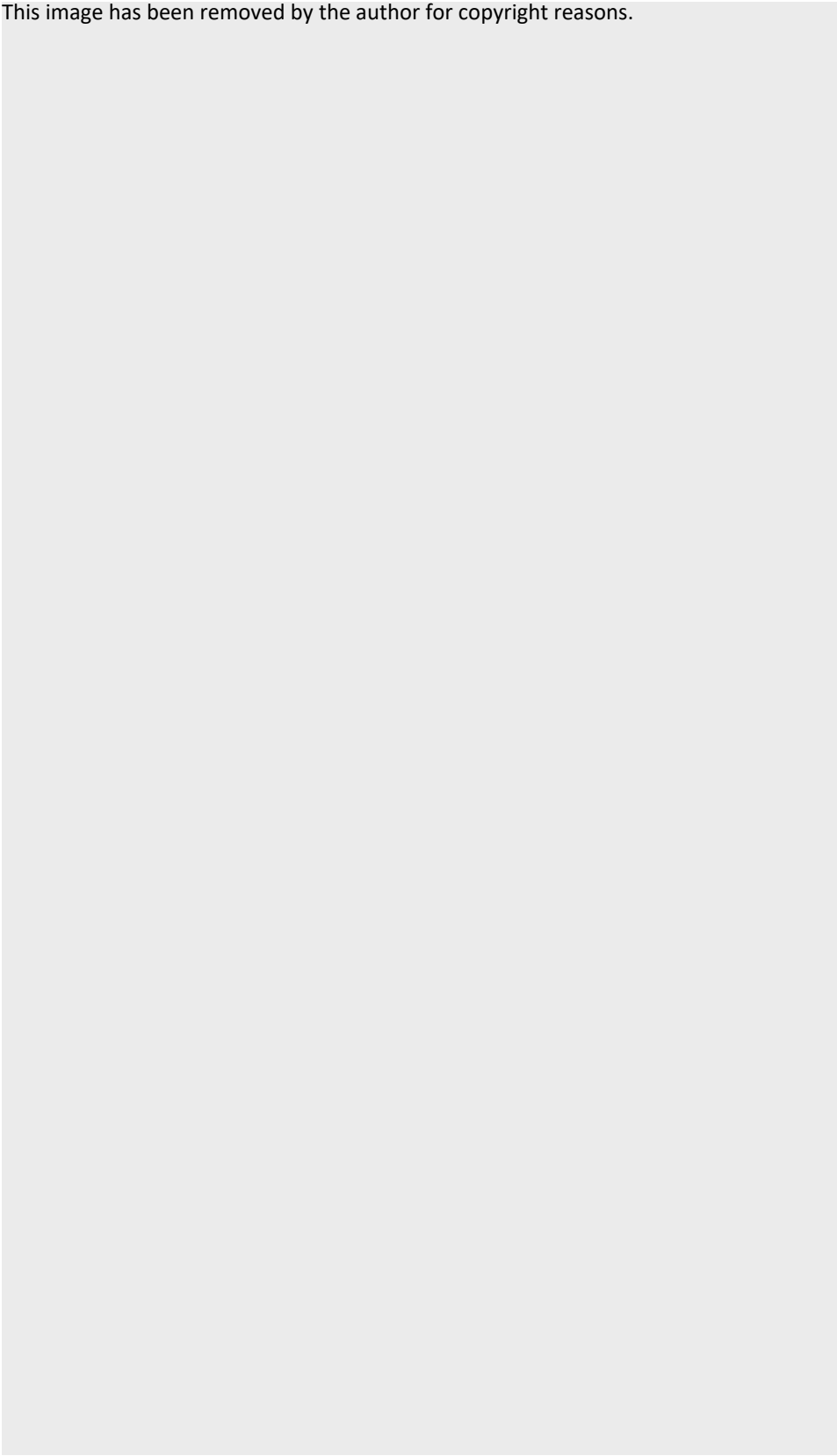This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CXXXV: OS.G.38. From Mama I, no. 98.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CXXXV.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ladik (Laodiceia Combusta), in the cemetery.

Material: Bluish Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.90; W. (top) 0.53; Th. 0.27. Letter H. 0.04 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals; vaulted pediment with acroteria, ring in relief in pediment. Inscription top of shaft. Broken above, surface stained and pitted.

Inscription: Ἐπίκτητος εαυτω ζων μνί-ας ενεκε-(5)ν. (Trans. Mama 1928). "Epiktetos for himself, while living, in remembrance." (Trans. Cutten 2018).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama I, no. 98.

OS.G.39. Julia Exia stela

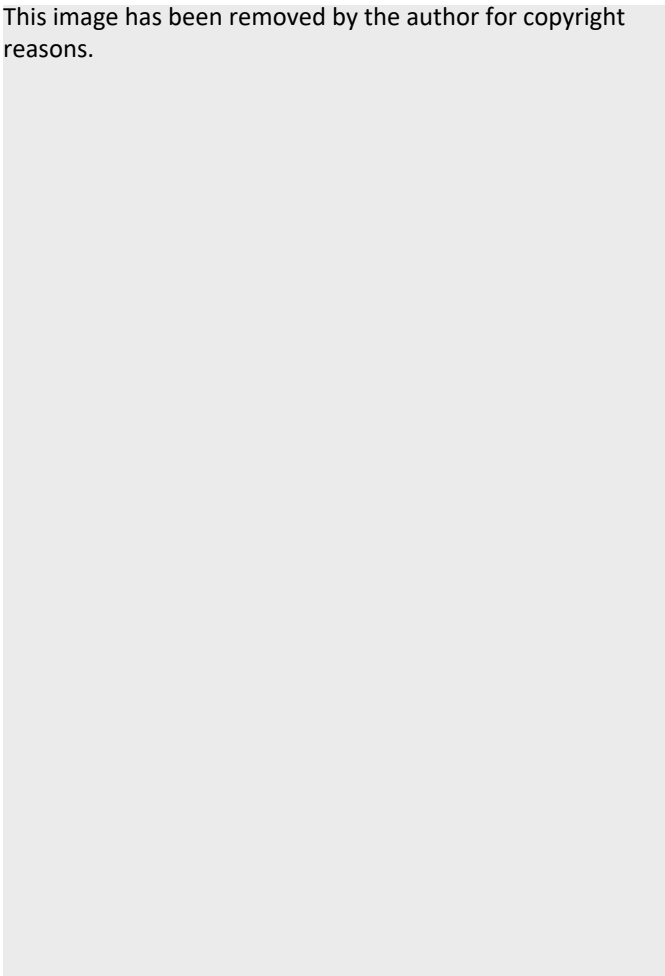This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CXXXVI: OS.G.39. From Mama I, no. 47.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CXXXVI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ladik (Laodiceia Combusta), found in the wall of the cemetery.

Material: Bluish Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.92; W. (top) 0.52, (base) 0.56; Th. N/R. Letter H. N/R.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters; on main field inscription, below plinth. Broken above.

Inscription: Α. Ἰούλιος Ὀνη-σιφόρος καὶ ῾Ι. Ἔξις ἡ γυνη αὐ-τοῦ Γνώμη (5) νύμφη μνήμης ἕνεκεν **leaf.** (Trans. Mama 1928). "Aulus Julius Onesiphoros for Julia Exis, his woman, and daughter-in-law Gnome, in remembrance." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period

Source: Mama I, no. 47.

OS.G.40. Kronos stela

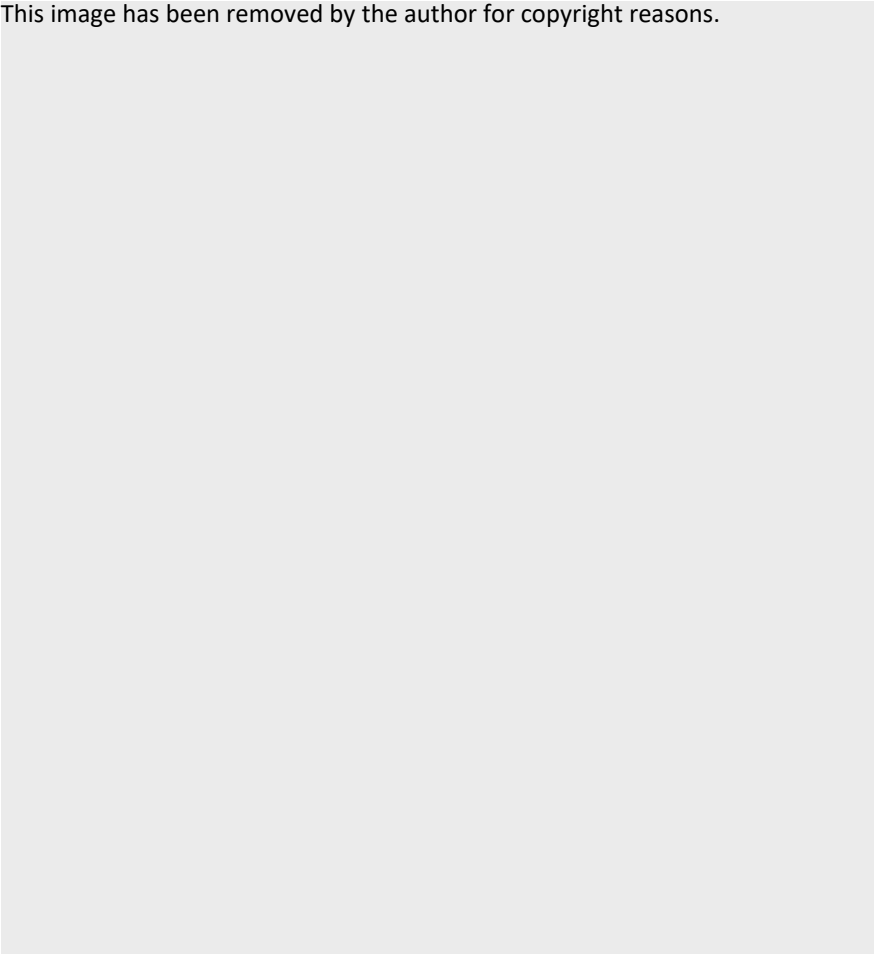This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CXXXVII: OS.G.40. From Mama XI, no. 250.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CXXXVII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Canimana (Kinna), in the wall of a house.

Material: Grey Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.96+; W. 0.59; Th. 0.38. Letter H. 0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with lower element and inset panelled shaft, framed with Lesbian cyma; in the panel, incised depictions of (top) wool-basket resting on a chest, with lock-plate, mirror, *oinochoe*(?) and *skyphos* on animal-legged tripod table; (middle) spindle -and-distaff; (below) ox-team yoked to a plough. Inscription above and top of panel. Broken above.

Inscription: - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - [- - - - - - -]. Ϙ. .Ι γ[υναι]-κὶ καὶ Κρόνῳ υἱῷ ἀνέ[στη]-σεν μνήμης χάριν. "[for... his wi]fe and Kronos his son, he set this up, in memoriam." (Trans. Mama XI).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama XI, no. 250.

OS.G.41. stela for a virgin

Plate: CXXXVIII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Zengicek (Koçyaka), in the foundation of a house, said to have been brought from the kale.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.67+; W. 0.39; Th. 0.22. Letter H. 0.027-0.030 metres.

Description: Stela with lower element and plain pilasters. Text on field. 2 ivy leaves at base of shaft. Broken above.

Inscription: [- - - - - - - -] παρθένῳ μνήμης χά-ριν hed. ῥίψον (5) δάκρυ, ὦ πα-ροδῖτα. hed. hed. hed. "...virgin, in memoriam. Shed a tear, passer-by." (Trans. Mama XI).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama XI. no, 286.

Henry Cutten.

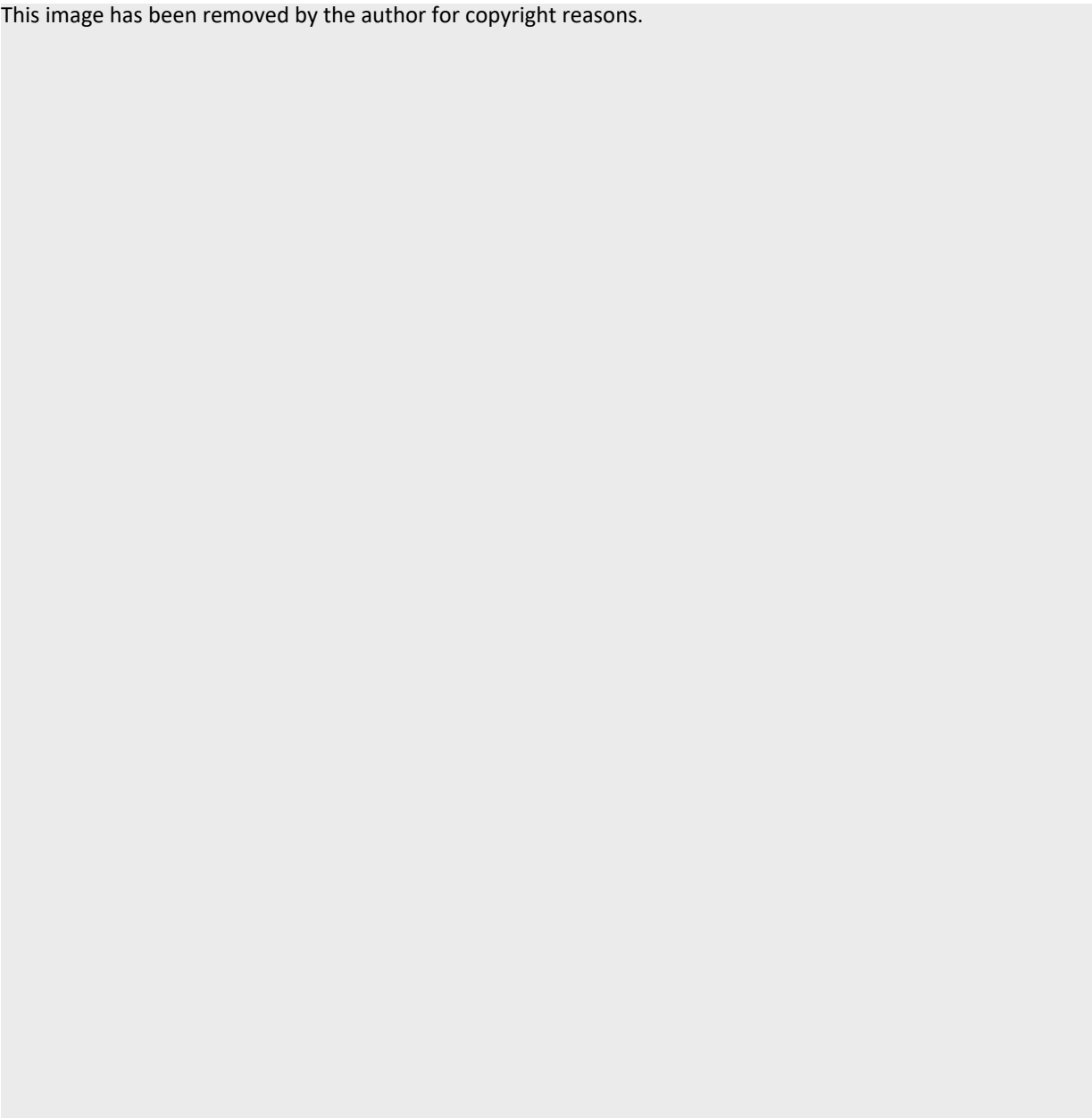This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CXXXVIII: OS.G.41. From Mama XI. no, 286.

OS.G.42. Agathangelos stela

Plate: CXXXIX.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Giymir (Perta), in the wall of a house.

Material: Coarse Grey Marble.

Dimensions: (*a*) H. 0.54+; W. 0.44+; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.025-0.032; (*b*) H. 0.70+; W. 0.44+; Th. 0.20. Letter H. 0.028-0.035 metres.

Henry Cutten.

Description: Stela with border, inset shaft and tenon at base, Broken into two parts. Inscription in recessed panel, with incised crescent(?) and vine-leaf, below. Upper fragment (*a*) broken above, left and below; lower fragment (*b*) broken above and left.

Inscription: Ἀγαθάνγελως Πασικράτωυς τει-μῆς χάριν ἐποί-ησεν ἐαυτωῦ καὶ (5) [γ]υναικὼς Λαΐδος hed. ὃς δὲ ἂν κακὴν [χ]εῖρα προσενέν-[κ]ῃ, ἕξει Μῆνας κα-[τ]αχθ[ονίους κε]-(10) [χ]ολωμένους.

"Agathangelos, son of Pasikrates, made this for the sake of honour, both of himself and his wife Laïs. Whoever lays an evil hand on it, he shall find the Mens of the underworld angered." (Trans. Mama XI).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama XI, no. 320.

Plate CXXXIX: OS.G.42. From Mama XI, no. 320.

Henry Cutten.

OS.G.43. Titus and Mania stela

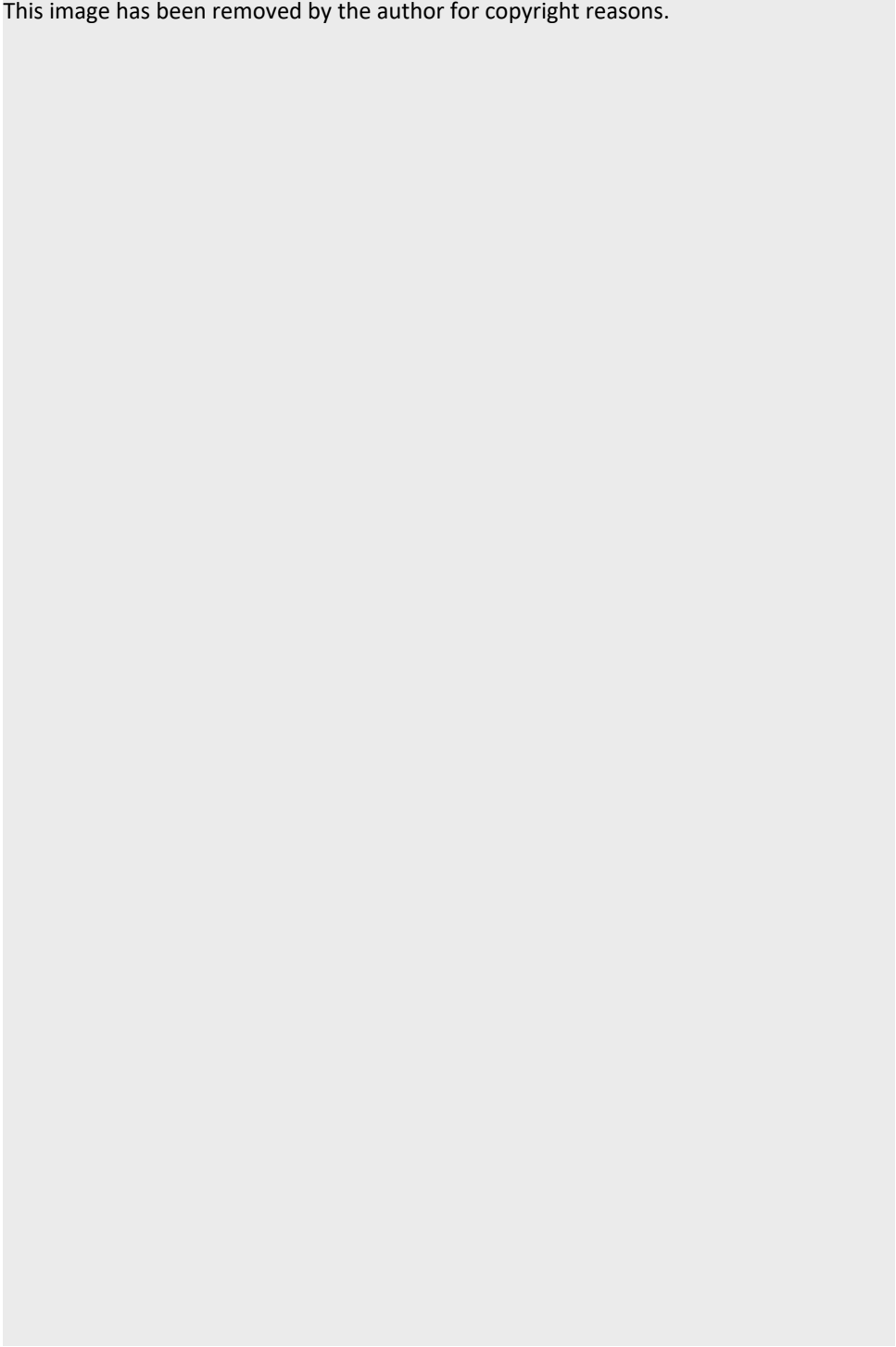This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CXL: OS.G.43. From Mama I, no. 15.

Plate: CXL.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Sarayönü (Serai Onü).

Henry Cutten.

Material: Bluish Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.03; W. (top) 0.68, (shaft) 0.66; Th. 0.34. Letter H. 0.03-0.04 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals; vaulted pediment with palmette acroteria; at base of pediment curvilinear course, divided in the centre by a palmette; at centre 12-pointed rosette. Inscription at top of shaft. Broken above and below.

Inscription: Παπας και Γάϊος οί Τίτου Λωρεν-τιον νίοι πατρι ἱ-ερει και Μανια (5) τη μητρι ἱερίσση μνήμης χάριν. (Trans. Mama I). "Papas and Gaius for their priest/sacred(?) father Titus, son of Lorention, and their priestess/sacred(?) mother Mania, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama I, no. 15.

Henry Cutten.

E: Motif-only stelae from Phrygia

OS.PHR.01. Apphia stela

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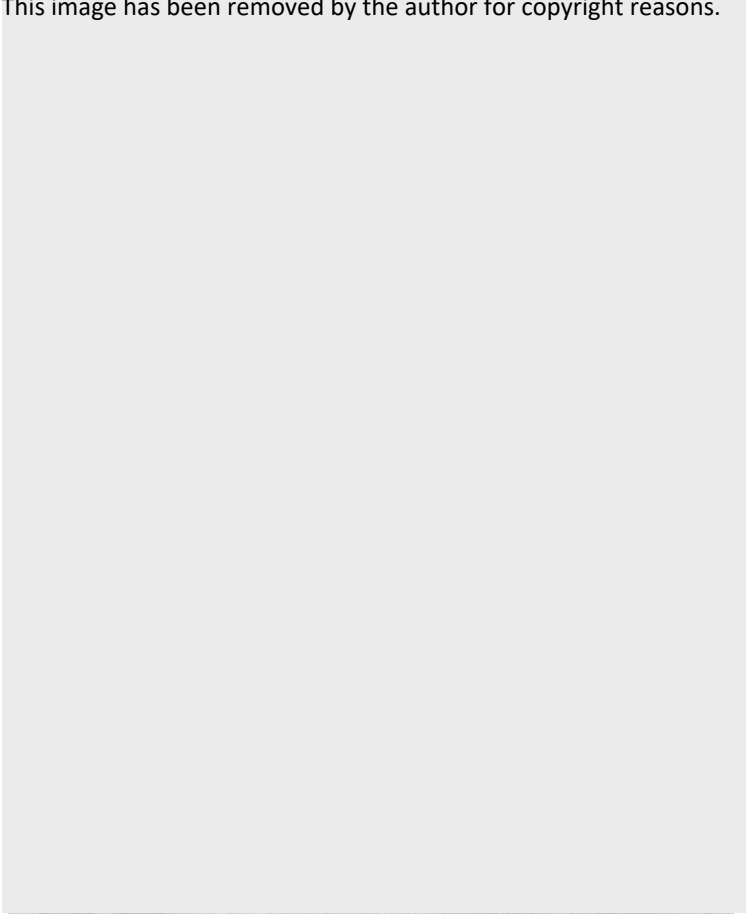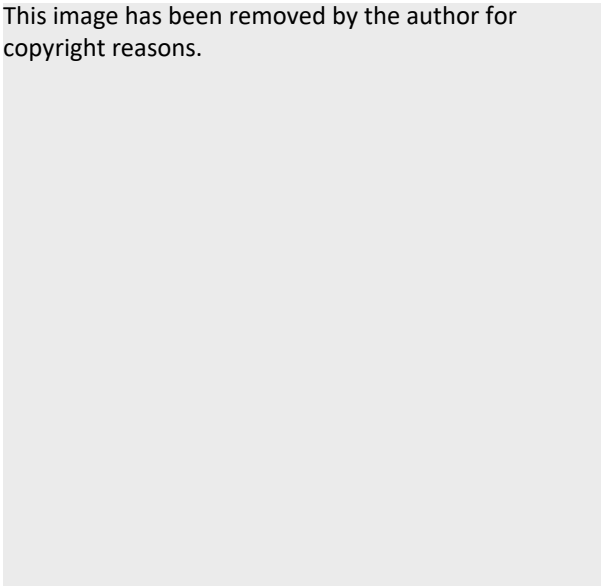Plate CXLI: OS.PHR.01. From MAMA 1993, Vol. X. pl. 409.

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Plat   09.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CXLI and CXLII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Hamzabey.

Material: Granular, White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.56; W. 0.46; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.0225-0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters and *aedicula* at base of shaft. Inscription above. Broken above.

Inscription: Μάρκος Ἀπφία τή μητρι μνήμ[ης] χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1993). "Marcos for his mother, Apphia, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st Century A.D. - lack of ornament suggests early date (Mama 1993 Vol. X, 134.).

Source: MAMA 1993, Vol. X. pl. 409.

OS.PHR.02. Menogeneas stela

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Plate CXLIII: OS.PHR.02. From MAMA 1993, Vol. X. Pl. 250.

Plate: CXLIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ada Koy.

Henry Cutten.

Material: Greyish Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.90, (shaft) 0.69; W. 0.62; Th. 0.21. Letter H. 0.020-0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with rich upper moulding. On shaft, wreath of ivy leaves with ribbons. Inscription on shaft. Left half buried, broken above and below.

Inscription: Διομήδης Μανικῶντος ἐτ[είμη-]σεν Μηνογένηαν την ἑαυτου γ[υνα-]ίκα πασης αρετης ενεκεν συ δε ξένε χαιρε. (Trans. Mama 1993).

"Diomedes, son of Manikondos, honoured Menogeneas, himself that remembers his wife of every virtue but foreign/strange/unusual(?). Farewell!" (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st Century A.D.

Source: MAMA 1993, Vol. X. Pl. 250.

OS.PHR.03. Eirene stela

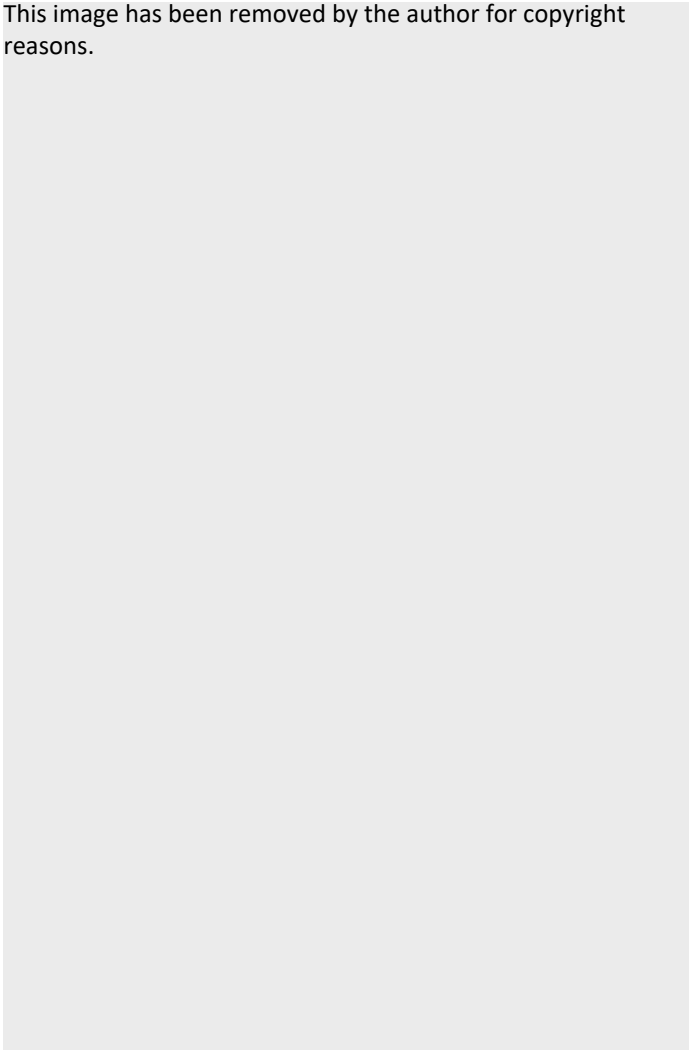This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CXLIV: OS.PHR.03. From Ramsay 1924, 195; no. 18.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CXLIV.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Colonia Caesarea Antiochea

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: Unrecorded.

Description: stela with plain pilasters, elaborate capitals; large lower element; inscription within inset panel centre of shaft. Broken above.

Inscription: Γα'ω Ειρήνη σύνβι-οι μνε(-αι) χάρ-ιν. (Author's interpretation). (Trans. Ramsay 1924). "Gao for his wife Eirene, in thanks/memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Ramsay 1924, 195; no. 18.

OS.PHR.04. stela with pilasters and decorated capitals

Plate: CXLV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Mahmud Koy, in a fountain.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: Fragment *a)* (top) H. 0.84; fragment *b)* (bottom) H. 0.94; W. (shaft) 0.45, (base) 0.53 (inscribed surface) 0.275; Th. 0.19. Letter H. 0.0175 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, decorated capitals; inscription on shaft. Broken in two, top damaged.

Inscription: (α) δαίμονος άντιάσασα κακον, νεόνυμφε Μόδεστα, I ωλεο καλ-λίστηι πατρίδος αν (5) γα[ι]ηι I νήπιον νια λιπονσα κασιγνή- τους Τε και ανδρα I χηρον και τοκέας γήραϊ τειρομένονς I (10) και θάλαμον και λέκτρον έρημαίη δ' έπι τύμβωι I στή- σομαι άντι κόρης δακρνόεσσα λίθος. I (15) ο'ικτείρω σε, γέρον πύτερ Αισχύλε – και γα.ρ άναυδοι I στη- λαι τοιούτοις πέν- [θεσι Τεγγόμεθα.] I (20) [τησδε πατηρ γέγο-] *(b)* να[ς, Μά]ριος δ' έδέδε- κτο γεγηθως I ό πρω- τος λύσας ζώματα παρθενίας.(Trans. Mama 1933).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1933, Vol. IV. no 83.

Henry Cutten.

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Plate CXLV: OS.PHR.04. From Mama 1933, Vol. IV. no 83.

OS.PHR.05. Apphias stela

Plate: CXLVI (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Esenyazi (from Sandal). Transported from Sandal (between Kollyda and Maionia) to Esenyazi where it was copied in 2002.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.44; W. 0.38; Th. 0.08. Letter H. 0.017-0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with triangular pediment. A rosette and 2 ivy-leaves depicted in the pediment. Inscription on shaft. Broken below.

Inscription: Ἔτους ρπδ' μη(νος) Γορπιαίου λ'· Χαιριγένην και" Απφιον και Νεικάνορα και Τατίαν και Ἀ- πολλ{ολ}ώνιν τον ἀδελφον Ἀπολλόνιος (sic) ὁ ἀδελφος και ἡ μήτηρ Ἀπφιάς ἐτείμησαν. (Trans. Aytaclar 2004).

"In the year 184, (for) Gorpiaios Chairigenen and Aphion and Neikanora and Tatias and Apoll{ol}onin the brother, Apollonios the (other) brother and mother Apphias made this. (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 99-100 A.D.

Source: Aytaclar 2004, 187.

Henry Cutten.

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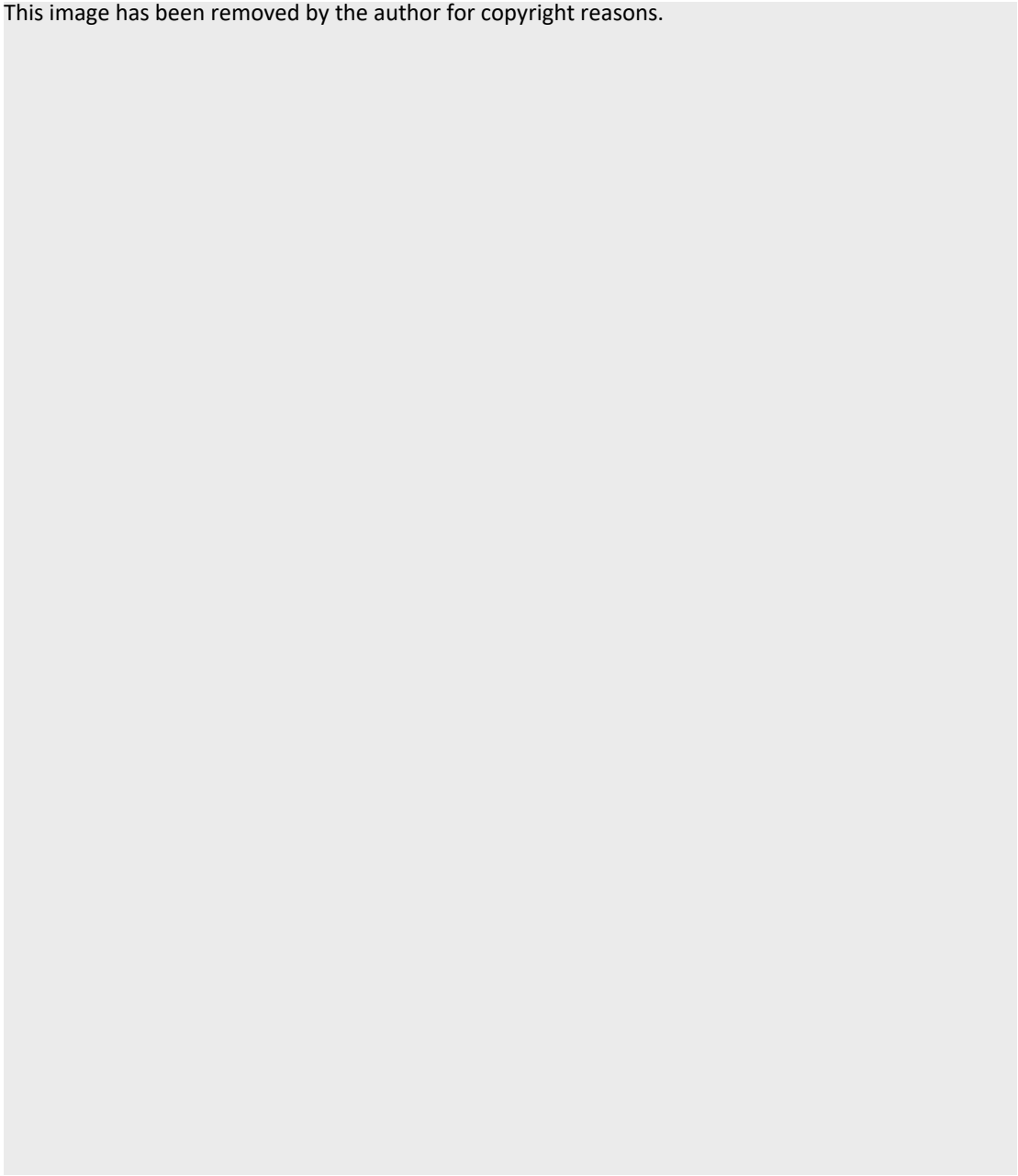
Plate CXLVI: OS.PHR.05. From Aytaclar 2004, 187.

OS.PHR.06. Prima Joute stela

Plate: CXLVII and CXLVIII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Pessinous (Ballihisar).

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.515; W. (base) 0.44, (top) 0.41; Th. (base) 0.24, (top) 0.20-0.21. Letter H. 0.027-0.03 metres.

Henry Cutten.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals; vaulted pediment with palmette acroteria. On shaft, inscription with basket relief (damaged) above. Complete.

Inscription: Μάρκος Ἀν-(2) τώνιος Ιουστος και Π- (4) ρειμα Ιουτη τ'ίl έαυτ- (6) ων θυγατρι μνήμης χάρι.ν. (Trans. Devreker 1991). "Marcus Antonius Joustos and Prima Joute for their daughter, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st Century A.D.

Source: Devreker 1991, 186. Figs. 4 and 5.

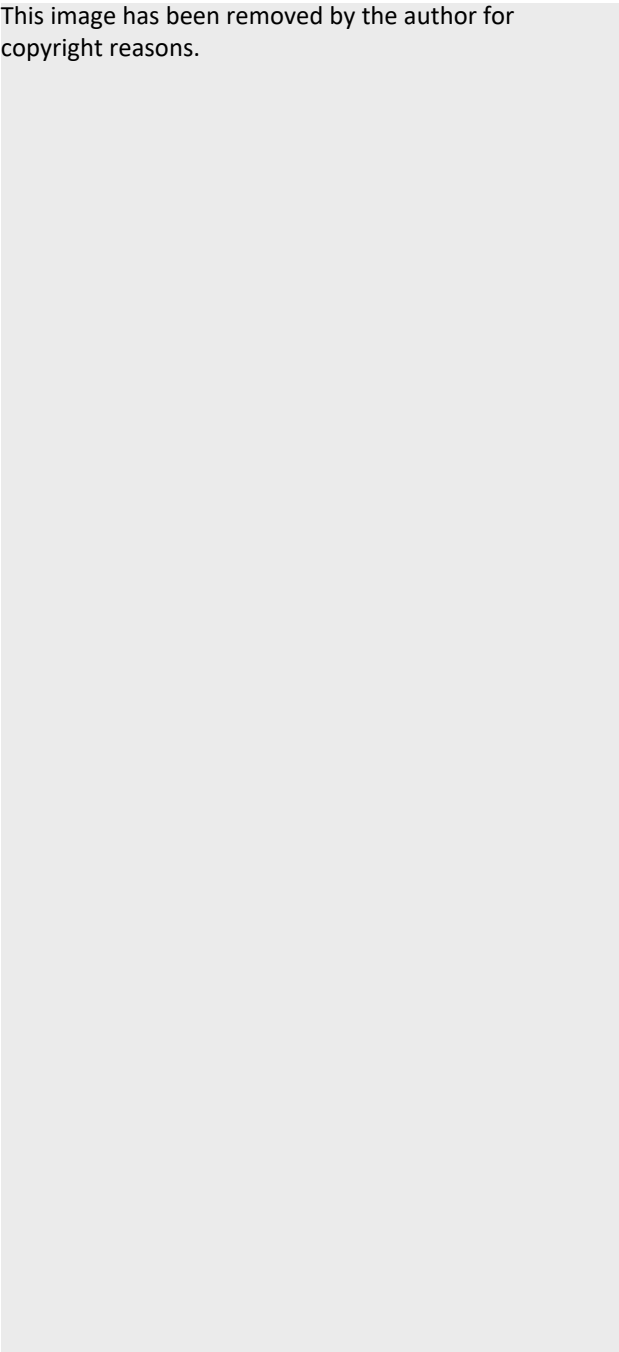This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CXLVII: OS.PHR.06. From Devreker 1991, 186. Fig. 4.

Henry Cutten.

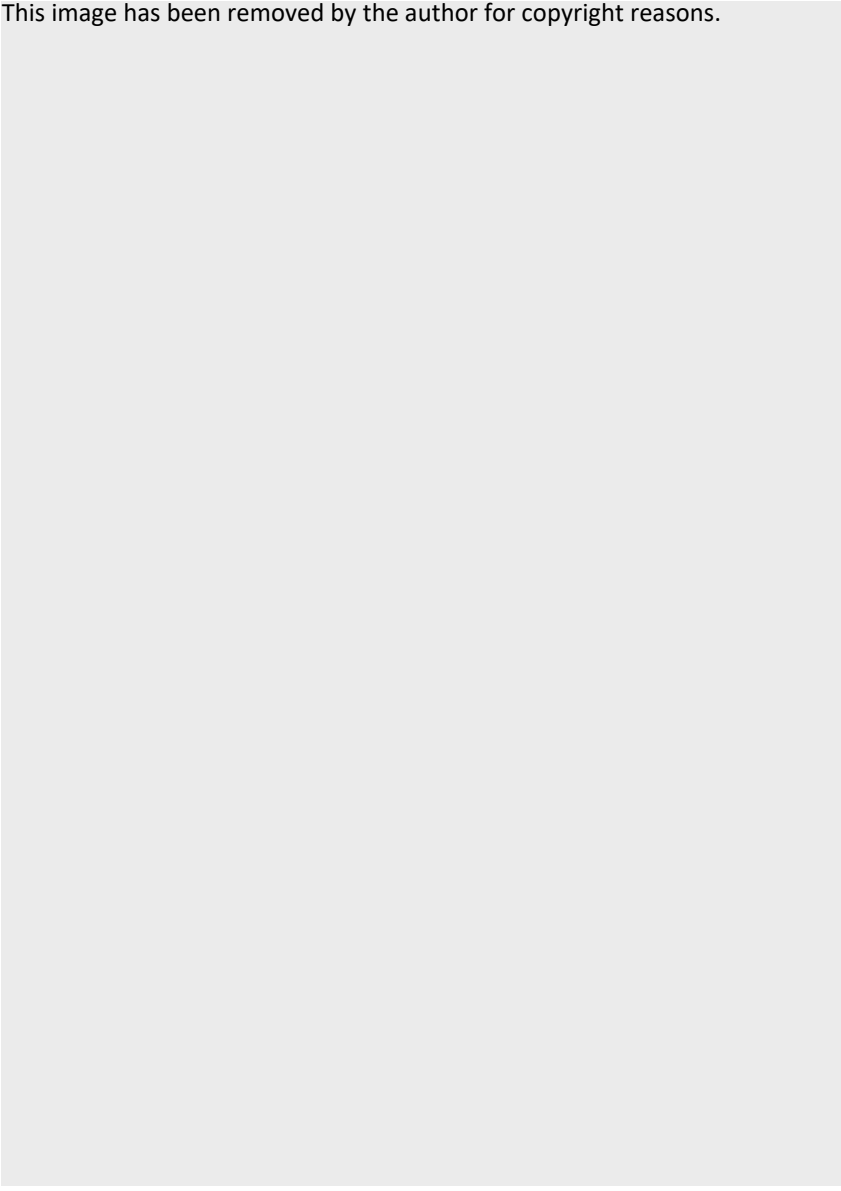This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CXLVIII: OS.PHR.06. From Devreker 1991, 186. Fig. 5.

OS.PHR.07. Stela with wreath

Plate: CXLIX (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Gokceler.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 1.62; w. 0.28; Th. N/R. No inscription.

Description: Rectangular stela with triangular, bordered pediment; 6 petalled rosette within a circle within pediment. Wreath (olive(?)) on shaft, above now illegible inscription. Broken below.

Inscription: Illegible.

Henry Cutten.

Date: Late Hellenistic to Early Imperial period.

Source: MAMA, Vol. X. 1993, (no.229) 72-73.

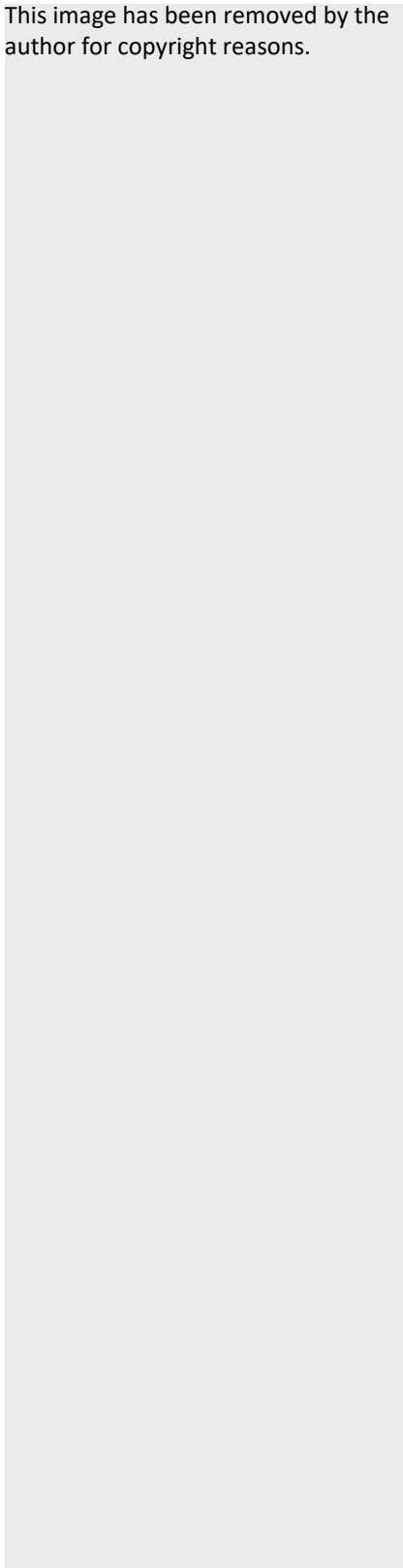This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CXLIX: OS.PHR.07. From MAMA, Vol. X. 1993, (no.229) 72-73.

Henry Cutten.

OS.PHR.08. Menophas stela
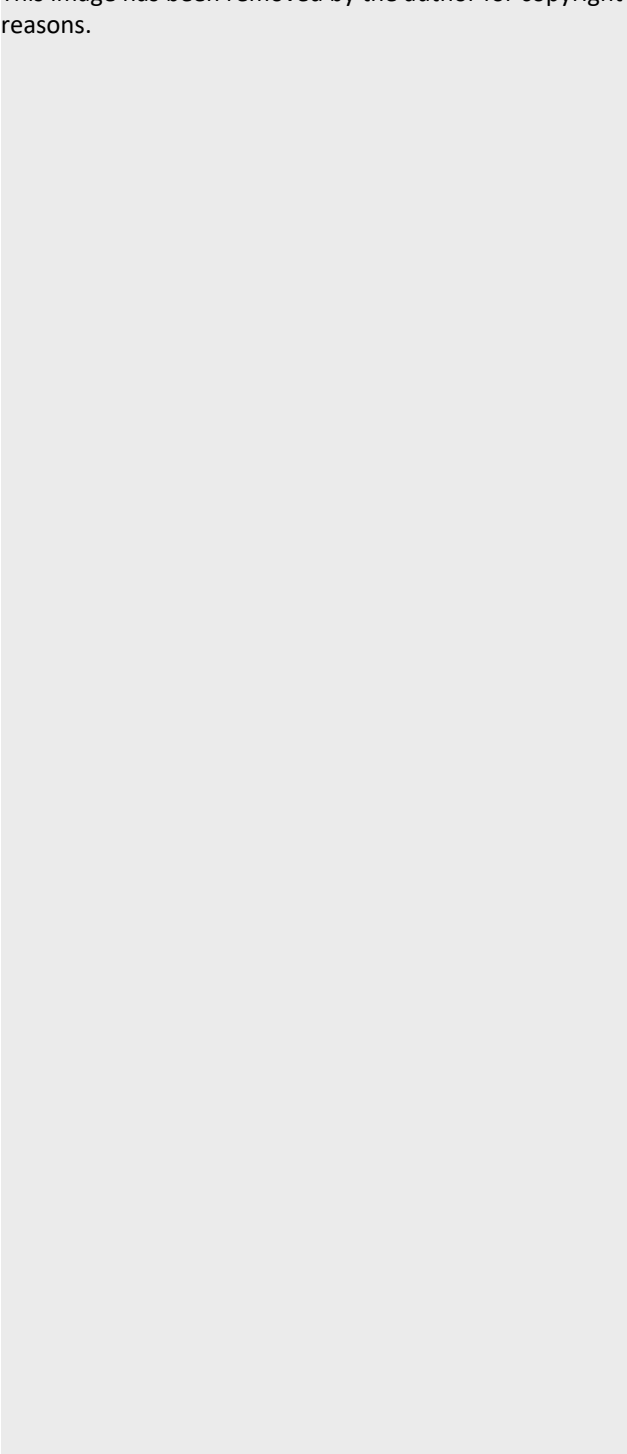
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Plate CL: OS.PHR.08. From MAMA 1993, Vol. X. 1993, 98, no. 308.

Plate: CL.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ortaca.

Henry Cutten.

Material: Greyish Marble.

Dimensions: H. (shaft) 1.21, (capital) 0.24; W. 0.56; Th. 0.205. Letter H. 0.0175-0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with triangular pediment above upper mouldings; acroteria; within pediment eagle looking back over right shoulder. Inscription at very top of shaft, with leaf garland with stylised ribbon below.

Inscription: [Μη]νοφας αδελφω Μνα(σέ)q και Τρόφιμος πατρω[ς αν]νψιω αωροθανη μνήμης χάριν. (Trans. Mama X). "Menophas for his brother Mnaseq and their paternal uncle, Trophious, and unpopular(?) nephews, in memory." (Trans. Cutten. 2019).

Date: Early 2nd Century A.D.

Source: MAMA 1993, Vol. X. 1993, 98, no. 308.

OS.PHR.09. Dionysios and Aphia stela

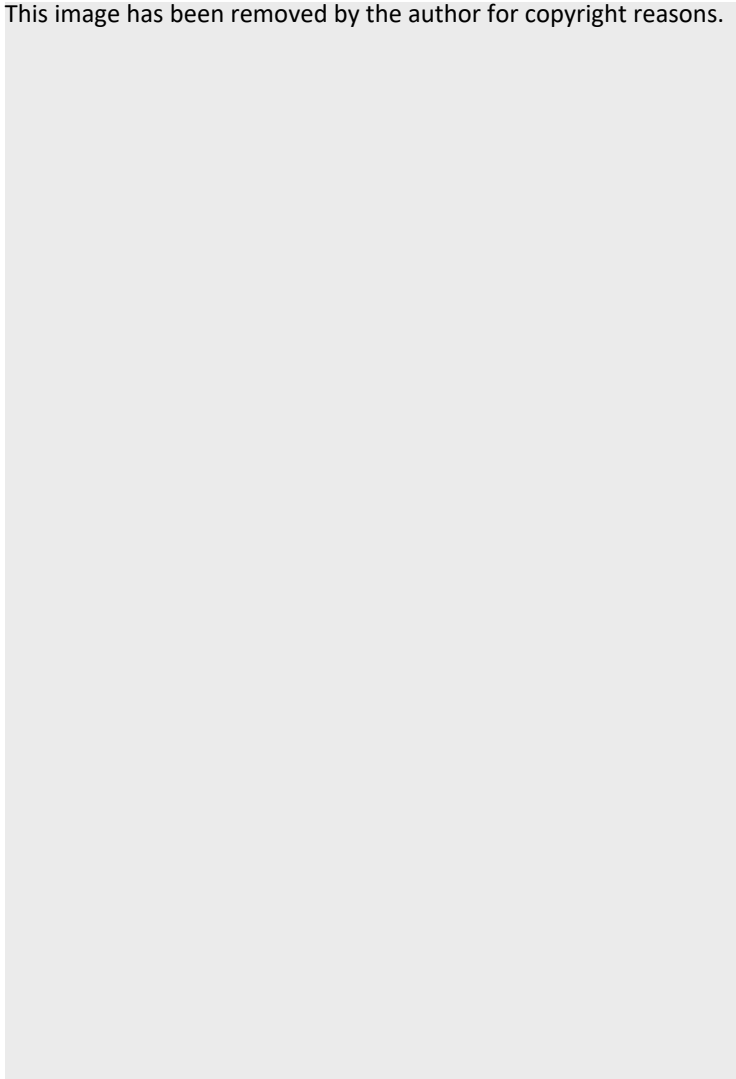This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CLI: OS.PHR.09. From MAMA 1993, Vol. X. 1993, no. 322.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CLI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Dulkadir (Yeni Penar).

Material: Grey Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.305, (cap) 0.42, (shaft) 0.48, (base) 0.145, (tenon) 0.06; W. (cap) 0.70, (shaft) 0.62, (base) 0.72; Th. (cap) 0.17, (shaft) 0.14, (base) 0.17. Letter H. 0.0225-0.0325 metres.

Description: Stela with inset field, extended lower element/moulding; extended upper moulding; triangular pediment, palmette acroteria (l.); within, boss; tendril decoration on border. On shaft 2 busts (effaced), mirror (r.), below (l.-r.): basket, distaff, spindle, comb.

Inscription: Διονύσιος Αφια συνβίψ άγον[τά-]τη μνήμης [χά]ριν. (Trans. Mama X). "Dionysios for his infertile wife Aphia, in memory." (Trans. Cutten. 2019).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: MAMA 1993, Vol. X. 1993, no. 322.

OS.PHR.10. Philippos stela

Plate: CLII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Yemisli.

Material: Coarse, Granular White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.59, (panel) 0.34; W. (cap) 0.55, (shaft) 0.49; Th. 0.12. Letter H. 0.025-0.03 metres.
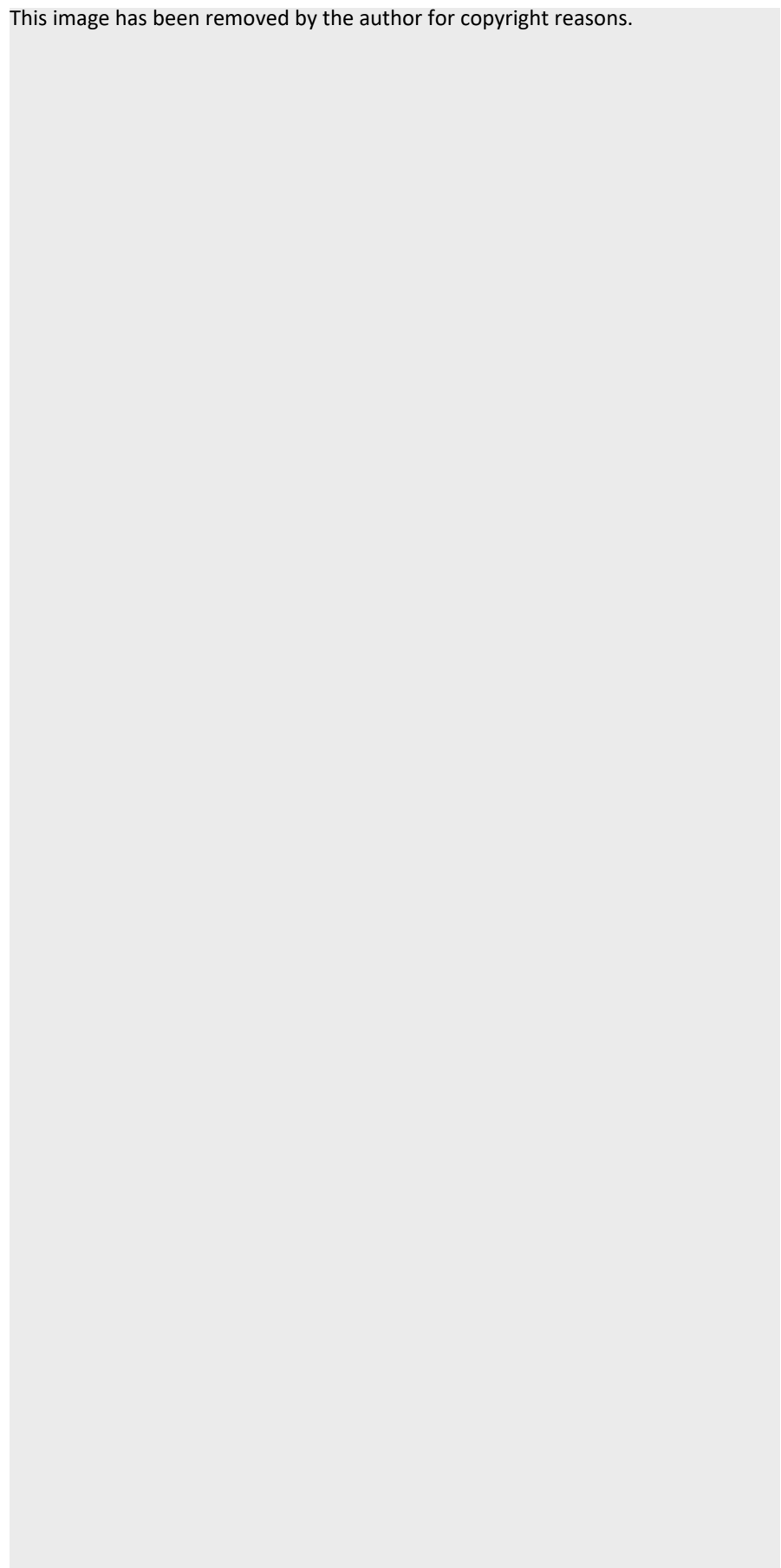
Description: Stela with plain pilasters, elaborate capitals; vaulted pediment with palmette acroteria; quatrefoil with an ivy leaf either side in pediment. Inscription at top of shaft, below upper moulding. Broken above and below.

Inscription: Ζωτικος και Άγαθόπους φιλίππψ φίλψ μνείας [χάριν]. (Trans. Mama X). "Zotikos and Agathopous in reference to their friend Phílippos, farewell!" (Trans. Cutten 2018).

Date: 57-58 A.D.

Source: MAMA 1993, Vol. X. 370.

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OS.PHR.11. Lucius Neikandros stela

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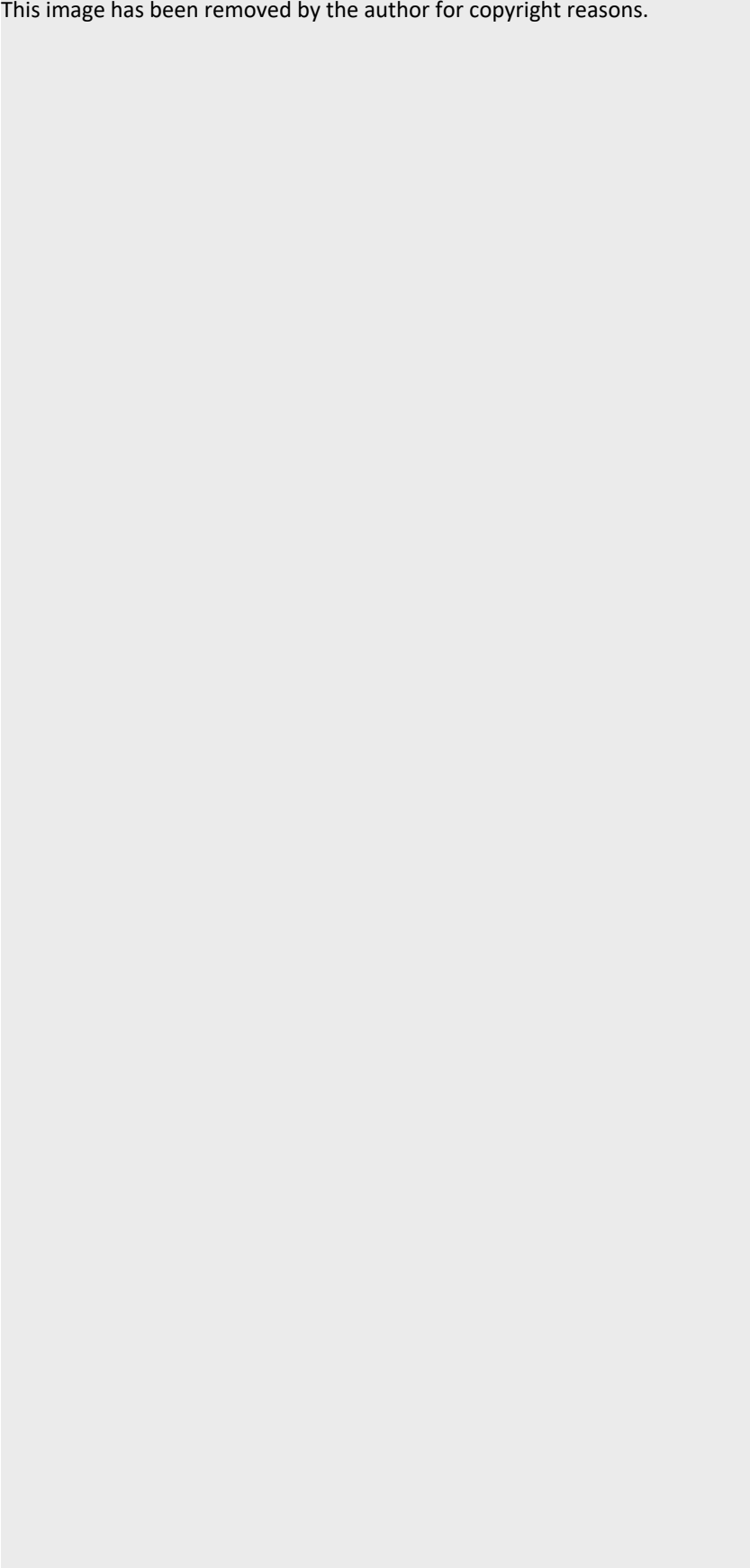
Plate CLIII: OS.PHR.11. From MAMA 1993, Vol. X. pl. 408.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CLIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Hamzabey.

Material: Coarse, Granular White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.76; W. (cap) 0.67, (shaft) 0.62, (base) 0.69; Th. 0.13. Letter H. 0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with 2 *aediculae* on shaft; triangular pediment above with large lower moulding and acroteria. At centre of pediment a double boss in 0.05m relief, vine leaf (l. and r.). Inscription in pediment and on entablature. Complete.

Inscription: ετ. ρλθ'. μη(νος) Γορ-πιαίου Λούκιος Νεικάνδ(ρ)ψ Ι[..]ΝΙ[? .] [? ..] CO[..]ΙΝΗΡΟΜΥ [...]ΟΙC μνίας χάριν. (Trans. Mama X). "In the year 139, month (Γορ-πιαίου) Lucius Neikandros … … … farewell!" (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 54-55 A.D.

Source: MAMA 1993, Vol. X. pl. 408.

OS.PHR.12. Stela of friends

Plate: CLIV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Savcilar.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 0.75, (pediment) 0.31; W. 0.605, (shaft) 0.56; Th. 0.11. Letter H. 0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, capitals; triangular pediment containing boss and 2 ivy leaves. Inscription on lower edge of pediment continuing top half of shaft. Garland at the centre of shaft, below text. Base broken, top of pediment damaged.

Inscription: ετους ρμ(β) 'μη(νος) Πανήμουδι', οἱ συνήθεις φίλοι ετίμησαν Διογένη-ν Ρούφου. (Trans. Mama X). "In the year 142, month of Panemoudi(?), the accustomed friends honoured Diogenen Phoufas." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 57-58 A.D.

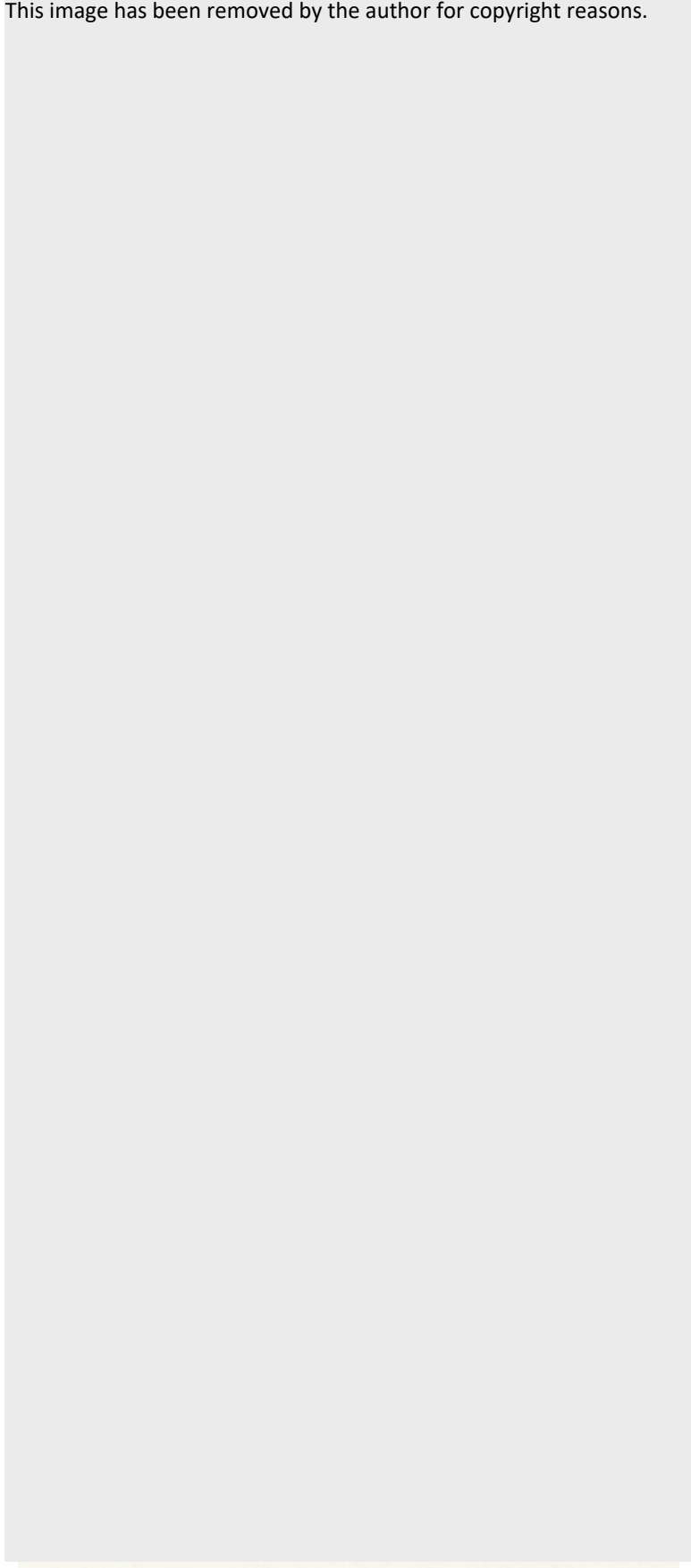Source: MAMA 1993, Vol. X. 1993, Pl. 458.

Henry Cutten.

Plate CLIV: OS.PHR.12. From MAMA 1993, Vol. X. 1993, Pl. 458.

Henry Cutten.

OS.PHR.13. Ammios Menophilos stela

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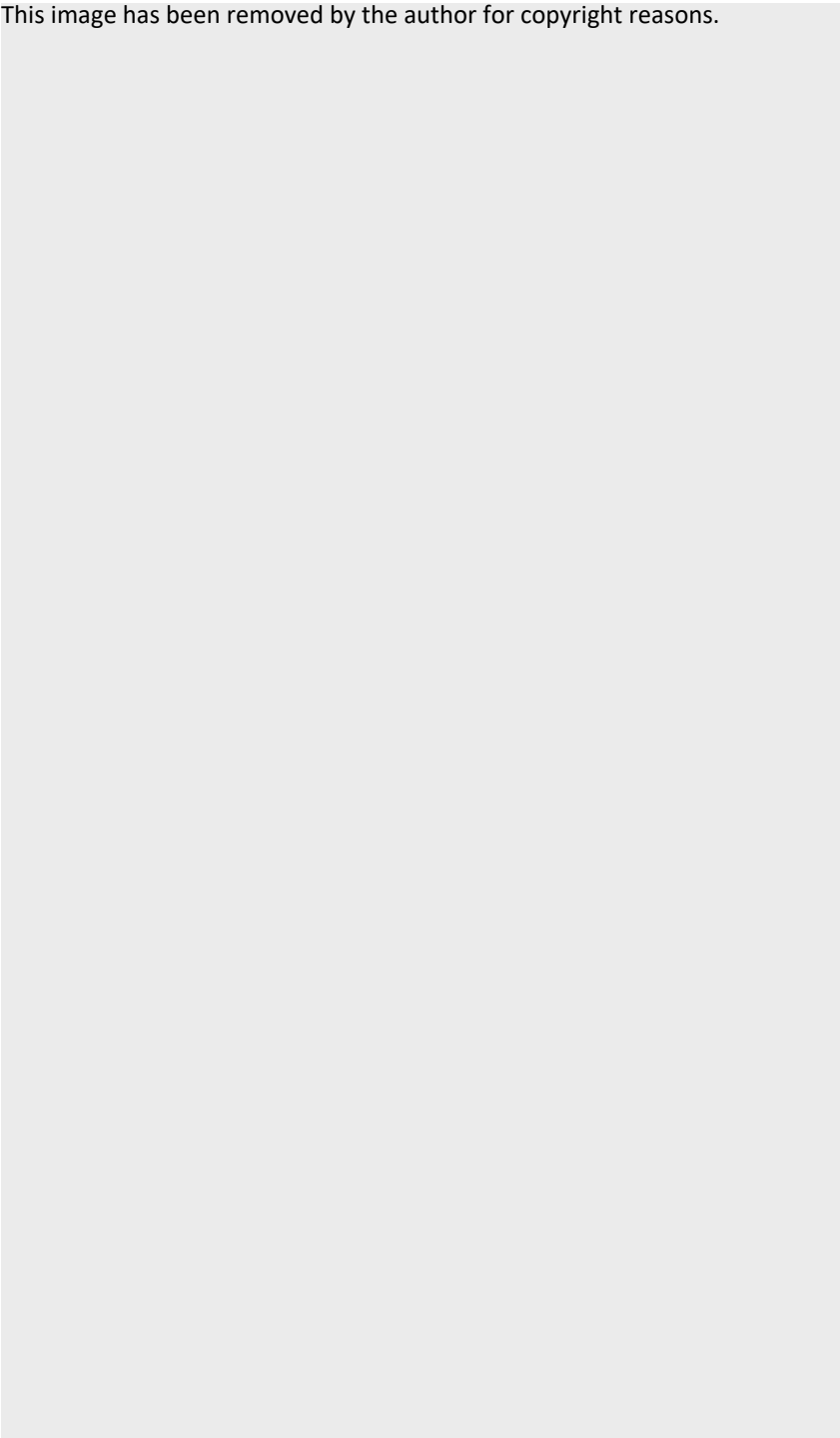
Plate CLV: OS.PHR.13. From Mama IX, no. 87.

Plate: CLV.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Yenicearmutcuk.

Henry Cutten.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 1.27; W. 0.61; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with upper moulding below triangular pediment; basket containing flowers/fruit (pomegranates(?)) within pediment. On the shaft are traces a wreath in relied, with 2 flowers at top, and 2 hanging ribbons. Inscription at base of shaft.

Inscription: ετους ενρ'μ(ηνος) Λώου Ἀμμίψ Μηνοφίλ- *v.* [ου?---]. (Trans. Mama IX). "In the year 155, month of June/July, Ammios Menophilos…" (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 23 June - 23 July A.D. 125.

Source: Mama IX, no. 87.

OS.PHR.14. Asklepiades and Agathopodi stela

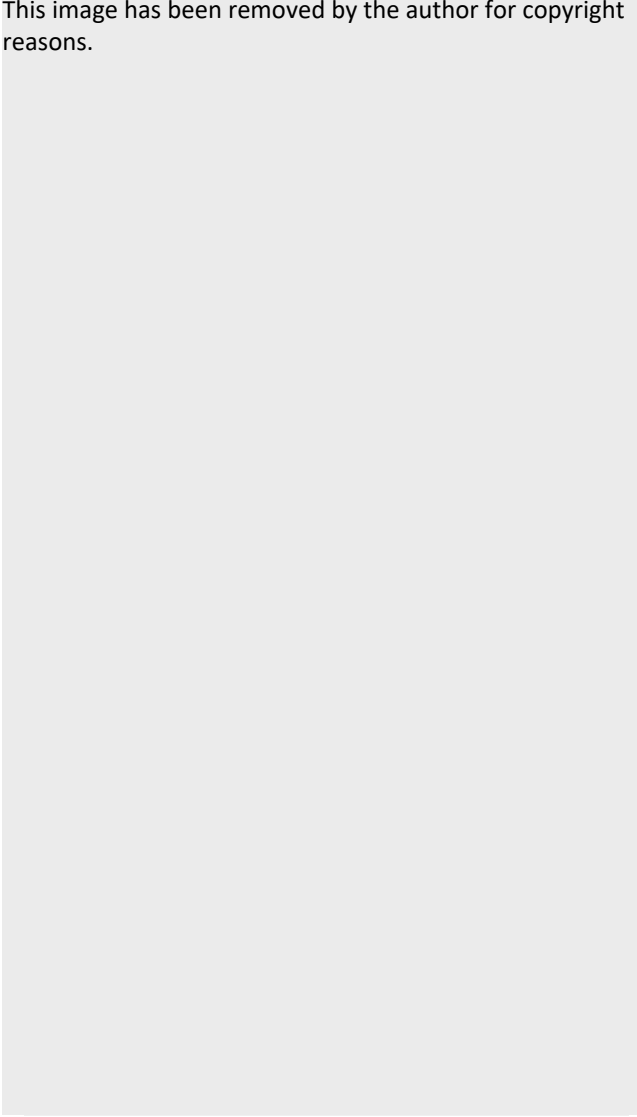This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Plate CLVI: OS.PHR.14. From Mama V. no. 31.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CLVI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Eskişehir, in the Tatar Mahallesi cemetery.

Material: Grey Marble with reddish streaks.

Dimensions: H. 0.70; W. 0.37; th. 0.10. Letter H. 0.10 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters. On field, inscription above garland relief. Stone upside down. Broken below and buried above.

Inscription: Προκου[λ]ει-ανός ʿΑσκλη-πιάδης ʿΑγαθ[ό-]ποδι τ[ῷ] θρέ-(5)ψαντι κ-πάντα ἀρί(σ)τω. (Trans. Mama V). "Prokouleianos for Asklepiades and Agathopodi, his always excellent foster parents." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama V. no. 31.

OS.PHR.15. Gamos and Amaranto stela

Plate: CLVII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Mutalip.

Material: Grey Marble.

Dimensions: H. 2.20; W. 0.64; Th. 0.19. Letter H. 0.03 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised upper capitals; vaulted pediment buried beneath a wall. Inscription on shaft, above text relief of eagle with wings displayed, standing on a large disc (conventional garland) with trailing lemnisci. Complete.

Inscription: Ουοκώνιος Γά-μος ʿΑμαράντω ἀδελφώ μνήμης χάριν. (Trans. Mama V.) "Ouokonios for brothers Gamos and Amaranto, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2018).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama V. no. 61.

Henry Cutten.

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Plate CLVII: OS.PHR.15. From Mama V. no. 61.

Henry Cutten.

OS.PHR.16. Antistion stela

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Plate CLVIII: OS.PHR.16. From Mama V. no 3.

OS.PHR.16. Antistion stela

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CLVIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Eskişehir.

Material: Grey Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.12; W. (top) 0.53, (shaft) 0.50; Th. (top) 0.185, (shaft) 0.16. Letter H. 0.035 metres.

Description: Stela with triangular pediment, upper mouldings and finial atop; in pediment, circular boss inside ring. On slightly raised circular plaque, centre of the shaft, 6-leaved rosette on smaller 6-pointed figure, above inscription. Broken below.

Inscription: [......]ς [Λ. (?)] Ἀντιστίον [Ουέτερ (?)]ος δουλο[ς] - - - - . (Trans. Mama 1937). "Antistion slave of [Oueter]os - - - -" (Trans. Cutten 2018).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Imperial Period. Mama V. no 3.

OS.PHR.17. Menophilos Sumachos stela

Plate: CLIX (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Eskişehir

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.92; W. (top) 0.49; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.0275-0.0375 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, capitals. In field, inscription and wreath with fillets, in relief, below. The stela appears, exceptionally, to have been completed without a pediment. (Mama 1937, 8.) Broken below.

Inscription: Μηνόφιλος Συμάχου ύπερ έαυτου Διι Βροντωντι (5) εύχήν. (Trans. Mama V). "Menophilos Sumachos dedicated this on behalf of himself and Zeus Bronton [in fulfilment of] a vow." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama V. no. 13.

Henry Cutten.

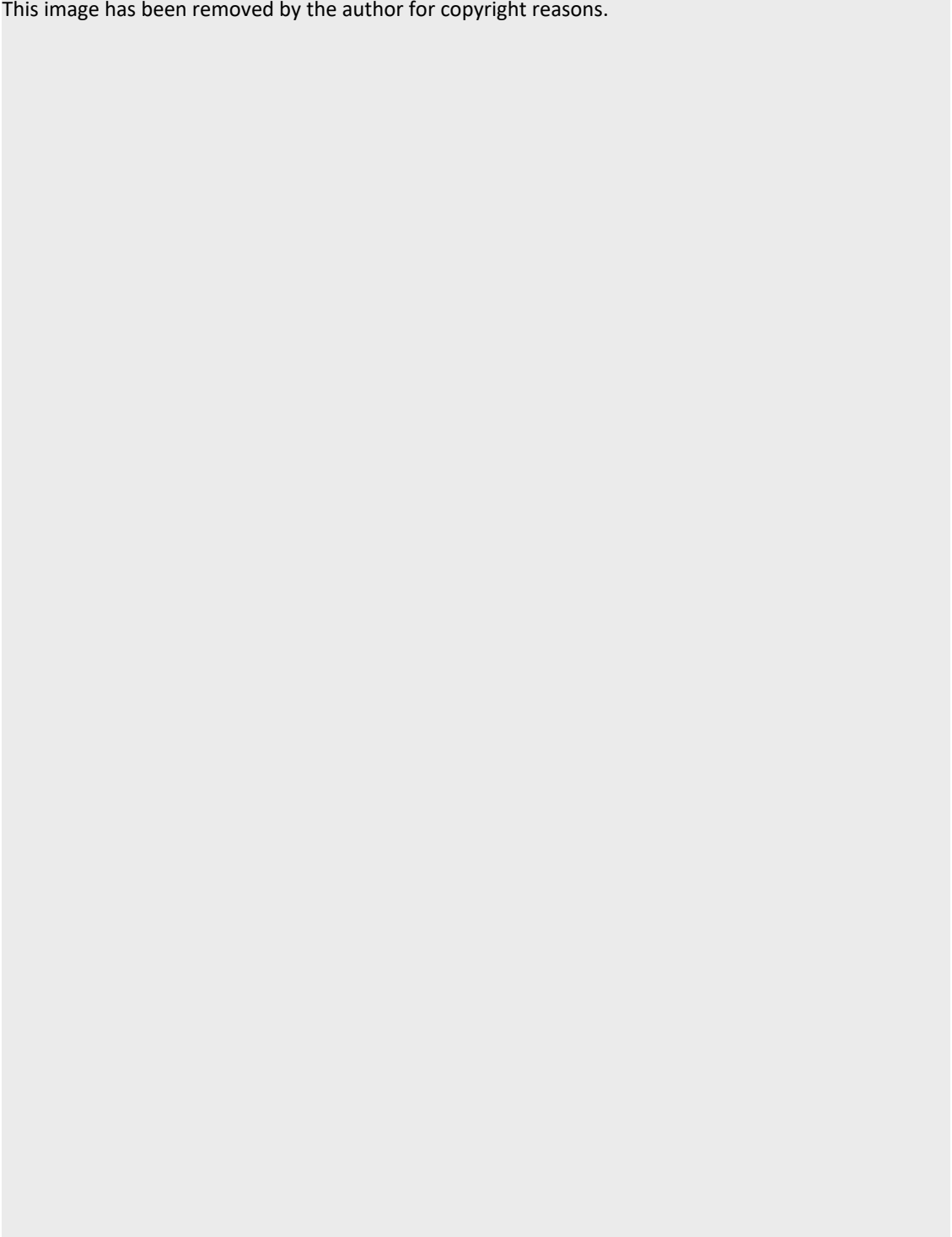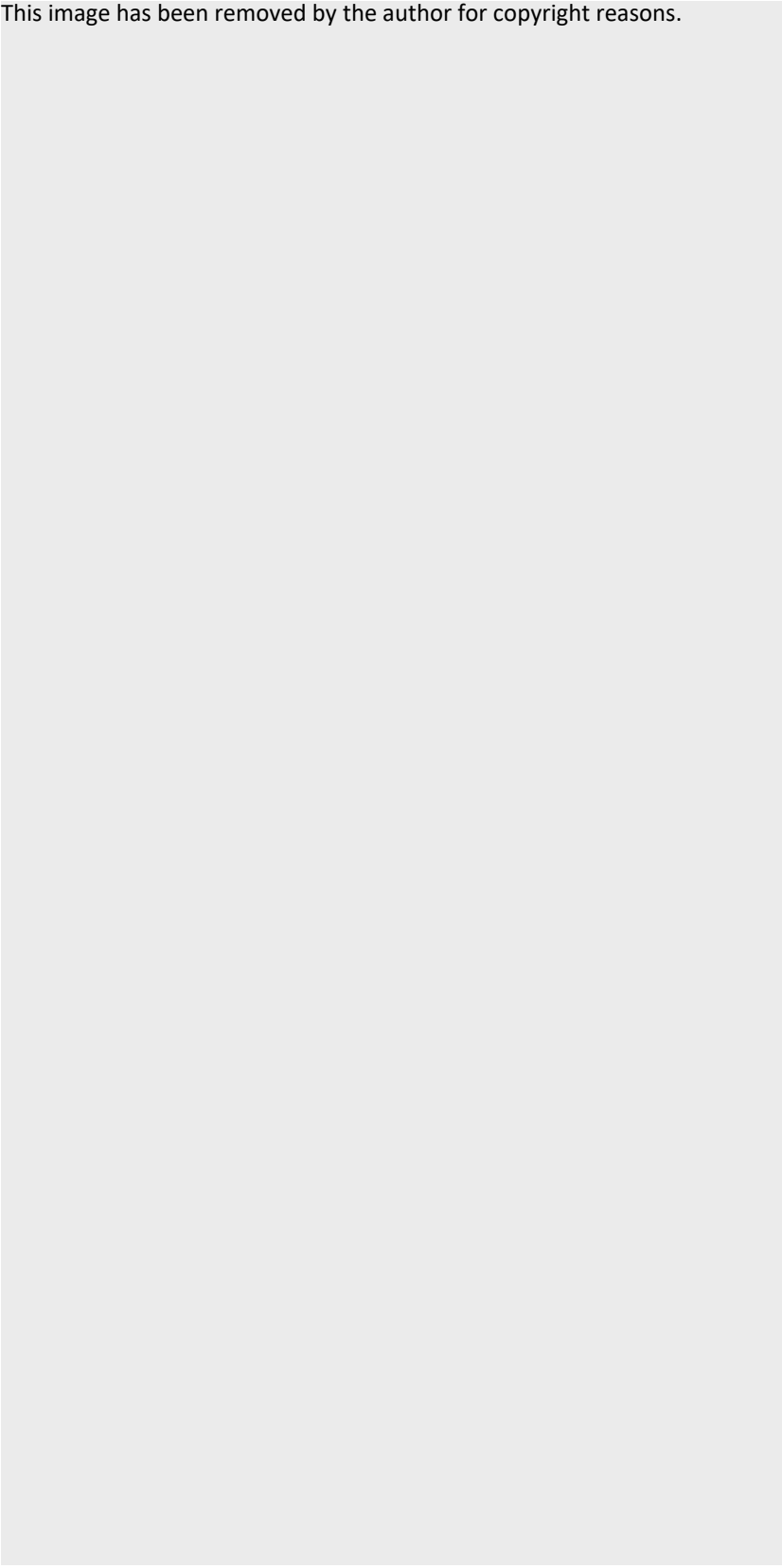This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.
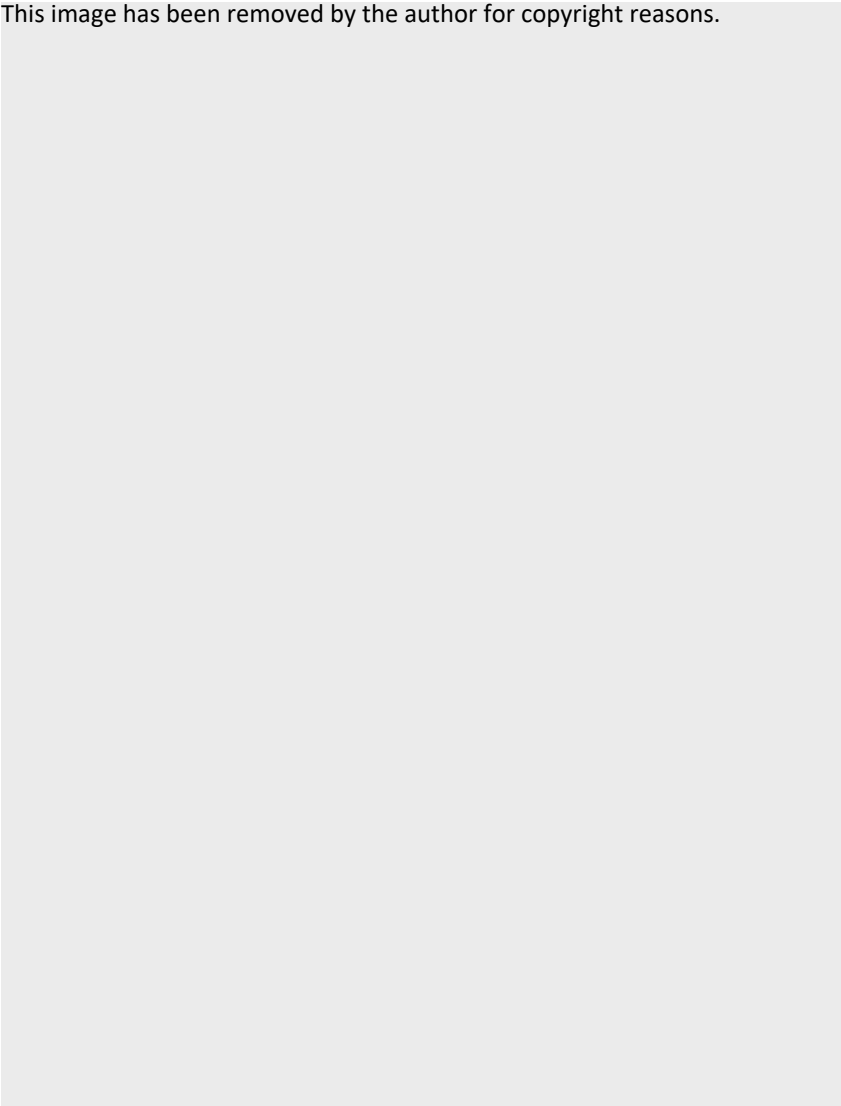
Plate CLIX: OS.PHR.17. From Mama V. no. 13.

OS.PHR.18. Stela with palmette acroteria

Plate: CLX (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Eskişehir.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.14; W. (top) 0.72, (shaft) 0.62. Th. N/R. No inscription.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals; vaulted pediment, with palmette acroteria, and finial. In pediment is a boss or plaque. On the shaft, is a wreath in relief.

Inscription: No surviving inscription.

Date: Imperial period.

Henry Cutten.

503

Source: Mama V. no. 49.

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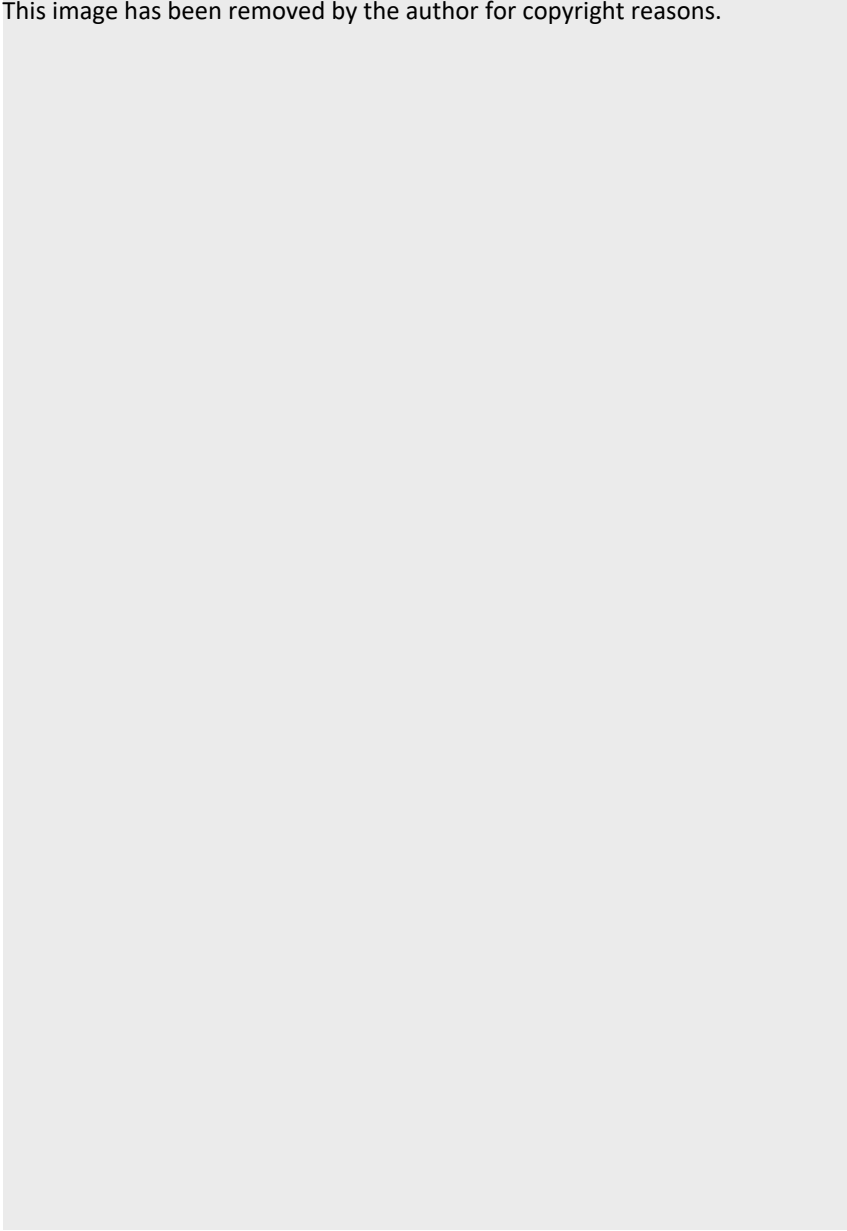
Plate CLX: OS.PHR.18. From Mama V. no. 49.

OS.PHR.19. Dual-dedication stela

Plate: CLXI (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ayvacik, discovered in a house yard at the west-end of the village.

Material: Greyish Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.72; w. 0.43; Th. 0.25. Letter H. 0.035-0.0375 metres.

Henry Cutten.

Description: Stela with wreath relief above inscription on stela shaft. Broken above, buried below.

Inscription: Αὐρή- (*garland*) λιοι Ἑρμοκλης ΙΕ Παπ-(α)ς ΙΕ Ἑρμης οἱ Μην-οθᾶδος ὑπέρ ε-(5)αυτων ΙΕ των ἰδίων πάντων Διε-ι Βροντωντι εὐχήν. (Trans. Mama 1937). "Aurelius, son of Ermokles, and Papas and Ermes, the (Menophados?), dedicate this to themselves and each of their own interpretations of Zeus Bronton [in fulfilment of] a vow." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1937, no. 172.

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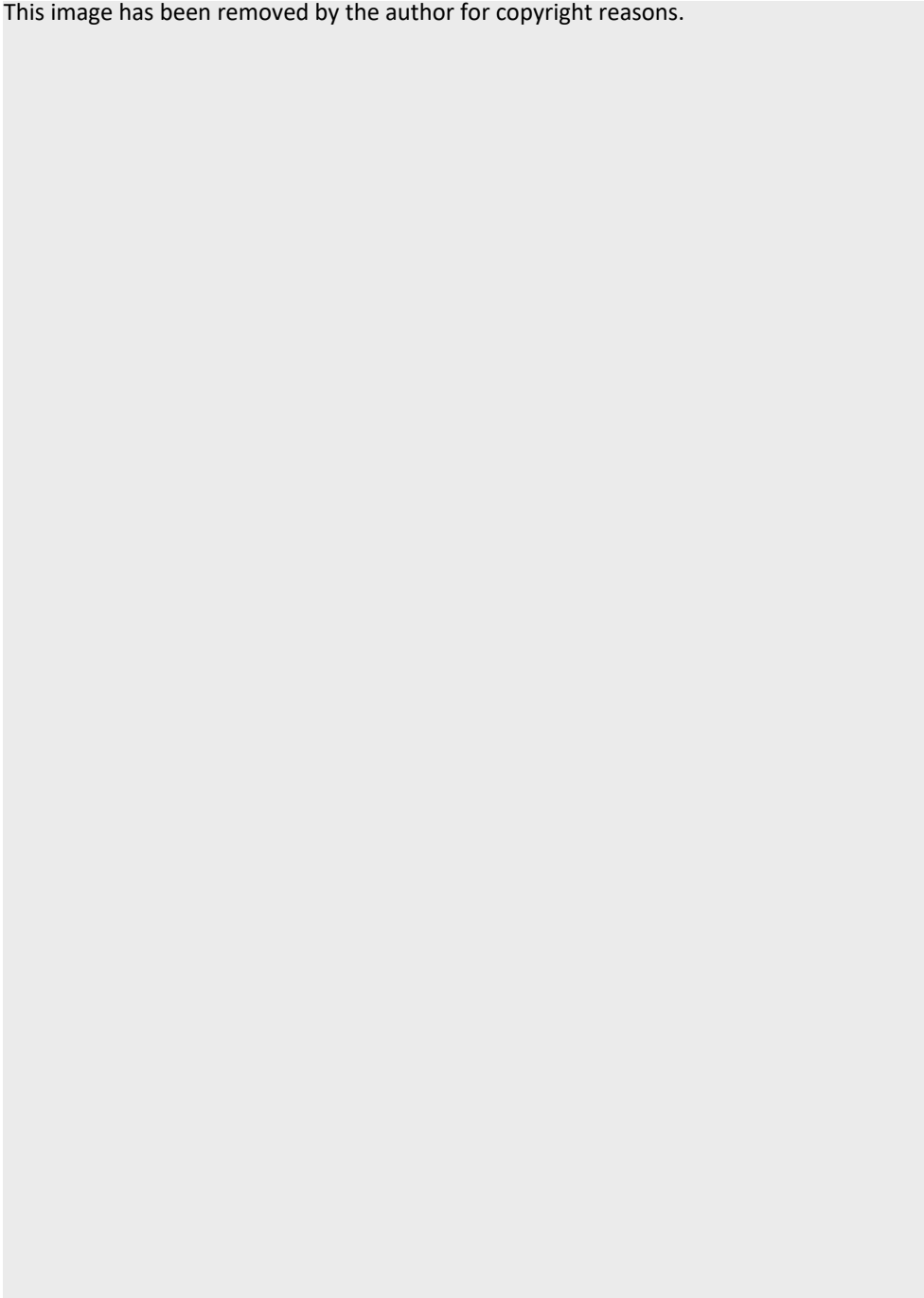
Plate CLXI: OS.PHR.19. From Mama 1937, no. 172.

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OS.PHR.20. Monsaios and Apollonios stela

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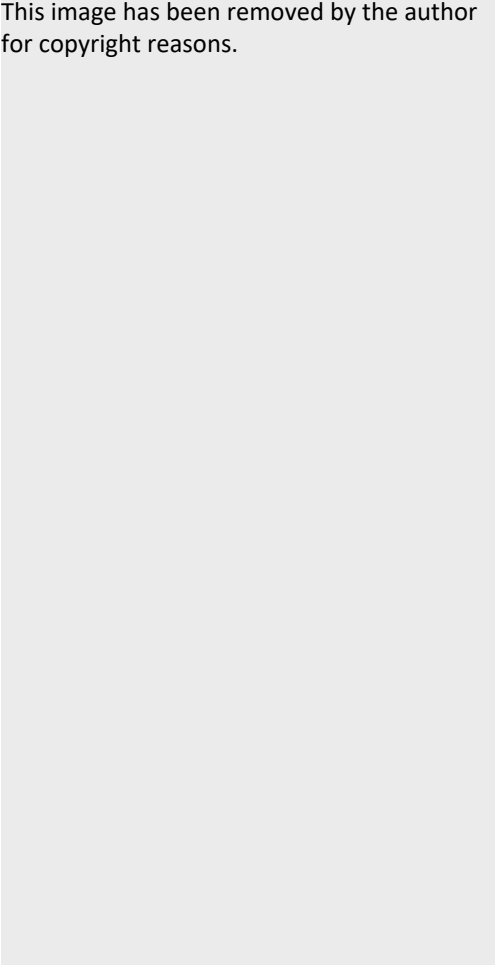
Plate CLXII: OS.PHR.20. From Mama 1937, no. 259.

Plate: CLXII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Seyit Gazi, in the steps of the mosque near the Konak.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 1.31; W. 0.49; Th. 0.26. Letter H. 0.035 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, vaulted pediment and acroteria. A rosette or circular object in the centre of the pediment. Inscription top of shaft. Left-hand side of stela concealed in step of mosque.

Inscription: Μονσαιος και Ἀπολλώ[νι]ος ἰδία μητρι μνή(5)μης ένεκα. (Trans. Mama 1937). "Monsaios and Apollonios, on account of his mother, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1937, no. 259.

Henry Cutten.

OS.PHR.21. Domne stela

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Plate CLXIII: OS.PHR.21. From Mama 1937, no. 81.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CLXIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kavacak, at a fountain in the upper part of the village.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.91; W. (top) 0.86, (shaft) 0.72; Th. 0.23. Letter H. 0.035 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, large capitals; vaulted pediment, with acroteria. In the pediment a mirror, spindle-and-distaff. On shaft, above the inscription, is a garland with lemnisci. Damaged below.

Inscription: Φίλιππος Περγάμου Δόμνη γυναικι [κ-] έαντω κ- Πέργαμος κ- Φίλιππος κ- Ἀσκ[λ]ηπι(5)άδης Δόμνη μητρι περί τε φιλαν[δρίας] κ- σωφροσύν[ης κ- εύ-]τεκνίας κ- πα[τρι] ζωντι. (Trans. Mama 1937).

"Philippos son of Peryamos for his wife Domne and for himself, and Peryamos and Philippos and Asklepiases about their mother Domne's moderation and also her friendship, and children and father, while they were still alive." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1937, no. 81.

OS.PHR.22. Stela with grape bunch in pediment

Plate: CLXIV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Mutalip, in the eastern cemetery.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.18; W. 0.74; Th. N/R. Letter height: N/R.

Description: Stela with pilasters and capitals; vaulted pediment with palmette finial. In pediment, a grape-bunch. On shaft eagle facing left, displaying wings are displayed. Buried right and below.

Inscription: No surviving inscription.

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1937, no. 75.

Henry Cutten.

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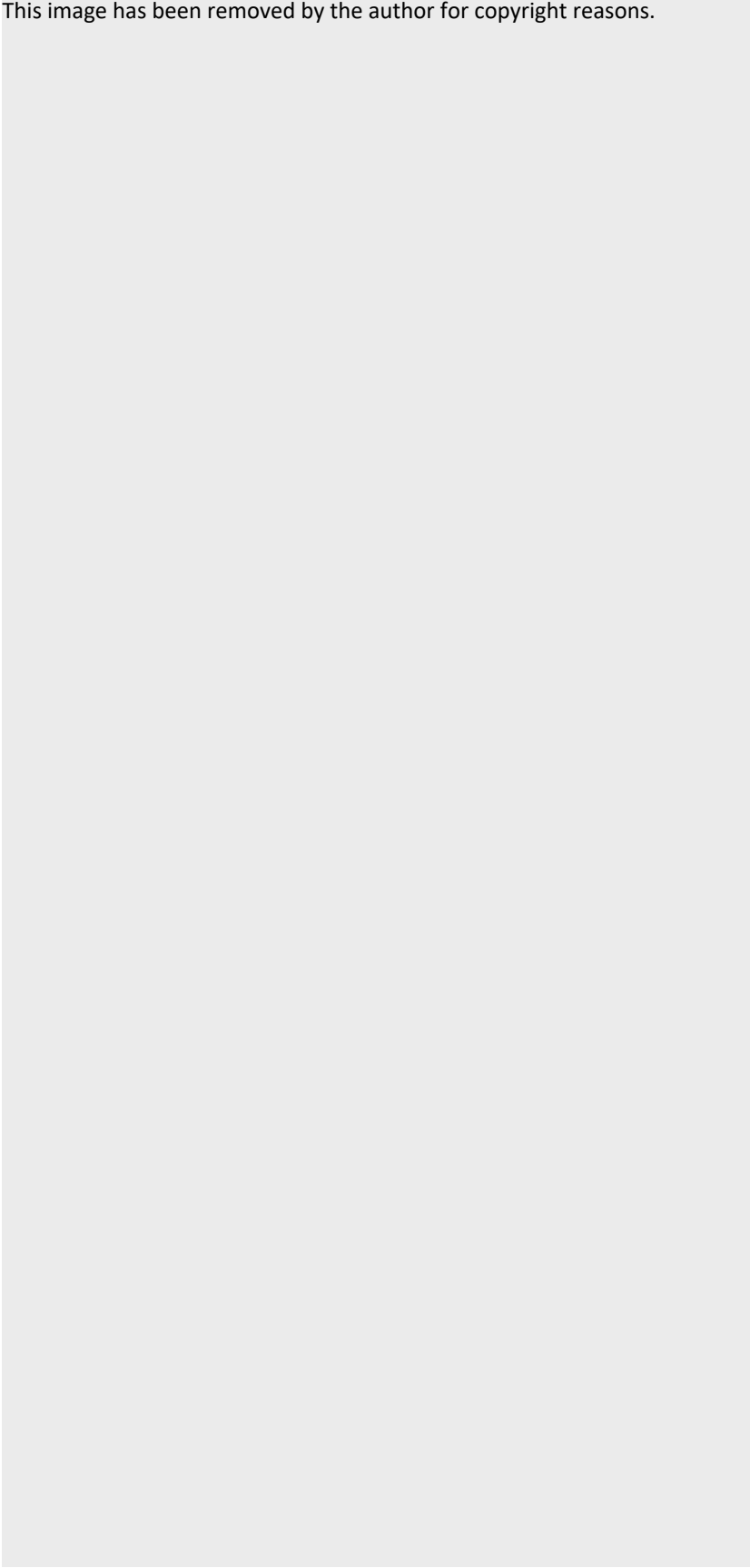Plate CLXIV: OS.PHR.22. From Mama 1937, no. 75.

OS.PHR.23. Stela of Docimian marble

Plate: CLXV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Kavacak, at a fountain in the upper part of the village.

Material: Docimian Marble. (MAMA 1937).

Dimensions: H. 1.48; w. (top) 0.61, (shaft) 0.52; Th. 0.18, (shaft) 0.13. Letter H. 0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, stylised capitals; vaulted pediment, palmette acroteria – in pediment a formalised shoot or agricultural tool(?). On field, above the inscription, a garland. Buried below.

Henry Cutten.

Inscription: Illegible.

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1937, no. 80.
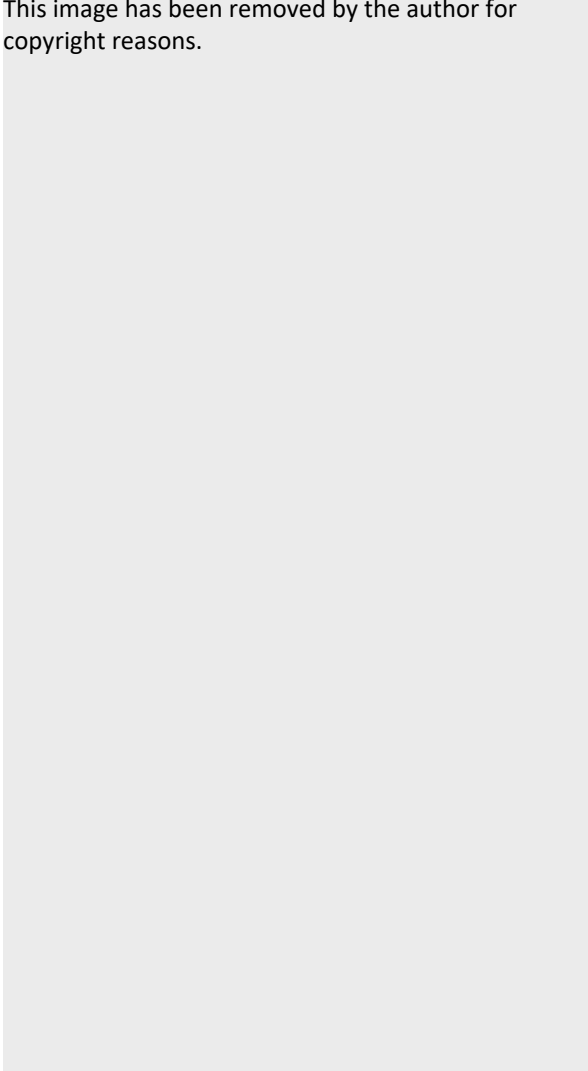
Plate CLXV: OS.PHR.23. From Mama 1937, no. 80.

OS.PHR.24. Stela of Docimian marble with eagle

Plate: CLXVI (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Keskin.

Material: Docimian Marble. (MAMA 1937).

Dimensions: H. 1.03; w. (top) 0.71, (shaft) 0.59; Th. 0.17. Letter height: N/R.

Henry Cutten.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, vaulted pediment, palmette acroteria. In the pediment 6-pointed rosette on raised circular plaque. On the shaft eagle, wings displayed, on open garland bound at the centre; from each end a stalked leaf turns inwards. Broken at top, buried below.

Inscription: No surviving inscription.

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1937, no. 103.

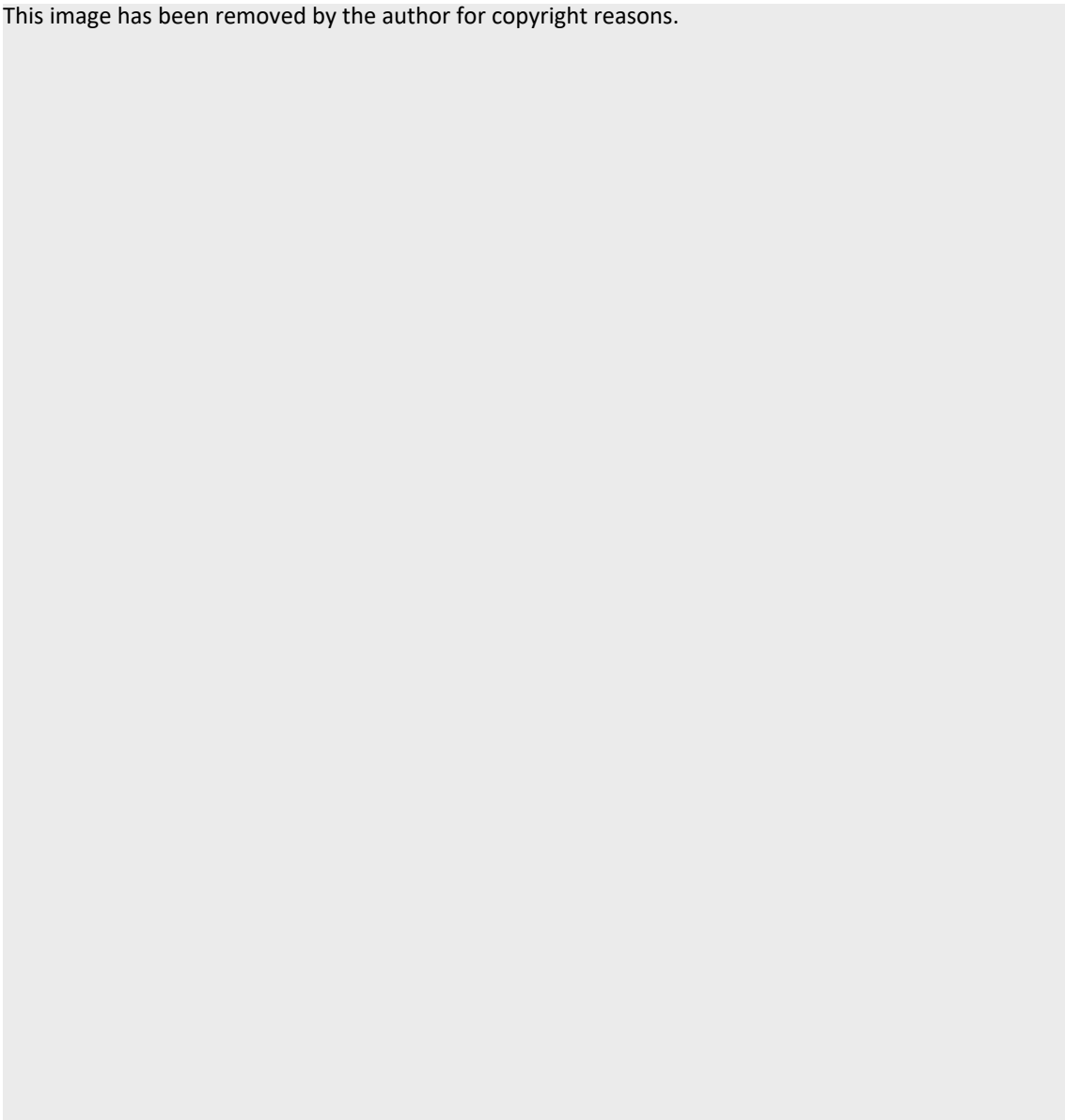This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.
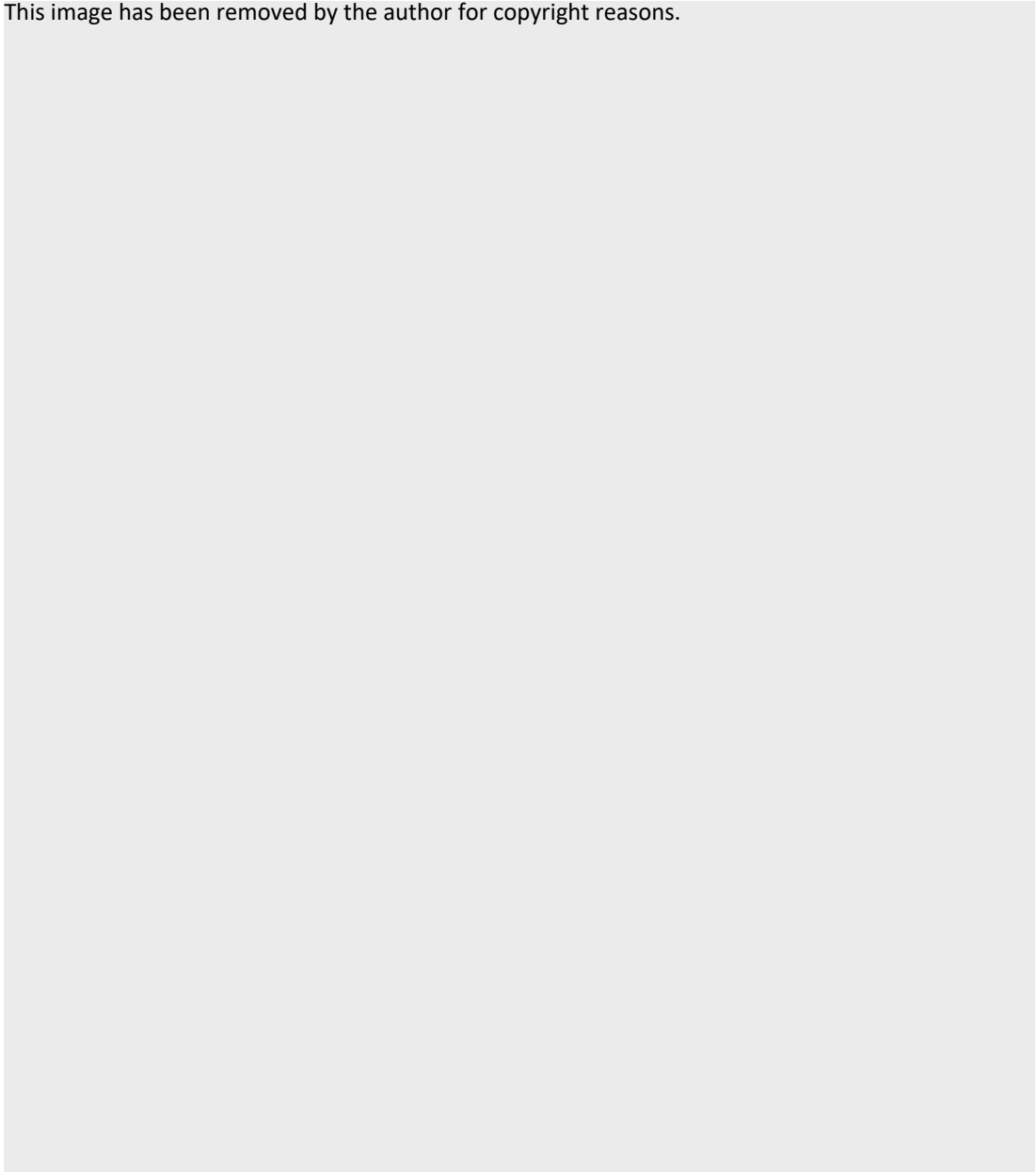
Plate CLXVI: OS.PHR.24. From Mama 1937, no. 103.

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OS.PHR.25. Apollonios stela

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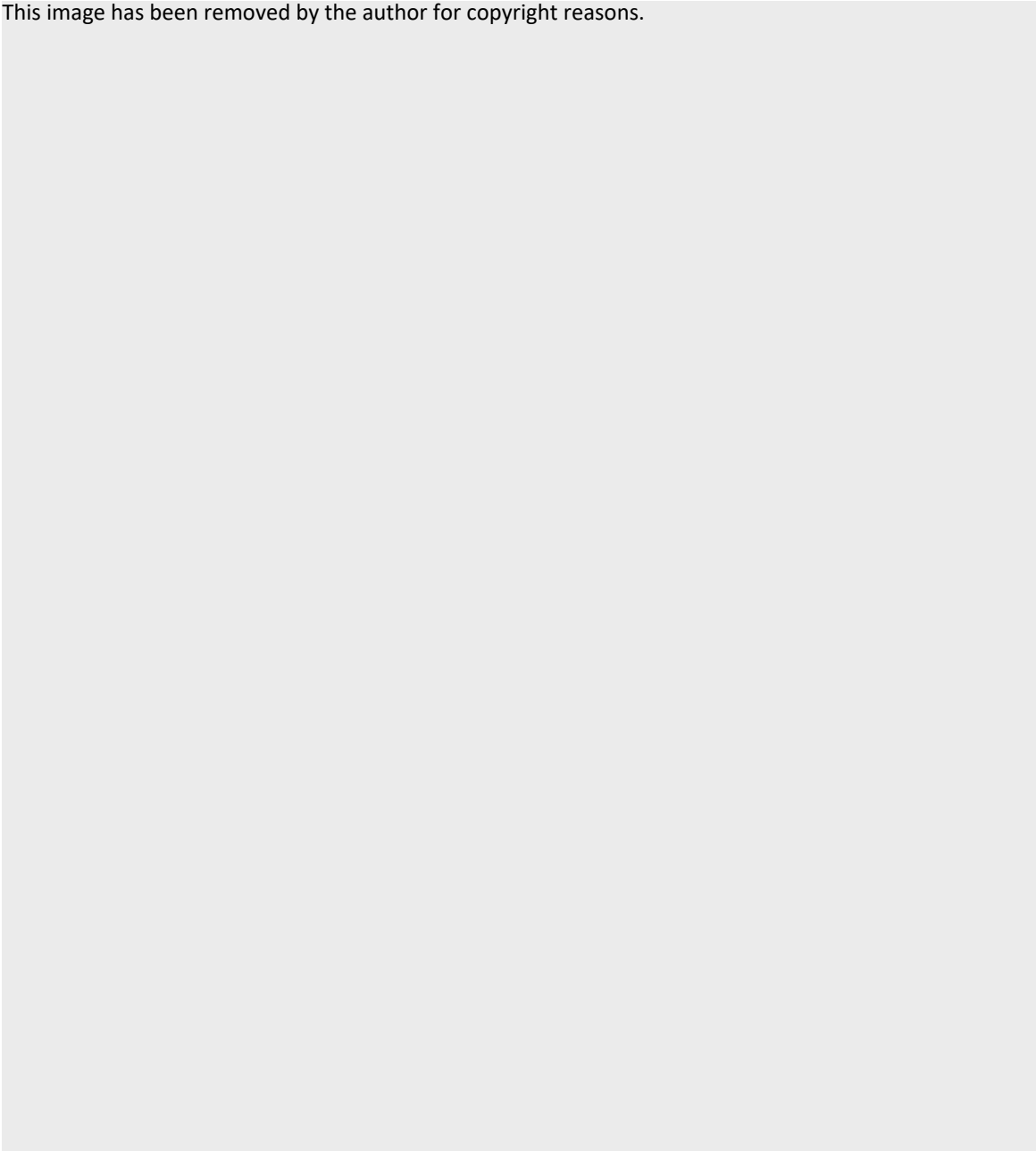
Plate CLXVII: OS.PHR.25. From Mama 1937, no. 262.

Plate: CLXVII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Seyit Gazi.

Material: Greyish Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.64; W. (top) 0.55, (shaft) 0.455; Th. 0.17. Letter H. 0.01-0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, capitals; narrow triangular, blank pediment. Inscription on shaft above pair of raised hands in relief. Broken above and below.

Henry Cutten.

Inscription: Διονύσιος και Κλεοπάτρα Ἀπολλωνίω τέκνω γλυκυτάτψ μνήμης χά-(5)[ρι]ν. (Trans. Mama 1937). "Dionysios and Kleopatra for Apollonios, their sweetest child, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1937, no. 262.

OS.PHR.26. Stela of Attalos

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Plate CLXVIII: OS.PHR.26. From Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 71.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CLXVIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Yayalar (Sebaste), by the mosque, moved in 2011 to the garden of The Archaeological Museum at Usak.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.55; W. (pediment) 0.47, (shaft) 0.44, (base) 0.50; Th. 0.17. Letter H. 0.014-0.022 metres.

Description: Stela with pilasters and Ionic capitals; vaulted pediment, acroteria and large upper element. Within, eagle facing frontally, wings extended. On shaft inscription above wreath in relief with fillets. Originally tenon below; broken above and below.

Inscription: Ἀριστίων καὶ Θεογένης καὶ Μητρ[ό]δ[ω]ρος καὶ Εὐαγόρ[α]ς (5) Ἀττάλῳ τῷ πα-τρὶ φιλο{τι}- τέκνῳ μνή- μης χά-(10)ριν. "Aristion and Theogenes and Metrodoros and Euagoras for Attalos, their father, a loving parent, in memoriam." (Trans. Mama XI).

Date: 1ˢᵗ Century B.C-1ˢᵗ Century A.D.

Source: Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 71.

OS.PHR.27. Stela of Quintus and Cornuta

Plate: CLXIX (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Usak (Kadoi), in a street.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 2.05; w. (pediment) 0.67, (shaft) 0.56-0.58, (base) 0.75; Th. 0.18. Letter H. 0.016-0.023 metres.

Description: Stela with pediment above and tenon below; complete, cracked across the middle. In the pediment: (1) lion facing r., (2) ox-head, (3) lion facing l. In the field: (4-5) two wreaths, (6) comb, (7) mirror, (8) writing-tablet, (9) stylus-case, (10) spindle, (11) distaff, (12) tear-bottle, (13) crescent. First line of inscription on pediment; lines 2-6 in field.[1020]

Inscription: vac. ἔτους σβ΄ vac. [Φ]ουρία Κυδωνεία σὺν τῷ ἀνδρὶ Ἀπελλᾷ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις Ἰάσονι καὶ Ἀπελλᾷ τοῖς γλυκυτάτοις γο-(5)νεῦσι Κοίντῳ καὶ Κορνούτῃ μνεί- ας χάριν. "Year 202. Furia Kydoneia, with her husband Apellas and her children Iason and Apellas, for her sweetest parents, Quintus and Cornuta, in memoriam." (Trans. Mama XI).

[1020] Description taken source. (Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 98.).

Henry Cutten.

Date: A.D. 117 to 118.

Source: Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 98.

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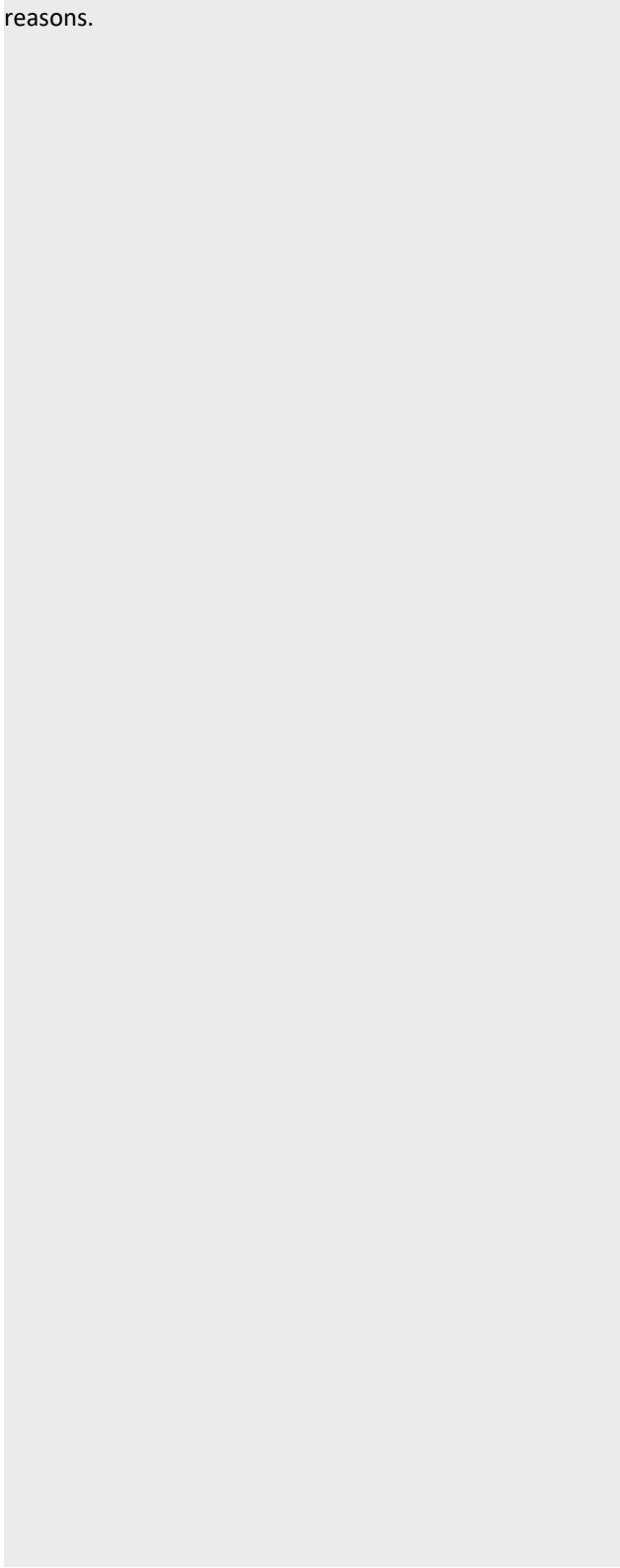
Plate CLXIX: OS.PHR.27. From Mama 2013, Vol. XI, no. 98.

Henry Cutten.

OS.PHR.28. Tata and Tatia stela
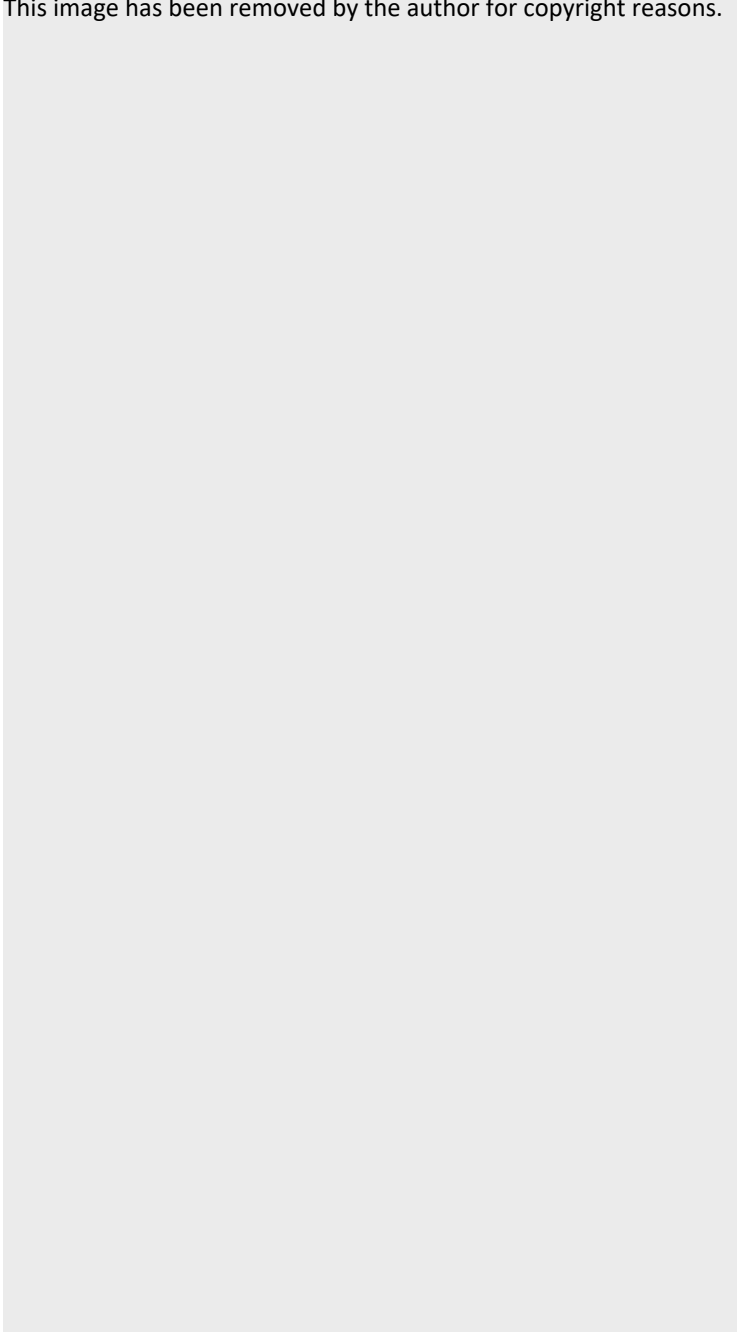
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Plate CLXX: OS.PHR.28. From Mama 1933, no. 259

Plate: CLXX.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Aljibar.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.86; W. 1.59; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.03-0.06 metres.

Description: pediment with eagle in relief, wings outspread in the tympanum. Inscription along entablature. Broken below.

Inscription: Ἄρτας και Μεννέ[α]ς [. . . c. 22 1. . . .] μητρι [Τα-] τα και ἀδελφίj Τατια και ιἰ[δελφω . c. 7 l. . μνή]μης χάριν. Μεννεας με των ιοιων αοε ψων πατρι *J..* Ικιννιω μνήμης χάριν. Trans. (Mama 1933). Artas and Menneas … mother Tata and sister Tatia and brother … in memory. Menneas me who (ιοιων αοε ψων) father J… son of Ikinnios, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1933, no. 259.

OS.PHR.29. Apollonios stela

Plate: CLXXI (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ortakoy, built into a niche in a house wall.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.58; W. 0.35; Th. N/R. (concealed).

Description: Stela with Corinthian(?) pilasters; triangular pediment – lozenge at centre- acroteria and large upper element. On field a wreath with projecting foliage is carved in low relief.

Inscription: No surviving inscription.

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1933, no. 300.

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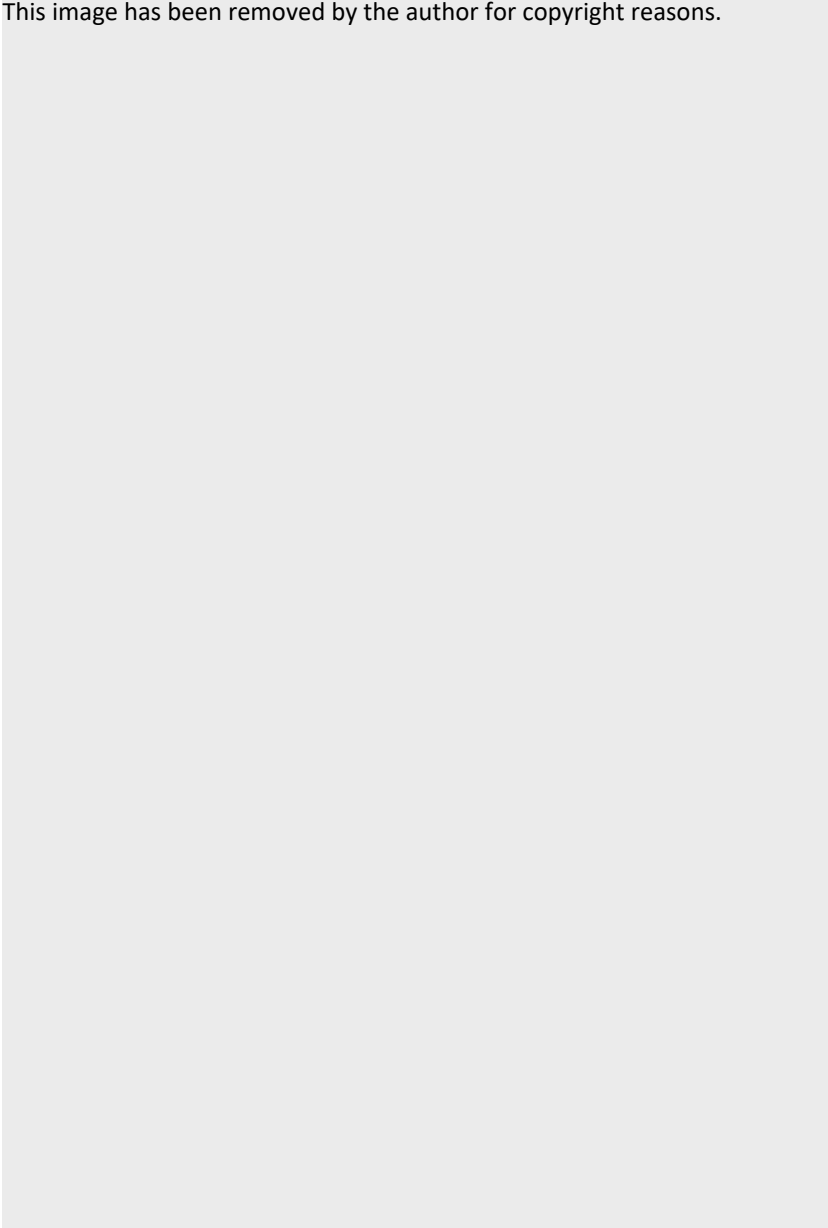
Plate CLXXI: OS.PHR.29. From Mama 1933, no. 300.

Henry Cutten.

OS.PHR.30. Tatia Appa and Menneas and Apollonios stela

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Plate CLXXII: OS.PHR.30. From Mama 1933, no. 253.

Plate: CLXXII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Yaztu Veran, in western cemetery.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.74; W. 1.12; Th. 0.46. Letter H. 0.03- 0.035 metres.

Description: Triangular pediment with boss at centre, in relief. Large upper moulding with inscription. Broken below.

Inscription: Τατια Άττα και Μεννέας και Ἀπολλώνιος οί Ἀπολλωνίον ἐποίησαν μνήμης χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1933). "Tatia Appa and Menneas and Apollonios, the (son of) Apollonion, made this, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1933, no. 253.

Henry Cutten.

OS.PHR.31. Euktos and Apollonios stela

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Plate CLXXIII: OS.PHR.31. From Mama 1933, 299.

Plate: CLXXIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Chal.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.25; W. 0.38; Th. 0.15. Letter H. 0.015 to 0.025 metres.

Description: Stela pediment, supported by pilasters and capitals; a wreath with fillets in tympanum. Text across upper moulding. Broken below, surface worn and stained.

Inscription: Ευκτω Ἀπολλωνίον οἱ ἑταιρ[οι] μνήμης χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1933). "The companions Euktos and Apollonios, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1933, 299.

OS.PHR.32. Karpo stela

Plate: CLXXIV (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ishiklu (Eumeneia), in the cemetery.

Henry Cutten.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 0.77; W. 0.38, (field) 0.26; Th. 0.22-0.18. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with large upper and lower mouldings, inscription on field; pediment containing 12-pointed rosette. Complete.

Inscription: Καλλίστη 'Αππα Διωνι ανδρι' και' νι-ω Κάρπω το-ήρωον [κ]ατεσκεύασεν μνήμης χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1933). "Kalliste, daughter of Appa and Dioni, built this place for her husband and son, Karpo, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1933, no. 344.

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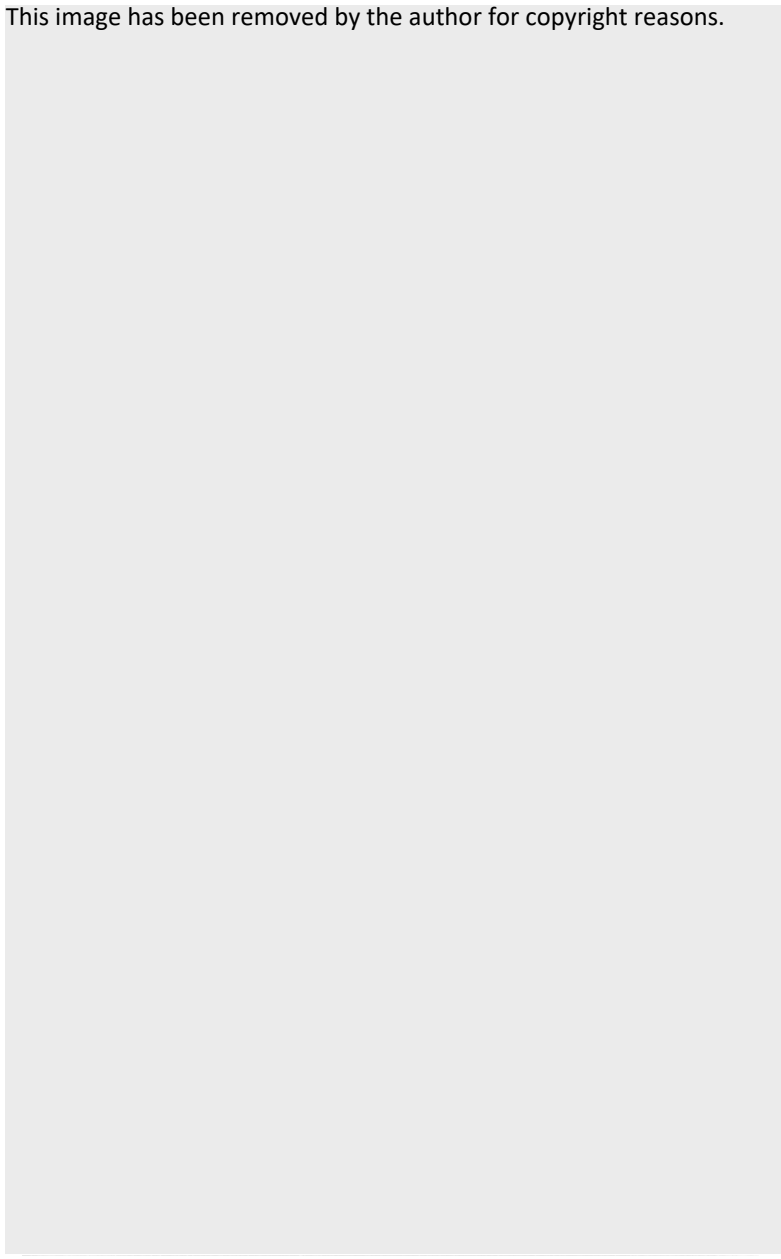
Plate CLXXIV: OS.PHR.32. From Mama 1933, no. 344.

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OS.PHR.33. G. Antonios Apellas stela

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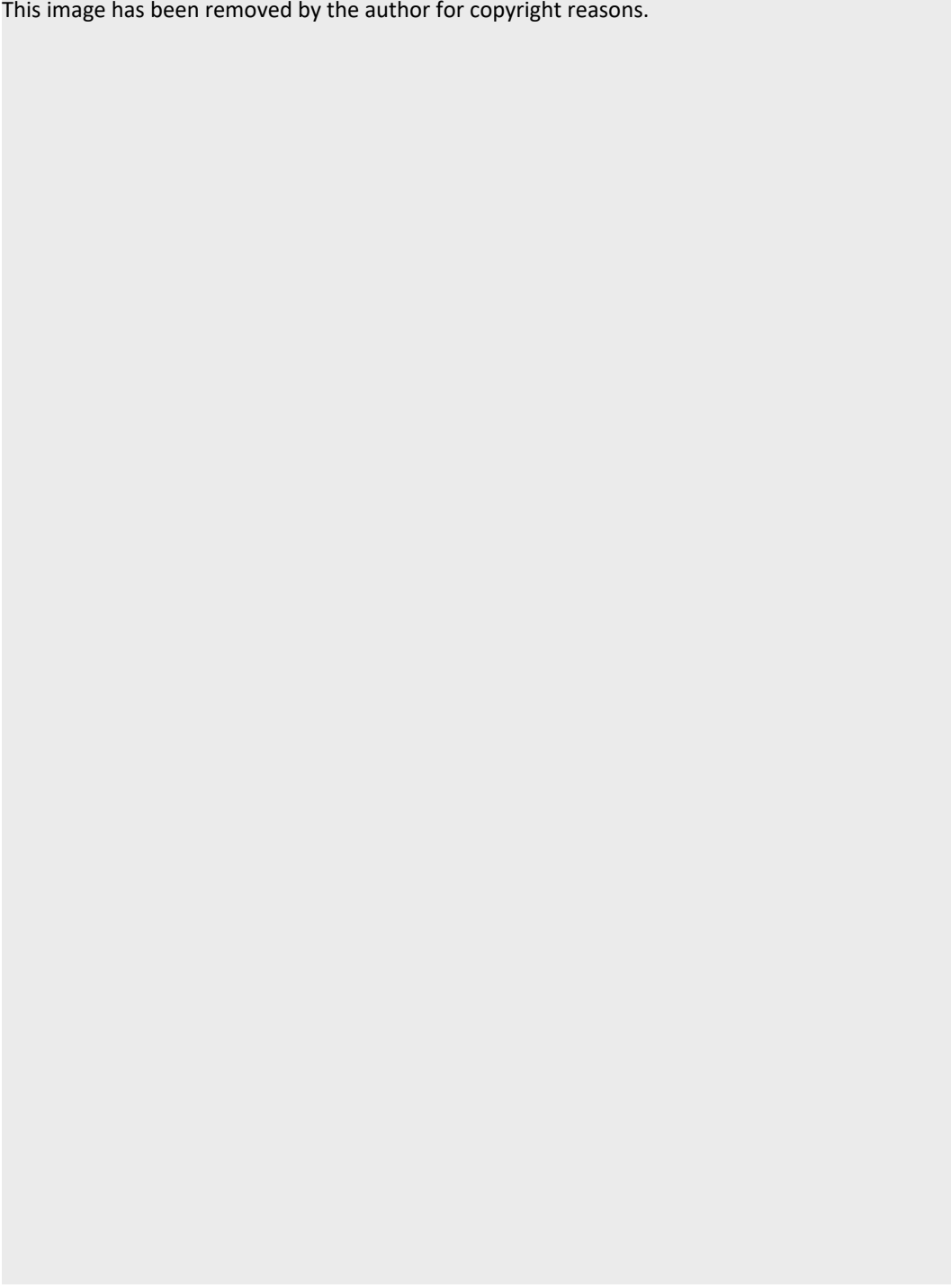
Plate CLXXV: OS.PHR.33. From Mama 1933, no. 281.

Plate: C

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Bahadinlar, in wall of house.

Material: Limestone.

Henry Cutten.

Dimensions: H. 0.31; W. 0.44; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.01 to 0.02 metres.

Description: Top of stela, pediment with acroteria; containing boss with flower. Text around all 3 sides of the pediment and continues top of shaft. Broken below.

Inscription: Γ. Ἀντώνιος Ἀπελ[λ-][α]ς Βλαυνδευς κο-λασθεις ὑπο τον θεον πολλάκις και πολλοις χρόνοις δια. το μ(η) βούλεσθε (5) αύτον ποσελθειν και παρεστάναι τω μνστηρίω καλούμενον έν . . . . (Trans. Mama 1933).

"G. Antonios Apellas, from Blaundeus, (in) hell/inferno through the god underneath, for most (of his) lifetime he (did) not often, and passionately(?), seek council(?) himself, and get ready (for) that mystery/revealed (when) summoned. . . . ." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1933, no. 281.

OS.PHR.34. White marble stela

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Plate CLXXVI: OS.PHR.34. From Mama 1933, Vol. IV. no. 89.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CLXXVI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Shohut Kasaba, in the fountain beside Bash Jami.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.77; W. 0.38; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.025-0.03 metres.

Description: Stela, with 2 six-pointed rosettes, and inscription. Broken above.

Inscription: . . . . . γν[να.ι-]κι κονριδια μνήμης χαριν. (Trans. Mama 1933). ". . . . . wife (κονριδια?) in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2018).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1933, Vol. IV. no. 89.

OS.PHR.35. Stratoneikos stela

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Plate CLXXVII: OS.PHR.35. From Haspels 1971, Pl. 639, no. 146.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CLXXVII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Avdan, in the village, in the corner of a house wall.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.00 ca. metres. All other measurements: N/R.

Description: Stela with pilasters and capitals; vaulted pediment, large acroteria, finial broken off. In pediment small wreath, in main field large wreath, inscription below. Surface worn.

Inscription: Γανυμήδης Στρατονείκ-ω ίδίω άδελφ-ω, μνήμης χ-(5)άριν ατεκνο-ς ατεκνω. (Trans. Mama Haspels 1971). "Ganumedes for his own sister Stratoneikos, childless and unable to bear children, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Haspels 1971, Pl. 639, no. 146.

OS.PHR.36. Stela of bluish marble

Plate: CLXXVIII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Kütahya Museum, Inv. No. N/R.

Find site: Akoluk.

Material: Bluish Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.59; W. 0.375, Th. 0.13. Letter H. 0.017-0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with wreath in pediment. On field inscription in panel. Broken above and on base (l.).

Inscription: Ἀγάθωνι Πανφίλου νίω Πανφίλω νέω μετασταθέντι έ-(5)των κδ' μνήμης χάριν ενθα τέθη-κα. (Trans. Haspels 1971). "Agathoni Ganphilon son of Ganphilos (νέω) metastasis(?) aged 24 years, in memory this stands." (Trans. Cutten 2018).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Haspels 1971, Pl. 629, no. 106.

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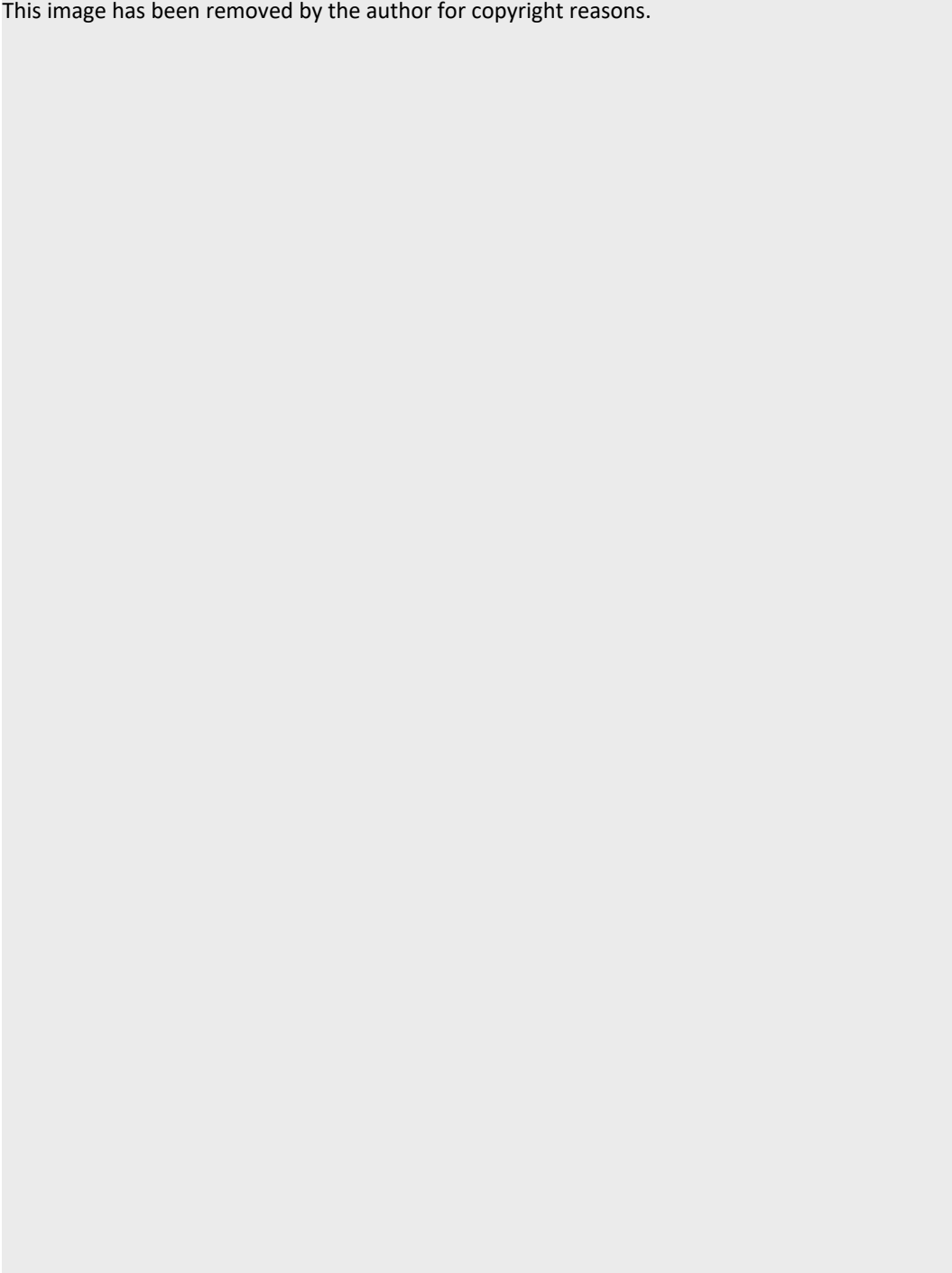
Plate CLXXVIII: OS.PHR.36. From Haspels 1971, Pl. 629, no. 106.

OS.PHR.37. Teimaios and Appe stela

Plate: CLXXIX.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Erten, in the village.

Henry Cutten.

Material: Hard, Grey Tuff Stone.

Dimensions: H. 1.19; W. (above) 0.615 (below) 0.55 metres., Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.0250-0.04 metres.

Description: Inscription and wreath in relief, on shaft. Broken above, below and across middle; built upside down into house wall in narrow alley.

Inscription: Τείμαιος έαντω και συνβίω Απτη ζων-τ-ες ανέστησαν μ-νήμης χά-ριν. (Trans. Haspels 1971). "Teimaios and his wife Appe set this up for themselves, while living, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Haspels 1971, Pl. 617, no. 48.

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Plate CLXXIX: OS.PHR.37. From Haspels 1971, Pl. 617, no. 48.

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OS.PHR.38. Appe stela
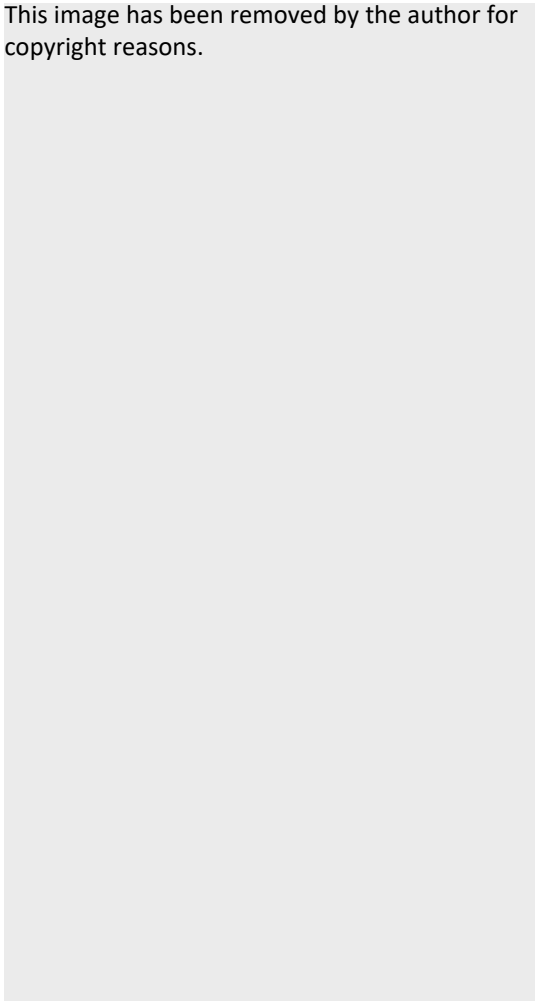
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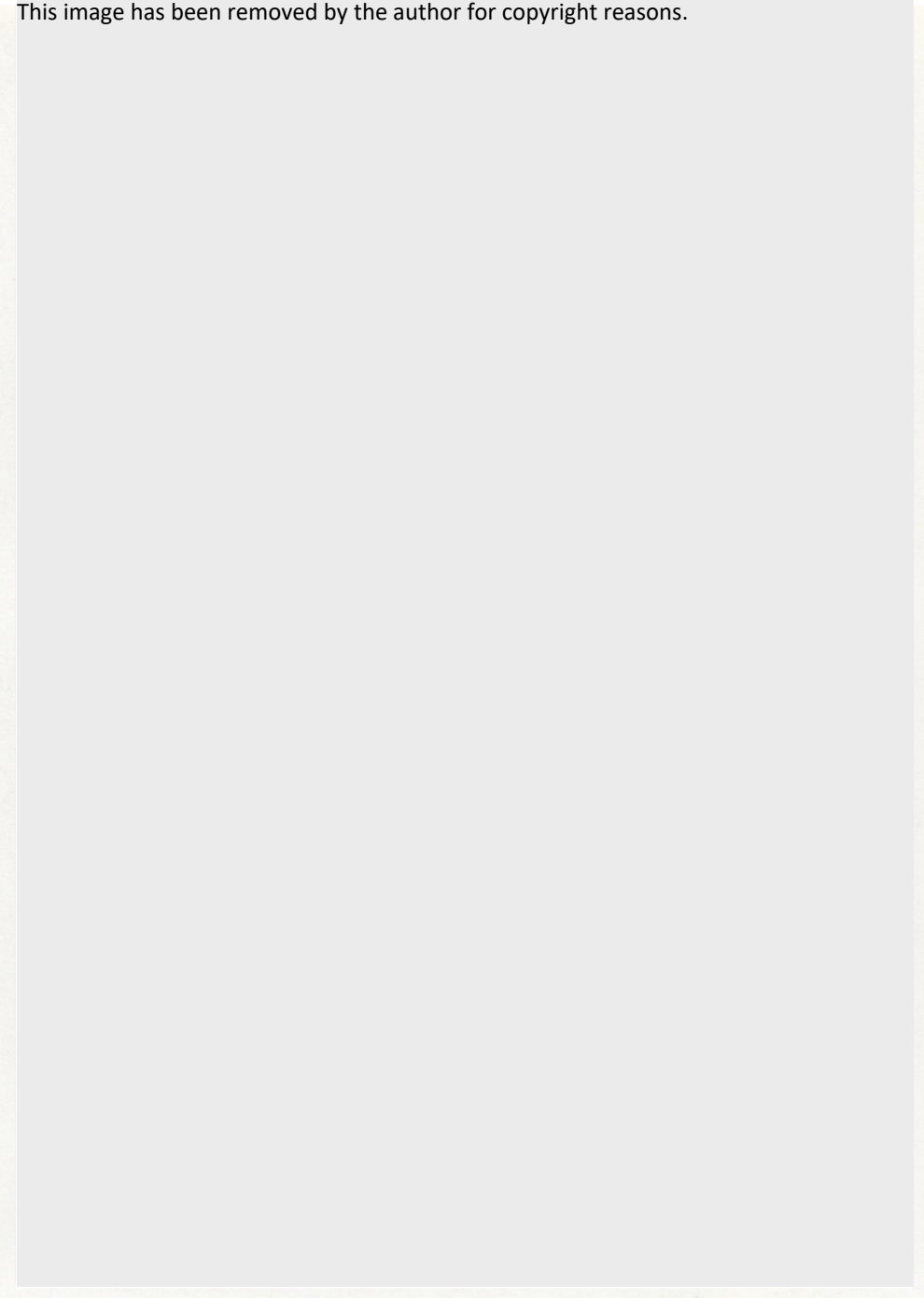
Plate CLXXX: OS.PHR.38. From Haspels 1971, Pl. 627, no. 96.

Plate: CLXXX.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Avdan-Tesvikiye.

Material: White Marble.

Henry Cutten.

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Dimensions: H. 1.02; W. N/R; Th. N/R. Letter H. 0.01-0.015 metres.

Description: Stela with *aedicula* niche on shaft; plain pilasters, vaulted pediment with acroteria and finial; a wreath at the centre. Inscription on architrave.

Inscription: Αππη μητρι ΕΗ[- - -]ΙΑ C ωδ' άνέθηκεν τειμης και στοργης σύνβολον άνφοτέρων. (Trans. Haspels 1971). "Appe mother of EH[- - -] IA C thus ascended as a symbol to others/both of her virtue and love (of her children)." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Haspels 1971, Pl. 627, no. 96.

OS.PHR.39. Mouse stela
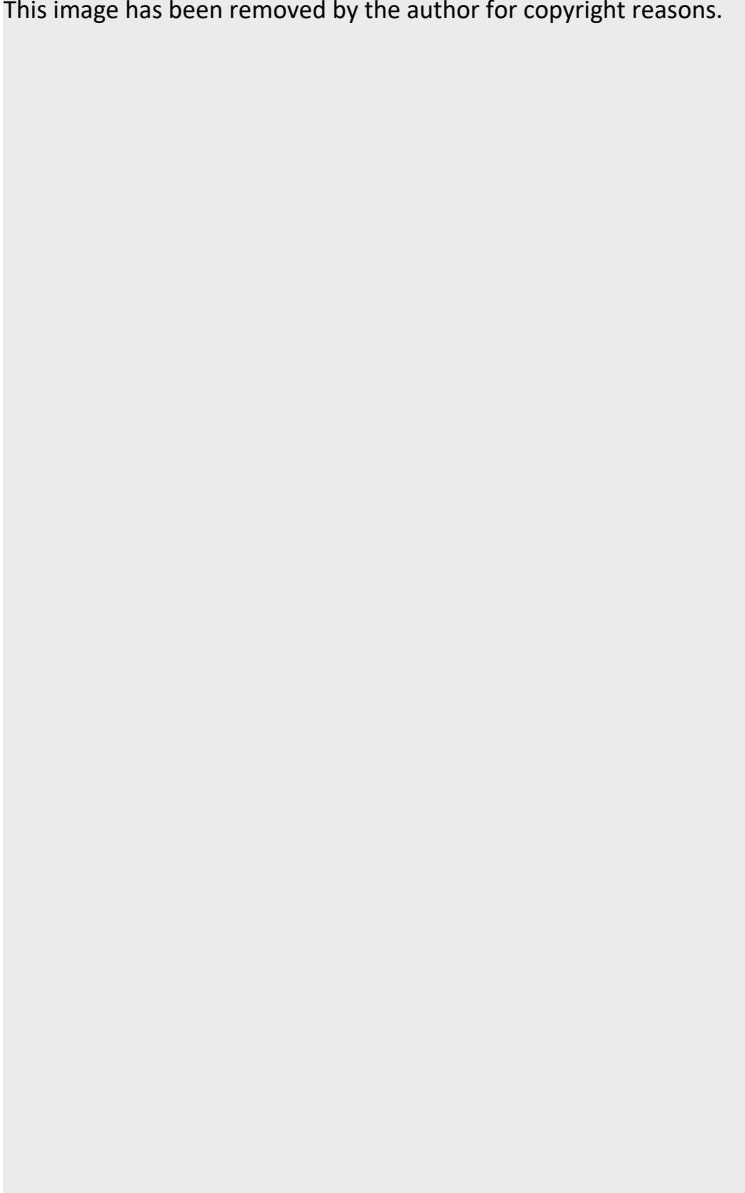
Plate CLXXXI: OS.PHR.39. From Mama 1939, Vol. VI. No 273.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CLXXXI.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Gayili, in wall of mosque enclosure.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.24; W. 0.47; Th. 0.12. Letter H. 0.02-0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with triangular pediment, palmette acroteria and finial; at centre of pediment a patera. Inscription top of shaft and stela damaged below (l.). Surface stained.

Inscription: Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Κάρπος μητρι ιδία Μούση μνήμης χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1939). "Tiberius Klaudius Karpos for his own mother, Mouse, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1939, Vol. VI. No 273.

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F: Motif-only stelae from Pisidia

OS.PIS.01. Papias Klexos stela.

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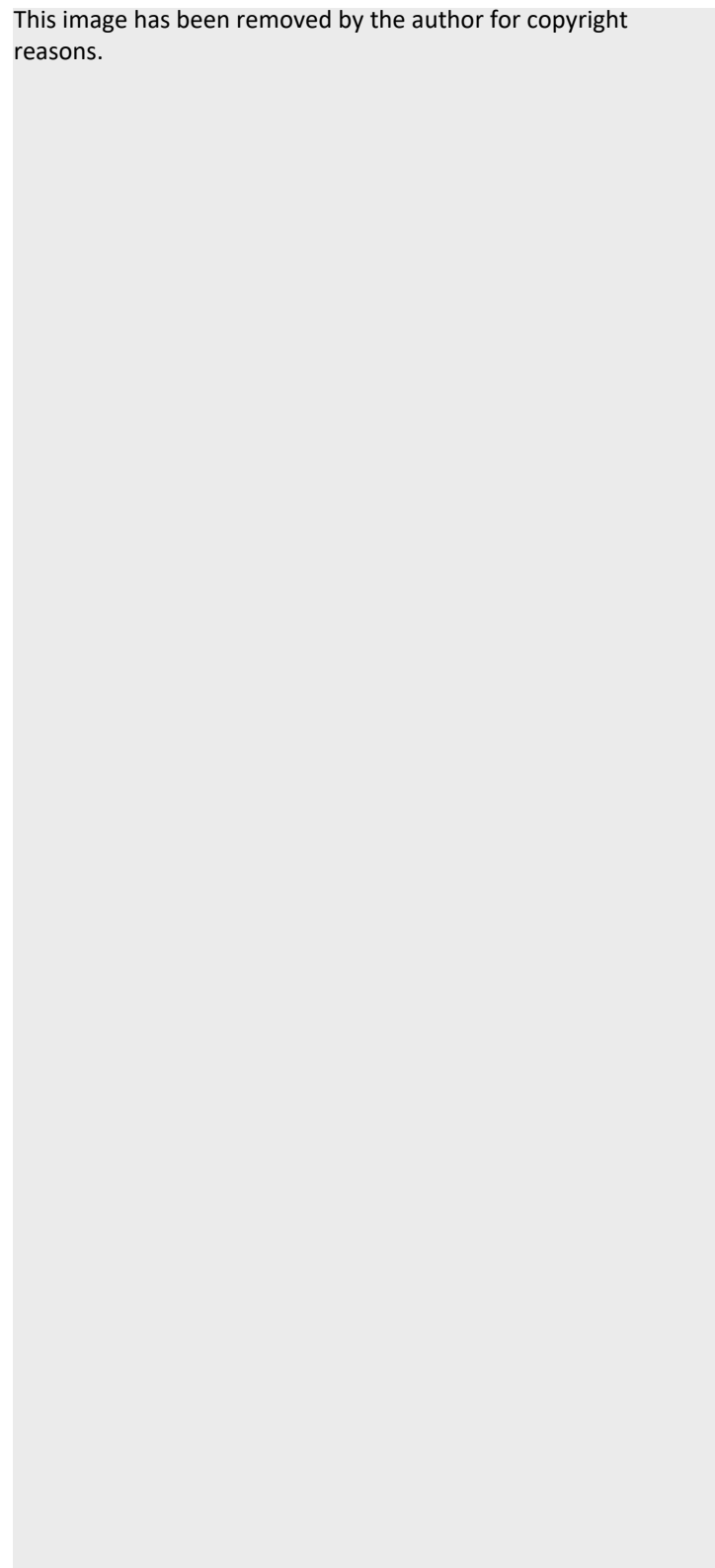
Plate CLXXXII: OS.PIS.01. From Mama 1939, Vol. VI. No. 21.

Plate: CLXXXII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Denizli, in a shop.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.12, W. (top) 0.62, (base) 0.68; Th. 0.12. Letter H. 0.027 metres.

Description: Stela with Corinthian-style pilasters, capitals; triangular pediment; tenon below. In pediment 5-leaved rosette. On shaft incised wreath, inscription below. Broken above.

Inscription: Παπίας Κλέξος ποιμην ἥρως *{leaf)* χρηστος παρο-δειταις χαιρειν. (Trans. Mama 1939). "Papias Klexos, shepherd hero, proven good, passer-by farewell!" (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1939, Vol. VI. No. 21.

OS.PIS.02. Manes and Eidomeneus stela

Plate: CLXXXIII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Ordekci.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 0.65; W. 0.65; Th. 0.27. Letter H. 0.02-0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with pediment containing boss. In the field, below inscription, a basket between two 6-pointed rosettes.

Inscription: Μανης ʿΑττα καὶ Εἴδομ | [ε]νεύς Σελεύκου, Μανης | [μ]έν την ἰδίαν ἀδελφην Γην | [Εἴδ]ομενεύς δέ ἰδίαν γυναικ[α], || (5) [ἀμ]φότεροι μνήμης ἔνεκε[ν]. (Trans Mama 1962). "Manes, son of Atta, and Eidomeneus, daughter of Seleukos, Manes her own brother on earth and Eidomeneus, his wife accordingly, both in remembrance." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1962, Vol. VIII, no. 393.

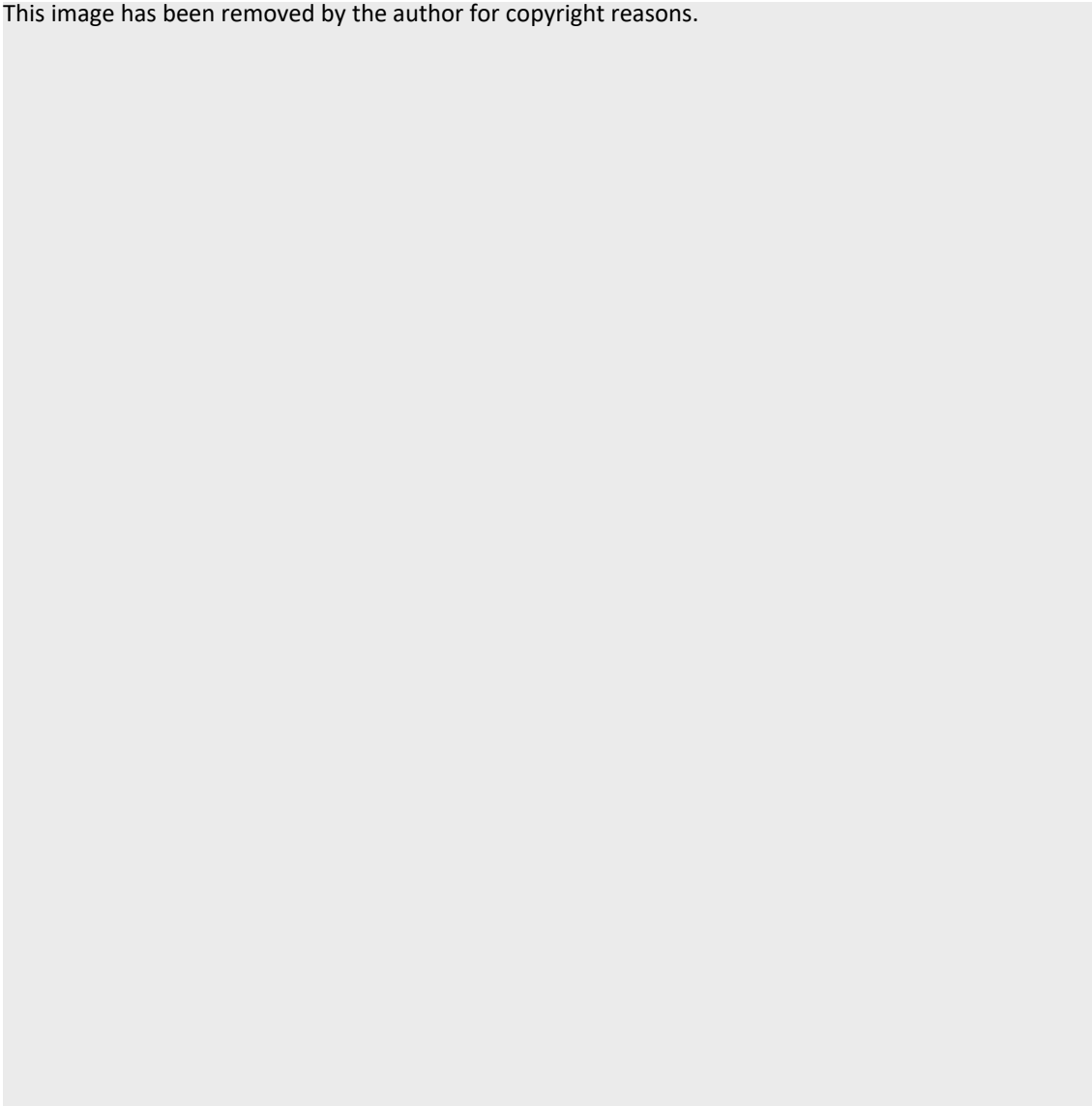This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.
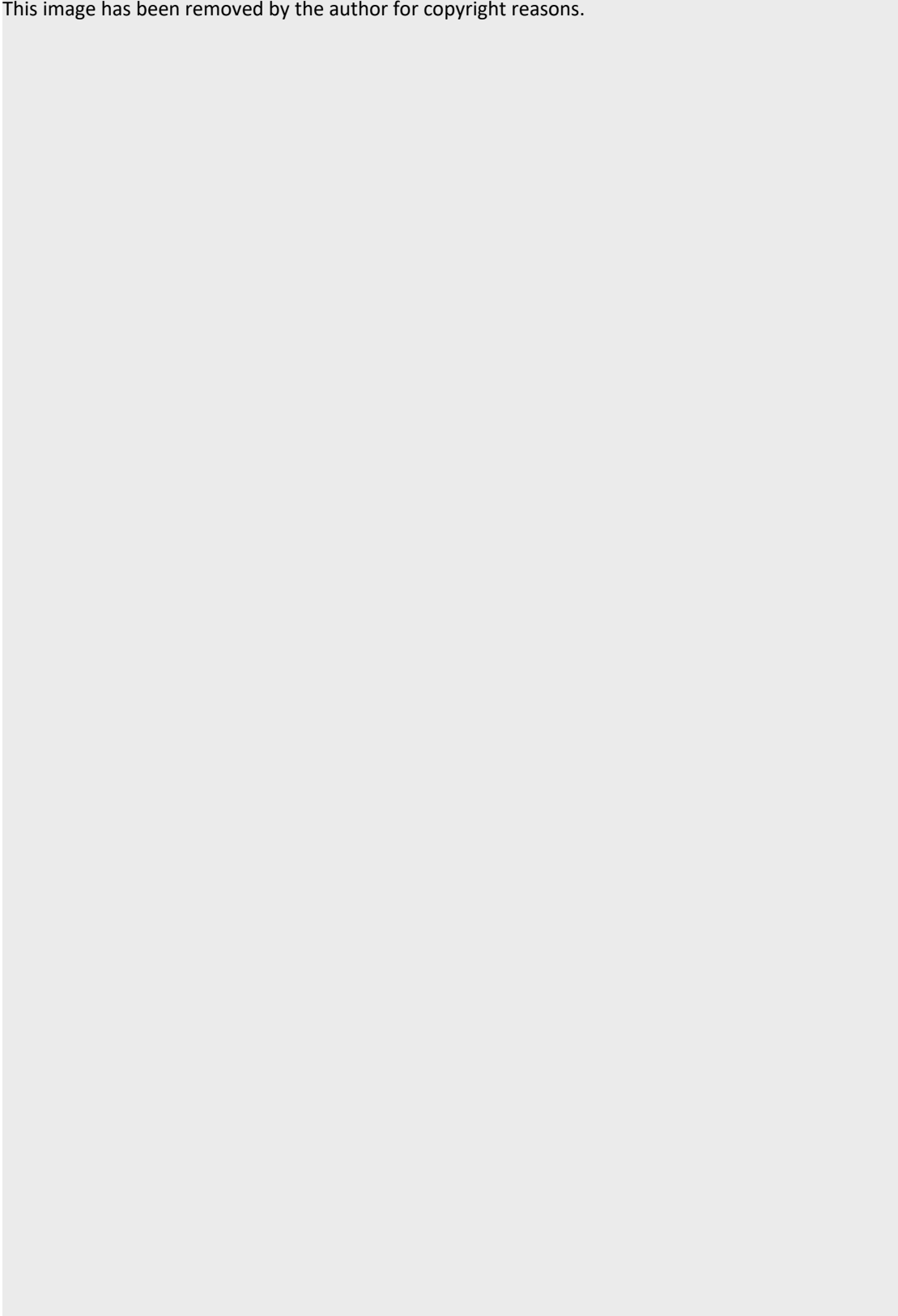
Plate CLXXXIII: OS.PIS.02. From Mama 1962, Vol. VIII, no. 393.

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OS.PIS.03. Tiberius Claudius stela

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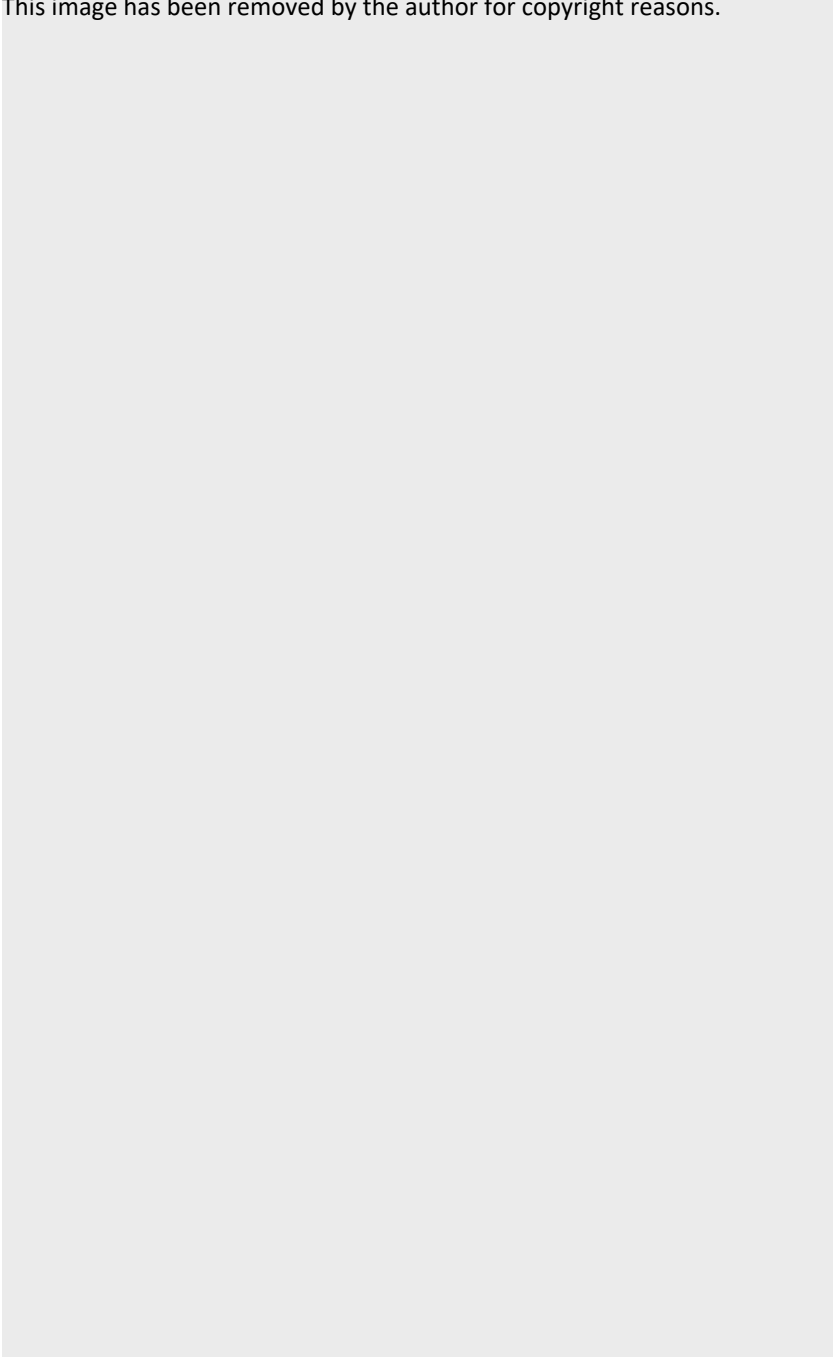
Plate CLXXXIV: OS.PIS.03. From Mama 1962, Vol. VIII, no. 175.

Plate: CLXXXIV.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Almassun.

Henry Cutten.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 0.92; W 0.49; Th. 0.24. Letter H. 0.025 metres.

Description: Stela with large upper and lower mouldings/elements; small triangular pediment, large acroteria. Inscription on upper element, moulding, top of shaft and base of field. A wreath with fillets, in relief between text. Complete(?).

Inscription: Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος ο|ὐετρα(νός) πατηρ καί ʾΑτιλί|α Ἰνγένουα μήτηρέ|κόσμησαν Ατιλίαν || (5) Μαρειναν θυγατέρα | ἔτων ιέ | (space) πα[ρθ]έναν ἀπὸ Δα|κίας τιμης χάριν. (Trans. Mama 1962).

"Tiberius Claudius, a veteran from Dacia to (his) father and Atilia Ingenoua, his jewel(?) mother, and Atilian Mareinan, (his) daughter (of) 15 years [space] a virgin (of) virtue, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1962, Vol. VIII, no. 175.

OS.PIS.04. Tertia stela

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Pla   *96.*

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Plate: CLXXXV.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Dinar, in a mill near the source of the Marsyas.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.665, W. 0.40, Th. 0.34. Letter H. 0.025-0.03 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, capitals, lower moulding; bordered pediment with plain acroteria; 8-pointed rosette within. Deep inset panel on shaft containing inscription. Broken right.

Inscription: Τερτία Ἡ-λιοδώρου ἥρωεις χρη-στη χαιρε. (Trans. Mama 1939). "Tertia, daughter of Heliodorus, prophetic heroes(?), farewell!" (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1939, Vol. VI. no. 196.

OS.PIS.05. Philadelphos Asklepiados stela

Plate: CLXXXVI (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Dinar, in the gateway of the karakul.

Material: White Marble.

Dimensions: H. 1.11; W. (top) 0.515, (shaft) 0.44, (base) 0.57; Th. (top) 0.255, (shaft) 0.23, (base) 0.34. Letter H. 0.03 metres.

Description: Stela with lower element and moulding; inset panel on shaft with border; upper element and mouldings with decoration; gabled pediment. Inscription within panel on field. Broken above.

Inscription: Φιλάδελ-φε Ἀσκληπιάδου ἥρως χρησ-(5)τε χαιρε. (Trans. Mama 1933). "Philadelphos Asklepiados, (the) good hero, farewell!" (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: 1st-2nd Century A.D.

Source: Mama 1933, no. 361.

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Plate CLXXXVI: OS.PIS.05. From Mama 1933, no. 361.

OS.PIS.06. Oa stela

Plate: CLXXXVII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 7519.

Find site: Burdur District.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.65; W. 0.35; Th. 0.17. Letter H. 0.012 metres.

Description: Crown and base mouldings, continuing around the left and right sides. Top moulding is broken, decorated with 6 roundels spaced out in pairs. Inscription on lower third of shaft. Back of the monument is rough cut. Broken above and below.

Inscription: Δημήτριος Τροκονδα (2) [(ναc.?)]. Ους Οαν (ναc.) [την ἑ]αυτού γυναικα. "Demetrios, son of Trokondas, grandson(?) of . . . Es, (memorialised) Oa, his own wife." (Trans. Horsley 2007).

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Date: Late 1st Century B.C.-1st Century A.D.

Source: Horsley 2007, Pl. 172.

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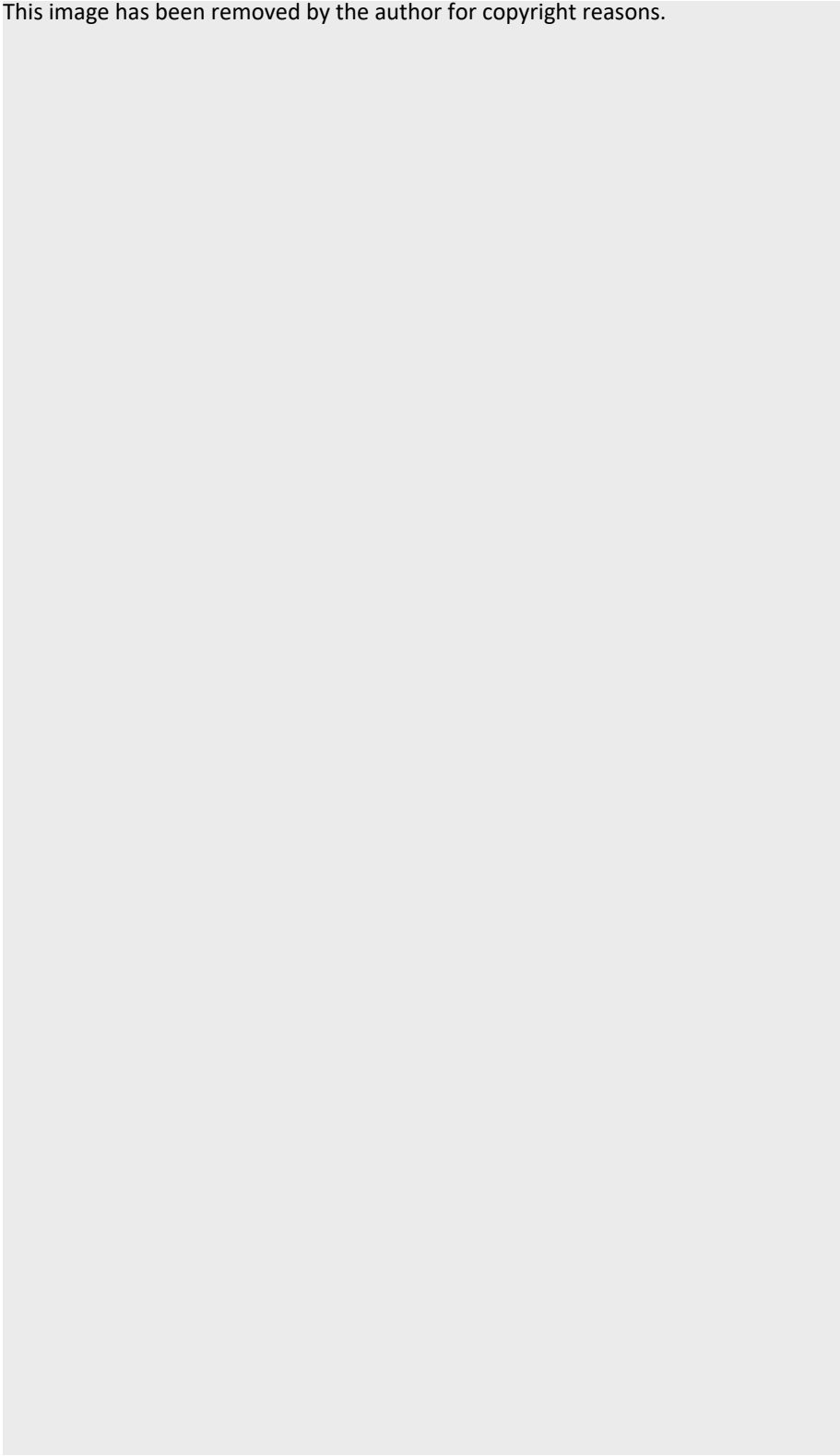
Plate CLXXXVII: OS.PIS.06. From Horsley 2007, Pl. 172.

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OS.PIS.07. Ouroammasin and Ailinan stela

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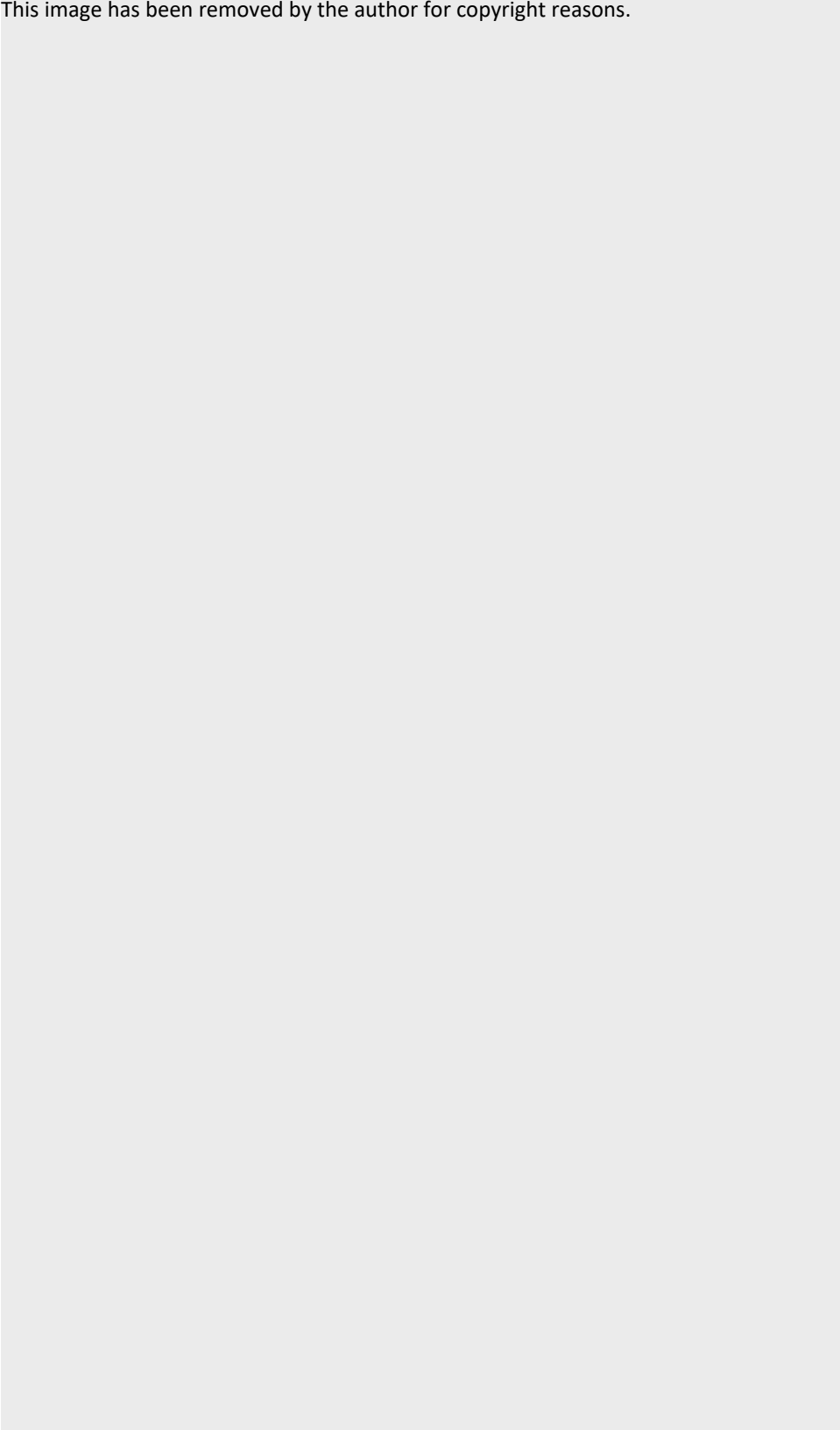
Plate CLXXXVIII: OS.G.07. From Mama 1962, Vol. VIII, no. 382.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CLXXXVIII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Salir.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 0.76; W. (shaft) 0.40, (base) 0.46; Th. 0.23. Letter H. 0.025-0.03 metres.

Description: Stela, with base moulding, inscription at base of shaft and mirror and pruning hook incised above text. Broken above.

Inscription: ι- - -Jνος θυγατηρ ιδιον Ι ανδρα Ουροαμμασιν Ι και νυνφην Αιλιναν Ι (leaf) μνήμης χάριν. (leaf) (Trans. Mama 1962). "ι- - -Jnos her own daughter, husband Ouroammasin, and daughter-in-law Ailinan, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1962, Vol. VIII, no. 382.

OS.PIS.08. Domne stela

Plate CLXXXIX: OS.PIS.08. From Mama 1962, Vol. VIII, no. 307.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CLXXXIX.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Camili.

Material: Unrecorded.

Dimensions: H. 0.92; W. 0.775; Th. 0.36. Letter H. 0.015-0.04 metres.

Description: Stela with 2 arched *aediculae*. Above, 3 circular niches containing (from l. to r.) a ring, boss and boss. Inscription on shaft in both *aediculae.* Surface pitted and worn.

Inscription: Εὔμοιρος I ἐκόσμη I σεν την I σύμβιον II (5) αὐτού I Δόμνα(ν) I μνήμη I ς χαριν. (Trans. Mama 1962). "Eumoiros ordained(?) this for his wife Domna, in memory." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1962, Vol. VIII, no. 307.

OS.PIS.09. Rufa Stela

Plate: CXC (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 44.

Find site: Konya.

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: H. 0.52; W. (base) 0.50; Th. 0.24. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with inscription on shaft, spindle-and-distaff, and wool basket inscribed above text. Broken above.

Inscription: Σινικίων Ῥούπᾳ θυγαδρί φιλοστοργία<ς> ενεκεν {Ε}. "Senecio (erected this) for Rufa, his daughter, with affection." (Trans. Mclean 2002a).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mclean 2002a, Fig. 108.

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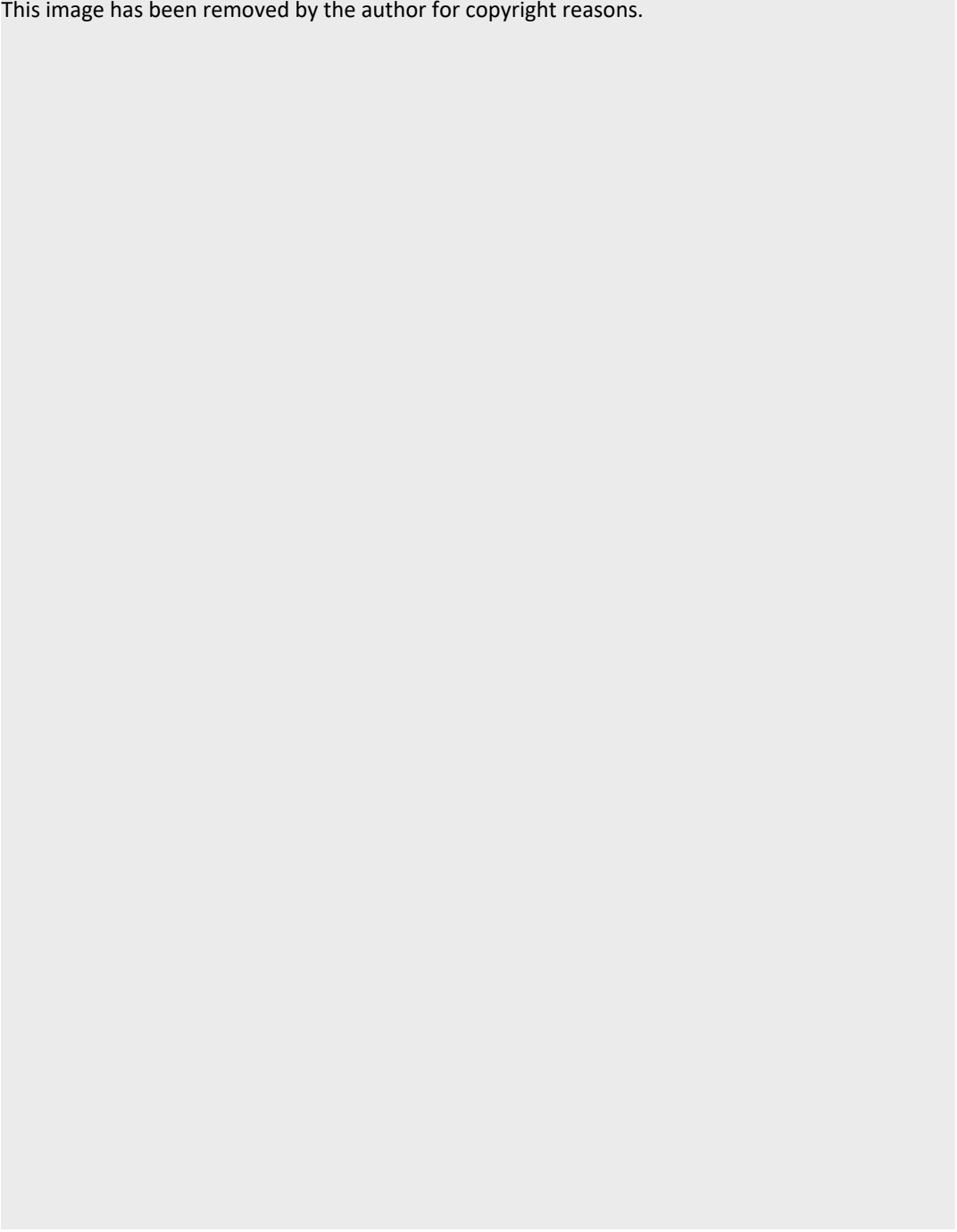
Plate CXC: OS.PIS.09. From Mclean 2002a, Fig. 108.

OS.PIS.10. Tata stela

Plate: CXCI (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Uluborlu, in an orchard below the town.

Material: Limestone.

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Dimensions: H. 1.02; W. 0.44, (upper moulding) 0.44, (shaft) 0.40; Th. 0.43, (upper moulding) 0.38, (shaft) 0.38. Letter H. 0.025-0.030 metres.

Description: Stela with upper and lower mouldings, plinth at base; gabled pediment, with line of inscription on entablature within, defaced relief. On shaft, remainder of text, above an inscribed vine leaf.

Inscription: Μητρόδωρος Σωτηρίχου, φύσι δέ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Τατα Μενναίου (5) τῇ είδίᾳ γυναικεί γλυκυτάτη μνήμη[ς] [Χάρ]ιν Μητρόδωρος· β' · τῇ είδίᾳ τεκούση μνήμης χάριν. (10) *hed*. (Trans. Mama XI).

"Metrodoros, (adoptive) son of Soterichos, natural son of Alexandros, for Tata daughter of Menneas, his own sweetest wife, in memoriam; Metrodoros, son of Metrodoros, for his own mother, in memoriam." (Trans. Mama XI).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama XI, no. 14.

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Plate CXCI: OS.G.10. From Mama XI, no. 14.

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OS.PIS.11. Meltine stela

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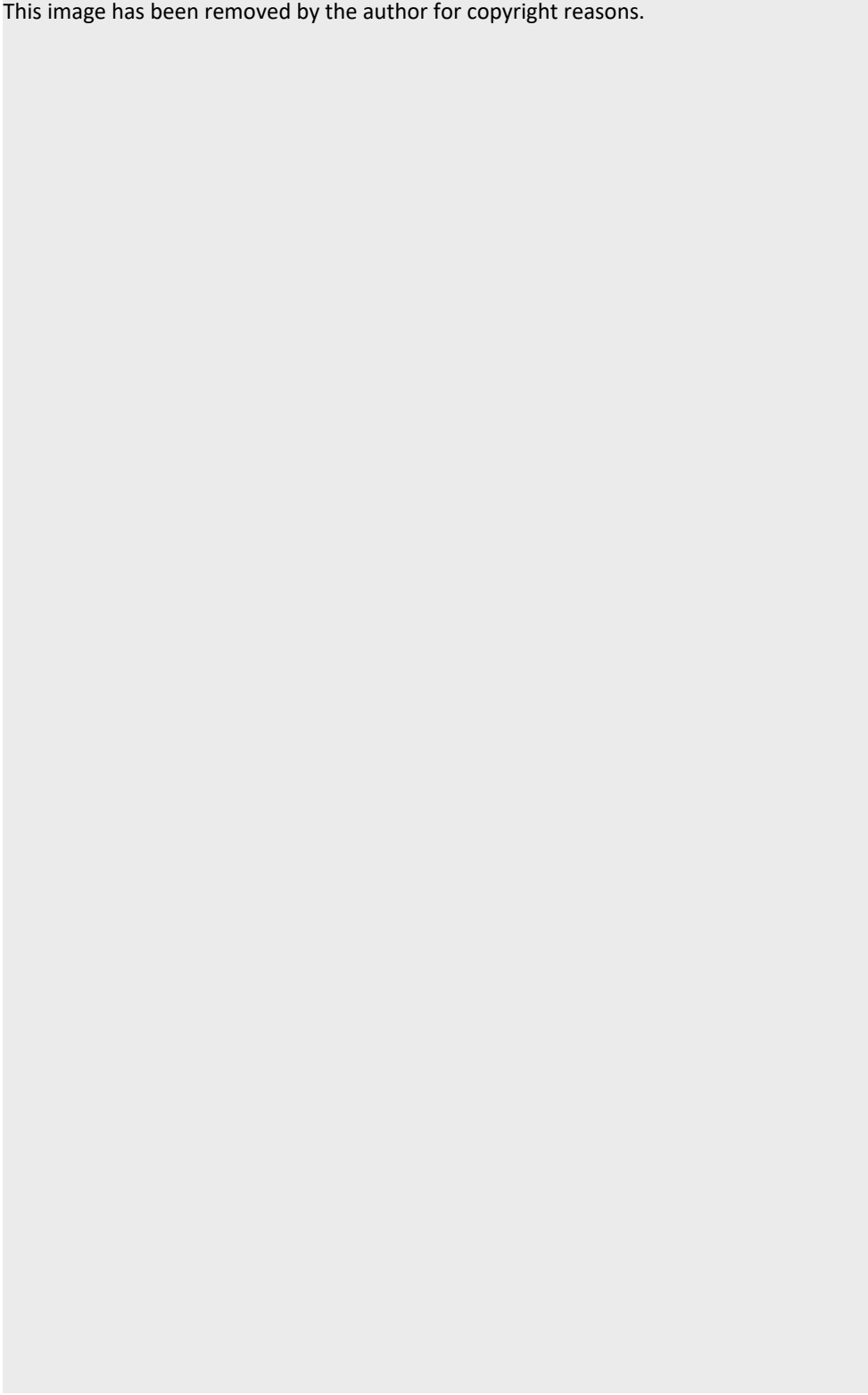
Plate CXCII: OS.PIS.11. From Mama 1939, Vol. VI. No. 22.

Henry Cutten.

Plate: CXCII.

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Gonceli, in a house.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.41; W. 0.26; Th. 0.09. Letter H. 0.02 metres.

Description: Stela with plain pilasters, capitals; vaulted pediment with acroteria; within patera as a boss. Inscription of inset shaft. Vine leaf incision below text. Minor damaged top and bottom right.

Inscription: Ἀπολλώνιος Θακεας και Με- λτινη εγ-(5) γονος ήρως *{leaf).* (Trans. Mama 1939). "Apollonios Thakeas and his hero grandson Meltine." (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1939, Vol. VI. No. 22.

OS.PIS.12. Diadochos stela

Plate: CXCIII (below).

Museum and Inv. No: Unrecorded.

Find site: Eski Hisar (near Denizli), in the Maarif dairesi.

Material: Marble.

Dimensions: H. 0.56; W. 0.48; Th. 0.14. Letter H. 0.02-0.022 metres.

Description: Stela with bordered shaft and triangular pediment, acroteria. In pediment, 4-leaved rosette in relief. Top of shaft, horse-shoe arch framing inscription, below. Complete, with minor damage.

Inscription: Διάδοχος ηρως χρηστο-ς παροδείταις χαίρειν. (Trans. Mama 1939). "Diadochos, a hero proven good, passer-by farewell!" (Trans. Cutten 2019).

Date: Imperial period.

Source: Mama 1939, Vol. VI. No. 25.

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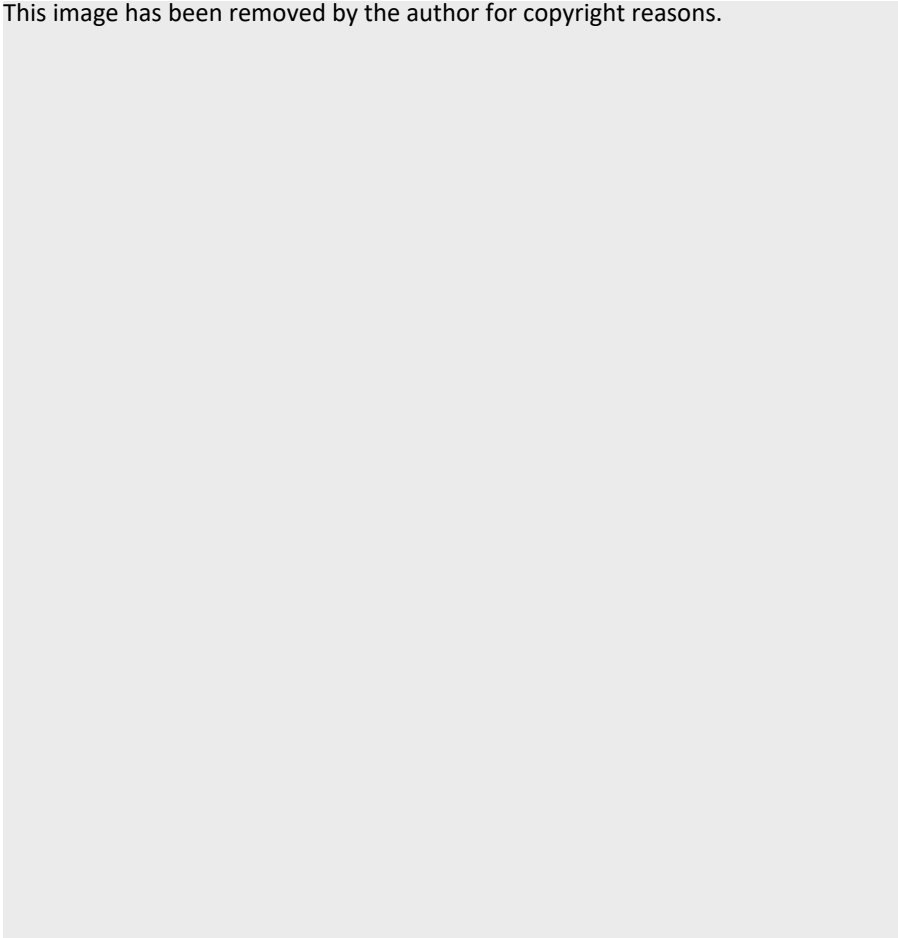This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.
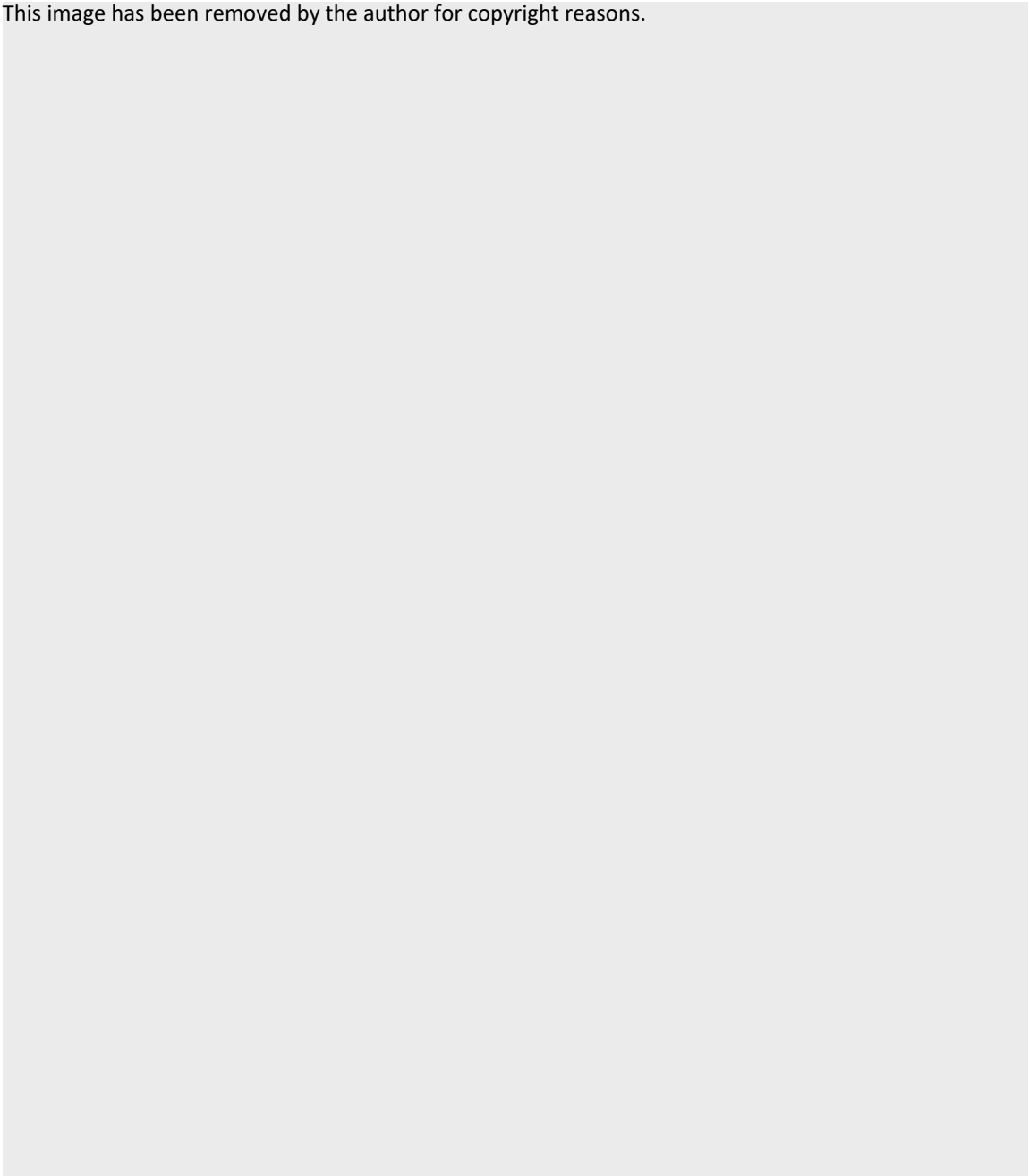
Plate CXCIII: OS.PIS.12. From Mama 1939, Vol. VI. No. 25.

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