UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

FIGURED FUNERARY STELAI FROM ROMAN-PERIOD ANATOLIA, 100 BC TO AD 400: REGIONAL CONSIDERATIONS OF CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC EXPRESSIONS IN FUNERARY CONTEXTS

VOLUME I: TEXT, TABLES AND FIGURES

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a multi-faceted, case-study based examination of regionalism and use of figured funerary stelai from fifteen sites in Roman-period Asia Minor and Galatia, focusing on local patterns of iconography and epigraphy as well as broader regional comparison of these trends. These non-door stelai, a sample of 302 monuments, are flat-face stones decorated with relief figures from a narrow selection of iconographic-types. This study offers a synthesis of all aspects of figured-stele use in the case-study sites, encompassing constituent elements of the monuments and consideration of stele-use between city and countryside, taking into account local geo-political histories, and approaching stelai as simultaneously private and public monuments of self-display. Section I focuses on stelai in the sepulchral landscape of Roman-period Anatolia, the technical details of the stelai themselves, and situating stelai in the economics of commemoration. There follows in Section II a detailed assessment of the iconography and epigraphy of the case-study figured stelai. Questions of represented socio-economic levels, stele-use *vis-à-vis* settlement patterns, and regional customs of commemoration are the subject of Section III, exploring relationships between patrons, deceased, and stele components. Iconography and epigraphy on these monuments highlight the 'standardization' of motifs in the Roman period and local shifts in image emphases and patron priorities, including the development of more individualized iconography with the expanded socio-economic spectrum employing this monument to include not only some 'elite' but also gladiators and farmers among other occupations. Similar expansion appears in the geographic distribution of figured stelai, incorporating regions with limited pre-Roman traditions for the monument. The simultaneous broadening of both the socio-economic levels of patrons and the geographic regions of use represent distinguishing characteristics of Roman-period figured-stele patterns.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on a particular type of funerary stele, figured stelai, from select regions of Roman-period Anatolia. A typical figured stele is a flat-face monument with an architectural form and featuring one or more relief fields on one side, often with one or more inscriptions on the shaft. While a somewhat artificial category of evidence, figured stelai offer rich evidence in their form, iconography, and epigraphy requiring particular examination, providing insights into the culture of local regions and into the priorities of individuals and families on commemorative monuments. The stelai in question were produced from the first century BC through to the late fourth century AD, based on Hellenistic precedents. The aims of this study are two-fold. First, it seeks to present a multi-faceted analysis of regionalism and figured stele-use, focusing on use within the selected provinces – including between city and countryside – as well as broader comparison between these regions, to gain insights into the culture of individual sites and regions. In conjunction with this micro- and macro-regional analysis, as monuments of self-display these stelai will form the basis for consideration of those persons/families choosing this monument form, and their commemorative priorities.

The potentially vast number of stelai that could be considered in this study will be limited by the exclusion of doorstone-type (also known as door-façade) monuments as well as stelai with unknown provenance. Across Anatolia, the corpus of provenanced figured stelai still nears one thousand known, so that the figured stelai from fifteen case-study settlements in western Asia Minor and Galatia have been selected based on the concentration of stele-finds within specific sites and the status of these within the administrative hierarchy of the respective Roman province (with the exception of Byzantion). 'Anatolia' in the context of this thesis, as in the title, is used to refer to those regions with case-studies under specific examination, namely Asia Minor and Galatia. Analysis of the form, iconography, and epigraphy, as well as archaeological find-context where possible of the 302 figured stelai from the case-study sites serves to examine topics such as the socio-economic standing of the deceased and/or patrons of stelai, and demographics including names and possible ethnic origins, and questions of age and gender. Furthermore, questions related to stele-use in the settlement landscape consider differences (or

lack thereof) between Greek and Roman foundations, urban and rural sites, and coastal and inland locations.

Figured stelai in this study are considered to be both private and public commemorative monuments in that they are commissioned for private individuals but appear in public areas. This study argues that use of funerary relief stelai represented not only particular choices and aspirations of patrons to serve their self-representation but also that over multiple centuries of use these monuments acquired their own agency or unintended effects. The primary concerns of this study are to examine each of these monuments as an integrated whole, to resituate them within their local as well as broader geo-political landscape and socio-cultural contexts, and through the use of case-studies to flesh out evidence of regionalism and the significance of figured stelai for the social history of Anatolia. Inscriptions from the case-study figured stelai provide only a limited picture of recorded socio-economic standing, namely only for those patrons giving priority to recording occupation, a picture further obfuscated by absence of burial context. Based upon the available regional evidence, however, figured stelai were not exclusive to the elite, nor were they necessarily the 'poor-man's' version of more opulent tomb-monuments.[1] Some epigraphic evidence indicates use among the growing mid-levels of the socio-economic spectrum, including slaves, gladiators, *oikonomoi*, freedmen, and those of other occupations. The numbers for preserved provenanced stelai associated with the Roman-period are not higher in all cases than those associated with the Hellenistic period. In studies of other relief monument-types such as sarcophagi,[2] awareness of the social standing of patrons has shed light on the interpretation of the meaning of components of these funerary objects. Social position – where known – and local cultural context are significant in the development of iconographic forms and preferences for monument-types.

1.1 Previous scholarship

The prolific funerary material evidence from Hellenistic and Roman-period Anatolia, including tombs, sarcophagi, grave *bomoi*, and grave stelai, has attracted varying levels of scholarly

[1] The latter has been suggested by Ahrens 2017, 140-141.
[2] Smith 2008; Öğüş Uzon 2010, 2; Öğüş 2014.

attention, the material subjected to art-historical and epigraphic examinations, studies too often done in isolation. More recently, this approach has changed. Work by scholars such as Fabricius, followed by Hope on tombstones in Mainz, Aquileia, and Nimes, Adams and Tobler on Romano-British tombstones, Kalaitzi on Hellenistic figured stelai from Macedonia, and Adrianou on monuments from Aegean Thrace have demonstrated the value of smaller-scale and region-specific studies of funerary monuments for understanding attitudes and values in a community, and identifying meaningful changes over a chronological period.

In Anatolia, the study of iconography and epigraphy from funerary stelai has been largely compartmentalized. The earliest records of stelai are from inscription catalogues, such as the *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, the *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, and the *Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* series. The primary focus of these projects is epigraphic, with or without photographs, entries often overlooking or only touching upon monument form, and iconography. Other publications have emphasized iconography at the expense of other elements.[3]

Some regions and stele-types have been the subject of more intense investigation than others. Doorstones, and Phrygian stelai in particular, have received the greatest attention, most notably in Waelkens' 1986 catalogue of doorstones, followed by the work of Drew-Bear, Lochman, and Kelp.[4] These studies, such as those of Lochman and Kelp, have usefully considered elements of these monuments together rather than disparately, and have re-contextualized this evidence within the geo-political history of local regions. Hellenistic stelai have also attracted much scholarly study, most of which has focused upon particular sites, provinces, or iconographic motifs. The corpus published by Pfuhl and Möbius (1977/1979) documented and categorized the iconography for many of the stelai known at the time, although without a geographic grouping or chronological sequence. Studies on specific iconographic motifs include Thönges-Stringaris (1965) and Dentzer (1982) with monographs on stelai and reliefs with banquet scenes. These works laid the groundwork for Fabricius (1999) to analyze use of this particular motif, with its Classical Greek origins, in four Hellenistic cities, including Byzantion and Kyzikos, examining its use with local, often non-Greek, traditions to bring about

[3] Pfuhl and Möbius 1977/1979; Cremer 1991/1992.
[4] Waelkens 1986; Drew-Bear 1991; Lochman 2003; Schörner 2005; Kelp 2008; Kelp 2015.

a shift from a traditional votive to funerary context, her study of Hellenistic-use highlighting the benefits of a region-specific case-study approach to stelai as representatives of community mentalities. Robert (1940) catalogued depictions of gladiators in the Greek east, including some representations on stelai, although by no means all, and this study lacked contextualization. Subsequently this type of imagery has been largely overlooked.

Cremer (1991/1992) examined a selection of this material in geographical terms in her two-volume publication on Hellenistic and Roman grave stelai in Bithynia and Mysia, together with Zanker (1993) for Hellenistic stelai from Smyrna.[5] Cremer's work has attributed particular characteristics in form and iconography to production-centres in Bithynia and Mysia for Hellenistic and Roman stelai, including Prusa ad Olympum and Kyzikos among others. Although certain characteristics common to stelai from a specific site may be attributed to a local workshop, whether or not the presence of these characteristics on unprovenanced stelai may reliably attribute such monuments to these workshops, as Cremer has done, remains doubtful.

More recently, Ahrens's investigation of social status and professions recorded in epigraphic evidence[6] for Roman Asia Minor examined 138 such inscriptions from stelai, relief and non-relief, as well as other relief monuments.[7] His study suggests that gladiators – at thirty-five – represent the largest professional group recorded on these monuments, and with the most evidence from relief, followed by military and freedmen.[8] So-called 'elite' ranks, however, show fewer recorded representations and fewer relief images in comparison with other monument-types. Ahrens' argument that stelai constituted a less prestigious monument-form, employed by "socially and economically deprived groups," based on those comparatively few monuments recording any occupation, overlooks the majority of stelai offering no definitive conclusion as to the socio-economic standing of those commemorated.

[5] Cremer 1991/1992; Zanker 1993. Other studies relating to Hellenistic figured stelai include Schmidt 1991, Breuer 1995, and Bugnon 2008.
[6] In inscriptions from *IK* volumes.
[7] Ahrens includes in the 138 those inscribed monuments described in publications as "reliefs, slabs with relief, etc.," in addition to relief stelai, treating the former as similar in function and value to the latter (Ahrens 2017, n.25).
[8] Ahrens 2017, 141-142 Fig. 8.8.

The figured stelai included in this study have featured in numerous epigraphic studies yet comparison of their local and broader regional patterns of use has been largely neglected. This work seeks to fill this gap, combining a consideration of case-study sites within a single region with comparison of broader regions of western Anatolia to determine patterns of regionalism in figured-stele use. I was able to observe and photograph only a limited number of these stelai in museums in Turkey and Europe, unknown location and restricted access necessitating a reliance on published – mainly epigraphic – reports. Building upon the more local case-study methodology of Fabricius and Kalaitzi, this study represents a multi-faceted approach examining stele-use in conjunction with questions of city and countryside, and local social histories, as well as the interaction of image and inscription on this monument-type at case-study levels. These figured stelai help to fill out the non-elite levels of Roman-period Anatolia, presenting more localized regional overlapping histories, through the lens of iconographic and epigraphic choices, and, in some regions of the central plateau, the choice to use this particular monument-type.

1.2 Aims and methods

This study is significant for several reasons. Roman-period figured funerary stelai from Asia Minor and Galatia have not yet been studied in detail nor in comparison with settlement hierarchy. This study, reexamining funerary stelai within some provinces of Roman-period Asia Minor and Galatia, involves a horizontal (geographic) and vertical (chronological) analysis of stelai, looking at each monument as an integrated whole, formally analyzing, categorizing, and presenting the selected material. The 'regions' under analysis represent the Roman provincial organization rather than the older, more traditional, and intrinsically more difficult to define cultural regions with more fluid borders (for example, the Roman *provincia Asia* rather than Mysia alone). The Roman provinces offer not only identifiable geographic parameters but also permit connections and exchanges between settlements within these due to administrative activity – such as tax collection – to be taken into account in addition to older and pre-existing cultural connections between regional landscapes, such as Bithynia and Mysia, which no doubt continued into the Roman period but represent exchanges which in many ways defy clear articulation.

The study sample here includes figured stelai as opposed to non-figured or door-façade relief stelai or non-relief stelai, discussed below. Figured stelai vary in size, type, and quantity across Anatolia during the Roman period. While ostensibly private memorials, figured stelai operated in and occupied public or at least communal spaces, acting in Kalaitzi's words as "public profiles."[9] As a simultaneously private and public artistic medium, these monuments provide an opportunity to understand the civic culture of a *polis* or other settlement, acting as commemorative displays of wealth, status, and projections of the image the deceased and his/her family sought to represent.

Roman-period stelai have, until more recently, rarely been used in scholarship to illuminate the civic culture of the period in which they were produced.[10] The majority of studies have focused on issues relating to chronology and iconographic interactions. The main questions which have informed the approach to figured stelai in the present study include: How did the nature and number of figured stelai fluctuate over time and space, i.e. between the provinces? Is it possible for patterns in customs of commemoration to be identified, and if so, what does this suggest about life and society in the provinces? What (perceived) social or cultural values are stelai patrons expressing, displaying, or assuming, particularly through iconography? Based upon the epigraphic record, to what extent can the social standing of stele patrons within the demographic structure of *poleis* be determined? Ultimately, this project seeks to resituate these figured monuments in vertical dialogue with Hellenistic precedents but also horizontally across the region and within the geo-political history of the respective provinces.

This study incorporates three basic methods. The first is the archaeological analysis of the material which will shed new light on original contexts, find-spots and geographic distribution of the surviving evidence, production, use, and other related problems such as typology and form, and surviving technical details. Context and find-spots are rarely well-preserved, but scanty though this evidence may be, it is useful when combined with epigraphic analysis. This epigraphic analysis constitutes the second approach of this study. The surviving

[9] Kalaitzi 2018, 403-404.
[10] Exceptions include door-façade stelai, studied in relation to the social history of Phrygia (Lochmann 2003; Kelp 2013; Masséglia 2013; Kelp 2015).

inscriptions on figured stelai will be examined in conjunction with those from other funerary monuments from the case-study sites, such as non-figured stelai and grave *bomoi* as well as sarcophagi, *ostothekai*, and doorstones where present, permitting comparison of individuals and groups using particular monument types. Finally, the study will include iconographic analysis of figured stelai. Themes and motifs are classified and their meaning interpreted within local contexts and the broader cultural contexts of Roman-period Anatolia, once again in comparison with other relief monuments including funerary *bomoi* and doorstones where applicable.

1.3 Scope and definition

Known and surviving stelai from the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the Greek East number in the thousands, prompting the concept of a 'stele-culture.' Surviving evidence from sites such as Byzantion, Kyzikos, Nikomedia, and Smyrna indicates that figured stelai were in wide use in funerary contexts in Anatolia from the third century BC.[11] The distribution during the Hellenistic and Roman periods suggests regionalism in patterns of engagement. Early stelai can feature forms familiar from Classical-period Greece[12] and with Graeco-Persian traditions,[13] but the deployment of specific iconographic motifs in a funerary context suggests a shift in associations in some regions and desired messages conveyed about the deceased and his/her family. It would be unwise to draw generalizing conclusions about Hellenistic stele-use here, but some basic points may be made. Both non-figured and figured stelai, including early doorstone-types, appear in use by the third century BC, and for figured examples those iconographic scenes most prominent include banqueting scenes, rider or hunter motifs, depictions of military figures, as well as 'sacred' representations – with altars and sacrifices – often emphasizing heroic

[11] Some figured stelai pre-date the third century, with example of sixth-century BC Graeco-Persian stelai from Daskyleion-Ergili (PM 2-6, 73-75; Altheim-Stiehl, Metzler, and Schwertheim 1983, 1-3 Pl. 1; Cremer 1984, 87-89 Pl. 6) and a scattering of fourth-century BC monuments.

[12] Scholl 1996; Bergemann 1997. For example, the Totenmahl type that appears on fourth-century BC Athenian votive monuments of heroes (Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 13-22; Dentzer 1982, 301-347, 429-452; Fehr 1984, 339-340; Murray 1988, 245-247; Fabricius 1999, 21-27; Jones 2010, 20; Lawton 2016, 385-404). There is also overlap of forms and iconographic themes with third to first century BC funerary stelai from Demetrias (Stamatopoulou 2016; 2018) and fourth to first century BC Macedonian funerary stelai (Kalaitzi 2016; 2018).

[13] Features in common include multi-relief stelai (Cremer 1991, 17-21, 26-27; Fabricius 1999, 21; Fabricius 2016, 55) as well as banquet motifs on multiple monument types (Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 39-41; Mellink 1970; Dentzer 1982, 224-230, 265-279, 282-299, pls. 58, 60; Nollé 1992; Mellink *et al.* 1998, 24-25 pl. 12; Fabricius 1999, 33-38; Miller 2010, 318-329 figs. 7-9; Draycott 2011; Baughan 2016, 195-218; Draycott 2016, 219-298).

qualities of the deceased.[14] Stelai feature one or some combination of two or more motifs, and regional difference is attested in elements of the iconography. When an inscription – particularly an epigram – appears in conjunction with imagery, this is often different in tone from the imagery and while the image serves a more general visual function, inscriptions provide a personalized reflection of the deceased, verse inscriptions typically representing the sentiments of the bereaved towards the deceased.[15]

Stele-use in funerary contexts continues during the Roman period in a chronological trajectory from the late first century BC to the fourth and late fourth century AD, with increases in some regions during the second and third centuries AD. The numbers of stelai datable to the late fourth century AD are few, suggesting a decline in the use of figured stelai as funerary monuments during Late Antiquity. Many of the same forms and trends from the Hellenistic period also feature among Roman-period stelai, although for figured types the variety and spectrum of motifs decreases, and depictions become more standardized. For a period of one thousand years, however, stelai remained a prominent element of the funerary landscape of Anatolia. These figured stelai offer rich evidence worthy of particular investigation which this study presents.

Different types of funerary stelai occur, divided into categories for relief and non-relief types. The latter feature inscriptions without relief, while the former may be divided into figured and non-figured – decorated with objects or wreaths without figures – groups, as well as door-stelai (**Table 1**). It would be impractical to consider all Roman-period funerary stelai from Anatolia, the volumes of documented non-relief stelai or of doorstones alone daunting. Non-figured and non-relief stelai are omitted from the case-study sample, as are door-stelai, although these will be discussed as comparanda to set the context for patterns of figured-stele use. Door-stelai are not included due to the excellent studies existing on this type, the limited geographic overlap with non-door-motif figured stelai beyond Phrygia, and the different functions and associations attached to the door-motif.[16] Unprovenanced figured stelai also are only considered

[14] Cremer 1991; 1992; Fabricius 1999; Puddu 2010; Fabricius 2016.
[15] Examples include LBW 1534 [Zeleia]; Peek 1955, GV I 1315, 1817, 1884 [Smyrna]; PM 1930 Pl. 278 [Bakırköy].
[16] Waelkens 1986; Lochman 2003; Kelp 2008; 2015.

as part of more general discussion even in cases where they have been attributed to a region or workshop,[17] given that this represents place of production rather than place of use, often not the same.[18] Finally, other relief monuments of comparable size and function such as funerary figured *bomoi*, not included in the catalogued material as these survive in fewer numbers, are discussed as comparanda for figured stelai in terms of their chronology and distribution.

The main body of material for the present study and catalogue is the 302 figured stelai with known provenance from the fifteen case-study sites in the provinces of Bithynia-Pontus (Nikomedeia, Nikaia, Prusa ad Olympum, Kestal, and Geyve), *Asia*/Mysia (Ephesos, Kyzikos, and Gönen), Lydia (Sardis, Saittai, and Iaza), and Galatia (Ankyra, Kinna, and Kerpiç), as well as the city of Byzantion/Constantinople, from the first century BC to the late fourth century AD, (**Figure 1** and **Table 2**). The geographic framework utilized here has been chosen, and limited, first by the availability of surviving evidence (for example, there are few surviving provenanced figured stelai from provinces such as Cilicia or Lycia), and the more advanced state of research for other areas, in particular Phrygia where stelai – particularly doorstones and door-stelai – have been studied in depth.[19] The selected case-studies do not represent the only urban or rural sites in the respective regions featuring figured stelai. These sites have been chosen firstly for their number of provenanced figured-stele finds, allowing for more comprehensive comparison of use-trends within sites to establish a clearer regional picture. For urban centres in Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia* this criterion is less problematic as multiple sites have three or more known figured-stele finds, of which Prusa ad Olympum and Kyzikos have been chosen. Their higher concentrations of provenanced stelai permit more internal comparison of iconographic themes and epigraphic records, which may be compared with other regional urban centres external to the sample. For rural settlements, stele-finds in groups of at least three in proximity to identifiable ancient sites are rare, single finds predominating, so that few candidates for rural case-studies with provenanced stelai are available.

[17] Cremer 1991; 1992.
[18] Corsten 1993b, 315-316.
[19] Waelkens 1986, Lochmann 2003, and Kelp 2015.

Secondly, these fifteen case-studies represent a cross-section of the provincial settlement-hierarchy (provincial capital, urban centre, and rural settlement). As **Table 2** shows, the number of provenanced figured stelai for Ephesos,[20] Sardis, and Ankyra are surprisingly few, numbers which are probably artificially low to some degree given factors such as later movements of monuments, and are too low to be representative. These sites are retained as case-studies as they remain comparative for the regional trends in stele-use represented in other sites.

Multiple historical and present-day factors have impacted this find-spot distribution. Few stelai are found in their burial context due to reuse in antiquity, as part of secondary funerary assemblages, or for reuse in other contexts.[21] Although there is no evidence for similar large-scale organized reuse of stelai in antiquity among the case-studies as known elsewhere, small-scale local or private movement cannot be discounted and by its nature is more difficult to trace. Later movement is a greater issue for determining the original number of stelai, for rural settlements especially, and the case-study numbers in **Table 2** represent only the known sample and probably were higher originally. The nature of rural archaeology and the processes by which stelai once attached to these settlement-types in the countryside turn up in fields or as part of field walls in turn may be further considered as part of the changes and shifts between town and countryside in late antiquity and 'late late antiquity'.[22] Over much of Anatolia during the fifth and sixth centuries AD, development and growth of existing and new settlements marked the rural landscape, in juxtaposition with a decline of building programs – churches representing the exception – in urban centres.[23] Stelai in rural primary contexts were available as a ready-made construction form for reuse either in an expanding settlement or transferred for use in another, even new, rural settlement.

An additional factor for wide differences in distribution is the varying levels of excavation or survey among sites. Few necropoleis for the case-study sites have been

[20] In addition to the two relief stelai in the catalogue for Ephesos, four additional figured stelai have come to my attention at a late stage of research, all depicting gladiatorial subjects (Chapter 6) from this site.
[21] Such as known from Aphrodisias in Caria (see De Staebler 2008, 283-318; Hallet and Smith 2015), and from Demetrias in Thessaly (see Helly 1992, 349-365; Helly 2012-2013, 179-214; Stamatopoulou 2016, 407) where funerary monuments were reused in fortification walls.
[22] Niewöhner 2006, 239-253, discusses this in relation to Aizanoi and its territory.
[23] See Liebeschuetz 1959, 344-356; Foss 1977; Liebeschuetz 2001; Whittow 2001, 137-153; Rheidt 2003, 239-247, for discussion of town and countryside from the fourth to sixth centuries AD.

systematically investigated. For sites like Byzantion, rescue archaeology in the modern city (Istanbul) and the deposition history of the urban necropolis – leveled for the construction of city-walls – have contributed to the higher numbers of stelai from this site compared to sites like Nikomedia or Saittai, and even more so for rural sites where little beyond funerary remains survive.

The upper chronological limit for this study follows the organization of the first Roman provinces, after 131 BC, with focus on those stelai from the mid-to-late first century BC. The arrival of the Romans did not radically alter the Hellenistic funerary iconographic repertoire, beyond the advent of an imported mode of self-representation, namely half-figure relief forms related to bust forms, by the first century AD.[24] Thus, selecting the chronological and indeed geographic frameworks for this study is, to a degree, arbitrary, particularly for funerary monuments which, as a more conservative category, show more continuity and gradual change over time than any abrupt differentiation. Those stelai under consideration here have been dated from the early Imperial (first century BC) to the late Roman periods (third to late fourth century AD).

While Hellenistic stelai and Phrygian door-façade stelai have been studied in depth, the corpus of Anatolian figured stelai from the first century BC to the late fourth century AD has not received the same degree of attention in a cohesive study. This in part reflects the difficulty in establishing a chronology for funerary stelai. The means and difficulties of dating a stele are addressed in a forthcoming chapter (3.1), but there follows here a brief overview. In some cases, monuments may be self-dated by inscriptions, where all components are contemporaneous. Otherwise, dating remains tenuous, in particular given that few stones are found in their original contexts. The stelai under investigation are in museums or some private collections, and their specific burial context has been lost in the majority of cases. The disassociation from context and the human remains these monuments commemorated obfuscates more than a secure chronology, namely whether a stele was part of a larger tomb or an individual 'simple' grave-marker.

[24] Cremer 1991, 93-101. For the Italian bust-forms, see Zanker 1975, 267-269; Frenz 1977; Kleiner 1977; Frenz 1985; Pflug 1989.

Studies of Hellenistic stelai from Anatolia have dated these monuments stylistically, based upon architectural types, iconographic elements and themes, and letter forms.[25] Differences in any of these aspects may result from geographic or regional distance, individual workshops or carvers, or aesthetic preferences of clients, and not necessarily from a chronological component. Dating any object based on internal evidence, whether form, imagery, or stylistic analysis, is prone to weaknesses and of questionable dependability. In the absence of other elements with securely determinable date, however, all elements of these stelai, including style, remain the only means of attributing a stele to a probable date in most cases. For funerary stelai, similarities in the form of stelai and the iconography employed complicate distinguishing between stelai of Hellenistic date and those of Roman. Particular components such as hair-styles help to point towards a more reliable date for some monuments.

1.4 Organization

This study includes ten chapters. This Chapter 1 introduced the material. Chapter 2 provides a brief general overview of the funerary landscape of Roman-period Anatolia, recreating the sepulchral-monument environment in which stelai functioned. Analysis of the technical details of those figured stelai examined constitutes Chapter 3, including considerations of form, size and scale, workshop characteristics if identifiable, and materials.

Succeeding chapters will focus upon case-study regions, examining in more detail surviving figured stelai from the case-study sites from Bithynia-Pontus (Chapter 4), Byzantion and Constantinople (Chapter 5), Mysia and the *provincia* of *Asia* (Chapter 6), Lydia (Chapter 7), and Galatia (Chapter 8). Subsections within these chapters will present a brief geo-political background of the region, an analysis of the geographic distribution of stele-finds within the province and specific funerary landscape of the case-studies, and analysis of the iconographic and epigraphic evidence from case-study stelai. This evidence in conjunction with comparisons

[25] Thönges-Stringaris 1965; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977/1979; Dentzer 1982; Schmidt 1991; Cremer 1991/1992; Zanker 1993; Breuer 1995; Fabricius 1999; Bugnon 2008. For chronologies of figured stelai from neighboring regions, see Kalaitzi 2016 (Macedonia) and Andrianou 2017 (Thrace).

with other regional funerary relief stelai and monuments will be used to reconstruct socio-economic groups and regional use-patterns.

The following chapter (Chapter 9) will then consider both shared themes as well as regional preferences within the stele-culture of Roman-period Anatolia. This will entail comparison of figured-stele distribution with settlement-types (Greek vs Roman, urban vs rural, and coastal vs inland), as well as analysis of regional use of prevalent iconographic concepts and motivations connected to patterns of use. Finally, this chapter will consider customs of commemoration within the regions under consideration. Chapter 10 presents the conclusions reached in this study.

The descriptive catalogue of stelai to which this discussion refers is based upon multiple levels of research, namely in libraries, in galleries and storerooms of archaeological museums, and epigraphic archives. It must be admitted that in order to deal with this material in a logical and consistent manner, choices and selections have been necessary, leading to a catalogue that will always be somewhat artificial. As the majority of these stelai have already been published in epigraphic or iconographic corpora, catalogue entries will be kept to information critical to this present study. Stelai in the catalogue are grouped by region, in the same sequence as these are examined within the text, so that each monument may be examined against the backdrop of regional output. Numbering of the catalogue sections is organized by categories of iconographic types, in order, banquet, standing, seated and seated/standing, and other types, with chronological arrangement where possible within each category.

CHAPTER 2: FUNERARY LANDSCAPE OF ROMAN-PERIOD ANATOLIA

"Tombs, last homes and bulwarks of mortals, more trusted than homes for people, deposits of tears, the sole, remaining, incorruptible possessions of the dead; city of silence, one's own house, the abiding bed on which the form is laid, interring beauty. Nor does it again recover from sleep but has become naked. What grave is near, and what body does it contain as inhabitant? Detested symbols of triumph over life, routed standards of the dead, stelai of the dead ([σ]τυγνὰ τροπαῖα βίου λελυμένα ⸢πηγνυμένων σημεῖα, νεκύων στῆλαι, ῥήματα θανόντων⸣*), speak with mute letters of those who died. What mortal left his name here having already prematurely exhausted the body? Crispos, dead citizen of Alexandria, that area of rich grain on the Nile, is hidden under this sign, he who won a first prize for rhythmic tragedy. The world, marveling at and extolling the graceful movements of his hands, saw the golden flower of its own theatres. His shining grace the year short of three decades unexpectedly extinguished."*[26]

Funerary epigrams such as this for Crispos from Herakleia Pontike and less poetic epitaphs are familiar fixtures in the archaeological record of the Mediterranean, particularly in the Greek East and Asia Minor, often recorded in early traveler's accounts.[27] Stelai of all categories, including figured types, are rarely found in their primary context[28] given their size and usefulness for reuse as ready-made building material in secondary contexts, and none of the catalogued figured stelai were recovered *in situ*. This chapter aims, therefore, to resituate in as far as possible figured stelai within their original use- and display-environment, presenting a general examination of the picture of funerary culture in Anatolia based upon the region's staggering amount of surviving burial evidence, focusing upon the Roman period (ca. 100 BC to AD 400), while acknowledging that the Roman-period funerary environment does not occur in a vacuum or as part of a linear development of tomb characteristics from earlier periods. Forms of burials and aspects of this funerary landscape have been discussed in great detail in numerous other comprehensive studies,[29] and no more than a cursory examination of this broader context is feasible here. A consideration of the types of burials, tomb forms, display contexts, and

[26] From a second- or third-century AD funerary monument from Herakleia Pontike (Ameling 1994, No. 9).
[27] Hamilton 1842; Ramsay 1884; Anderson 1899; Calder 1911; Calder 1932; Buckler, Calder, and Cox 1924-1928.
[28] It has only recently come to my attention that four figured stelai depicting gladiators recovered in Ephesos (Zülkadiroğlu and Içten 2002, 78-81) were discovered *in situ* set in "simple grave walls" of a 'mass grave' for sixty-eight individuals about 300m east of the stadium at the foot of the Panayirda hill between the processional path (the so-called *Damianosstoa*) and the ancient road (Pietsch and Tinkl 1995, 19-48; Kanz and Grossschmidt 2009).
[29] Kubinska 1968; Waelkens 1986; Cormack 2004; Brandt *et al*. 2017.

adornment preserved in necropoleis in Anatolia aids in reconstructing the monument background in which funerary stelai functioned, permitting a more cohesive understanding of how stelai operated as part of a wider body of funerary elements subject to the motivations, production and ritual processes, as well as cultural, social, and economic factors intrinsic to mortuary behavior.

2.1 Necropoleis and the funerary record

Archaeological evidence from Roman-period Anatolia illustrates a range of tomb-types and burials making up the funerary record, yet the abundance of monuments in the funerary record indicates bias in the evidence, factors of survival favoring semi-permanent stone monuments, the predominance of these types often obscuring more perishable evidence, such as wood monuments. This bias extends to the individuals and broader socio-economic groups represented. For the Roman period, there is evidence from multiple socio-economic levels, from the highest echelons of the elite, such as the ostentatious obelisk-like monument of C. Cassius Philiskos northwest of Nikaia[30] in Bithynia, to 'simpler' built tombs, sarcophagi, and stelai. Those socio-economic levels represented by the surviving funerary evidence, however, are the 'monument-buying' classes, individuals and families able to afford more lasting monuments of some form, although this is not to say a person or their socio-economic level should be equated to their chosen funerary monument. The lowest economic and social levels, however, leave little trace in the funerary environment as represented by the archaeological evidence,[31] and the surviving funerary landscape does not provide a complete cross-section of Roman-period society in Anatolia. Necropoleis, compared to intramural burials,[32] offer evidence of a larger section of monument-buying groups in Anatolia, and their burial preferences, including stelai.[33]

[30] IK Nikaia no. 85; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 109-110.
[31] Slaves and freed slaves are commemorated on some sarcophagi in Aphrodisias (Smith 2008; Smith and Chaniotis 2016, no. 2) as well as monuments from Ephesos and Ankyra for imperial slaves (Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 66-69). Some figured stelai commemorate freed persons, as well as *threptoi* whose legal status was flexible and varied (Ricl 2005; 2006; 2009), and numerous gladiators (Robert 1940). The vast majority of slaves, however, remain unrepresented by monument evidence.
[32] Erim 1967, 68-80; Mellink 1968, 143 pl. 56; Reynolds and Rouché 1992, 153-160; Reynolds 1996, 121-126; Cormack 2004, 38-43.
[33] Toynbee 1971, 45; Hesberg and Zanker 1987, 9-20; Koortbojian 1996, 211; Zanker 2000, 94; Carroll 2006, 91-92; Pearce 2011, 134-135; Carroll 2013, 560. For the west, strict divisions are stipulated in some urban charters, such as the *Lex Ursonensis* (Pearce 2011, 135).

2.1.1 Necropoleis and tombs of Asia Minor

In spite of the plethora of surviving evidence from the funerary landscape of Roman-period Anatolia, the vast majority of stelai – including figured types – have been discovered disassociated from their primary use-contexts, reused in a variety of secondary spaces and functions. For the present case-study sites, limited excavation of necropoleis areas and full publication of results, coupled with the nature of the surviving evidence, further hampers efforts to reconstruct the burial context of figured stelai. In most cases the necropoleis are located beneath modern cities, as in the case for Byzantion (Istanbul), Prusa (Bursa), Nikaia (Iznik), Nikomedia (Izmit), and Ankyra (Ankara), or in areas of heavy agricultural cultivation, such as Saittai (Sidaskale). That being said, published monuments from these necropoleis allow for some picture, albeit limited and selective, of the original monumental landscape of these spaces for the dead and the monument-buying groups represented therein to be drawn, creating the backdrop against which to consider figured stelai. This will be done within the individual regional chapters.

Although the monumental landscape of the funerary spaces for the case-study sites survives to a large degree, the extent to which the Roman-period levels may be reconstructed in the absence of systematic excavation is obviously limited. With their network of tomb monuments, tumuli, *peribolos* complexes, and sarcophagi, necropoleis have been the focus of formal and organized excavations elsewhere in Anatolia[34] where the results have yielded a more nuanced picture of urban and rural necropoleis. These better-studied funerary contexts will be looked to as comparative use-contexts, selected from across the geographic area under consideration with an eye towards both urban and rural necropoleis.

Cemeteries from Anatolia often feature few tomb elements remaining *in situ*, such as the so-called acropolis cemetery at Pessinus in Galatia, active from the Hellenistic through to the Late Antique periods at which point it was transformed into a fortress.[35] Although the marble elements from this necropolis were reused in fourth- and fifth-century *cista* graves and again in

[34] Urban necropoleis survive, for example, from Termessos, Patara, Perge, Elaiussa-Sebaste, Sagalassos, Hierapolis, Anemurion (whose necropolis dates to primarily Late Antiquity), and Pessinus. Devreker *et al*. 2003 [for Pessinus]; Köse 2005 [for Sagalassos]; Kolb 2008, Işın and Yıldız 2017, Korkut and Uygun 2017 [for Lycia, and Tlos].
[35] Devreker 2003.

the walls of the Early Byzantine fortress, enough of the original elements have been excavated in their reuse contexts to allow for some comments to be made on the types of tombs and markers. Most prominent among the surviving material are door-type stelai set up on plinths or a base stone as a grave-marker, or making up the tomb-monument face.[36] The same cemetery has yielded limited evidence of non-door-stele *naiskos*-types, and surviving elements from sarcophagi.[37]

Hierapolis in Phrygia offers four urban necropoleis, namely the North, South, North-East, and South-East necropoleis, active in varying stages from the third century BC up to the third century AD.[38] All of these feature built *mausolea*, or *heroa*-style tombs, many incorporating sarcophagi,[39] as well as rock-cut tombs and sarcophagi carved directly from the rock outcrops.[40]

In addition to its urban necropoleis, the territory of Hierapolis offers invaluable comparative material for rural necropoleis within *poleis* territories, for which there is a dearth of surveyed evidence for the case-study sites. Systematic survey carried out under the Italian Archaeological Mission between 2005-2008 documented the necropoleis of rural settlements of the northeast sector of the Lykos valley and the Uzunpınar plateau during the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods.[41] The size of the ancient villages and rural settlements within the survey sector vary in scale between one to nineteen hectares,[42] and the survey results have illustrated that one or more necropoleis areas with a variable number of tombs and graves may be associated with each settlement. For example, ten ancient necropoleis areas surround an ancient settlement occupying the same site as the modern village of Küçükdereköy, about four kilometers south-east of Hierapolis (**Figure 2**). The largest of these has 150 documented tombs, the majority of which (80%) are pit graves, the remaining either *chamosoria* or travertine sarcophagi. Two of the smaller settlements on the plateau show evidence in their necropoleis of

[36] Devreker 2003, 120-121.
[37] Devreker 2003, 123.
[38] D'Andria 2003; D'Andria, Scardozzi, and Spanò 2008; Ronchetta 2017.
[39] Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2002; Russell 2013, 173-175, 257.
[40] The latter types occur in both the North-East and smaller South-East necropoleis (Ronchetta 2017, 53; Scardozzi 2017, 19-38; Ahrens 2017, 132-133).
[41] Scardozzi 2017, 19-38.
[42] An ancient settlement area in the Lykos valley occupies the same site as the modern village of Küçükdereköy about four kilometers south-east of Hierapolis (Scardozzi 2017 22-24 Fig. 2.5), while the settlement sites in the Uzunpınar plateau vary more widely.

tumuli probably for prominent families which over time impacted the placement and orientation of subsequent tombs and graves.[43] Other evidence of socio-economic distinction suggested by tombs may be found in those types, such as chamber tombs, *chamosoria*, and sarcophagi, which are by nature more elaborate than the pit graves and which in their size and construction bear close similarity to those in the urban necropoleis at Hierapolis, suggesting either the adoption of urban forms among the rural elite or connections with urban elite families who owned land or estates in the *polis* territory.[44] Besides settlements, the survey also yielded smaller necropoleis which may have been used by owners of medium- to large-scale farms, such as two clusters of pit graves on rock outcrops near Küçükdereköy,[45] four clusters situated 1.5 to two kilometers from Eymir,[46] and two recorded chamber tombs near modern Çindere.[47]

The funerary landscape in Galatia has long been obscure, identifying Roman-period – and indeed pre-Roman in some cases – burial practice and commemoration notoriously difficult as a result of not only the nature of the evidence but also the regional patterns of settlement as well as the economic and wider demographic factors.[48] Besides studies from the region's few urban sites such as Pessinus, systematic excavation of rural necropoleis at sites such as at Gordion as well as rescue excavations at other sites including Boyalık (Gölbaşi district), Bahçecik (Haymana district), and Islamalan or ancient Dadastana (Nallıhan district) have helped to present a clearer picture of rural necropoleis and the commemoration practices of a largely non-elite rural population.[49] Excavations at Gordion, an important Phrygian centre inhabited by only a small Roman auxiliary base from the first to fifth centuries AD, have yielded evidence for three necropoleis[50] with 147 Roman-period burials, in concentrations of thirty-one in the South Lower Town (SLT), fifty-one in the Common Cemetery (CC), and sixty-five graves in the NW Zone (NWZ), dating between the mid-first and fifth centuries AD.[51] These investigations have revealed patterns of burial construction and funerary practice in the rural necropoleis attached to

[43] Scardozzi 2017, 28-29, and Fig. 2.11.2-3.
[44] Scardozzi 2017, 21.
[45] Scardozzi 2017, 27 and Fig. 2.5.L-I.
[46] Scardozzi 2017, 28 Fig. 2.11.4-7.
[47] Scardozzi 2017, 34-35.
[48] Goldman 2017, 150-151.
[49] Goldman 2017, 149-175.
[50] There may be a fourth not yet investigated (Goldman 2017, 153).
[51] Goldman 2017, 152-166.

this settlement, including the use of multiple construction types – pit graves, stepped graves, mudbrick sarcophagi, wooden coffins or wood-covered pits, tile and/or brick graves, chamber tombs, *busta* with *cineraria*, and cist graves – in close proximity within a single necropolis, and preference for inhumations over cremations and single over multiple interments, patterns mirroring results from rescue excavations in the region.[52] Only two non-relief stelai have been discovered at Gordion, indicative of a system of designating graves with non-permanent monument-markers, distinct from more urban Pessinus, as well as other rural sites such as Boyalık where stelai were found in a secondary context in the village.[53] The presence of these monuments, whether originally from this necropolis or another in the vicinity, highlights the role of individual choice in types of commemorative monuments utilized in a localized region, a vital factor in the distribution of monuments like figured stelai.

Although regional variation and diversity must be taken into account, the results of surveys of those rural settlements and attached necropoleis in the territory of Hierapolis as well as smaller sites such as Gordion offer comparative evidence for other regional rural necropoleis from those case-studies for which systematic survey has not been done and the rate of survival for the evidence is poor. For sites in Lydia and Galatia where the commemorative monuments and customs are not entirely distinct from those in and around Hierapolis, or settlement-patterns – particularly for Galatia – echo those such as Gordion, the types of monuments employed within these rural necropoleis as well as their organization and relationship with the urban centre enhance the limited picture from sites such as Saittai, Iaza, Kinna and Kerpiç.

The abundant surviving evidence from the funerary monumental landscape of Roman-period Anatolia illustrates the wide variety of monument types employed during these centuries, including types in use from the pre-Roman period. Tombs in necropoleis may occur individually or as part of complexes, situated within walled precincts (*periboloi*), where mausolea and/or sarcophagi could be accompanied by altars (*bomoi*), often with a *larnax* or *ostotheke*, as well as stelai, statues, and *exedrai* with benches. Examples of *peribolos* tombs include that of Tiberia

[52] Goldman 2017, 166-171.
[53] Denizli et al. 2008, 139; Goldman 2017, 169.

Klaudia Perikleia at Termessos,[54] and at the so-called South Tomb I at Adada in Pisidia.[55] Many of these monuments may carry relief decoration, among the most obvious being sarcophagi, which may be plain or decorated on different levels of opulence, as for Dokimeion columnar sarcophagi.[56] Decorative motifs include garlands, foliage, wreaths, rosettes, ribbons, and figurative elements such as gorgons, putti, masks, bulls or other animals, some representations of the deceased in full-figure or, during the Imperial period, the bust-form.[57]

Smaller burial monuments include the *larnax* and *ostotheke*, which served as containers for bones or cremated remains, the faces of which may carry reliefs, often with motifs much the same as sarcophagi, including figures, garlands, bucrania, and gorgoneia among others.[58] These burial receptacles provide evidence of high-quality production from stone and marble workshops in the Imperial period, such as Prokonnesos and Dokimeion as well as smaller regional centres such as Aphrodisias, Ephesus, Nikaia, and Iconium.[59]

Sarcophagi and *ostothekai*, like built and rock-cut tombs, function as places of burial. Stelai and funerary *bomoi*, in contrast, did not serve as burial receptacles themselves but might be used either in conjunction with an individual burial receptacle or group thereof in a complex, or with an individual grave. A stele in particular serves as a burial marker, addressed further below (2.4). Both of these monument-types, stelai and bomoi, may display relief adornment. Reliefs on funerary altars typically feature garland decoration and bucrania.[60] Regional use-patterns for *bomoi* are discussed in individual case-study chapters as comparative material to gauge the patterns of figured-stele use geographically and chronologically, and the use of stelai in relation to other relief monuments employed by similar socio-economic levels.

The most prevalent monument-type in the funerary sphere of Roman-period Anatolia is the stele, both relief and non-relief types. The former may be figured or non-figured (with

[54] Heberdey and Wilberg 1900, 205-207; TAM III.I.713.
[55] Cormack 2004, 33-34.
[56] Wiegartz 1965; Waelkens 1982; Koch *et al*. 1982, 497–509; Öğüş 2014, 124-125.
[57] Asgari 1977, 329-382; Koch *et al.* 1982, 495-496, 527-531; Strocka 1996, 455-473; Işık *et al*. 2007; Smith 2008, Cat. 1-32; Smith 2011, 63-76; Öğüş 2014, 122-126.
[58] Köse 2005, 37-84, nos. EO.1-VO.21.
[59] Ward-Perkins 1980, 23-68; Waelkens *et al.* 1991, 77; Işık *et al*. 2007; Öğüş 2014, 113-114.
[60] Kubinska 1968; Cormack 2004.

wreaths and objects). Two types feature relief decoration, namely door-façade and non-door-motif stelai. Waelkens' 1986 work catalogued the known Roman-period doorstones across Anatolia, numbering 806 with known provenance at that time, with the highest numbers in Phrygia (687) and Galatia (87), [61] identifying eighteen types. More recently, Lochmann has presented evidence for typologies and chronologies of doorstones made in Aizanoi and the Aizanitis, Tembris-Hochbene, Dokimeion and the Kaystros plateau, and Philomelion and the Phrygian Paroreios.[62] Door-stelai, like other figured and non-figured stelai, acted as freestanding markers of a tomb or tumulus, but because the door element as used on these stelai is non-functional, this motif is widely conceived to have carried more "symbolic" meanings.[63] Door-stelai have been interpreted as "symbolizing" the passage or transition from life or the world of the living to that of the dead, as portals for the spirits of the dead, and as the doors of the house-like *domus aeterna* or representative of the afterlife as a domestic space.[64] Around Amorion in Phrygia, there may have been some deliberate placement of door-stelai with *bomoi*, but this does not appear to have been a widespread phenomenon.[65] Whether paired with *bomoi* or not, the functions of door-stelai differ in many pertinent elements from non-door-motif figured stelai.

2.2 Hellenistic and pre-Roman stele-use

Necessary for any analysis of the regionalism of figured-stele use in the Roman period is consideration of Hellenistic or pre-Roman figured-stele patterns of use. In some regions of Anatolia, evidence for the use of figured and non-figured stelai dates to the seventh and sixth centuries BC (Lydia and Phrygia), particularly those marking rock-cut tombs and tumuli, together with fifth-century BC stelai at Daskyleion.[66] Evidence for a broader-scale and more intensive figured-stele 'habit', however, begins in the late fourth and particularly third century BC. Production and use of Hellenistic-period figured stelai was concentrated at sites such as

[61] Lower numbers survived in Bithynia (10), Mysia (6), and Paphlagonia and the Pontic-Paphlagonian border (5), with the Troas, the Lydian border with Phrygia, Cappadocia, and the north Lycian border all with single finds (Waelkens 1986).
[62] Lochmann 2003.
[63] Roosevelt 2006, 73-74.
[64] Ramsay 1884, 253; Caputo 1932-1933, 284; Tritsch 1943, 115; Mellink 1979, 387; Waelkens 1980, 12; Cahill 1988, 497-498; Roosevelt 2006, 78-82.
[65] Ramsay 1884, 253; Roosevelt, 78.
[66] Roosevelt 2006, 65-91.

Byzantion, Prusa ad Olympum, Nikaia, Nikomedia, Kyzikos and its surrounding territory, and Smyrna.[67] Surviving evidence for Hellenistic-period stelai is highest in those coastal and more heavily urbanized regions part of the Hellenistic kingdoms, namely areas of Bithynia, Pontus, Mysia, and Ionia as well as Byzantion. The majority of the surviving Hellenistic-period stelai in these regions bear closest similarity with forms and iconography employed widely on funerary stelai in the eastern Mediterranean,[68] although some motifs are specific to certain Anatolian workshops.[69] In these regions, the use of figured stelai remains largely uninterrupted from the third century BC into the Roman period.

In spite of the use of some stele-forms, namely doorstones, in parts of Lydia and Galatia before the third century BC, there is little to no surviving evidence from the third to first centuries BC here.[70] Sardis and those areas arguably impacted by Macedonian settlements[71] preserve figured stelai of the pre-Roman period, but in fewer numbers. Equally, door-stelai, prominent in Phrygia with more limited appearance in parts of Lydia, Galatia, and Pontus, appear in comparatively few numbers prior to the first century AD, with only nineteen known in western Asia Minor for the late sixth to fourth centuries BC, although the door as an iconographic motif appears in the funerary sphere prior to this.[72] The door-motif on stelai, where it serves no architectural purpose, does not reappear until the late Hellenistic and early Roman period as a variation of the earlier type, evidence of regional shifts in customs of commemoration (Chapter 9).[73] This regionalism apparent in the pre-Roman distribution of figured stelai impacted Roman-period use-patterns.

[67] Cremer 1991/1992; Zanker 1993; Fabricius 1999.
[68] Pfuhl and Möbius 1979/1980; Fabricius 1999; Kalaitzi 2016; Draycott and Stamatopoulou 2016.
[69] Cremer 1991/1992.
[70] Roosevelt 2006, 65.
[71] Magie 1950, 972-973: Nacrasos (IGR iv.1160), Acrasos (Robert 1962, 75-77; OGIS 290), Thyateira (TAM v.2.901, 1109, and 1166), Doidye (TAM v.2.1188, 1190), Agatheira (TAM v.2.1307), Hyrcanis (TAM v.2.1308), Kobedyle (TAM v.1.221), and Adrouta (Keil and Premerstein 1914, 46-47). See also Debord 1985, 345-358; Mitchell 1993, 85, 180-181.
[72] Buckler 1924, 8-11 no. 4 pl. II; Mellink 1975, 349-352; Mellink 1976, 383-384; Mellink 1979, 383-387; Tezcan 1979, 391-397; Altheim-Stiehl and Cremer 1985; Greenewalt et al. 1987, 46, 51 nn. 49, 50; Roosevelt 2003; Roosevelt 2006.
[73] Ramsay 1884; Waelkens 1980; Waelkens 1986.

2.3 Audience and post-interment activity

In necropoleis, tombs occupy spaces ensuring frequent and regular viewing, both during public funerals and as part of subsequent commemoration rituals. Public placement of stelai guarantees an audience for these monuments, potentially at the funeral and subsequently with post-interment tomb-side commemorative activities. Surviving epigraphic evidence from the Roman period indicates elaborate, and costly, public funerals of some community members, such as accorded to Menogenes son of Meniskos from Aizanoi, in Kyzikos for Apollonis daughter of Prokles, and in Aphrodisias for Tatia Attalis.[74] Although these do not pertain to all socio-economic levels who by lack of financial means or position had not merited ostentatious ceremonies or civic-bestowed honours, they signal the public nature of funerals as the initial point at which tombs and other monuments would be viewed.

Tombs and complexes intended for more than one burial would be visited during subsequent funeral processes, but there is additional evidence for funerary cult activities occurring at tombs. Physical evidence for ritual activity at the tombs is indicated by presence of *bomoi* among tomb furnishings or other receptacles for the pouring of libations, participation and offerings made by the living.[75] Epigraphic evidence attests to more elaborate cult activities, such as a first-century AD tomb inventory list from Apateira in the territory of Ephesus.[76] Festivals such as the *rosalia* or *rosatio* in the western Empire, comprising sacrifices, banquets, and the decoration of tombs with flowers and roses, have more limited evidence in parts of Anatolia.[77] A fragmentary Roman-period inscription from the lower section of a marble block discovered built into a threshing floor in the modern village of Bostancılar (near Mudrunu/Modrena), probably from the territory of ancient Nikaia, preserves testamentary regulations for the annual adornment of graves with flowers or roses.[78] Evidence from inscriptions related to the *rosalia* or related

[74] Günther 1975, 351-356 [Menogenes]; Schwertheim 1978, 213-228 [Apollonia]; Reynolds and Rouché 1992, 153-160 [Aphrodisias].
[75] Cormack 2004, 117.
[76] Keil and von Premerstein 1914, 88-90 no. 117; Cormack 2004, 120. This inscription lists objects for the performance of the cult, including portraits, hermai, marble basins, a sundial, a stele with the inventory of tomb equipment, libation tubes with lead stoppers, and benches for participants, among other items.
[77] Kokkinia 1999, 202-221; Toohey 2010, 366-367. Kokkinia argues that only the phases ἐν τοῖς) ῥόδοις or (ἐν τῷ) ῥοδισμῷ refer to the *rosalia* or *rosatio*, whereas ῥοδισμός/ῥοδίζω denotes more general customs of bringing flower offerings to the deceased.
[78] Kokkinia 1999, 204-221; SEG 49.1790.

festivals survive across Anatolia, including in Miletupolis, Klaudiopolis, and Pergamon.[79] Another inscription, on a sarcophagus from Ephesos, refers to two categories of sacrifices (*τελεστικ[ὰ] ἢ ῥοδίσια*), namely wine, cakes, and assorted offerings, as well as flowers/roses.[80] Epigraphic attestations of the ritual of *ἀπόκαυσις/παράκαυσις* indicate this may occur in other contexts than the *rosalia*, such as in inscriptions from Hierapolis and Galatia.[81]

Tomb inscriptions in the form of a dialogue between the deceased and passersby (for example, PRUSA **23**, **63**; KESTAL **76**; BYZANTION **162**, **151**; EPHESOS **192**; KYZIKOS **210**, **215**; ANKYRA **286**), attest to intended engagement with visitors, reinforced by the formulaic inclusion of some form of *χαῖρε* in the majority of inscriptions. Literary sources attest to these obligations of commemoration being a filial duty of the heir (Ulpian *Digest* 11.7.4).[82] Tombs, including those marked by stelai, could pass down to other members of a family or could be shared by unrelated individuals, and inscriptions typically specified who might be buried within the tomb, with proscriptions against those who unlawfully violated the monument (GEYVE/PAMUKOVA **86**; KYZIKOS **230-231**; SAITTAI **250-253**, **258**, and **263**; KINNA **289**; KERPIÇ **293**).[83] The epigraphic record for some figured stelai indicates that multiple commemorations could be sanctioned by the patron. This is most obvious with married couples but in limited cases for more extended family (KINNA **287**, **290**, and **291**; KERPIÇ **293**, **295**, **296**, **299**, and **300**). An excellent example from beyond the case-study objects is a third-century AD figured stele from Kios:[84]

> *Aurelia Longina, daughter of Rufus, had this tomb set up while living for herself and her husband Secundus, having lived 70 years, with their children Aurelius Polychronius and Secundus and Asklepiodotos. But if after we, our wives, and our children have been buried, someone tries to lay another body here, as*

[79] Miletoupolis: IK Nikaia 62, 95, 1283, and 1422; Kladioupolis: IK Kladioupolis 115; Pergamon: IK Pergamon 374B.
[80] IK Ephesos 2223A; Kokkinia 1999, 213-214.
[81] LBW 1687 [for Hierapolis]; RECAM II.257 [for Galatia].
[82] Saller and Shaw 1984, 126-127.
[83] Strubbe 1997, nos. 155 and 259. See Saller and Shaw 1984, 125, on designations of *sepulchra familiaria* and *sepulchra hereditaria* in Roman law.
[84] Bursa Archaeology Museum (inv. no. 2647); Şahin 1981, no. 766; Corsten 1985, no. 100; Cremer 1992, Y 10.

> *punishment he will pay the sacred treasury 2000 drachmas and to the famous city of Kios as punishment he will pay 1000 drachmas.*[85]

The initial lines identify the immediate individuals commemorated by the monument, the subsequent lines indicating those additional family members sanctioned for burial in the space.

2.4 Functions of stelai

Pivotal to understanding the use of figured stelai during the Roman period is consideration of the functions of these monuments in funerary contexts. The absence of an excavated burial context for a stele limits what may be said on function. On a practical level, a stele marked a burial location or place of interment, with an inscription identifying the deceased, and by components of its inscription might attempt – too often in vain – to discourage destruction, looting, or unlawful use. This primary capacity all stelai types have in common, and components of the epigraphy are in keeping with that on other monuments such as sarcophagi and *ostothekai*.

A secondary function, shared with other monuments-types, linked to commemoration includes the formation and preservation of memory. Ulpian (*Digest* 11.7.2.6) states that monuments exist "to preserve memory," and in this way stelai and their epitaphs acted to ensure that an individual was remembered after death. Inscriptions prompt memory from passersby and visitors, encouraging participation in commemoration beyond death or burial rituals. For funerary stelai, the obvious commemorative element is the inscription identifying the deceased, together with the formulaic inclusion of some form of *μνήμης χάριν* on many stelai. Epigraphic components, common to all stele types, represent the most compelling indicators of both short- and long-term formation of memory, and its maintenance over time, namely during future (post-burial) visits to the grave site, preserving the name(s) of the deceased and the family, together

[85] Αὐρήλ. Λονγῖνα Ῥοῦφου ζῶσα ἑαυτῇ καὶ / τῷ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρὶ Σεκούνδῳ ζήσαντι / ἔτη ο΄ · τόδε μνημῖον κατεσκεύασα μετὰ / τῶν ἑαυτῆς τέκνων Αὐρ. Πολυχρονίου καὶ / Σεκούνδου καὶ Ἀσκληπιοδότου · μετὰ δὲ τὸ / κατατεθῆναι ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν εἴ τις / δὲ αἴτερον θελήσει πτῶμα αἰπενθᾶψαι, / δώσι τῷ εἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ προστείμου, β / καὶ τῇ λαπροτάτῃ Κειανῷ πόλει προσ/τείμου, α.

with any other details which may have been included, such as in more extensive epigrams (e.g., BYZANTION **190**).[86]

An additional key component in the perpetuation of memory in this context is audience, those to whom a monument's 'message' was directed. The dimensions of these monuments – verbal, visual, and locational[87] – serve both to attract the attention of passersby and to convey information about the deceased. These elements may include the monument's size, colour, imagery, inscriptions, and (originally) location, the last the most difficult to evaluate. The epigram from an undated stele underscores the role of a stele as representative of the deceased:

> *You want to know, passerby, what stele it is, what grave, and what newly-made image is on the stele. Son of Tryphon I am and have the same name. A 14-year run of life I have behind me and, once living, have become this: Stele, grave, stone, picture.*[88]

The 'message' of monuments appealed to multiple levels and the full spectrum of literacy, and was probably not intended as an "intellectual exercise."[89] Audience might be physically restricted to a specific group, such as by *periboloi*, or be open to any visitor to the necropolis.

Within their original contexts, stelai as objects operated not solely on their own but as part of necropoleis, amongst other monuments as well as other stelai, relief and non-relief, part of what Woolf has termed a sensorium.[90] These environments are very active at certain times, during burials as well as annual communal rituals in addition to more frequent individual family visits throughout the year, but alternate between "periods when activated and periods when they recall past activity and promise future activity."[91] As objects imbued with meaning, indeed with

[86] Distinguished from those *bomoi* and stelai honorific in function, such as inscriptions on *bomoi* from Ankyra (Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 96-105, 115, 118, 128, 133, 140-141).
[87] These dimensions have been discussed by Hope 2001, 8-9, in relation to a wide range of funerary monuments.
[88] Merkelbach and Stauber 1998, no. 04/21/03.
[89] Hope 2001, 88-89.
[90] From his presentation "The implications of mass production for Roman Imperial society," given to the Roman Discussion Forum seminar series in University of Oxford on 13 June, 2018.
[91] Woolf seminar 2018.

many levels of semantic interpretation, these are tied to their use-contexts, in as much as these can be reconstructed, both the physical and more emotive (and more difficult to reconstruct) psychological. Sensoria, or necropoleis in this case, also represent places of cultural memory, locations which, like the monuments themselves, help to sustain traditions, contributing to the longevity of forms and image-types. Functions and meanings in this use-context overlap and interact, with all components and dimensions of these commemorative monuments impacting the overall experience of the audience within the space.

Conclusions

Evidence from excavated and surveyed necropoleis illustrates the variety of monuments employed in some regions, such as sarcophagi, *bomoi*, and stelai among built or rock-cut tombs. Diverse monument-types, plain and relief-adorned, created crowded physical spaces which the variety and volume of annual commemorative rituals made active with visitors through the year. These use-contexts in which stelai operated among other funerary monuments enhanced the commemorative function of this monument-type for the audience of viewers.

This brief overview of select elements of the funerary landscape of Roman-period Anatolia highlights the diversity of the monument environment utilized by those socio-economic levels making up the monument-buyers in Roman-period Anatolia. This material demonstrates the relationship between 'traditional' or otherwise pre-existing forms of burial in Anatolia and the more limited changes or adaptions after the region came under Roman authority, particularly in comparison with some provinces of the western Empire.[92] Tombs of ostentatious size and opulence formerly reserved for Hellenistic royalty, as well as increased numbers of *mausolea*, smaller built tombs, and sarcophagi among other forms of burial monuments, suggest social changes in the Roman period, particularly the growth of mid-range socio-economic groups desirous of more permanent funerary monuments.

[92] For example, in some regions there is evidence for the incorporation of some more recent architectural forms during the Roman period (Cormack 2004, 17-26; Işın and Yıldzı 2017, 101-105 [for rock-cut tombs with Roman Imperial period architecture at Tlos]; Thomas 2005 [for *ostothekai* introduced into Ephesos]), but a more general change during the Roman period is the widening of the socio-economic spectrum emulating or reinterpreting traditional tomb types or forms formerly reserved by rulers or dynasts (e.g., podia-tombs, and so-called heroon-tombs in Lycia).

Figured stelai, constituting only one type of relief-decorated monument operating within necropoleis contexts, do not survive from all necropoleis, as in the case of Hierapolis, and only in limited numbers in others, such as Pessinus and Gordion. While this distribution of surviving evidence may be due to factors of survival, such as robbing or reuse, such patterns also arise from regionalism in the use of the type, brought by factors such as patron priority and regional monument traditions, addressed in Chapter 9. Although a single monument-form in the wider landscape, figured stelai offer a narrow lens for the examination of local and wider regional use-patterns, particularly for iconography and epigraphy, as well as use between city- and countryside-contexts, tracing evidence of regionalism.

CHAPTER 3: CHRONOLOGY, FORMS, AND MATERIAL

3.1 Chronology

Establishing dates for Hellenistic- and Roman-period stelai is notoriously difficult, given the dearth of contextual and stratigraphic data, and few alternative means of dating produce satisfactory results. For example, among the 302 catalogued here, only the Lydian material consistently includes a date as part of the epigraphic formula (**247-284**). This dating formula, beginning with a year, in the Sullan era,[93] followed by the day and month, provides a specific point in time at which each monument was set up, not the date(s) of death.

The processes for dating stelai not self-dated by their inscription are more complicated. Historical background is of limited use. Two stelai commemorating soldiers from two Pannonian legions found in Byzantion probably originate from the time when both legions moved east and were stationed in Byzantion and its environs (BYZANTION **114** and **115**). The probable date for this is AD 214, when Caracalla passed the winter with the Danube legions in the Propontis region at the beginning of his Parthian campaign.[94]

Other available methods provide only broad chronological brackets. Names in some of the inscriptions testify to grants of Roman citizenship suggesting a date, the most prominent being the Aurelius(-a) nomen, which helps to establish a date after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in AD 212 (for example, NIKOMEDIA **10**; GEYVE/PAMUKOVA **86**; KYZIKOS **239**; IAZA **275**, **284**; KINNA **287**; KERPIÇ **293** and **296**).[95] On figured stelai, Aurelii feature on relatively few monuments compared to the overall total, variable between the provinces. The limited number of names revealing Roman citizenship necessitates other, less reliable, methods.

[93] The Sullan era begins in 85 BC (23 September). Pliny *HN* 33.16; Ramsay 1887, 517-518; Kubitschek 1928, 76; SEG 29.1188; cf. SEG 29.1183-87 and LBW 1146.
[94] Łajtar 2000, no. 122. For Caracalla's Parthian campaign, Cass. Dio 77.16.7; Herodian 4.8.3-6; Historia Augusta *Carac*. 5.8-9; Mitchell 1993, 232; Marek 2016, 354-355.
[95] Holtheide 1983; Mitchell 1993, 150; Buraselis 1989, 127-148; Buraselis 2007, 127-148.

Most publications of stelai occur in epigraphic catalogues where the primary basis of dating is two-fold, namely letter-forms and other internal evidence.[96] Paleographic studies are often unreliable given the use of older letter-forms alongside newer ones.[97] Letter-forms also vary geographically, so that any paleographic study entails examination of overall style within more narrow geographic parameters.[98] Similarly, in funerary epigraphy, by nature more conservative compared to public types, variation and changes in script forms tend to be both more readily apparent and more difficult to trace.

Other internal components used as rough dating mechanisms, namely stylistic analysis, represents a subjective chronological instrument which as a process is methodologically hazardous, further hampered by the paucity of reliably dated monuments for comparison. Most commonly used are hairstyles, derived from the fashion of the Imperial court, which help to date the depiction to a century or to reign of a specific emperor (for example, NIKOMEDIA **3**, **5**; BYZANTION **102**). Clothing is less useful given the continued predominance of traditional attire, namely the *chiton* and *himation*. The toga does not occur on any of the catalogued stelai, although there are some recorded instances on unprovenanced stelai.[99] The fragmentary nature of many reliefs further oppilates this method and older reliefs may be recut in subsequent periods, although there are no recorded or identifiable instances of recutting on the case-study stelai. Other forms of reuse result in recutting the inscription rather than the relief, as on a second-century BC stele probably from the territory of Nikaia where the original inscription was recut during the Roman period.[100] Another example, a stele probably originally second or early first century BC in date from Kyzikos had a new inscription added below an earlier in the second or third century AD (KYZIKOS **223**). Furthermore, many well-preserved reliefs show little or no priority for a particular hair-style for figures. Painted features might once have enhanced relief figures and attributes, but there is no surviving visible evidence of paint on these monuments.[101]

[96] MAMA; IK Nikaia; IK Prusa; IK Kyzikos; IK Ephesos; TAM IV; TAM V.
[97] For example, Lazzarini 1986, 147-153 on the deliberate use of more archaic-style letter forms in some inscriptions from the reign of Hadrian.
[98] Pritchett 1963, 20-23.
[99] For example, a stele which may come from Byzantion, Augustan-period in date, shows a togate male figure (Łajtar 2000, no. 353).
[100] Adak and Şahin 2005, no. 4.
[101] Evidence of paint is known from other stelai, such as Asgari and Fıratlı 1978, S 6 (Kalchedon), and a stele found in Beyazıt (Byzantion) which was originally painted (Fıratlı 1966, No. 227 Pl. 14).

This conservatism highlights an intrinsic difficulty with dating figured stelai from Anatolia, namely distinguishing between Hellenistic, particularly late second century BC, stelai and those from the centuries of Roman rule. The upper chronological limit of the material under investigation, the early first century BC, overlaps the late Hellenistic and early Roman chronological designations (1.3). The majority of motifs and forms employed on Hellenistic-period figured stelai remain in use during the Roman period. Comparing the material from sites within respective regions, using stylistic features such as hairstyles as baselines, a broad chronology may be suggested to distinguish Hellenistic from late Hellenistic/Roman material, as in the case of Prusa and Kestal as well as Kyzikos.[102] Some iconographic themes do not appear on stelai until the first and second centuries AD, namely agricultural motifs such as plough and oxen which do not occur on stelai dated to the third to late second centuries BC. For the present study, I have largely accepted the dates proposed in publications of this material in cases where the evidence does not signal a secure chronology as in Lydia. Chronological patterns of use will be examined on a regional scale given disparate patterns between northwest Anatolia (Bithynia-Pontus, Byzantion, and Asia) and the central plateau (Lydia and Galatia). The use of figured stelai appears to have gradually declined between the late third century and into the fourth century AD, and relatively few examples from the fourth century are known (KINNA **288**), including a figured stele probably originally from Kios.[103]

3.2 Stele forms

States of preservation make it difficult in many cases to identify the original form of stelai, as often the upper and lower elements are broken off or too badly damaged to allow for more comprehensive analysis. Figured stelai are flat-faced monuments with at least one recessed panel for relief imagery. Some stelai may have two or more recessed relief fields, with the lower field arguably secondary to the upper (for example, PRUSA **55**, **63**; KESTAL **81-84**; KYZIKOS **215-216**, **222**, **238**). Some secondary depictions may not be inside a framed panel but incised on the

[102] Cremer 1991/1992.
[103] Bursa Archaeology Museum (inv. no. 2604); Şahin 1981, no. 767 Pl. V; Corsten 1985, no. 107; Cremer 1992, Y9.

surface (for example, KYZIKOS **214**; KINNA **287**). Another common element is the inclusion of at least one inscription, placed on the frame of the stele, below or between relief fields, or within a frame below the relief field (KINNA **291**).

The most common typological feature is the architectural form of stele-monuments. The only published typology as such of stelai from Anatolia relates to door-stelai specifically, but many elements overlap with other relief stelai.[104] Varying levels of framing and adornment borrowed from a traditional and classicizing architectural vocabulary represent the most prominent surviving form for figured stelai, particularly from Bithynia-Pontus and Mysia/*Asia*, and from Byzantion. Architectural elements include pediments, columns and pilasters, *akroteria*, arches, and niches. As stelai with these features often take on the appearance of small shrines, they are classified as *naiskos*-stelai. Stelai with niches, either rectangular or with an arch, in some studies have been termed niche-stelai, despite the fact that nearly all figured stelai feature a niche of some type.[105] *Naiskos*-stelai may be rectangular in form (for example, NIKOMEDIA **4**), with a pediment and/or arch element (NIKOMEDIA **7**; PRUSA **33**, **36**, and **51**; BYZANTION **179**; KYZIKOS **223**; SAITTAI **250**), creating a field containing a boss or shield element, perhaps a patera, or a floral motif.

Levels of detail can vary widely, from finely moulded elements to barely incised details, to more crude depictions, but all reflect a recognizable vocabulary of architectural elements. For the current study and catalogue, stelai which feature any architectural elements, however rudimentary in some instances (NIKOMEDIA **4** compared with BYZANTION **181**), will be termed *naiskos*-stelai. For those stelai with arch elements, this aspect will be noted to allow a comparison of forms utilized within sites and within the provinces.

Many stelai retain a rectangular form but lack a pediment and extensive architectural frames (BYZANTION **93**, **96**; KYZIKOS **207**-**208**). Like *naiskos*-stelai, this form occurs across the case-study regions, designated as 'rectangular stele' in the catalogue.

[104] Waelkens 1986; Lochman 2003; Kelp 2015. For comparison of stelai not displaying door imagery, see Lochman 2003, Fig. 2 ("Nischenstelen"), Fig. 12 (c, d, and e), Fig. 18, and 25.
[105] The terminology for these stelai has been used interchangeably in other studies (Pfuhl and Möbius 1977/1979 and Cremer 1991/1992).

Some forms occur more prominently in specific regions, although in few instances exclusively. For example, Roman-period stelai produced in Prusa and its environs frequently take an arch-in-pediment form (PRUSA **32**, **48**, **51**, **54-55**, **78-84**), distinctive from the Hellenistic-period stelai. Arch-in-pediment forms occur elsewhere in Bithynia-Pontus as well as Byzantion and in *Asia*, but the shape, rendering, and proportions of those stelai from in and around Prusa suggest output from a local workshop. Another feature associated with this workshop is the curved high-backed chair for the seated woman in banquets. Regional workshops have also been proposed for Byzantion and *Asia*, as at Kyzikos and Miletoupolis, although the majority of stele-forms from these areas overlap in usage. A particular altar-form *naiskos*-stele from Pylai (modern Yalova) on the Propontis is the most distinctive of the stelai forms in Bithynia, with examples dated to the second and third centuries AD.[106] These are large, thick stelai whose form is composed of two main components, a stele shaft with cyma moulding and large terminating *akroteria* as on altars (**Figure 3**), above which, between the *akroteria*, appears a free-floating Gorgon head, and above, on a transverse moulding strip, a slightly narrower *naiskos*-stele form, sometimes with an arch in the pediment, and *akroteria*. This altar-form *naiskos*-type is unique to the area around Pylai and the site of Kios nearby, the form reinforcing the role of both stelai and *bomoi* in rites and customs of commemoration.

Stelai in Kinna (Galatia) also display more distinct elements of form, although states of preservation here limit comparison and determination of the extent of form-use. The few surviving upper sections from the stelai from Kinna feature a rounded arch-like relief field, and for one stele (KINNA **290**, perhaps **289**) this field is nearly circular.

The number of relief fields on stelai vary between one to three, in addition to any iconographic motifs incorporated into the pediment field, usually recessed and often framed with architectural elements. Some regions, such as the province of Bithynia-Pontus, show a higher number of surviving multi-storey stelai in the Roman-period, and across the broader area of

[106] PM 1922-1923 and 1978-1979; Corsten 1987, nos. 106, 141-143; Cremer 1992, 60-64, nos. Y1-Y6.

Anatolia the addition of secondary relief fields tends to be a feature of the Roman-period material than the Hellenistic (4.5, 6.5, and 9.2).[107]

3.2.1 Size

The often less-than-ideal state of preservation of stelai hinders discussion of patterns of size and scale. Regional ranges of size presented here are based upon the best preserved and fully intact stelai as examples. In Bithynia-Pontus, the shortest intact stone measures 32cm, the tallest 206cm (PRUSA **63**). In Nikomedia measurements vary widely, from 32 to 160cm in height, most measuring between 45 and 85cm in height, 30 to 55cm in width, and 4 to 12cm in depth.

For those stelai from Byzantion, the majority of the 102 are distributed across a continuous spectrum from approximately 30 to 100cm in height. Three monuments are larger in scale, between roughly 150 and 250cm in height (BYZANTION **114-116**), all commemorating soldiers (Chapter 5). For those stelai which survive in more or less complete forms, on average the spectrum of size from Byzantion is less variable than those from Bithynia-Pontus. For Mysia and *Asia*, the range from Kyzikos is also less, with intact stones on the small to medium end of the spectrum, with no intact stelai above 100cm in height.

In Lydia, average height ranges between 50 and 95cm, with the tallest intact stele at 117cm (SAITTAI **255**). The range of sizes for Kinna and Kerpiç are quite similar, between 72 and 190cm in height, with seven over 100cm (KINNA **289**, **290**, **291**, **292**; KERPIÇ **294-295**, **301**). These stelai tend to be wider than elsewhere, between 50 and 80cm, with depth (where recorded) between 35 and 45cm.

3.2.2 Workshops

The question of workshops has been broached above. In her examination of Hellenistic and Roman-period stelai from sites in Bithynia-Pontus and Mysia, Cremer assigned figured stelai to

[107] Some areas of Mysia, particularly around Daskyleion have older pre-Roman traditions of this multi-storey stele type (see section 6.5).

certain sites and workshops based upon iconographic elements.[108] Although there are difficulties associated with connecting stelai to specific workshops, the recurrence of particular modes of rendering within an area or of a particular stele-form do suggest the work of local workshops. In *poleis* such as Prusa, Pylai, Kios, Herakleia Pontike, Byzantion, Kyzikos, and Miletoupolis, certain local characteristics of iconography and form point to workshops active in these areas, producing stelai both used locally and exported further afield.[109] For example, the high, curved-back chair prevalent in those stelai from Prusa and Kestal may represent a hallmark of a particular workshop, as well as round, altar-like tables and the seated Herculanean repeated in banquet scenes from Herakleia Pontike, and the altar-*naiskos* form known only from Pylai and Kios. Unfortunately, limited other evidence for these workshops survives, and it must be noted that place of production – local workshop – and place of use are not necessarily one and the same, and that the transport and export of stelai in antiquity is as much a factor in patterns of distribution as place of use and final find-spot.[110] Other workshops were no doubt in operation, but the identification of these via specific iconographic markers remains problematic. Itinerant or traveling artists also cannot be overlooked, although the absence of signatures on works and the later movement of stelai between sites obscures identifying movement of an artisan rather than his products.[111] In terms of 'organization', it may be conceived – in the absence of definitive evidence – that in regions displaying higher numbers of at least permanent monuments (such as in Nikomedia/Nikaia, Prusa, Kyzikos, etc.), workshops may have been more organized, demand supporting more or less permanent work for these craftsmen. In regions with more limited evidence for permanent monuments (such as Galatia and parts of Lydia), 'organization' of workshop may have been either more limited or even non-existent, perhaps consisting of a single local individual whose primary function in his community may not have been a stonemason, but this being one among several activities.

[108] For Mysia, Kyzikos (Cremer 1991, 9-101) and Miletupolis (Cremer 1991, 102-115). For Bithynia-Pontus, Nikomedeia-Nikaia (41-51), Preietos (Cremer 1992, 52-59), Pylai (60-64), Otroia (65-79), Prusa ad Olympum (80-93), and Herakleia Pontike (94-102).
[109] Asgari and Fıratlı 1978, 1-92; Cremer 1991/1992; Corsten 1993, 315-316; Fabricius 1999, 294-301 (Kyzikos).
[110] Corsten 1993b, 315-316. For example, some of the stelai found in the necropoleis at Kalchedon were probably produced in Byzantion (Asgari and Fıratlı 1978, 1-3 Fig. 1-3 and Pl. 9-11; Mellink 1977, 314-316 Figs. 28-31). Another stele, a multi-relief type from the second century BC probably made in Miletoupolis (Cremer 1991, UMiS 10 Pl. 27) was found and probably used in Hadrianoutherai (Corsten 1993b, 125-128).
[111] Evidence from Roman-period sarcophagi indicates traveling artists, identifiable from inscriptions testifying to their origins and names (Öğüş 2016).

3.2.3 Components of the iconography

Some elements of the main iconographic types employed on stelai from the case-study group should be briefly noted here as they recur in the catalogued material. The first image type, the banquet, features three primary recurrent components, namely a *kline*, a reclining figure – usually male – and a tripod table. A seated figure, usually female, often appears at the left of the reclining figure, and smaller scale servants typically frame the scene. The reclining figure may raise a wreath aloft, or hold another object such as a drinking vessel. These are the standard components of this iconographic type, constituting a 'typical' banquet scene.

The second most prominent scene is the full-figure standing type. Figures are frontal, rendered in poses familiar from three-dimensional statues types: men wear a *chiton* and *himation*, with an arm-sling, and usually carry a book-roll; women appear as either Herculanean-types, or as a *Pudicitia*-type. Here again, these constitute 'typical' poses for this particular image-type.

Some of these components may be combined in other image-types, such as the seated female in seated-only scenes, or in combination with standing depictions.

3.3 Material

Marble and limestone are the only materials used for figured stelai from the case-study sites. White marbles predominate, other types including grey, blue-grey, and yellow. All but two of the case-studies suggest a mix of marble and limestone materials employed, although in Bithynia-Pontus more marble is employed on average than limestone. Bithynia was known for its marble, as Pliny (*Ep*. 10.41) suggests, and epigraphic evidence from outside of Anatolia attests to the export of not only material from Bithynia but also skill, with stone-cutters from Nikomedia in Italy and North Africa (Leptis Magna).[112] Other exceptions include Kinna, where all of the figured stelai are limestone, either white or grey, and Kerpiç, where white marble predominates. The types of marble, while often high-quality as in the case of Prokonnesian

[112] Marek 2016, 407-408.

material, do not include some of the highest-quality stone employed for some other funerary monument-types during the Roman period, such as Dokimeion marble for some sarcophagi.

3.3.1 Quarries

No analysis of material for stelai would be complete without some consideration of sources of these materials, particularly quarry distribution in relation to the case-study settlements and the accessibility of quarries. This is the background against which analysis and further discussions of stele-production, use, and patterns of regional distribution must take place. This discussion is based upon numerous detailed studies of quarrying both in specific areas of Anatolia as well as more broadly in the Roman world, and upon the work of Ben Russell on the Roman stone trade.[113] Nearly 800 quarries with evidence of Roman-period activity have been documented around the Mediterranean, stored in the online database on the Oxford Roman Economy Project website.[114] Eighty sites from this dataset with evidence of Roman-period quarrying activity have been recorded for Anatolia, and these have been presented in **Figure 4**, condensed from the online database. Although not an exhaustive study, these sites offer a framework for analysis of quarry-distribution and accessibility between source and market, the case-studies.

Examination of **Figure 4** indicates a concentration of quarry sites in Bithynia-Pontus, along the western coast of Asia Minor, and in Phrygia, particularly the Tembris Valley. Two aspects of the location of quarries in the landscape are quickly apparent. First, the majority of quarries are situated on the coast or a navigable river, or on major arterial land roads. Most of the quarries represented on the map here are situated within 25km of the coast or a navigable river, and many, particularly in Bithynia-Pontus and on the western coast, are located less than 5km, a distribution in part reflecting transport requirements.[115]

Second, correspondence between the distribution of quarries and that of urban centres is obvious with the concentration of quarrying activity in Bithynia-Pontus and the coastal area, two of the most urbanized areas of Anatolia. Of those quarries not located within 25km of water

[113] Russell 2013.
[114] This database can be accessed at http://oxrep.classics.ox.ac.uk/databases/stone_quarries_database/.
[115] Asgari 1979; Russell 2013, 78-80.

transport, the majority were in close proximity to urban centres. These centres and settlements arguably served as the primary market for most quarries, particularly those not operating under imperial administration. Russell has demonstrated that the majority of quarries operated under a complex and temporally variable system of organization and administration, with relatively few quarries under imperial control.[116] The predominance among figured stelai of white and gray marble varieties, as well as limestone, types of lesser value relative to decorative coloured marbles, indicates both availability and preference. The vast majority of quarries in Anatolia were under private or municipal ownership prior to but also during the Roman period.[117]

Accepting these ownership-patterns, the distribution of quarries near urban centres and postulations about the primary markets of these quarries gain strength. Inhabitants of urban centres or other settlements depended for the most part on locally quarried stone, probably up to 20-30km distant.[118] This reliance for material resources, as well as any economic benefit, of urban centres on local quarries may be tied to local settlement patterns as well as the concentration of quarries in urbanized areas, such as the smaller-scale quarries which supplied local *poleis* and settlements in Bithynia and along the western coast of Asia Minor (**Figure 4**).[119] Evidence for this may be found at Ephesos and Aphrodisias. Over forty known quarries were

[116] Russell 2013, 38-40. These include Dokimeion and Aizanoi. Inscriptions from Dokimeion attest to an imperial freedman and *procurator* involved at the site in AD 194 (Dubois 1908, 90 no. 199-200; Christol and Drew-Bear 1991, 120-121; Christol and Drew-Bear 2005, 191, 196-197; Russell 2013, 43-44), as well as *rationarii* (Hirschfeld 1905, 166; Dubois 1908, 39-45; Fant 1989, 17-48; Kraus 1993, 56-64; Hirt 2010, 293-301; Pensabene 2010, 95-104; Russell 2013, 45-49). For Aezanoi, an inscription (*CIL* III.356=14191, *IGRR* IV.571) attests to one Hesperus and his colleagues who were probably *procuratores Phrygiae*, tasked with charge of imperial property including the quarries in Phrygia (Christol and Drew-Bear 2005, 196-200; Russell 2013, 43-44). Similarly, an inscription discovered in Kaimaz (Phrygia) lists the final position of one M. Aurelius Marcio as *procurator provinciae Phrygiae*, noting that he used to be *procurator marmorum* (*CIL* III.348=ILS 1477; Christol and Drew-Bear 2005, 204-205; Hirt 2010, 113-114). The quarries at Prokonnesos did not come under imperial control until Late Antiquity (Hirt 2010, 370-445).

[117] Lambraki 1978, 33-34; Dworakowska 1982, 26-31; Russell 2013, 53-62. Textual evidence also supports this, with Ulpian detailing the laws related to quarrying rights, namely that the rights of ownership to stone resources belonged to the owner of the land (*Digest* 8.4.13.1). Varro attests to the financial profitability of quarries (*Res rusticae* 1.2.22-23). For Aphrodisias, *CIL* 2782 may refer to a workshop or an estate (Macro 1979; Reynolds 1996, 122; Thonemann 2011, 227-235; Russell 2013, 54). For the Kyzikene ownership of Prokonnesos quarries, *IMT Kyz Prop Inseln* 1319, 1335-1336, perhaps 1337-1339 and 1344 (Aelius Aristides *Orations* 127.15-17; Asgari 1979, 470; Walker 1985, 29; Petsalis-Diomidis 2008, 133-134). Pausanias discusses the absorption of Prokonnesos by Kyzikos in the fourth century BC (8.46.4). The presence of Latin names in some of the Roman Imperial-period inscriptions from the quarries documented by Asgari and Drew-Bear 2002 may indicate some of the stone was produced under imperial supervision, or simply that Latin-speaking labor was present.

[118] Russell 2013, 65-69.

[119] A similar pattern appears across Greece and the Aegean (Russell 2013, 68-70).

active in the territory of Ephesos during the Roman period, supplying the *polis* with white and gray marble in vast quantities estimated at between 550,000-660,000m^3.[120] Although a smaller settlement, Aphrodisias offered a substantial market for its range of quarries, including the "City Quarries," but demand led to the opening of additional quarries.[121] Other instances of quarries supplying local markets may be found in Galatia,[122] as well as in Phrygia at Uşak and the Tembris Valley,[123] and Pisidia.[124]

The distribution of quarries suggests that the majority of cities in most of western Anatolia had ready access to sources of valuable stone, namely white or gray marble, within their territories, sources also available to smaller settlements and estates within these territories for a wide range of projects and uses, including stelai. In regions such as Phrygia, there is a visible juxtaposition of the *pavonazzetto* quarries (Dokimeion, Altıntaş, and Çakıras[125]) with the more numerous white-marble quarries exploited by local centres for large blocks for the production of grave stones, such as stelai, as well as sarcophagi and statuary.[126]

The western coast of Anatolia as well as parts of Bithynia feature quarry sites with evidence of near-continuous activity from the Classical and Hellenistic periods through to the Roman period, such as at Ephesos, Miletos, and Sardis.[127] For the Roman period, evidence points to intensification of quarrying, particularly at those quarries supplying white marble, for example Prokonnesos where extraction reached a peak in the Roman Imperial period.[128] The proliferation of white-marble types – the most prolific types in western Asia Minor – among the case-study stelai highlights the use of locally quarried stone for monuments, particularly outside of the public architectural arena. Similarly, the opening of quarries in the Tembris Valley, while

[120] Alzinger 1966-1967, 61-63; Atalay 1976-1977, 59-60; Monna and Pensabene 1977, 127-131; Vetters 1990, 2067-2072; Attanasio 2003, 173-176; Yanuz, Bruno, and Attanasio 2011; Attanasio *et al.* 2012; Prochaska and Grillo 2012). For the estimation of output from the Ephesos quarries, see Long 2012, 183.
[121] Ponti 1996; Rockwell 1996; Long 2012, 169-176; Russell 2013, 73-74; Russell 2016, 255-267.
[122] Waelkens 1982, 39-40; Waelkens, de Paepe, and Moens 1986.
[123] Pralong 1980, 251-262; Asgari 1981; Waelkens 1982, 38-39.
[124] Degryse *et al.* 2009.
[125] The latter two were probably opened to ease the demand pressure on Dokimeion, part of the upsurge in demand and newly-opened supply quarries targeting decorative stone (Röder 1971, 254-255; Waelkens, de Paepe, and Moens 1986, 114).
[126] Fant 1985, 656-658 (Quarry VI near Bacakale); Rockwell 1993, 28; Russell 2013, 89-90.
[127] Russell 2013, 82-84.
[128] Bruno et al. 2002; Attanasio, Brilli, and Bruno 2008.

operating under largely imperial organization, spurred production of some monument-types for local and regional consumption, such as door-stelai. Increased quarry output and material availability during the Roman period impacted not only demand but also the extent of socio-economic groups using monuments, and potentially the affordability of some monuments, although the last is difficult to quantify.

3.3.2 Considerations of cost

Although necessary for considering the monument-buying socio-economic levels in Anatolia, the nature and limitations of the surviving evidence preclude precise quantification of the economics of commemoration. Material resources form the background for this question. Little surviving epigraphic evidence from Anatolia provides the cost of a tomb or indeed of the burial rites, although epigraphic injunctions against tomb violation and the fines imposed may represent some correspondence with pecuniary tomb-value. Fines such as 130,000 *denarii*, 50,000 *denarii*, or 3,000 gold pieces suggest wealthy funerary complexes, while the most often set fine preserved from figured stelai, 2,500 *denarii*, appears to have been more or less standard in the Empire.[129] Among the case-study stelai, three preserve fines for tomb violations, the amounts varying between 1,000 to 3,000 *denarii/drachmas* (KYZIKOS **230** and **231**; GÖNEN **246**).[130] How closely these amounts relate to the original cost of the monument, distinct from other components of the burial or the amount as a symbolic or punitive sum, is unclear but probably indicate the relative scale of costs, from larger monuments down to smaller such as stelai.

Considerations of cost must take into account the price of material, if a standard cost ever existed, as well as labor for extraction, transport, and shaping, including carving the relief and the inscription. Furthermore, these monuments are not uniform in scale (3.2.1) but vary widely in size and level of detail. Estimating what proportions of overall cost these elements might represent proves unsatisfactory given the changeable combination of variables concerned, namely material-type, proximity of the source, transport depending on place of production and place of use, and factors such as levels of relief for imagery and framing, the number of relief fields, and the quality as well as length of the inscription.

[129] Strubbe 1997; Marek 2016, 458-459.
[130] Other stelai from Anatolia show similar sums, such as Şahin 1981, nos. 766 and 767 Pl. V (Kios).

Reconstructing the cost of material is intrinsically difficult. Diocletian's Price Edict (AD 301) provides prices for different types of marble but these are not based upon their source or hardness but rather their particular use, namely aesthetic as decorative paving or veneer.[131] The Price Edict, therefore, probably reflects prices not for monolithic pieces but for pre-cut/secondhand pieces used as aesthetic veneer, measured in square rather than cubic feet.[132] The valuing of stone material in the Price Edict is inherently misleading as a source for cost of raw material, dependent as this is on the location of the physical source, availability, patterns of demand, and the type of block required.[133]

Besides raw material, cost of a grave-stele would also include labor. Many studies have focused upon labor estimates in the Roman world,[134] typically in conjunction with the Price Edict, where figures of 0.5 *modius kastensis* of grain or fifty Diocletianic *denarii* were paid for a skilled laborer, and half this amount for an unskilled laborer.[135] These numbers have been used to estimate wages in the first century AD, a process requiring the conversion of Diocletianic *denarii* to first-century AD *denarii*. Barresi's conversions[136] propose totals of 0.5 and 0.25 *denarii*, or two and one *sesterces*, although other evidence suggests three *sesterces* were the daily wages for workers in Rome.[137] Using these numbers and estimated times of production[138] for a third-century AD undecorated limestone sarcophagus from Salona – known to have cost fifteen *solidi*, equivalent to 15,000 Diocletianic *denarii* or about 150 late first-century AD *denarii* – produces a cost of between 100-165 *sesterces* for labor.[139] The Salona sarcophagus of course is

[131] Russell 2013, 33-34 Table 2.5.
[132] Barker 2011; Russell 2013, 34-35.
[133] Russell 2013, 35-36.
[134] DeLaine 1997; 2001; Barresi 2002; 2003, 163-188; Mar and Pensabene 2010. These studies have used the nineteenth-century building and labor manuals of Pegoretti and others, with labor measured in man hours, before turning the Price Edict for costs.
[135] Crawford and Reynolds 1979.
[136] Barresi suggests dividing the Diocletianic *denarii* amount by 100 to get the totals for the late first century AD (Barresi 2003, 168).
[137] Crawford and Reynolds 1979.
[138] These are based upon Pegoratti's figures, from which Russell estimates between 50-55 days to quarry (20 days), hollow out (25), and shape the chest and lid of the sarcophagus (5-10) (Pegoretti 1843-1844; Russell 2013, 33).
[139] Eph. Ep. IV.653; for the value of the *solidus*, see Corcoran 2000, 226. A monument of similar scale, discovered in 1982 near Sant' Agnata in Puglia, also cost 150 *denarii*, but differences in dating complicate a comparison (Russell 2013, 30-31). Russell calculates 33.3hours/m^3 for one skilled and two unskilled laborers to quarry the block, 176 hours/m^3 to hollow out the chest, and 10.5 hours/m^3 to flatten the sides (Pegoretti 1843-1844, 97, 297; Russell 2013, 33 n.139).

undecorated limestone, meaning that the labor for a more ornate sarcophagus in a harder marble would have been higher. For an Attic sarcophagus with a *kline* lid, for example, Wiegartz has suggested approximately 1,000-1,200 man-days, so that a customer might expect to need to set aside 2,000-3,600 *sesterces*.[140] These numbers, however, do not include a profit,[141] and the cost of raw material varied considerably.

The question of prefabricated stelai should also be addressed. In her work on iconography on stelai and workshops, Cremer argued for the standardization of imagery in the late Hellenistic and early Roman period being evidence of the prefabrication of stelai, suggesting that stelai with banquet scenes from the Kyzikos workshop were pre-carved, then personalized with additional scenes upon purchase.[142] Work such as Russell's has demonstrated in relation to the sarcophagus trade specifically that while some degree of production-to-stock might have occurred, as well as initial "roughing-out" of objects and some relief decoration at quarries, caution should be exercised in seeing standardization in form or iconography as evidence of prefabrication.[143] Stelai, smaller in scale and less costly than sarcophagi, may have represented less of an economic risk for workshops if produced to stock, and depictions such as banquets in Kyzikos for example share the same schema and appear "standardized," yet even here variation remains and prefabrication should not be seen as necessary.

Evidence from elsewhere in the Empire, particularly Italy and certain areas of North Africa, have yielded some estimations of tomb-cost in these areas.[144] This evidence indicates that tomb and burial expenditure, calculated as a percentage of salary, was highest among the upper socio-economic levels. For example, those individuals represented by the evidence from Italy include a senator (HS10,000), municipal magistrates (ranging between HS10,000 and HS4,000), freedmen (ranging between HS100,000 and HS3,000), higher level military ranks (HS100,000 for holders of *tres militiae*, and between HS50,000 and HS10,000 for *primipili*), and

[140] Wiegartz 1974, 364-366; Koch 1993, 110. Similar estimates have been suggested for limestone sarcophagi from Hierapolis (Ahrens 2017), namely 5-7 weeks of labour or 200-280 hours, perhaps 154-231 *denarii*, which might have cost a second-century AD Egyptian quarry worker thirteen to nineteen months wages, or an average Egyptian civilian 25.7-28.5 months wages (Ahrens 2017, 133-135).
[141] Russell 2013, 34.
[142] Cremer 1991, 70-81.
[143] Russell 2011, 119-121; Russell 2013, 256-257, 294. Cf. Stewart 2008, 3.
[144] Duncan-Jones 1980, 79-80, 127-131.

a *scriba aedilis curulis* (HS15,000).[145] A municipal benefactor in Italy spent HS100,000 on a family tomb.[146] For stelai in North Africa, prices range between HS96 to HS5,000.[147] In North Africa where those represented are mainly veterans, the highest in rank being former centurions, the comparison of earnings with tomb expenditure indicates that the latter was not necessarily equitable to rank, in that higher ranking officers, presumably with higher pay, might spend less on their funerary monuments than those of a lower rank.[148]

The applicability of this North African evidence for reconstructing the cost of figured stelai in Asia Minor is limited, the tomb-types to which these numbers and costs refer in North Africa varying in type, scale, material used, and level of decoration. These numbers do not provide a direct correlation usable for figured stelai in Anatolia, yet as estimations do represent surviving comparable evidence for known costs of funerary monuments and indicate the wide range of expense but also what may represent a more "average" cost incurred by mid-range socio-economic levels. Evidence from North Africa further suggests that the display of wealth and social standing, *substantia et dignitas* (*Digest* 35.1.27) depended on the personal preferences or priorities of the individual as well as financial facility. Simplicity of funerary monuments, and indeed of tomb-markers such as stelai, should not therefore be interpreted as an indication of absence of wealth, although these burials were beyond the financial reach of the lowest socio-economic levels. The estimations of cost indicate that while monuments like sarcophagi and stelai were not cheap, it is not inconceivable that even lower-income families or individuals wanting this monument might be able to save enough over a year to afford one, particularly in locations in proximity to quarries.[149]

Monument-buying groups represented not only aristocratic elite but also individuals from less distinguished origins not members of traditional ruling or aristocratic families. During the Roman period, there is evidence for the growth in the latter mid-range groups, whose wealth allowed them to attain positions on municipal councils (Pliny *Ep*. 10.112-113; Dio Chry. *Or*.

[145] Duncan-Jones 1980, 129.
[146] Duncan-Jones 1980, 129.
[147] Duncan-Jones 1962, 90-91.
[148] Duncan-Jones 1980, 79.
[149] As Ahrens has shown for Hierapolis sarcophagi (Ahrens 2017, 133-136).

40.14, and 45.7-8).[150] Some of these mid-level economic groups funded more expensive funerary monuments, such as that of Aurelia Demetria Botiane at Perge,[151] while others selected other forms of commemorative monuments, including figured stelai. Supporting evidence for the growth of mid-level socio-economic levels includes epigraphic evidence from sarcophagi for individuals made citizens of the Empire by the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in AD 212, as aristocratic elite of the provinces were more likely to have been granted citizenship prior to this edict.[152]

Conclusion

Scale, forms, and manner of execution are clearly variable for figured stelai from the case-study sites, often between and sometimes within sites, and these elements indicate both regional diversity and continuity. Variations may stem from both consumer demand, based upon highlighting desired functions – as in the case of *naiskos*-altars – as well as workshop production. The evidence for identifiable workshops active in the case-study sites or indeed elsewhere for stelai is limited. It seems probable that while these workshops, like those known for sarcophagi, operated in urban centres and in some cases may have been attached to quarries, the extent of their influence on the types of forms and iconography employed on stelai should not be considered greater than the demands of consumers.

Analysis of the marble and stone materials used for stelai in the case-study sites suggests a predominance of locally quarried material, particularly white marble, and local centres and populations as the primary markets for locally quarried stone. During the Imperial period, the increased exploitation of marble and stone resources was a result of a surge in construction and monumentalization of the urban environment, and growing urbanization, as well as broader demand patterns. This intensification of quarry output made stone materials more readily available and for some regions more so than in previous centuries.

[150] Garnsey 1971; Eck 1999; Salmeri 2000; Zuiderhoek 2008; Fernoux 2011; van Nijf 2011; van der Vliet 2011; Salmeri 2011; Zuiderhoek 2011; Dalaison 2014; Zuiderhoek 2014; Heller 2015; van Nijf 2015.
[151] Cormack 1997, 146.
[152] Smith 2008, 347-394; Öğüş 2010.

The economics of commemoration for stelai defy quantification given the dearth of specific cost evidence as well as the multitude of factors in antiquity affecting cost. Drawing conclusions about cost presents misleadingly satisfactory answers to these questions. Factors such as more readily available marble, use of more white-marble types rather than costlier stones, and predominately local rather than for-export production of stelai would have impacted the overall cost of these monuments and based upon comparison with proposed costs of monuments elsewhere, would have helped to make figured stelai more affordable for expanding mid-range socio-economic levels. Evidence does suggest that the commissioners of this commemorative monument-type were members of what may be envisioned as mid-level socio-economic groups to the upper echelons of the population, taking advantage of readily available stone resources. With the rise of non-elite levels made wealthy through business and trade under Rome, more individuals and families would be able to take part in a monument-culture, becoming a major group in the 'demand' side of a supply-demand process.[153]

[153] Smith 2008, 393-394; Kelp 2013, 84-85; Masséglia 2013, 95.

CHAPTER 4

BITHYNIA-PONTUS: NIKAIA, NIKOMEDIA, PRUSA AD OLYMPUM, KESTAL, AND PAMUKOVA/GEYVE

The sites of Nikaia, Nikomedia, Prusa ad Olympum, Kestal, and Pamukova/Geyve from the double province of Bithynia-Pontus as case-studies offer extensive material for a consideration of figured-stele use during the Roman period, from provincial centres (Nikomedia and Nikaia) to more rural sites (Kestal and Pamukova/Geyve). Two criteria underlie the selection of these sites for analysis, namely the number of surviving stele-monuments and the situation of these sites in the administrative hierarchy of the province. Nikaia and Nikomedia are both candidates for the provincial capital, while Prusa features the highest number of surviving provenanced figured stelai of urban centres with evidence for this monument-type, and finally Kestal and Pamukova/Geyve represent rural settlements with three or more provenanced figured stelai. Kestal is considered in addition to Pamukova/Geyve given the unusually high number of figured stelai found at this site. The focus on sites falling within the region of Bithynia rather than those in Pontus is due to the distribution of finds, sites in Bithynia preserving a higher number of known figured stelai than those in Pontus.

In terms of publication history, the iconography of stelai has been considered in catalogues such as Pfuhl and Möbius (1977/1979), although this corpus does not present the material in any sort of geographical organization. Bithynian stelai have also been included in examinations of specific funerary motifs in the Greek east, such as by Thönges-Stringarius (1965) and Dentzer (1982). Epigraphic surveys have provided the main body of published evidence, including Dörner (1941) as well as the *Tituli Asiae Minoris IV*, Şahin (1974, 1979, 1981, 1982, and 1978), Schwertheim (1980), and Corsten (1985, 1987, 1991, and 1993). This compartmentalized approach to investigations of stelai, looking at iconographic and epigraphic evidence separately, has marked much of the research conducted thus far on stelai not only in Bithynia-Pontus but across most of Anatolia. Cremer (1991/1992) has looked at Hellenistic and

Roman regional centres of stele-production in Bithynia through both iconographic and epigraphic characteristics, representing a more integrated analysis than the traditional approach.

4.1 Regional History

The history of the region of northwest Asia Minor and the coast of the Black Sea during the Hellenistic period was marked by internal and interregional conflict before becoming a Roman double province, and later under Diocletian just Bithynia. In 74 BC, with the death of Nikomedes IV, the Kingdom of Bithynia was left to Rome and made a province.[154] Following the retreat of Mithradates VI, under the *lex Manilia* Pontus too was formed into a province under Pompey, and with the *lex Pompeia* in 63/2 BC the internal administration of the artificial province of *Bithynia et Pontus* was established.

Bithynia-Pontus, together with the territory of province of *Asia*, represented one of the more urbanized regions of pre-Roman Anatolia. Bithynia had twelve *poleis*, founded during the Hellenistic period, with the Roman provincial capital at either Nikaia or Nikomedia, while Pontus had six *poleis*.[155] Both Nikomedia and Nikaia were *metropoleis* for Bithynia, as Herakleia Pontike was for Pontus.[156] Other *poleis* constituted the pre-Roman autonomous urban structures in this landscape.[157] Within the territory of each *polis*, there existed a complex organization of settlement-types and groups, including villages and private estates.[158] The exact nature of these designations, and indeed of their integration within the territory and relation with the *polis* remains a complex and oft-discussed point.[159] Within the administrative and legal hierarchy in the province, villages constituted the most basic unit, with evidence from Nikaia and Nikomedia indicating the inhabitants of several villages formed *dikomia* ("two-villages") and *trikomia* ("three-villages").[160] Estates owned by local aristocratic elite from the *poleis* as well as

[154] Merkelbach 1987, 7-11; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 15, 28; Marek 2016, 281.
[155] Marek 2003, 44-47, 63; Marek 2016, 414.
[156] Robert 1977, 1-39; Mitchell 1993, 204-206; Marek 2003, 63-74; Marek 2016, 420-421.
[157] Magie 1950, 53-118; Mitchell 1984, 120-133; Mitchell 1993, 80-81; Eck 1999, 1-18; Mitchell 1999, 30-33; Salmeri 2000, 53-92; Salmeri 2011, 197-214.
[158] Magie 1950; Marek 2003, 74-90; Marek 2016, 448-449.
[159] Marek 2003, 74-83; Marek 2016, 449-452.
[160] Marek 2003, 75; Marek 2016, 451.

landowners from further afield also constituted part of the rural landscape. Nikaia, for example, profited during the Imperial period from the agricultural produce of its civic territory and rural villages.[161] Estate owners constituted a significant part of this system, Roman-period inscriptions suggesting the territory of Nikaia was subdivided into a patchwork of estates under the ownership of different landholders, particularly in the eastern area of the *polis* territory such as around Geyve and Pamukova.[162] Epigraphic evidence preserves the names of a variety of slave or freedman agents attached to estates.[163] Recorded estate owners include several female land-holders such as Claudia Gallitte, and members of the *gens Hostilia* who owned land around Geyve in the AD 60s.[164]

The highest-ranking settlement-types were the provincial administrative centres, which may not conform to a modern concept of a 'capital' but acted as seats of provincial government and Roman administration of the province. For Bithynia-Pontus two *poleis* remain candidates for this role, namely Nikomedia and Nikaia, both of which were "first city in Bithynia" over the course of their histories.[165] Nikomedia (modern Izmit) is located at the northeast end of the Bay of Astacus, Nikaia (modern Iznik) on the east bank of Lacus Ascanius to the south (**Figures 1** and **8**). Both *poleis* were located along active trade routes and benefited from their proximity to major waterways[166] and road networks (**Figure 5**), and played active roles in regional dynamics.

Nikomedia, founded by Nikomedes II in ca. 264/3 BC as capital of the Bithynian kingdom, during the Roman period was elevated to a *metropolis*, a title which it held alone in the province until the reign of Hadrian.[167] Throughout the Roman period, when monumentalization of an urban landscape together with titular honours and privileges, rather than political

[161] Merkelbach 1987; Mitchell 1993, 160; Şahin 2003, 3.
[162] Jones 1978, 162; Mitchell 1984, 128. For Nikaia's territory and estates, see Şahin 1979-1982, I.192, 196, 205, II.701, 725, 750, 755, 767, 1057, 1061-1062, 1118, 1128, 1130-1131, 1150, 1161, 1201, and 1203.
[163] Şahin 1979, nos. 192 and 205.
[164] Şahin 1982, no. 1161; Robert and Robert 1978, 375-377.
[165] Strabo 12.4.7. In his discourse with Trajan, Pliny alludes to Nikomedia more frequently than Nikaia, including in relation to the former's situation in the landscape and resources (10.41), the Roman garrison present (10.74), and gladiators being criminals (10.31).
[166] The prolific imagery of ships, for example, on Nikomedian coinage attests to the significance of shipping and trade to the polis (e.g., RGMG 1.3 Nikomedia 33 [Domitian], 74-75 [Antoninus Pius], 138 [Commodus], 387 [Philip]; Price and Trell 1977, 213-215).
[167] Cass. Dio 51.20.6-9; Suet. *Aug*. 52; Marek 2016, 421.

autonomy, became the sphere for competition between *poleis*, Nikomedia was embroiled in a rivalry for prestige and titles with its southern neighbor (Dio Chrys. 38-39).[168] Nikaia, perhaps originally founded by Antigonus, then re-founded by Lysimachus as Nikaia probably in 301 BC,[169] occupied the border region between the kingdom of Bithynia and Phrygia. The city was made a *metropolis* under Hadrian who also awarded one of its neokorates.[170]

Both cities remained major centres into Late Antiquity and the early Byzantine periods, with Nikomedia elevated to a Tetrarchic capital under Diocletian. In AD 258 Nikaia was sacked by the Goths, an event which precipitated the extension of its defense walls, originally 2,960m in length, to 4,970m.[171]

Both cities, as with much of Anatolia, were plagued by earthquakes, for example in AD 120, 358, and 554.[172] The significance of both Nikomedia and Nikaia lay primarily in their locations. Major roads leading south and east began at Nikomedia, and the city also had an excellent harbor.[173] Pliny the Younger records a Roman garrison at the city (*Ep*. 10,74), and the transit of commodities through the city.[174] The territory of Nikomedia extended east to the lower Sangarius River, west to the border of Kalchedon, and south to Nikaia.[175] Nikaia's territory was expanded both under Pompey in 63 BC with the creation of the double province and again in the Augustan period to incorporate the region from the middle course of the Sangarius to Iuliopolis to the border of the newly created *provincia* of Galatia.[176]

[168] Robert 1977b, 1-39; Merkelbach 1987, 12-13; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 47-48.
[169] Strabo 12.4.7; Şahin 2003, 3, 6.
[170] On *neokoroi*, see Burrell 2004. *Poleis* expressed their elevation in status with the addition of the predicate *neokoros* ("temple guardian") to their official name, including the number of provincial temples. The predicate *metropolis* could only be used with imperial permission (Bowersock 1985, 75-88; Marek 2016, 420).
[171] Schneider and Karnapp 1938; Şahin 2003, 3-4; Peschlow 2017, 206-207.
[172] Marek 2003, 126-128; Marek 2016, 461
[173] Marek 2003, 166-167.
[174] Pliny Ep. 10.41: "Bordering upon the territories of the city of Nicomedia is a most extensive lake; over which marbles, fruits, woods, and all kinds of materials, the commodities of the country, are brought over in boats up to the highroad, at little trouble and expense, but from thence are conveyed in carriages to the seaside, at a much greater charge and with great labour."
[175] Marek 2003, 94-96.
[176] Magie 1950, 302-320, 369-372; Şahin 1978, 2-28; Mitchell, 1984, 128; Mitchell 1993, 160.

Prusa ad Olympum,[177] modern Bursa, is located on the northwestern slopes of Mt. Uludağ (ancient Mysian Olympus or Bithynian Olympus), bordered to the north by the Sea of Marmara and Pylai/Yalova (**Figure 8**).[178] According to Pliny the Elder (*HN* 5.148), the city was founded by Prusias I, king of Bithynia (ca. 230-182 BC), in 188 or 187 BC, a foundation commemorated on the city's coinage.[179] Part of the Roman province of Bithynia from 74 BC onwards, under the *lex Pompeia* in 63/2 BC Prusa became one of the twelve autonomous urban communities of the province. The city achieved *conventus* status during in the first or second centuries AD (Dio Chrys. *Or*. 40, 44-45, and 47). In AD 257 the city was among those which suffered in the Goth invasion.[180] From the time of its foundation, Prusa was a primary urban centre on the fertile plain, with products such as olives, wine, fruit, grain, and timber, bordered by the territories of Nikaia, Kios, and Myrlea, as well as *Asia* to the south.[181] Dio Chrysostom (*Or*. 45) records that many citizens resided on the plain outside of the city during his lifetime, first and second centuries AD. Together with Nikomedia and Nikaia, Prusa commanded the major highways between Europe into Asia Minor and the Levant.

The site of Kestal (the name of a mountain in a valley) is situated twelve kilometres northeast of Bursa and was probably within the original territory of the *polis* of Prusa. The nature of its settlement in the Roman period remains uncertain, and to my knowledge no excavation has occurred on the site. Pamukova and Geyve are two modern Turkish villages located thirty-nine and fifty kilometres respectively east of Iznik. Stele-finds between the two villages suggest the presence of a rural settlement here in antiquity, probably in the territory of Nikaia, although as with Kestal, the type and extent of the settlement is unknown. The area in antiquity featured multiple rural settlements as well as estates but the evidence for these remains limited to epigraphic finds, mainly funerary in nature.

[177] Προῦσα or Προῦσα πρὸς Ὀλύμπῳ τῷ ὄρει in Greek (Hierokles *Synekdemos* 692, 5; Claudius Ptolemaeus *Geographia* V 1; Appian *Mithridates* 77; cf. Strabo *Geographica* 12.4.3).
[178] Corsten 1993, 9-11.
[179] Corsten 1996, no. 210-213.
[180] Zosimos *Historia* I.35.2; Corsten 1993, 50-51.
[181] Jones 1978; Corsten 1993, 9-12, 17-22; Cohen 1995, 403-404; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 24-25.

4.1.1 Case-study necropoleis

None of the case-study necropoleis in Bithynia-Pontus have been systematically excavated. Three necropoleis are known at Nikaia, the largest located northwest of the ancient city, in modern Elbeyli, where the funerary obelisk of C. Cassius Philiskos stands, and another situated to the east, outside of the Lefke Gate, where the sarcophagus of C. Cassius Chrestos was discovered.[182] A third, west of the city, is now under the modern water-level of the lake.[183] For Nikomedia, two necropoleis are known, one in the eastern and one in the western regions of the ancient city, in addition to three tumuli along the road north to Byzantion.[184] Funerary elements recovered include a chamber tomb in the eastern necropolis containing two sarcophagi, one decorated with a relief of a ship and rowers.[185] The location of the necropoleis in Prusa remains unknown. A collection of silver toiletry vessels from what apparently was a single tomb near Bursa were procured by the British Museum in 1913, but further details as to the find-context remain elusive.[186] Similarly, little is known about the necropoleis for Kestal and Pamukova/Geyve beyond the evidence of funerary monuments and other inscriptions.

Among the individuals buried in the Bithynia-Pontus case-study necropoleis, members of the highest socio-economic level are most obvious with more ostentatious monuments like the obelisk tomb of C. Cassius Philiskos[187] or the sarcophagus of C. Cassius Chrestos. Other monuments represent more diverse mid-range socio-economic levels, namely sarcophagi,[188] *ostothekai*,[189] grave *bomoi*, and stelai. Monuments more common to Bithynia include a funerary altar-type with large architrave (**Figures 6-7**) found in Hasanpaşa Köyü (near Inegöl-Bursa) and dated to the second century AD, probably originally intended to bear a sarcophagus, set up for a

[182] Schneider 1943, 7 pl. 1.2; IK Nikaia no. 85 Pl. 9; Abbasoğlu and Delemen 2003, 189-197; Öğüş 2010, 392; Ermiş 2011; Peschlow 2017, 207-209.
[183] Peschlow 2017, 208.
[184] Dörner 1941, 17; Fernoux 2004, 526.
[185] Şahin and Sayer 1982, 45-47 nos. 2-3.
[186] Walters and Smith 1921, nos. 119-125. These objects include a distaff, a mirror, a pyxis, a bowl, a simpulum, a patera, and a spoon.
[187] Located in a modern orchard about five kilometers to the northwest of Nikaia, the marble monument (ca. AD 120) is a made up of a three-meter high base with a seven-meter high tri-face 'obelisk', with a surviving inscription identifying the monument as erected by "C. Cassius Philiskos, son of C. Cassius Asklepiodotos, having lived 83 years" (IK 9, no. 85).
[188] Such as a third-century AD garland sarcophagus (IK Prusa no. 163).
[189] Such as a first-century BC or AD example from Prusa with fruit, garlands, and bucrania (IK Prusa no. 126). Also Kubinska 1997.

mother and her son.[190] This type is known from elsewhere in Bithynia, particularly along the Sangarios river between Mekece and Geyve.[191] Marble bases with funerary inscriptions from the region may have served a similar function.[192]

4.2 Geographic Distribution

At least 163 provenanced figured stelai have been found in settlements and cities in Bithynia-Pontus, with larger concentrations in some urban centres as well as three or fewer finds in other – primarily rural – areas. A map of this distribution (**Figure 8** and **Table 3**) shows the concentration of sites with three or more stelai in the northwestern corner of the province, along the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara and the border with Mysia. Thus, more figured stelai survive from Bithynia compared with Pontus, where the majority of stelai are single finds or in three urban sites – as in Herakleia Pontike or Sinop – fewer than ten known per site, allowing for limited secure conclusions regarding stele iconography within these sites.

Only a cross-section of the body of surviving stelai will be considered. The iconography and inscriptions from the eighty-eight figured stelai (BITHYNIA-PONTUS **1-88**) from the sites of Nikomedia (ten) and Nikaia (ten), provincial administrative centres, as well as Prusa (fifty-five), and rural sites, Kestal (ten) and Pamukova/Geyve (three), are presented here, focusing upon trends in use but more particularly upon those characteristics which distinguish these stelai from those in other provinces. These are not the only sites with provenanced figured stelai but represent the higher number for an urban centre (Prusa) as well as for rural sites (Kestal and Pamukova/Geyve). In comparison with the remainder of the known 163 provenanced figured stelai from Bithynia-Pontus, the eighty-eight examined here form a representative sample in terms of iconography, epigraphic components, and chronology.

[190] Akyürek Şahin and Onur 2010, no. 8 (fig.). For other examples, see Durugönul and Şahin 1993, 55-60 Pl. 6-7.
[191] IK Nikaia II.2 no. 1231; IK Nikaia II.1 no. 21; Şahin 1986, 132; Şahin 2005, 81-83; Coulton 2005, 137 fig. 11 and 139 fig. 13.
[192] IK Nikaia nos. 1291, 1296, 1313-1314, 1318-1319.

The secondary movement of stelai within the landscape, and the impact of this movement on conclusions regarding stele-distribution, must also be acknowledged. Stelai both in antiquity and the modern period have been transferred from their original use-contexts to secondary or more contexts. Elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, as in the case of Demetrias, the secondary use of funerary stelai entailed transporting some 750 of these monuments from their original context, the southern necropolis of Demetrias, for reuse in the fortification towers.[193] In Anatolia, this type of movement of stelai, both in antiquity and in the modern period, cannot be excluded and has clear implications upon distribution numbers and patterns. Here, the later movement of stelai impacts rural numbers in particular, namely raising the question of how much higher the numbers for rural settlements originally might have been in the Roman period.

Two directions of movement for rural figured stelai are possible, from rural to urban sites or from ancient rural settlements to medieval or modern villages or farm communities. Tracking the movement of stelai is complicated both by the limited records of findspot circumstances or details and by the broad stylistic similarities among regional figured stelai, particularly in the absence of epigraphic evidence identifying origin. In addition, a certain amount of movement of stelai at the time of production cannot be excluded. There is no identifiable evidence for the organized movement of large numbers of stelai from rural locations to urban centres like Nikaia, Nikomedia, or Prusa, such as for the construction of city walls in the third century AD, although reused funerary components in the walls at Nikaia indicate the use of material from the urban necropoleis, not unlike at Aphrodisias.[194] Smaller scale or private movement of stelai cannot be excluded.

Considering figured stelai from rural sites in Bithynia-Pontus, out-numbering urban sites, the distribution numbers show remarkable consistency, namely the majority of rural sites feature four or fewer figured stelai. Kestal, with its ten figured stelai, is the exception. The stele-numbers for rural settlements in antiquity may not have been widely different, and at least large-scale pillaging of rural necropoleis for urban use was perhaps not a prominent occurrence. Of

[193] Helly 1992, 349-365; Helly 2012-2013, 179-214; Stamatopoulou 2016, 405-479.
[194] De Staebler 2008, 283-318; Hallet and Smith 2015, 149; Dalgıç and Sokolicek 2017, 270-272.

greater impact on rural settlements has been the reuse of funerary elements in later settlements, villages, or agricultural communities. Most of these secondary locations, however, are in close proximity to ancient rural settlements or private estates, known from surviving building fragments or foundations, ceramic deposits, and sometimes non-funerary inscriptions, suggesting that the movement of these elements for reuse did not cover great distances.

4.3 Iconography

The eighty-eight surviving Roman-period figured stelai from the five case-study settlements display several types of image motifs, as **Table 4** illustrates. The primary image-types are banquet scenes (fifty) and depictions of standing figures (twenty). Other less frequent types include seated and seated-standing figures, and some half-figure representations. Scenes or attributes associated with agriculture represent a common motif for this region. Depictions occur as single reliefs or in combinations of two or more.

Although banquet and standing scenes are the most ubiquitous iconographic types among the surviving evidence from these sites, these are not evenly distributed. Banquet scenes predominate at Prusa and Kestal, with thirty-five and eleven instances respectively, while only two survive from Nikaia, and only one from Nikomedia. Standing figures survive in a higher proportion relative to the total number of figured stelai from Nikomedia, with six out of ten showing standing figures, compared to eight of the fifty-two from Prusa. Greater diversity occurs among the image-types from the ten stelai from Nikaia, including single instances of seated, seated-standing, and half-figure depictions. Iconographic preferences may be proposed in cases such as Prusa, where a large number of stelai survive with a recorded provenance. The other sites have fewer numbers of monuments and any statistics based upon these are subject to chance finds and rates of survival, as well as levels of excavation.

The banquet and standing types adhere to standard schemas (section 3.2.3). Banquet scenes follow a basic formula, such as a small stele of grey marble from Prusa, dated to the third century AD (PRUSA **48**). A male figure with beard, wearing a *chiton* and *himation*, reclines on a lightly rendered *kline*, looking outward, his right knee bent. His left hand holds a cup, his right

raising a stylized wreath. At the left edge, looking right, a woman sits in a high curved-back chair with a footrest, her head veiled with her mantle which she pulls forward with her raised left hand. Her right hand holds an object. It has been argued that this is food from the tripod table in front of the *kline*. Another possible identification for the item may be a garland, one specifically for being held in the hand, or wool.[195] Left of the woman's chair is a full wool-basket. To the right of the table, and equal in height to it, is a mirror with a handle.

This scene displays the formulaic components of the banquet motif as it appears on other stelai from not only Prusa but other sites as well, in particular Kestal. These include the numbers of individuals involved, typically one man, reclining on the *kline*, and a veiled woman seated at the left. The man holds a wreath in his raised right hand, and what is probably a drinking vessel in his left, right knee lifted. The posture of the woman is also consistent, her left hand raised to her mantle, while holding an object in her right. Another formulaic feature is the tripod table, which may vary in its size, style of rendering, detail, and food or vessels on its surface, but is always placed in front of the man on the *kline*. The couch, similarly, may vary in rendering. Three representations from Prusa have a curved rest. In some of those banquet depictions from Prusa and Kestal, the woman's chair features the high curved-back, probably a feature of a local workshop (3.2).

Variations on the basic banquet schema occur. First, the man may raise an object other than a wreath in his right hand (PRUSA **51**). Second, as with the wool-basket and mirror in the scene above, other objects are often included in the scenes, as on a stele which incorporates a spear and elongated shield on the frame of the scene, and a small dog (PRUSA **33**). Another displays other associations of affluence, including a servant holding a mirror and a decorated chest (PRUSA **44**). A second relief-field on the same stele shows a servant leading a horse, and additional objects including a spindle-and-distaff, a shell-shaped jewelry case, and a wool-basket. A similar stele from Prusa is arranged much the same way, with a servant leading a horse below the banquet (PRUSA **45**). Two other Prusa examples feature horse-and-rider depictions with an attendant as a secondary relief, one with two facing pairs (PRUSA **29**, **48**).

[195] See Stamatopoulou and Draycott 2016.

Third, the number of figures involved increases, as on a second-century AD stele from Prusa featuring a second veiled woman seated on the far right, opposite and facing the first female figure. Her pose differs slightly from her counterpart, with both hands resting in her lap (PRUSA **36**; also PRUSA **21**, **48**). One or two small-scale servants, male and female, may accompany a banquet, typically placed at the edges of the frame (PRUSA **32**, **33**, **51**). In addition to multiple female figures, more than one man may occupy the *kline*, as on a fragment from a Prusa stele with two reclining men as well as two seated women (PRUSA **46**; also **48**). Multiple reclining banqueters also occur in the topmost relief fields of a first-century BC stele with three men (PRUSA **22**) and of an early Imperial rectangular stele which shows two reclining men (PRUSA **30**). The absence of a female figure on this stele further distinguishes it. In lieu of a female figure, to the right of the *kline* stands a side table below a torso of a frontal figure, the same table-type in a second Prusa banquet scene (PRUSA **28**), and on a second-century BC stele found in Hocaköy.[196] On the Roman-period stele, a male attendant stands in mourning, indicated by the gesture.[197]

Two additional scenes appear on this particular stele (PRUSA **30**). The middle field shows four standing frontal figures, two men at centre in mirroring poses flanked by two women with right arms at slightly different angles. The scene is book-ended by two female servants. The bottom-most scene shows a *prothesis*, one of only a few occurrences of this scene-type on Roman-period figured stelai with recorded provenance in this region (**Figure 9**).[198]

The banquet is often used in conjunction with other reliefs. A third-century AD stele combines the banquet with a secondary field depicting a mule with a frontal farmer carrying a basket, and at far right a pruning knife or *falx arboraria* (PRUSA **55**). Another, a late Imperial example, shows a man behind a plough below a banquet scene, holding a *kentron* above two oxen (PRUSA **53**). Multiple stelai from Prusa and Kestal (three and six respectively), combine

[196] IK Prusa no. 62, now in a private collection.
[197] Masséglia 2015, 196-199.
[198] One other, second century AD in date, was discovered in the territory of Prusa (IK Prusa no. 152), and another in the Bursa Archaeology Museum has unknown provenance (IK Prusa no. 1030; Bursa Archaeology Museum garden, inv. no. 3211).

these sorts of agricultural motifs, usually oxen and ploughs, with a banquet (PRUSA **40**, **53**, **55**, **68**; KESTAL **78**, **81**-**84**). Agricultural scenes occur only as secondary motifs among the stelai from these sites with two exceptions, a stele from Nikaia with a man at a plough, together with objects (NIKAIA **18**), and a second-century stele from Prusa showing a male figure holding a vine and a pruning knife (PRUSA **64**), perhaps an iconographic reference to his occupation not recorded in the inscription. Besides agricultural attributes, secondary fields also feature collections of objects (PRUSA **31**, **32**, **42**, **43**, **44**, **54**; KESTAL **77**, **84**).

Another example of a multi-relief stele is a tall (206 cm) Middle-Imperial stele from Prusa with three relief fields (PRUSA **63**). The middle is a banquet scene of the standard formula, the upper field depicting two male figures in typical frontal poses, and the lowermost replicating this but inserting between the two figures an inscribed stele with *akroteria*, its inscription referencing Moira (the Fates). Suspended behind the stele is a female figure with arms raised, hands above the heads of the young men. This figure has been identified as a personification of Moira in some publications, echoing the inscription.[199]

The topmost scene, with the frontal standing figures, epitomizes this scene-type. All figures in this type, including men, women, and children but excluding servants, stand frontal. The example above (PRUSA **30**) indicates that women also share a clothing-type, although their pose can differ slightly. Men share the same pose and clothing, namely a *himation* and *chiton*, such as a frontal bearded man whose hair suggests a second-century date in a standard pose (PRUSA **59**). The majority of stelai from Nikaia and Nikomedeia depict standing figures rather than banquet scenes. A Nikomedian example shows a male with an Antonine-period beard in an ungirded *chiton*, with his arms behind two small boys depicted as small adults in *himatia* (NIKOMEDIA **2**). Woman appear in either the *Pudicitia*- or Herculanean-type, as on three Nikomedian examples from the late first century BC, first and second centuries AD, respectively (NIKOMEDIA **3**, **4**, **8**).

[199] PM 347.

There are exceptions where the schema for standing figures was more individualized. The depiction of a vine-grower has already been noted (PRUSA **64**). Other examples include a third-century AD stele with a male figure within an arch-niche, wearing a short sleeveless tunic, holding in his right hand a *lagobolon* and in his left a twisting snake (KESTAL **85**). The imagery and attributes are familiar from sarcophagi with Dionysiac themes and motifs.[200] Two other examples, one second-century and the other third-century in date, depict soldiers with a shield and sword or lance but still in frontal poses (NIKOMEDIA **9**; NIKAIA **17**).

Half-figure and/or bust-forms survive in seven examples from the case-study sites: two from Prusa, two from the area of Pamukova/Geyve (PAMUKOVA/GEYVE **87** and **88**), and one each from Nikomedia and Nikaia. A third-century AD example from Nikomedia shows two busts, of a man and an unveiled woman (NIKOMEDIA **7**). The stele is fragmentary, with the relief broken at the bottom, but the remains of a *tabula* visible below the female figure identify this as a traditional bust form.[201] Two half-figure depictions survive from Prusa, such as a third-century female half-figure inside a wreath (PRUSA **74** and **75**).

Examples of "Stockwerkstelen" have featured in the discussion above, and the overall trends of these will now be presented. Twenty-five of the eighty-eight Bithynia-Pontus case-study stelai feature two or three relief fields, found in Prusa, Kestal, and Pamukova/Geyve, but with none surviving from Nikaia or Nikomedia. Of these twenty-five "Stockwerkstelen," the majority (twenty) have two relief fields, with only five stelai with three fields (PRUSA **28**, **30**, **41**, **63**; KESTAL **84**). The combinations of image-types vary, banquet scenes predominating as the topmost scene, with twenty-two instances from Prusa and Kestal.[202] Banquets combined with agricultural depictions, namely plough scenes and objects, are most common. Six banquet-plough combinations survive from Kestal (KESTAL **77-78**, **81-84**), including one with a third field of objects (KESTAL **84**), compared with three from Prusa (PRUSA **40**, **53**, **68**), while among the latter more banquet-objects survive, with six (PRUSA **31-32**, **42-44**, **54**). Four banquet scenes appear in conjunction with riders, all from Prusa (PRUSA **23**, **28-29**, **41**). Standing scenes may be

[200] Matz 1968-1975, Nos. 44, 54, 56, 162, 164, 171. At least one sarcophagus (Matz no. 56) shows the *lagobolon*.
[201] Toynbee 1953. Comparable to a stele originally in a private collection in Inegöl, showing a bust-form with objects (IK Prusa no. 178 with drawing). For the use of portrait busts on sarcophagi in Aphrodisias, see Smith 2008.
[202] PRUSA **21-23**, **28-32**, **40-44**, **53-55**; KESTAL **77-78**, **81-84**.

a secondary motif, as on two stelai from Prusa, or function as the primary relief, as on another stele from Prusa where the banquet motif is secondary (PRUSA **63**). One stele combines a seated depiction with a secondary plough scene (PRUSA **68**), and a half-figure appears with objects on a stele from Pamukova/Geyve (PAMUKOVA/GEYVE **87**).

Determining the timing for the inclusion of additional relief fields relies upon the placement of the additional fields but more so on the placement of the inscriptions. For example, some stelai feature two or more inscriptions placed apart on the stele-face and often separated by a relief field (PRUSA **21**, **22**, **28**, **29**). For one of these, the script of the second inscription differs from the first, suggesting a different carving-hand (PRUSA **28**). These four stelai may be evidence of additional relief fields and inscriptions added to the monuments at subsequent dates, although it cannot be discounted that the placement of inscriptions to relief fields was one of compositional preference from the initial phase rather than indicative of subsequent commemorations. Aside from the stele noted, there is no obvious difference in the style of the reliefs or inscriptions, so if a delay between caving the fields existed, it was probably relatively short. Alternatively, it is possible that preplanning for the monuments would have been such that the secondary reliefs were included from the outset, particularly if future or intended commemorations were anticipated. The majority of these multi-relief stelai have single inscriptions, with no sign that the relief fields were not paired from the initial stages of planning.

Furthermore, no clear correlation appears between the number of reliefs and the number of persons commemorated. The surviving inscriptions from eleven multi-relief monuments record single commemorations, the remainder indicating between two to five individuals commemorated. Of the latter, four are the same mentioned above with separate inscriptions, while the others are single inscriptions. Correlations between particular relief motifs and individual commemorations, based upon gender or age, are limited. Where inscriptions and names survive, more instances of plough depictions for commemorations of men or married couples occur, while collections of objects appear more on commemorations of women or, again, married couples. There are exceptions, such as the third-century AD stele for a man with objects, including a mirror, a comb, spindle-and-distaff, and a wool-basket, together with a plough and pruning knife (KESTAL **84**). Caution, therefore, should be exercised in attempting to

attribute specific iconographic motifs to particular gender groups. Only rider imagery on these stelai occurs consistently with commemorated men, including on a single memorial (PRUSA **23**), and where the secondary relief with two riders appears below the inscription in different script identifying the two deceased sons (PRUSA **28**; see also PRUSA **29**).

4.4 Inscriptions

Inscriptions from the case-study sites in Bithynia-Pontus follow a general formula, most commonly giving the name of the commissioner of the monument (if different from the deceased), the name of the deceased, perhaps his or her age at death, some form of *μνήμης χάριν*, and in some instances a final *χαῖρε*. Some inscriptions are longer, and some are epigrams (PRUSA **65**). The longest inscription from the Prusa figured stelai is an epigram for two brothers, Asklepiades, age 27, and Menekrates, age 21, sons of Apollonios (PRUSA **63**). This same stele bears an inscription referencing Moira's taking away the brothers on the miniature stele. A third-century stele from the Pamukova/Geyve area invokes the gods of the underworld to protect the tomb (PAMUKOVA/GEYVE **86**; also PRUSA **41**).

Limited personal information is provided for either the commissioner or the deceased in the epigraphic record. Name of dedicators are not always given, or the nature of their relationship with the deceased. Age is recorded, or only survives, on some monuments (fifty-seven of eighty-eight), but was not included consistently. The distribution of ages recorded is represented in **Table 5**.

Only a few inscriptions record a profession of the deceased. The Roman soldier Servandinus Avitus is clearly identified as a member of the 30th Legion (NIKOMEDIA **9**). Four stelai identify stewards (*oikonomoi*) of landowners, two from Nikaia (NIKAIA **18**, **20**). The other two, from Prusa, are commemorated on schematically similar stelai of the same second-century AD date and feature the same name for two different (seemingly unrelated) estate-managers, namely Hesperos (PRUSA **44** and **45**). The more elaborate stele is decorated with an ostentatious display of wealth, set up by the *oikonomos* Hesperos for his wife Soteris (PRUSA **44**). The inscription includes the length of time the couple lived together, in addition to Soteris' age at

death, and the number of children she bore. The second stele another Hesperos set up for his father Hesperos, the *threptos* and *oikonomos* of Cocceianus (PRUSA **45**). This is one of five known *threptoi* from Prusa, another of which is commemorated (PRUSA **27**), and one set up a stele (PRUSA **42**).[203]

Besides stewards, a woodcutter is commemorated by his wife with a stele from Prusa, a *falx arboraria* in a secondary field (PRUSA **55**; also **45**). Another commemorates Alexandros, a *lachanopoles*, probably the head of a local guild of greengrocers (NIKAIA **12**). Finally, a tutor is recorded on a stele commemorating the two sons of Thrason, namely Dexiphanos, age five, and Thrasonos, age four, together with their tutor, Hermes, age 25 (NIKOMEDIA **5**). This inscription states that the scene replicates the manner in which the three died during an earthquake, with the tutor – the larger-scale figure – in an ungirded *chiton* protecting his two *himatia*-wearing charges, an instance of recorded deliberate correlation between an otherwise more generic image-type and the personalizing epigraphic record.

More men are commemorated than women (seventy-one versus forty-nine respectively), and the majority of commemorations (fifty-one) are individual memorials. Seventeen are for two or more unmarried persons, and twelve commemorate married couples. Where two or more unmarried persons are commemorated, these usually are specified members of the family (PRUSA **30**), but in some cases the ties are not made clear (PRUSA **22**), and in others the commemorations were made at different times by different persons, and here again the connections or relationship between each is not recorded (KESTAL **77**, **80**).

Inscriptions from these sites do not always record or preserve the person(s) responsible for setting up a stele. Of those which do, these are closely related to the deceased, either spouses, parents, children, or siblings. For example, Aurelius Antipater, a soldier of the 4th Scythian Legion, set up a stele for his parents (NIKAIA **17**). One stele records a *threptos* (PRUSA **42**), an individual of free or slave legal status adopted or raised by someone other than their

[203] Two other *threptoi* are commemorated on non-figured stelai, one with objects from Prusa (IK Prusa no. 74), and the other probably from the territory of Prusa (IK Prusa no. 121).

biological parents (9.1.1).[204] Five stelai record that the deceased set up the monument either for themselves alone (NIKOMEDIA **1**; NIKAIA **12**; PRUSA **50**), or for themselves and a spouse (NIKOMEDIA **8**; PRUSA **33**). Those commissioning a stele were not always familial relations, as indicated by a stele from Kestal which identifies a group of persons, "fellow-initiates," who set up a monument for Rufus (KESTAL **85**). Other inscriptions name the stele-owner but do not specify the nature of their connection to the deceased (PRUSA **72**, **69**).

The names preserved in the epigraphic record of the case-study stelai show a mix of Greek, Roman, and broadly indigenous traditions. The majority of preserved names are Greek, such as Alexandros, Apollonidos, Apollonios, Asklepiades, Diogenes, Dionysios, Eutyches, Hesperos, Leukos, Menekrates, Sokrates, Sosthenos, and Telesphoros, and for women Eirene, Hedeia, and Stratonike, among others. Some names are identifiably indigenous, particularly Eia (NIKOMEDIA **8**; PRUSA **32**; PAMUKOVA/GEYVE **87**) which is common in Anatolia,[205] and probably Thracian in origin, as is Dintizila (PRUSA **28**), whereas Titha (PAMUKOVA/GEYVE **88**) is probably Phrygian. Other names are 'Roman' or contain Latin elements, such as M. Galillius Rufus (NIKOMEDIA **1**), Servindinus Avitus (NIKOMEDIA **9**), Claudius Thallos (NIKAIA **20**), Sescenia Polla (PRUSA **74**), and the addition of Aurelius(-a) (NIKAIA **17**; PRUSA **52**; PAMUKOVA/GEYVE **86**) following the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of AD 212. One inscription commemorates the wife of one Tiberius Claudius Augustalis (PRUSA **62**). Other names of interest are those for manumitted slaves, namely Prima Opetreia and Publius Opetreius (PRUSA **26**), Cassius Euelpistos and Cassia Briseis (KESTAL **78**), and Tertia Crassicia who is identified as a *threptos* freed by Crispa Crassicia, who also set up the stele (PRUSA **27**). The epigraphic record also provides names of some of the private estate owners in the vicinities of Nikaia and Prusa, namely Tiberius Claudius Pollion Phaedrus (PRUSA **44**), one Cocceianus (PRUSA **46**),[206] Claudia

[204] Ricl 2006; Ricl 2009.
[205] Eia occurs frequently across Anatolia, particularly in Bithynia-Pontus and Mysia, with another instance from Nikaia (IK 10 no. 119) and in Prusias ad Hypium (IK 27 no. 109), and has some mythological foundation (Arnobius *Adversus Nationes* V.7.3 and V.16). Among the case studies outside of Bithynia-Pontus, the name also appears in Byzantion (BYZANTION **152**, **157**, and **162**).
[206] This cognomen was also carried by Dio Chrysostom and Cassius Dio, and is known from another inscription from Prusa (IK Prusa no. 99).

Gallitta[207] (NIKAIA **18**), and C. Claudius Calpurnianus (NIKAIA **20**). The *oikonomos* for the latter, Claudius Thallos, appears to have been freed prior to his death.

4.5 Discussion

The brief overview above of the iconographic and epigraphic features illustrates the consistency which marks figured stelai from the case-study sites in Bithynia-Pontus. While individual stelai within and between sites may vary greatly in levels of ornamentation and detail as well as style of execution, the types of imagery employed and the combinations of particular motifs follow a consistent pattern. This is most apparent for banquet scenes and agricultural depictions, particularly in the cases of Prusa and Kestal, due in part to local workshops and the geographic proximity of the two sites.

The imagery utilized during the Roman period demonstrates consistency with the types of motifs employed in the Hellenistic period. Studies of Hellenistic stelai in western Anatolia indicate that a repertoire of standing figures, funerary banquets,[208] seated figures, rider and pastoral motifs, were in use in this region by the third and second centuries BC.[209] On a third-century BC stele from Prusa, for example, a veiled woman sits in mourning with a female attendant.[210] A second Prusa stele, probably late second century BC in date, shows a familiar banquet scene, with the addition of a small figure in *himation* next to the woman, and a second relief showing a herm[211] next to which stands a small male in a *himation* between two seated figures (**Figure 10**).[212] A herm also appears in a secondary, smaller-scale field on a stele of the same date now in the Bursa Archaeology Museum with unknown provenance.[213] A pediment-stele found in Karaçalılık Köyü (3km south of Akyazı), probably originally in the territory of Nikaia or Nikomedia, features an animal frieze above an upper field with standing figures and a

[207] Eck 1981, 255-256, on the prosopography of Claudia Gallitta and her family.
[208] Such as IK Prusa no. 1054, a fragment with unknown findspot now in the Bursa Archaeology Museum.
[209] Thönges-Stringarius 1965; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977/1979; Dentzer 1982; Schmidt 1991; Cremer 1991/1992; Zanker 1993; Breuer 1995; Fabricius 1999; Bugnon 2008.
[210] PM 947 Pl. 142; IK Prusa no. 167.
[211] For a discussion of herms as iconographic motifs in Bithynia, see Cremer 1991, 50-51.
[212] PM 1111 Pl. 168; IK Prusa no. 140.
[213] PM 1948 Pl. 281; Cremer 1991, 132 KN 19 Pl. V; IK Prusa no. 1090.

lower with a rider and an attendant bearing a double-axe (**Figure 11**).[214] While in the publication of this stele the reliefs have been dated by their style to the second century BC, the letter forms of the newer visible inscription (carved above the original) do not appear before the High Imperial period, making this an instance of reuse of older stele-monuments in the Roman period. Other motifs are not as prominent on Roman-period stelai as on Hellenistic predecessors. The third- to first-century BC stelai from Nikomedia and its environs reflect more diverse backdrops for scenes and more outdoor contexts, such as for scenes of offerings and hunting, as well as weapons, and confrontations between animals, such as an eagle battling a snake.[215] Some of these elements do not appear prominently, if at all, on later stelai, suggesting a more limited spectrum of desired imagery on stelai from the Roman period. For example, only one intact example with the eagle-and-snake motif occurs in the Roman-period case-study material (PRUSA **35**), although a narrower dating than first century BC or AD is not possible. There is also limited apparent desire in the Roman period for showing death or lamentations over the dead, namely *prothesis* scenes. Few occurrences of this image-type survive in Bithynia, and these more than in other regions, including a stele found in Nikaia and another from Bolu (ancient Klaudiopolis)[216] in addition to the two with known provenance discussed above.[217] A feature common to all of these depictions of *prothesis* is their inclusion on multi-relief stelai, even on the fragmentary unprovenanced stele in the Bursa Archaeology Museum where three pairs of feet indicate the presence of an upper field originally (**Figure 9**).[218]

Scenes in common between the Hellenistic and Roman periods share the same tone and formula into the late Imperial period. Differences within the standard formula, therefore, may be assumed to be revealing in terms of workshop characteristics as well as the image patrons sought to project of themselves and/or their families. Many of the stele-forms also have Hellenistic precedents, with the possible exception of the *naiskos* variant with an arch rather than pediment, which appears to be a second- and third-century AD type. Not all relief-types have Hellenistic

[214] Adak and Akyürek Şahin 2005, no. 4 (fig.) with commentary on the inscription date. The older inscription is illegible according to the publishers.
[215] Cremer 1992, 119-130.
[216] IK Nikaia 10.1 no. 1321; PM 835 Pls. 122 and 299 [Nikaia], and PM 1647 [Bolu].
[217] PRUSA **23** and IK Prusa no. 152.
[218] IK Prusa no. 1030; Bursa Archaeology Museum inv. no. 3211.

precedents in the region, such as bust or half-figure depictions, as well as farming scenes, such as the farmer-with-oxen and tools type, which are unique to the Roman period.

The chronological distribution of figured stelai in these sites is represented in **Table 7**. The stelai from Prusa illustrate that the highest numbers of surviving stelai are associated with the second and third centuries AD. The relatively few numbers of surviving stelai with known provenance from Nikomedia and Nikaia hinder conclusions regarding stele-use in the provincial capital. The figured stelai from Kestal and Pamukova/Geyve date to the second or third century AD, and comparison with stelai from the territories of Nikaia, Nikomedia, and Prusa demonstrates a similar pattern among these rural finds, namely a second-third-century AD increase.[219] Other stelai from the region indicate continued use into the fourth century AD, such as a figured stele found in Orhangazi, probably originally in the territory of Kios (Gemlik).[220] There is no clear or significant chronological differentiation of relief-types employed either within the case-studies or among different settlements-types. Multi-relief stelai occur from the first century BC on, with more dating to the second and third centuries AD (twelve and seven respectively) than to the earlier centuries (six for the first centuries BC and AD).

Other relief monuments operating within necropoleis use-contexts with figured stelai include non-figured and non-relief stelai which often share architectural framing with figured stelai. Some feature 'empty' niches which may have originally contained painted components, such as examples from the area around Pamukova/Geyve as well as Prusa and its territory (**Figure 12**).[221] Other stelai carry non-figured reliefs, namely objects and wreaths. These motifs are incorporated on figured stelai but also serve as the main reliefs on non-figured stelai. Two stelai, third-century AD in date, from Akbıyık Köyü, originally in the territory of Prusa, show incised objects within a niche-field (**Figures 13-14**).[222] On other examples the objects are more ornately detailed, as on a second-century AD stele found in Bursa with two each of wreaths, *kalathoi*, handled-mirrors, combs, spindles-and-distaffs (**Figure 15**), the matching pairs

[219] See Adak and Akyürek Şahin 2005, nos. 6, 9, 12-14; Şahin and Onur 2010.
[220] Bursa Archaeology Museum (inv. no. 2604); Şahin 1981, no. 767 Pl. V; Corsten 1985, no. 107; Cremer II 1992, Y 9.
[221] IK Nikaia no. 218 Pl. 20; IK Prusa no. 100; Adak and Akyürek Şahin 2005, nos. 6, 8, 9, and 12; Akyürek Şahin and Onur 2010, nos. 1 and 2 (figs.).
[222] Akyürek Şahin and Onur 2010, nos. 7 and 9 (figs.).

explained by the inscription which identifies the stele as commemorating two daughters.[223] On a *naiskos*-stele from Nikaia a sickle and ax appear below the inscription.[224]

The use and distribution of figured stelai might be compared with relief funerary *bomoi* as well as door-stelai. *Bomoi* survive in comparatively few numbers for the Roman period in the case-study sites, their relief adornment distinct from that on stelai (**Table 6**). Funerary *bomoi* from Nikomedia, Nikaia, Prusa, and their territories, including the vicinity of Pamukova/Geyve, display combinations of wreaths, garlands, and bucrania, the most common feature being a patera, which also occurs in the pediment field of many stelai.[225] The altar-with-architrave example from the territory of Prusa features a bust of a young male between the akroteria, as well as a diptych and book-roll in addition to a patera (**Figures 6-7**).[226] Three funerary *bomoi* of second-century AD date discovered as part of a Roman-period tomb at Dirazali near Nikaia demonstrate that multiple monuments could be included within the single family tomb-space.[227] The chronology of *bomoi* in the region indicates a peak in the second century AD.

The distribution of figured stelai and door-stelai does not feature large areas of overlap, yet in the area around Pamukova and Taraklı, a series of ten doorstones have been found, interpreted as evidence for a Phrygian population residing on the middle Sangarios river.[228] In terms of their relief iconography, shared elements with figured stelai include objects and wreaths (**Figure 16**). As with the figured stelai from this area, these door-stele monuments have been dated to the second and third centuries AD.

How, then, do the findings from figured-stele use in the case-study sites compare with broader trends of figured stele-use in Bithynia-Pontus? Analysis of the iconographic-types employed in other sites with four or more figured stelai (**Table 3**) indicates the same pattern, namely the predominance of banqueting and standing scenes, as single scenes and in

[223] IK Prusa no. 147. For other depictions of objects and wreaths, see IK Nikaia no. 202 Pl. 19; IK Prusa nos. 117 (Kestal), 131, 146, 155, 166, and 168.
[224] IK Nikaia no. 200 Pl. 8.
[225] IK Prusa nos. 55, 59, 70, 73, 113, 141, 169, 171, 173-174; Adak and Akyürek Şahin 2005, nos. 23-24, and 30.
[226] Akyürek Şahin and Onur 2010, no. 8 (fig.).
[227] Durugönül and Şahin 1993, 55-60.
[228] Adak and Akyürek Şahin 2005, nos. 14-19, 21-22, 33-34 (figs.), now located in the Adapazarı Museum.

combination with other types, and the recurrence of a common respective schema for both types. Some variations, exceptions rather than the norm, are noteworthy. For example, banquet scenes on two second-century AD stelai from Herakleia Pontike change the standard schema, replacing the typical male reclining figure with a woman (**Figure 17**), who appears as the only figure on one,[229] and is accompanied by a seated male figure on the other.[230] This is repeated on a lone stele of the same date found in Üsküder.[231] Some standing scenes also vary slightly in their schema, such as on a second-century AD stele from Preietos (Karamürsel) where between two typical frontal standing male and female figures a third, smaller-scale figure is placed on a statue base,[232] in a similar manner as on a stele from Amisos.[233]

Other types of iconography survive in other sites, examples of which do not survive in the current case-study sites. Gladiators, for example, are common on stelai, as on a second-century example from Amisos (**Figure 18**),[234] although less so in Bithynia-Pontus compared to elsewhere in Anatolia.[235] Other depictions of soldiers occur, as on a first-century stele from Kalchedon.[236] Activities such as hunting, while common on some Hellenistic stelai, decline in numbers in Bithynia-Pontus in the Roman period, with fewer depictions like that on a second-century AD example from Klaudiopolis with its Latin inscription.[237]

Among the epigraphic evidence from the overall body of figured stelai from Bithynia-Pontus, in keeping with the case-study evidence, there are relatively few records of profession or of those titles for the various officials active in running cities and smaller villages well-attested in other epigraphic evidence.[238] Exceptions include gladiators and military personnel, as well as persons connected with shipping, such as a stele from Sinop which shows a ship in a secondary relief and in its inscription identifies the deceased as a ship-master.[239] Iconographic depictions

[229] PM 2019 Pl. 293.
[230] PM 2024 Pl. 292.
[231] Cremer 1992, Nach H 8.
[232] PM 635.
[233] PM 173.
[234] Robert 1941, no. 79; PM 1266.
[235] Other evidence of epitaphs for gladiators from Bithynia-Pontus include IK Prusa no. 171.
[236] LBW 1122; PM 305, 304 Fig. 20; Speidel 1985, 92-96; IK Prusa no. 172.
[237] PM 1401; Cremer 1992, BKR 1.
[238] Fernoux 2004.
[239] PM 1183.

of occupation are equally rare, such as the case of the stele for Agathokles who is shown as a vine-grower (PRUSA **64**). Similarly, a Roman-period stele from Kios shows a stonemason's tools, but the inscription makes no mention of this as the deceased's occupation.[240] Tools of carpentry are depicted on a stele in the depot of the Bursa Archaeology Museum, findspot unknown, but the inscription is too fragmentary to determine whether it recorded this profession or not.[241]

The question of who was using figured stelai, what monument-buying socio-economic levels are represented here, relies upon the surviving epigraphic record. The recorded personal details of these individuals and their families is limited. There is no evidence from the case-study stelai of those public offices or benefactions known from epitaphs on other funerary elements from the region.[242] The vast majority of these stelai do not record occupation, and it has been argued by Koch that these persons were probably successful farmers.[243] While no doubt wealthy farmers were among these commemorations, the evidence is not definitive for these being the primary represented group, overlooking the probable diversity among stele-monument-buyers in the socio-economic spectrum and corelating absence of recorded profession with farmers, rather than the former being a matter of individual priority. That being said, the increased prominence of agricultural motifs as secondary themes among Roman-period stelai may point to a rise in the number of successful private farmers – as opposed to owners of larger estates – using figured stelai as a commemorative monument.[244] Furthermore, this motif and depiction of agricultural tools occur with more frequency on stelai from Bithynia-Pontus than on those from the other regions considered (Chapter 9).[245]

[240] Corsten 1985, 126 no. 57 Pl. 3.
[241] IK Prusa no. 1086 (inv. no. 3149).
[242] For example, a marble monument discovered in Kozan, southwest of Geyve, first or second century AD in date, set up for a *gerousiaste*, one Ti. Claudius Agapetos (IK Nikaia no. 1242). A second block, probably from Bithynia, second or third century AD in date, records one P. Aelius Agrippa as *agoranome* (IK Nikaia no. 1254). Fernoux 2004, 341-349, nos. 4 and 6.
[243] Koch 2003, 462-463.
[244] On increased prestige and wealth of estate-managers, see IK Iznik no. 1018 for a village honoring an *oikonomos* and his wife as patrons. Also IK Iznik nos. 1128, 1131.
[245] For tools such as *falx arboraria*, see White 1967, 85-88. This object features more prominently on stelai from the area of Prusa (Akyürek Şahin 2010, nos. 3-6; Uzunoğlu 2015, 405-408, nos. 3-6; cf. Corsten 1990, 92).

The picture of represented socio-economic levels was probably more nuanced than the surviving evidence and priorities in antiquity allow us to reconstruct. Conclusions regarding the socio-economic levels or profession are limited to the handful of monuments for estate-managers, the *lachanopoles*, and the woodcutter, as well as manumitted slaves. These suggest that some mid-range socio-economic groups chose this figured-monument type in some instances. There is no obvious distinction between those recorded on non-figured stelai and those examined here with regard to name or profession, suggesting that economic as opposed to social standing was a more determinant factor, after personal choice. Furthermore, some monuments which are non-figured now may not have been in antiquity. For example, four stelai found dispersed within the territory of Nikaia show architectural frames, both moulded and incised, and arch-niches.[246] While these niches are 'empty' today, it is conceivable that in antiquity these framed painted figures or inscriptions.[247] One of these non-figured stelai commemorates an *oikonomos*, and is not dissimilar to the stele for the *oikonomos* Claudius Thallos, featuring an 'empty' niche but also a half-figure (NIKAIA **20**). Similarly, a stele with an architectural frame and decorated with objects rather than figures, with its inscription set inside a niche, commemorates Italos, the *oikonomos* of one Chrestos.[248] The epigraphic evidence for funerary *bomoi* and *ostothekai* prove equally enigmatic with regard to the socio-economic standing of those commemorated.[249] Of those with surviving inscriptions, two *bomoi* commemorate Roman soldiers, another a gladiator, and a man probably holding Roman citizenship.[250] These monuments were utilized for both single and larger family groups as in the case of a *bomos* found in Dumanköy.[251] Otherwise, there is no obvious distinction in the epigraphic evidence between those individuals and families using *bomoi* and those using stelai, figured or non-figured. This evidence suggests that members of similar socio-economic standing utilized figured, non-figured, and non-relief monuments, depending upon individual choice and probably financial capability.

[246] Adak and Akyürek Şahin 2005, nos. 6, 8, 9, and 12.
[247] For example, painted stelai from Thessaly and Macedonia: Stamatopoulou 2016; Kalaitzi 2016; Kalaitzi 2018.
[248] SEG 28.1033.
[249] Fernoux 2004, 529-533.
[250] IK Prusa nos. 169, 171, 173-174.
[251] Adak and Akyürek Şahin 2005, no. 23.

Comparison with other monument-types employed in the same necropoleis suggests similar overlap in monument-use among 'professional' socio-economic levels. Occupations recorded on some tomb blocks include a *nomikos* or lawyer,[252] and, in the case of one Publius Aelius, an *agoranomos* and *siton epimetreo,* that is, responsible for both maintaining order in the agora and measuring grain respectively.[253] For these tomb monuments and sarcophagi, the owners might also be members of the *gerousia*.[254] As mentioned above, only three of the present case-study stelai feature Aurelii names (NIKAIA **17**; PRUSA **52**; PAMUKOVA/GEYVE **86**), although other limestone and marble non-figured stelai include M. Aurelii nomenclature, which date to the late second century AD at the latest but probably post-date the AD 212 edict.[255] Other evidence indicates Aurelii stele-owners also had monumental tombs, such as an architrave block from a built tomb belonging to one Aurelia Commodiane.[256] Furthermore, an unfinished Prokonnesian-marble sarcophagus reused in the third century AD for an Aurelia Caeciliana indicates the variety of funerary monuments employed by this group of newly franchised citizens, and not only in urban *poleis* but also in rural settlements.[257]

Conclusion

Overlap among the recorded owners of relief funerary monuments in the case-study sites exemplifies the complexities of attributing particular monument-types to specific social or economic groups, particularly given the dearth of personal details for those individuals or their families on stelai. Diversity among figured-stele patrons is suggested by the presence of those 'professional' socio-economic levels choosing a figured stele, groups encompassing artisans and tradesmen as well as *oikonomoi* and freed-persons. No obvious differentiation appears between urban centres and rural settlements in terms of identifiable socio-economic groups, although wealthy or successful farmers participating in a stele-habit probably would be more associated with rural settlements such as Pamukova/Geyve. The farming economy of the region, particularly in the territory of sites such as Nikaia and Prusa, is translated on stelai with the inclusion of agricultural scenes and motifs which do not appear with equal prominence in the

[252] Şahin 1982, no. 1231.
[253] Şahin 1982, no. 1254.
[254] Şahin 1982, nos. 1242, 1247, 1250.
[255] Şahin 1982, no. 1376.
[256] Şahin 1982, no. 1237.
[257] IK Prusa no. 163; Adak and Akyürek Şahin 2005, No. 20.

other regions under study, or indeed among the Hellenistic-period evidence. Such iconographic elements serve as the only evidence for suggesting private farmers also used this monument-type, together with known *oikonomoi*, the employed iconography otherwise part of a common repertoire across the province. The presence of *oikonomoi* recorded on figured, non-figured, and non-relief stelai but not of the estate owners they served suggests a level of differentiation here, the wealthier and more socially elevated latter group – like Claudia Gallitta from a family of senatorial rank – probably instead opting for built tombs or sarcophagi, not necessarily in the same region given families of this socio-economic level often owned property in multiple provinces. The dearth of recorded municipal positions on these figured stelai suggests that these postholders either did not use this monument-type, or chose not to record this information, perhaps reserved for other monuments.

CHAPTER 5: BYZANTION/CONSTANTINOPLE

The *polis* of Byzantion, overshadowed by the later imperial capital of Constantinople, represents another worthwhile case-study, the surviving evidence from this site and its environs considered separately from the other provinces for two reasons. First, the city fell under the administrative purview of the province of Thrace initially and then that of Bithynia-Pontus during this period. Second, the number of stelai from Byzantion dated between the first century BC and the fourth century AD is sufficient to warrant examining this body of evidence independently, acknowledging the city's connections to broader historical and political events.

Byzantion figured stelai have been well-published, with the well-known volume by Fıratlı and Robert (1964)[258] focusing primarily on the iconographic evidence from Hellenistic and Roman-period stelai from Byzantion, with discussion of epigraphic features. Pfuhl and Möbius (1977/1979) included some stelai from the city, and evidence from Byzantion has been included in other discussions of particular iconographic motifs, including Thönges-Stringarius (1965), Dentzer (1982), and Fabricius (1999). More recently, the epigraphic evidence has been republished and supplemented in Łajtar's (2000) survey.

5.1 Regional history

Ancient Byzantion (Istanbul) was situated on the southern shore of the Bosporus, on the peninsula between the Chrysokeras to the north and the Propontis to the south. Although originally probably a Thracian settlement, a seventh-century BC Megarian colony also appears to have been founded here.[259] The Hellenistic *chora* extended west to Perinthos and east beyond Kalchedon, incorporating ancient Rhegium (Küçükçekmece) in Thrace and Yalova in Bithynia, one of a network of communities including Perinthos, Kalchedon, and Selymbria, which exercised control in the Bosporus area, and among which competitive local rivalries

[258] Supplemented by an "Annexe" to this publication in 1966.
[259] Fıratlı 1978; Russell 2017, 206, 236-237.

flourished.[260] The city came under control of Rome in 146 BC, siding with Rome during the Mithridatic Wars and rewarded with the rights of *civitas libera et foederata*.[261] Integrated into the Empire under Vespasian, during the civil wars of the late second century AD Byzantion was among those *poleis*, such as Nikaia, which sided with Pescennius Niger and was besieged by Septimius Severus between AD 193-195 (Cass. Dio 75.12.1). Although reduced in status as punishment, it was rebuilt under Septimius and Caracalla. Overshadowed during the Tetrarchy by Nikomedeia, Byzantion came to the fore under Constantine as *Nova Roma* in AD 330.[262]

Prior to the Constantinian foundation, Byzantion had not been a major *polis* like Nikomedeia or Nikaia, but was a prosperous trading centre due to its strategic location along the terrestrial route linking Europe and Asia from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, as well as possessing a large natural harbor.[263] The city's role as a trading centre expanded during later periods apparent in evidence such as shipping vessels excavated in the Marmaray-Metro area.[264]

The expansion and transformation of the urban landscape of Hellenistic- and early Roman-Byzantion with the foundation of Constantinople, as well as its subsequent history, impacted the distribution of stelai.[265] Church foundations from the Late Antique and Early Byzantine periods feature reused stelai, such as the Church of St Polyeuktos (in Saraçhane) constructed over a Roman-period necropolis west of Byzantion, as well as the Church of Hagios Demetrios in Sarmaşik and the Armenian Church of the Archangel Michael in the district of Balat (Blachernai).[266] Necropoleis such as Beyazit present evidence for reuse of stelai in constructing other funerary monuments in the same necropolis (BYZANTION **114**, **115**, and **116**) or constructed over. While this represents the closest surviving context for these monuments, stelai were not recovered *in situ* and no evidence presents itself for burials tied to these.

[260] Fıratlı 1978; Russell 2017, 3.
[261] Russell 2017, 15.
[262] Foss 1995, 181-183; Lefort 1995, 207-218.
[263] Byzantion as a rich commercial port, see Polybius *Histories* 4.38.3-4; Cassius Dio 75.10; Zosimos 2.30.2. The site's advantageous position is acknowledged in Herodotus (4.144.2), Strabo (7.6.2) and Tacitus *Ann.* 12.63.
[264] Kocabaş 2010, 23-33.
[265] Özgümüş and Dark 2013.
[266] Harrison 1986, 34-35; Harrison 1989, 42-75; Łajtar 2000, Nos. 182 and 248 (St Polyeuktos), 243 (Hagios Demetrios), and 139 (Church of Archangel Michael).

5.1.1 Byzantion necropoleis

Systematic excavations and published findings for the urban necropoleis of Byzantion are available in a single comprehensive publication.[267] The majority of these monuments have turned up during construction, chance finds and rescue excavations yielding the primary evidence for the necropoleis active during the Roman period, and as a result, in spite of the drawbacks, the necropoleis from Byzantion rank among the more comprehensively recorded and published of the selected case-studies. Graves and monuments appear in the area west of the city-walls, beginning near Hagia Sophia and the Column of Constantine (Çemberlitaş), stretching westward on either side of the Via Thracia, and reaching the highest density in the triangle between Beyazıt, Süleymaniye, and Laleli Camii (**Figures 19-20**).[268] Another section follows the Severan walls, with stelai discovered at Sirkeci in the direction of the Golden Horn, and at Çatladıkapı towards the Sea of Marmara. The area of Beyazıt and the İstanbul Üniversitesi has yielded the preponderance of evidence, primarily in the form of stelai. During construction of the university, stelai and sarcophagi from the fourth century BC to the third century AD were discovered together. Although uncovered in the pre-Constantinian necropolis, the finds lack accurate stratigraphy. For example, a fourth-century BC stele was found in the same layer with fragments of a stele or sarcophagus of the third-century AD.[269] Over the course of excavations, the necropolis layer was determined to be about 30cm above bedrock levels, the stratum with monuments between 30cm and 1.0m thick.[270] The necropolis only ceased to function at the time of the Constantinian foundation when the city-walls were moved westward, the site of the necropolis leveled and the monuments heaped together.[271]

The mix of seven centuries of funerary monuments stems from the long use of the necropolis, and later Late Antique- and Byzantine-period building construction in the area. In the foundations of the north aisle of the Byzantine church of St Polyeuktos constructed in the

[267] For example: Schneider 1936, 94-95; Mamboury 1936, 252; Mamboury 1949, 14-15, 52 Fig. 3, 4; Fıratlı 1950, 12-13; Perkins 1950, 63; Mamboury 1951, 244-247; Fıratlı 1952, 62-63; Lafontaine 1959/1960, 376-377; Fıratlı 1964, 207-209; Fıratlı and Robert 1964, 8-10; Kleiss 1967, 7-9; Fıratlı 1977, 219.
[268] Fıratlı and Robert 1964, 9; Fabricius 1999, 264 Fig. 37. In Çemberlitaş, during excavation for the foundations of the Darüşşafaka development in 1963, multiple funerary monuments of both the Hellenistic and Roman periods were uncovered, including in addition to stelai an ossuary and sarcophagi, together with some grave goods (Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5606).
[269] Fıratlı and Robert 1964, 9.
[270] Fıratlı and Robert 1964, 10.
[271] Fıratlı 1950, 60; Fıratlı 1960, 86-87; Müller-Wiener 1961, 165-167, 173; Fıratlı 1977, 219-220.

Saraçhane area on top of part of the necropolis, fragments of multiple stelai from earlier periods (**167** and **180**) were discovered in excavations.[272] Fıratlı attests that, during refurbishment of an area of Beyazit in 1961-1962, and particularly in the excavation of a subterranean passage-way, the section view showed funerary amphorae, pithoi, and limestone tombs.[273] The same location yielded evidence of fourth- and fifth-century AD vaulted tombs, although by Late Antiquity the necropolis had largely shifted westward. By the fourth and fifth centuries, the necropolis was situated outside of the Constantinian walls. During additional construction in the area, a third-century AD tomb was discovered, the walls of which were formed by three early third-century stelai (**114-116**), so that by the time the tomb was constructed these relatively recent but high-quality stelai were placed in a secondary context.[274]

A group of stelai (**147**, **148**, and **183**) allegedly discovered during digging for a vegetable garden in the area of the Hippodrome (Atmeydan) are of note, as the names have prompted arguments for these representing a family group from a tomb in the same area or were moved en masse to this secondary location.[275] Unfortunately, no additional record of their findspot or find circumstances survives as these stelai were originally purchased by the wife of Edgar J. Fisher, dean of Robert College, before later being sold at auction.[276]

Published reports of finds record tombs covered with stone slabs or tiles, both amphora- and pithos-burials, as well as sarcophagi, although with no differentiation of Classical, Hellenistic, or Roman-period tomb-types.[277] No mention is made of foundations for burial monuments or of walled enclosures, suggesting many stelai were set into bare ground or stone bases accompanying relatively simple burials.[278] For example, a stele painted originally was discovered in Beyazıt with its base.[279]

[272] Harrison and Hayes 1986, 166-167; Harrison 1989, 70.
[273] Fıratlı and Robert 1964, 10.
[274] Publications do not identify whether the stelai in this reuse-context were placed with the reliefs facing inwards or outwards.
[275] Lane 1969, 35-41; Łajtar 2000, No. 277 (commentary).
[276] Lane 1969, 35-36.
[277] For small finds from the necropolis, see Fıratlı 1978, 572; Rollas 1964, 164-165.
[278] Fabricius 1999, 265.
[279] Mamboury 1951, 246; Fıratlı 1966, No. 227 Pl. 14; Łajtar 2000, No. 86.

The majority of the evidence for the funerary landscape of Byzantion comes in the form of stelai and sarcophagi. The decorative schemes of some of the Roman-period sarcophagi differ from those seen elsewhere, as in Bithynia-Pontus, lacking garlands or imagery of celebration.[280] A number of Roman-period examples from Byzantion utilize recessed relief fields like those on stelai. Surviving examples, dating approximately to the second and third centuries AD, feature multiple relief fields and *tabula ansata* with either inscriptions or reliefs (**Figures 24-32**).[281] Some sarcophagi are non-figured but still show *tabula ansata* for inscriptions. The similarity in the forms and frames of the relief fields on these sarcophagi, despite occupying the same vertical surface, with figured stelai will be examined further below (5.5).

The epigraphic evidence from sarcophagi provides some indication of the persons commissioning these tombs in Byzantion. The majority identify families buried in the tombs, with secondary inscriptions identifying specific individuals, while some sarcophagi name only single individuals. One inscription, datable to the third century AD, indicates that a sarcophagus which had been in use by the family was restored at the time of the inscription:

> *We, Aurelia Theophila, also Theotima, the daughter of Aurelius Publius Theophilos (of the* hekatostys*) Deutera, and Aurelius Asklepiodotos, son of Gaios (of the* hekatostys*) Keramea, have restored this sarcophagus, which was given to us by our father from the tomb monuments belonging to our family, and we, together with our children, place this inscription on the sarcophagus for the public. If someone buries another here, he will pay to the city a fine of 2500 denarii.*[282]

Another third-century AD sarcophagus inscription presents similar messages:

> *I, Aurelius Theophilos, son of Diogenes, (from the* hekatostys*) Kallichoritis, have placed on this sarcophagus, in which my maternal grandfather is already buried,*

[280] See Smith 2008, for similar types from Aphrodisias during the third century AD.
[281] Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4944; Fıratlı and Robert 1964, No. 198, Pl. 56; PM 934, Pl. 140; Łajtar 2000, 307. Also, Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4252; Fıratlı and Robert 1964, No. 206, Pl. 54-55; PM 218; Łajtar 2000, Nos. 308-318, 320-322.
[282] Αὐ[ρ(ηλία)] Θεοφίλα [ἡ καὶ Θ]εοτείμα, θυγάτηρ Αὐρηλίου / Ποπλίου Θεοφίλου Δευτέρας, καὶ Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀσκλη/πι[ό]δοτος Γαΐου Κεραμήτας ἀνανεωσάμενοι τὸ ἀν/γ[εῖ]ον τὸ συνχωρηθὲν ἡμεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου ἐκ τῶν / [συ]νγενικῶν ἡμῶν μνημάτων ἰς κτῆσιν ἐωνίαν σὺν τοῖς / [τέ]κνοις ἡμῶν ἐπεγράψαμεν τὴν σορόν· ἐὰν δέ τις ἕτερον / [β]άλῃ, δώσει προστείμου τῇ πόλει ͵βφ΄ (Łajtar 2000, No. 318).

> *an inscription for the public so that I will be buried in this (sarcophagus) together with my wife. After our burial, no one is to be placed in this. If someone opens the sarcophagus, he will pay to the treasury* [ ] *denarii and to the city* [ ] *denarii.*[283]

A final late second- or early third-century inscription from a sarcophagus names three individuals, Andrias, Akka, daughter of Eutychos, and Eutychos, son of Memmius Marcus.[284] The latter, Eutychos Memmius Marcus, was either the son or freedman of one Memmius Marcus, and this may be the same Memmius Marcus who in the mid-second century AD was appointed *hieromnamon*, eponymous magistrate, by the city of Byzantion, as recorded on two groups of municipal coinage.[285] Based upon the onomastics, the Memmii from Byzantion were Greeks but probably had Roman citizenship by the mid-first century when a P. Memmius Regulus was governor of the provinces of Achaia, Macedonia, and Moesia (AD 35-44), and in AD 47 also proconsul of the province of *Asia*.[286]

These particular sarcophagi from Byzantion combine the forms of tombs and stelai, and due to the nature of the finds in dissociated contexts (the presence of mortar on one sarcophagus, for example, indicates its reuse as part of a Byzantine-period building foundation[287]), it is impossible to say whether figured stelai would have been used in conjunction with these sarcophagi. Some stelai may have been used to identify tomb complexes, along perimeter walls, or alternatively as markers for unadorned sarcophagi, or simpler inhumations.[288] Although a comparable reconstruction of those families using sarcophagi may not be done for the patrons of figured stelai given the nature of the epitaphs, some overlap with the upper echelons known from sarcophagi probably existed but the use of stelai likely occurred across a comparatively broader range of socio-economic levels in Byzantion.

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[283] [Αὐρ(ήλιος)] Θεόφιλος Διογέν[ο]υς Καλλιχορίτιδος ἐπέ[γραψα τὴν σορόν, ἐν ᾗ] / [προ]εντέθαπται ὁ πρὸς μ[η]τρὸς πάππος μου [ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος] / [ὑπ]ὲρ τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμὲ [ἰς] αὐτὴν κατατεθῆναι [καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα μου]· / [με]τὰ δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐν[ταφ]ὴν μηδένα ἕτερο[ν] εἰσ[βληθῆναι· εἰ δέ τις ἀνοίξει] / [τὴν] σορόν, δώσει τ[ῷ ταμιείῳ —]. ´ καὶ τῇ πόλι [—´] (Łajtar 2000, No. 320).
[284] Fıratlı 1966, No. 254 Pl. 25; Łajtar 2000, No. 308.
[285] Schönert-Geiss II, Nos. 1384, 1395-8 (for ca. AD 147-161), 1424-1426, 1433-40, and 2046-8 (for ca. AD 166-169); Łajtar 2000, No. 308; Russell 2017, 224-225.
[286] RE VI 1 1931, 626-636; Łajtar 2000, 308.
[287] Łajtar 2000, 318.
[288] Fabricius 1999, 262-268.

5.2 Geographic distribution

Roman-period figured stelai number 102 that have been found in the environs of Byzantion as well as within the urban necropolis at Beyazit (BYZANTION **89-190**). The majority of these have been discovered in scattered locations around modern Istanbul, with the exception of thirty-one stelai discovered in the area of Beyazit. Other areas of smaller concentrated finds include Çemberlitaş and Küçükçekmece, with five and six finds respectively (**Figure 21**).

Beyond Byzantion, neighboring sites offer lower numbers for provenanced stelai. Perinthos has nine stelai from the Roman period,[289] Selymbria has four of reliable Roman-period date,[290] and the same number survive for the other Megarian colony at Kalchedon.[291] In Selymbria and Kalchedon there is also evidence for Hellenistic-period figured stele-use, or earlier in the case of Kalchedon with a figured stele of the mid-sixth century BC.[292] The lower numbers in these sites relative to those stelai associated with Byzantion may represent later movement of some stelai from outlying sites into Byzantion, particularly after the foundation of Constantinople and the following centuries of extensive building projects. The discovery of many of these monuments in necropoleis – although not necessarily with their original tombs or burials – does suggest that during the Roman period and prior to its re-foundation as an imperial capital, Byzantion had a higher proportion of this monument-type compared to its neighbors.

5.3 Iconography

The 102 figured stelai from Byzantion display similar types of iconographic motifs (**Table 8**) as those examined from Bithynia-Pontus. States of preservation have resulted in often only fragmentary sections of scenes. Of the preserved stelai from known find-spots in or around Byzantion, the two most frequent scene-types are banquets (sixty-one) and standing figures

[289] PM 303, 310, 313, 627, 781, 1166, 2103, 2106, and 2190.
[290] Łajtar 2000, nos. S 31, S 34, S 47, S 58. Twenty-one stelai are of unknown date.
[291] Asgari and Fıratlı 1978, S 12-S 15.
[292] Asgari and Fıratlı 1978, S 1.

(thirty-two). There are far fewer instances of combinations of standing and seated figures as well as seated-figure scenes compared to case-studies in Bithynia-Pontus. Three stelai show other types, one a fragmentary gladiator, one a rider scene, and another a rare nude figure.

Banquets predominate among the stele iconography, some following the same schematic formula discussed in 3.2.3 and the previous chapter. Male banqueters recline on the *kline*, often but not always raising a wreath in their right hands, while holding a beaker or other drinking-vessel in their left (**93**, **96-97**, **125**, **134-136**, **139-140**, **142-143**, **145**, **148**, **150**, **155-156**, **159-161**, and **166**). A veiled woman sits on a block-like seat at the left, right arm in her lap, her left hand grasping the edge of her mantle. A tripod table stands in front of the *kline*, with one or two small-scale servants, typically a male at the right and a female at the left. The two may appear in attitudes of mourning, or the female sometimes holds a wool-basket.

Of the Byzantion stelai which adhere to this iconographic formula, four have features of note. A fragment of a marble first-century AD stele found in Yadikule near Istanbul shows the lower section of a banquet scene, but the chair of the woman at the left features more detailed ornamentation of the legs and the addition of arm-rests, as well as a thin back (**140**). This is a far cry from the usual block-like, undetailed seat shown on most stelai. Two male servants appear together at the right, one in mourning.

Two stelai display other imagery and themes within the banquet schema. A first-century BC monument from Beyazıt shows a banquet schema within elaborate architectural framing, including *karyatids* and sphinxes, but in place of a tripod table, in front of the *kline* sits a globe on a box or casket, to which the reclining male figure points (**90**). On a shelf above the heads of the main couple are a collection of objects, including book-rolls, a mirror, a comb, and bottles, a similar array appearing on two other first-century BC stelai and on second-century AD example (**89**, **130**, and **152**). Multiple features distinguish this stele (**90**) from most later banquet depictions, namely the absence of identifiable 'banqueting' paraphernalia, replaced by objects which linked to the profession or interest of the deceased Theodotos, namely astronomy, and the pose of the male figure, similar to the so-called seated 'philosopher-type' known from

Hellenistic-period grave monuments elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean.[293] Another stele, an early Imperial monument found in the area of Fatih, also shows the schema of a banquet, the typical items again replaced with other objects (**142**), for example, the man reclining holds a book-roll rather than a vessel and wreath, and the veiled woman, seated on the foot of the *kline*, takes a book-roll from a small-scale servant. The ornate tripod table holds objects associated with learning, from left to right, two book-rolls, an ink-well, a small box, and what may be a diptych. Above the *kline* are two incised objects, at the left a horse bridle, and at the right what may be a sword. Finally, in a recessed field in the upper right corner is a horse protome. Both monuments display a higher level of execution than apparent on some other stelai, and the objects included highlight learning and education, particularly the book-rolls and writing accoutrements, as well as prosperity symbolized by the horse imagery on the Fatih stele.

The fourth stele, from the second century AD, again presents the standard layout of the banquet scene, with the reclining male figure, but depicts not a woman seated at the left but a second man (**156**). The stele commemorated a man and a woman, Papylos and Eia, underscoring the fact that these reliefs should not be expected to reflect a direct representation of the deceased.

Other stelai display more obvious deviations from the standard banquet formula, specifically the addition of one or more non-servant figures to the scene, taking two forms. First, an additional male or female figure, smaller in scale to the primary figures, but larger than the miniature attendant, may stand in front of the *kline*, on the groundline or on a base (**89**, **95**, **98**, **101-102**, **126**, **138**, **151**, and **165**). For example, a first-century BC stele shows a frontal male figure standing in front of the couch, clasping the hand of the seated woman (**89**). Two additional stelai from the first century BC or AD include standing figures in front of the *kline*, two veiled female figures on the Beyazit example, and a male figure in a *himation* on the stele from Safraköy (**98**, **138**). Another stele, found in Bakırköy, from the first or second century AD, also shows a male figure in front of the *kline*, but in a *chiton* and chlamys, holding a *lagobolon* (**151**). This stele represents one of the depictions of the raised-hands motif above the head of the

[293] Smyrna (PM 830, 831, 852, 855, 861) and Kyzikos (PM 839, 1111, 1114; IK Kyzikos nos. 50, 203, 522). The same pose appears on other stelai from Byzantion (Łajtar 2000, No. 192).

central figure in Byzantion (also **133** where the hands appear the head of the reclining male).[294] Additional figures may also be shown seated on the end of the *kline* (**100**, **152**). A clear example is a first-century AD stele from Beyazit with two central figures in front of the *kline*, a female sitting on the *kline*, while a man stands frontal, his right shoulder grasped by the reclining male figure (**101**).

The second variation is the addition of a figure, male or female, in the lap of the seated woman, as on a first-century AD stele (**144**). These two forms may overlap, as on a second-century AD stele from Beyazit where a small male figure stands at the centre in front of the *kline*, while the woman holds an infant in her left arm (**102**). These variations incorporate the formula of standing figures with the banqueting schema. Additional figures appear smaller in scale in relation to the two main figures but distinguished from servants by size and clothing. If these figures represent children or youths, they are depicted as small adults.

Besides banquet scenes, another thirty-three of the Byzantion stelai display standing figures. The number of figures involved in these scenes can vary, between single depictions (**107-108**, **110-113**, **115**, **122**, **124**, **176-177**, **181-182**, and **185**) to two or three figures (**121**, **127**, **175**, and **178**). Once again, these adhere to a standard formula. Men appear in *himatia*, their right arms tucked inside the folds of the mantle, their left hanging at their side, often holding a book-roll. Women appear in the same pose (**127**), or alternatively as Herculanean types (**175**, **178**). Depictions of children or young adults take the same form, as apparent above in banquet scenes, or they appear in other gestures or with objects. For example, a first-century BC stele from Beyazit shows a male frontal figure in a short *chiton* and chlamys holding grapes, accompanied by a dog and small-scale servant (**107**). Likewise, a more ornate architectural stele from the second century AD depicts another frontal male figure, in a *himation*, holding a bird (**115**). On a fragmentary stele an unveiled female figure holds what may be a bird and perhaps grapes (**124**), and an early Imperial stele depicts a female body, holding grapes and what has been identified as a pomegranate, accompanied by a rooster and a small female servant (**176**). Although the body is clearly female, the head of this figure is male, leading to debate in early

[294] Another example of unknown date was published by Lane 1969, no. 5 fig. 4 (right); Łajtar 2000, No. 140.

publications. The inscription indicates that the monument was intended for a woman, whatever the internal disparities of the image.

Another stele from Beyazit shows a more detailed scene. The central standing figure is male, wearing a *himation* with vertical folds and holding a book-roll (**109**). Behind him stands a horse, its bridle held by a male servant at the right, and beyond, at the far left, is shown the upper body of another servant. Objects appear on a shelf behind the figures, including a diptych, three bound book-rolls, a chest, an inkwell, a second bundle of book-rolls, and a writing tablet. As in the case of **142** above, the emphasis is placed upon education, literacy, and wealth.

A group of stelai from Byzantion, in the category of standing figures, warrant special examination. These depict military figures with the accoutrements of their offices. Two were found together in Beyazit, both of Prokonnesian marble, dating to the third century AD. The first, a *naiskos*-stele with pediment and palmette *akroteria*, depicts a frontal bearded soldier in a short girded, long-sleeved tunic and a *paludamentum*, holding a book-roll or perhaps a military diploma in his right hand, while in his left bearing a field *signum* surmounted by an eagle (**114**). On the second, in the same form but more fragmentary than the other, a frontal soldier stands in the same clothing, holding in his right hand a lance, and a tuba in his left (**115**). A third stele found with these carries an almost identical relief, probably of the same third-century date, but without a surviving inscription (**116**). All three are higher quality works, in execution, material, and size in the case of the two intact stelai (240 and 157cm in height, respectively), and represent the largest surviving figured-stele monuments from Byzantion for the Roman period.

Seated figures, or combinations of seated and standing figures, constitute a third image category. As with the other iconographic types, these follow a standard formula of a veiled woman seated at the left comparable to her attitude in banquet scenes. Only three surviving stelai from Byzantion show a seated figure without standing figures (**118-119**, and **186**), one found in Beyazit on which the woman holds a male figure in a *himation*, smaller in scale, on her lap (**118**). Three other stelai show seated women with standing men (**117, 187-188**). On one, the seated female figure clasps the right hand of a smaller-scale standing frontal male figure (**187**). The names which accompany the figures indicate that the commemorated individuals were

related but whether siblings (both children of Sosibios) or mother with son (if the andronym is given for the woman rather than a patronym, a phenomenon discussed below) remains unclear.

Three other stelai depict imagery which falls outside of the categories above. On a fragment from a second-century AD stele, a gladiator stands wearing a helmet with a wide brim, carrying a *sica* and large rectangular shield (**180**). The rest of the scene is missing, but the fragmentary inscription provides one word, identifying the figure as a *murmillo*. While there is no indication from the surviving inscription that this was a funerary stele, the piece was discovered in Beyazit with other funerary stelai, suggesting that the function was originally commemorative. Another stele, rectangular in form and dated to either the first century BC or AD, depicts a horse-and-rider pair hunting a boar, with a hunting dog, in front of a snake-entwined tree (**170**). This is among the few rider figures, versus a figure shown with but not riding a horse, in the body of surviving Byzantion stelai from the Roman period, and the only such depiction of what may be considered a 'sacred' tree.[295] A third fragmentary stele, reused at some stage when three holes were made through the surface, shows a rare nude figure, male, who may be swimming or diving (**189**).[296] The choice seems an unusual one, but the accompanying inscription leaves no doubt that the monument was a funerary stele.

Only four of the Roman-period stelai from Byzantion may be classified as multi-relief. One shows two figured depictions of equal scale and depth, a first-century AD monument pairing a seated-standing depiction with a banquet, the latter with an added central standing figure (**150**). This stele commemorates two individuals, a father and son. A second fragmentary stele, with an incised ship below a banquet scene, also commemorates multiple persons with two inscriptions (**105**). Two stelai, both from the first centuries BC or AD, pair a plough motif with an upper banquet scene, although the inscription survives from only one, recording the commemoration of a husband and wife, part of a single inscription (**137**, **139**). Based upon the

[295] Fıratlı identified three other depictions of what he considered Thracian riders or 'cavaliers', pre-dating the figure here (Fıratlı and Robert 1964, Nos. 184 and 187; Łajtar 2000, No. 183). Fıratlı also identified the figure of Marcus Antonius Fronto as a Thracian rider (No. 186) but here (**26**) I have classified this as a standing figure, where the horse is a prominent motif and emblem of wealth but not the same as the rider motif (see Andrianou 2017, 110-117). In addition to these, a stele of unknown date found in a church in Yarımburgaz in 1874, now lost, also featured a figure standing with a horse (Łajtar 2000, No. 185).

[296] For comparison, the Delian grave-stele of Kerdon showing a diving figure (Delos Archaeology Museum, A 1297.

few numbers of multi-relief forms here compared to Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia* (Chapter 6), preference among buyers in Byzantion favored single reliefs.

5.4 Inscriptions

Of the 102 stelai from Byzantion, eighty-five have surviving inscriptions but many are too fragmentary to provide details about the deceased individuals commemorated or dedicatees. Those inscriptions which survive are basic in formula, often giving no more than the name of the commemorated individuals, with few recorded ages or commemorators. Even the standard epigraphic formulae of *μνήμης χάριν* or *χαῖρε* were not included in the majority.

Exceptions include the military stelai, both with Latin inscriptions providing details about the deceased individuals and recording that the stelai were commissioned by colleagues from their respective legions (the 1st and 2nd Legions Adiutrix). The first, for Titus Flavius Surillio, identifies him as *aquilifer* of the 2nd Legion Adiutrix, and the second, for Aurelius Surus, names him as a *bucinator* of the 1st Legion Adiutrix and adds his origins from Syria (**114** and **115**). The features shared by these two stelai – and the more fragmentary third found with them – namely size, architectural decoration, and visual language, suggest these came from the same workshop, and may have been placed close together in the same section of the Beyazit necropolis. The soldiers in **114** and **115** were from two Pannonian legions, probably dying during the winter Caracalla spent in the Propontis region with the Danube army prior to the Parthian campaign.

Another stele, discovered in the area of the Golden Horn, also provides more detailed evidence of the identity and profession of the deceased (**190**). The relief shows a frontal bearded man with a book-roll. The funerary epigram identifies him as Theodoros, adopted son of Domitios, biological son of Epikrates, and a *grammatikos*. The epigram then continues:

> *You too, now, have gone the way we all go, Theodoros, once a lamp of poetry. Your native homeland was Bithynion (Klaudiopolis), in Athens you made yourself a* grammatikos *of a great name, in the city of Byzantion you gained fame, and now she has taken you as a mother to herself and has recovered the dead in the lap of her earth. Lukullos made this inscription for you, our friendship a memory. The longing for your sweet soul remains like an ever-burning sting in the heart.*

The epigram emphasizes several biographical details about Theodoros considered important for his commemoration, namely his fathers, adopted and biological, his origin, his place of training, and the city where he practiced his occupation until his death. This inscription is also the only epigram surviving from the Roman-period Byzantion stelai, and the fact that its author is credited indicates pride taken in presenting this form of commemorative dedication.

Although the inscriptions on figured stelai from Byzantion offer fewer details about the deceased and dedicatees than elsewhere, some statistics may be drawn from the body of evidence. Of those stelai with intelligible inscriptions, more men (seventy-two) are commemorated than women (forty-nine) where name and gender are known. There are fewer instances of age of deceased given, three falling in the age category of 0-17, eleven into the 18-40 bracket, and three into the 41 and older. The majority of those individuals whose age at death is recorded are men, and most fall into the 18-40 category. While age of the deceased is not as often provided on Byzantion stelai as on those from Bithynia-Pontus, individuals responsible for putting up stelai commemorating themselves while still living as well as another individual are identified more frequently here, with twelve instances. These occur predominately with married couples and with parents (mother or father) who have outlived a child, namely specific family relationships.

Memorials to one individual predominate (forty-two), followed by those to two or more unmarried individuals (twenty-one). Of the latter, these may be parents with children, siblings, as the case of the children of Diodoros (**98**) or of Metrodoros (**117**), or larger family units, such as a stele which commemorates members of the Caesonii family (**105**) where the kin ties are not entirely clear. The latter case also offers an instance of an identified *threptos*. Stelai commemorating married couples are fewer in comparison with other areas, with only five cases. It is possible, however, that married women in Byzantion used andronyms rather than

patronyms.[297] Using this formula, seventeen stelai might commemorate married couples. That being said, other stele inscriptions clearly identify the relationships between named women and other individuals, such as daughter or wife.

Few of the surviving inscriptions record the commemorators. The two Roman military stelai clearly identify colleagues, one of whom is also an heir, of the respective soldiers as monument-buyers (**114** and **115**). A first- or second-century stele identifies the parents of the deceased Zotichos as owners of the monument and tomb (**151**). Another inscription records the father of the deceased thirteen-year-old girl as dedicator of the monument (**162**): "I, Heliades raised (this stele) for Eia my daughter, having lived thirteen years, in memory. Farewell, passerby." The fragmentary inscription from the Caesonii stele suggests that one Aelia Iulia was at least in part responsible for the commemoration of her adopted son Zosimus (**105**). The funerary epigram to Theodoros identifies the author of the verse but not the owner of the monument, so that it is unclear whether or not Theodoros set up his own monument. The record in perpetuity of those setting up these monuments does not appear to have been a priority in Byzantion. Other inscriptions accompanying tomb-monuments may have contained this information, but for stelai such comparative evidence is absent.

The names preserved on stelai from Byzantion indicate a predominance of Greek names, for both men and women, compared with Roman, or even mixed Greek and Roman. These are names which have appeared in other regions of the Greek east, such as Apollodoros, Demetrios, Diodoros, Dion, Dionysios, Menekrates, Protion, Theophilos, Zosimos, and Zotichos, to list just a few. For women, Greek-origin names include Demokratia, Gykea, Lysidike, Stratonike, Tyche, and Tittha. There is also one instance here of the name Eia (**162**). One of the family stelai indicates that names of Latin or Greek origin could be used in the same generation, as of the four children of Diodoros, two of the daughters have Latin names (Polla and Paula), while the other daughter and the son have Greek names (**98**). There are only a few instances of Latin/Latinized names, including the Caesonii family (**105**), one Nemerius Gaius Scaeva with a

[297] Fabricius has made this argument with regard to Hellenistic-period figured stelai from Byzantion featuring banquet scenes (Fabricius 1999, 258-260). This formula for names, however, has not been acknowledged in the epigraphic publications, including Łajtar 2000.

Latin praenomen (**108**), and Marcus Antonius Fronto with a Latin cognomen (**109**). One of the first-century BC stelai commemorates three members of the Anicii family (**106**), originally from Praeneste, who probably were *negotiatores* in Byzantion.[298] This is also the only inscription from this body of stelai which features the pseudo-ethnic Ῥωμαῖος, employed in the east during the Hellenistic period in reference to all inhabitants of the Apennine peninsula, and so is not representative of Roman citizenship.[299] A stele of the same date commemorates one Quintus Attius Herakleides, probably a Greek who was granted citizenship by a Q. Attius, in all likelihood the Q. Attius Varus known to have been *praefectus equitum* for Caesar in Gaul in 51 BC.[300] Similarly, one Gaius Volusius Eros, commemorated on a first-century BC stele, was probably granted citizenship by a member of the Volusii family, perhaps as a freedman (**131**).[301] The only evidence of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* among these stelai comes from the two for the Pannonian soldiers (**114** and **115**).

The collection of names from a series of three stelai, as well as a fourth undated, from the same supposed findspot near the Hippodrome may point to these individuals being related (**147**, **148**, and **183**). The names from these stelai include Heroxenos son of Dionysios, Mama daughter of Heroxenos, Dynamis daughter of Heroxenos, Mama daughter of Apphous, Apphous son of Euphronios, and Euphronios son of Nikon, as well as Markia daughter of Dionysios from an undated monument from the same findspot.[302] It is tempting to agree with reconstructions of Euphronios son of Nikon as the father of Apphous, and of Markia and Heroxenos as siblings, children of Dionysios.[303] Heroxenos is unusual in the recorded names from Byzantion, being more common in Thrace and the region north of the Black Sea.[304] In terms of paleographic evidence, and the style of the iconography, these stelai have been dated to the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods, and does not preclude that these could have been put up within a

[298] Klebs 1894, 2196-2198; Wilson 1966, 110. One C. Anicius is mentioned in Cicero (*ad Familias* 12.21).
[299] Hatzfeld 1919, 243-245.
[300] Łajtar 2000, No. 267 (commentary). The other known Q. Attius is Q. Attius Celer, *legatus Aug. pr. pr. Thraciae* between AD 238-241, too late for this monument. For the Attii, see RE 1896, 2252-2259.
[301] Lippold 1961, 898-906; Łajtar 2000, No. 260 (commentary).
[302] Łajtar 2000, No. 140.
[303] Lane 1969, 37-40; Łajtar 2000, No. 277 (commentary).
[304] Lane 1969, 39. Łajtar 2000 (commentary for No. 277) has suggested that a third-century AD stele probably from the area around Byzantion, although with unknown findspot, which commemorates a Dionysios son of Heroxenos may belong with this group (Łajtar 2000, No. 334).

relatively short time span, over three generations or within a century.[305] If these do represent a group of related individuals, they would constitute the only such surviving among the figured stelai.

5.5 Discussion

While degrees of variation exist in form, size, levels of ornamentation, and placement or extent of both reliefs and inscriptions on figured stelai from Byzantion, the Roman-period monuments employ a relatively narrow spectrum of image types. As in Bithynia-Pontus, there is preference for banqueting imagery and standing figures, depictions which, in general, display not only marked consistency but also demonstrable priority in banquet imagery for more than two primary figures. There is little support for interpretations attempting to establish direct correlations between figures represented and recorded commemorations.

Comparison with the vast selection of Hellenistic-period stelai from the Byzantion necropoleis demonstrates gradual 'standardization' of image-schemas by the first century AD. The necropoleis at Byzantion were active for some seven hundred years, and the substantial number of surviving Hellenistic stelai in addition to the Roman-period material allows for a comparison of stele-use across this time period, particularly with regards to iconographic types. At present, a higher number of stelai associated with the Hellenistic period survive from Byzantion than for the Roman period. The distinction between Hellenistic and Roman-period figured stelai is not always clear, and comparison of figured stelai from the early fourth to late second centuries BC with the Roman-period stelai indicates marked continuity in the form of stelai and relief imagery in the themes, motifs, and attitudes. The earliest dated stelai, from the fourth century BC, show standing figures of the same type as in the Roman period, the numbers for which increase substantially from the second century BC on.[306] Seated women are also depicted from the third century BC onwards, as on an elaborate late second-century BC example

[305] Łajtar 2000, No. 277 (commentary).
[306] For the fourth-century BC stelai, Łajtar 2000, Nos. 89 and 124. Some thirty-one standing figure depictions may be dated to the second century BC (Łajtar 2000, Nos. 90-95, 97-100, 102-104, 110, 112, 115-116, 119, 125-126, 128-130, 133-136, 146, 148, and 150).

found in Süleymaniye for one Tertia Octavia or another of the same date for one Lollia Salvia (**Figures 22-23**),[307] this image-type not as prominent during later centuries.

Among the body of stelai dated before the first century BC, banquets are the most ubiquitous, with some sixty recorded by Fıratlı in 1964 and 1966, most sharing the same basic formula as later examples.[308] As Fabricius has discussed, many of the Hellenistic stelai supplement the typical objects of the banquet motif, such as food or drinking vessels, with additional items, or these may replace the former. Many of the Hellenistic banquet stelai depict book-rolls, diptychs, writing implements, and musical instruments, motifs and attributes which continue on examples from the Roman period. As in the case of **90** and **142**, food and drink are often absent in favor of allusions to intellectual activity. Some are set within more ostentatious architectural settings, with pilasters featuring *karyatids* and winged sphinxes (as on **90**; **Figures 22-23**), elements which do not feature on stelai after the mid-first century AD, suggesting a change in workshop characteristics as well as patron demand.[309] These Hellenistic banquet-motifs Fabricius has argued reflect "like nowhere else"[310] the 'civilizing' elements and connotations of symposia, as well as the cultural level of participants, probably as a deliberate self-stylization for citizens of the (Greek) *polis* to distinguish themselves from Thracian and Celtic neighbors.[311] The emphasis upon learning and education, and more specifically upon literacy, as well as leisure activities connected with *paideia*, is present on both Hellenistic and Roman-period stelai from Byzantion but is by no means unique to this *polis* (Chapter 9).

[307] Fıratlı 1964, No. 167 Pl. 42; PM 891 Pl. 132; Łajtar 2000, No. 157. Other third-second-century BC seated depictions: Łajtar 2000, Nos. 154-158, 160-170, 173, 174-176, and 180.
[308] Banquet scenes on third-second-century BC stelai: Łajtar 2000, Nos. 186-188, 190-196, 200-201, 203-204, 206, 209-223, 233-236, 239, 249, 251-256, 259-262, 267, 270, 274, 286-287).
[309] Fıratlı and Robert 1964, No. 33-35. An unfinished stele, probably funerary, was discovered as part of the Marmaray-Metro excavations in the Sirikeci Station at Istanbul, together with other stelai (excavation inventory number, 125; Erhan and Eskalen 2011, No. 3, Fig. 4). The roughly sculpted stone may have been intended to show a banquet scene, based upon faint figures, and indicates the presence of a workshop in Byzantion.
[310] That is, comparison with banquet scenes from Samos, Rhodes, and Kyzikos.
[311] Fabricius 1999, 270-272; Puddu 2011, 97-112; Fabricius 2016, 58-61; Russell 2017, 166, 200-201. Based upon onomastic evidence, during the archaic period, only 4.4% of names preserved are Thracian in origin, although these come mainly from stelai and coins, both of which as media represent the upper echelons, and stelai in particular are a predominantly urban phenomenon (Loukopoulou 1989a, 78-83; Loukopoulou 1989b, 198-207; Russell 2017, 203). The percentages are not radically different for the Hellenistic period (Fernoux 2004, 92-93), suggesting that while the polis maintained a strong Greek character, the interactions and dynamics between Greeks and the indigenous population were neither simple nor straightforward in their characterization.

The chronological distribution of figured stelai in Byzantion is represented in **Table 9**. Based on this sample, and acknowledging issues of reliability in a sample of this size for assessing chronological changes, the higher concentration of stelai may be attributed to the period between the early first century BC and the end of the first century AD, with a gradual decline in the second and third centuries AD. This coincides with the appearance of more sarcophagi, including those types in the second and third centuries AD utilizing recessed relief fields like those on stelai (5.1.1).[312] For example, a third-century sarcophagus found in Beyazit shows on its front face two relief fields flanking a *tabula ansata* with an inscription.[313] One field presents a crude banquet scene with three figures, the other a seated female figure looking right towards a box and a vessel on a drapery-covered pedestal. A second sarcophagus has six relief fields on one long side, including a banquet inside a *tabula ansata*, a rider with an inscription inside another *tabula*, and two reliefs with standing figures, a man in a *himation* inside an arch-field, and two male figures of different sizes, with two raised hands above the smaller figure (**Figures 24-28**).[314] The final two reliefs occupy the lower right corner of the sarcophagus face, with two carefully-detailed ships of different scales in flat relief. Banquet scenes or standing figures, or combinations thereof, feature in relief fields on other sarcophagi from Byzantion from the first to third centuries AD (**Figure 29**), and at least one chest includes another depiction of a ship.[315] A third-century AD sarcophagus now in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum garden shows on one long side a collection of objects in addition to a banquet inside a *tabula ansata* (**Figures 30-32**).[316] The objects include military attire, musical instruments, book-rolls, writing implements, two alabastra, a footed-casket, a wool-basket with spindle-and-distaff, as well as a comb and a handled mirror. Three inscriptions on the face, two in *tabula ansata*, record details of the owner, one Poplios Ailios Boubianos Eudamikhos, a prefect and military commander, as well as the burials of two members of his family. The similarity in the forms and frames of the

[312] Fıratlı 1964, Nos. 198-206 Pls. 48-56.
[313] Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4944; Fıratlı and Robert 1964, no. 198 Pl. 56; PM 934 Pl. 140; Łajtar 2000, No. 307. On the floor of the sarcophagus were discovered the skeletons of three persons, above this layer a stone, and above the stone the remains of a further thirty persons. Also inside the sarcophagus were found three terracotta lamps, a ring for a child, and a perfume bottle as well as some bronze coins, including a coin of Alexander Severus, one of Gallienus and a coin issued by Kalchedon.
[314] Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4252; Fıratlı and Robert 1964, no. 206 Pl. 54-55; PM 218; Łajtar 2000, No. 319. It has been argued by PM that the sarcophagus was probably originally set up in the first century AD, after which the images and accompanying inscriptions were added in stages.
[315] Łajtar 2000, Nos. 308-318, 320-322.
[316] Istanbul Archaeology Museum (garden), inv. no. 71.88.

relief fields on these sarcophagi, despite occupying the same vertical surface, with figured stelai is noteworthy, the placement of recognizable stele-forms on a sarcophagus-face suggesting the deployment of these images in the same manner as on stelai, but on a single burial monument.

Figured stelai and sarcophagi proliferate among the surviving funerary monuments from Byzantion. For the former, fewer examples of non-figured types survive, such as stelai with only objects or wreaths, particularly in comparison with sites in Bithynia-Pontus. Other types of relief monuments besides sarcophagi do appear, although also in fewer numbers compared to stelai. For example, a half-column carved with a bust of a nude male, probably from the second or third century AD, was found in the Süleymaniye area, and a second-century AD inscribed statue used to mark a grave for one Lollia Passerenia was uncovered during excavations in Marmaray.[317]

Beyond Byzantion and its environs, the patterns of use for stelai and other relief funerary monuments show degrees of consistency and deviation. The patterns in Bithynia-Pontus have already been examined and the trends in these respective regions will receive more thorough discussion in Chapter 9. While the same vocabulary of imagery is employed on stelai from the Bithynia-Pontus case-studies and Byzantion, and among these the banquet in still in preponderance, the respective chronological patterns of stele-use diverge. The highest number surviving from Byzantion fall between roughly 100 BC and AD 100, whereas the Bithynia-Pontus numbers fall more between the second and third centuries AD (**Tables 7**, **9**). The Megarian sister-colony of Kalchedon (modern Kadiköy) with its necropolis is also a fruitful point of comparison. The stelai from the necropolis here share many of the same features and characteristics as those from Byzantion, and it is likely that some of the former were produced in a Byzantion workshop during the Hellenistic period.[318] The number of stelai for the Roman period from Kalchedon decline by the first and second centuries AD, at which point the number of sarcophagi increases, as in Byzantion.[319] The ancient settlement of Selymbria (modern Silivri), northwest of Byzantion, features a collection of funerary monuments, most undated and/or now lost, but reliefs from stelai found here include banquet scenes, standing figures, and

[317] Fıratlı 1964, No. 190; Örnek and Demirkök 2010, 167 (Lollia Passerenia).
[318] Asgari and Fıratlı 1978, 1-3 Pl. 9-11; Mellink 1977, 314-316 figs. 28-31. The necropolis at Kalchedon shows evidence of activity from the sixth century BC into the Byzantine period.
[319] Asgari and Fıratlı 1978.

plough scenes.[320] Although the majority of these offer no indication of date due to levels of preservation, the chronological span probably extends from the Hellenistic into the late Roman period. Among these stelai one in particular is of note, for a Marcus Kinkos Nigeinos, soldier of the 11th Cohort Urbana.[321] The Trajanic-period stele, architectural in form but without a pediment, carries a frontal military figure, holding a book-roll, accompanied by a small-scale servant carrying a second scroll and supporting a lance.[322] Below the primary recessed field, a second field contains a variety of objects, including an armor tunic with a helmet, a kithara and pick, and a shield, some arguably accoutrements of his position but others associated with sport or the arts (**Figure 33**). The Cincii were a plebian family, known from the period of the Punic War.[323] Besides stelai, multiple inscribed sarcophagus fragments have also been found in Selymbria, from the second or third century AD.[324] Further west, the site of Perinthos (modern Marmara Ereglisi) preserves multiple figured stelai dated to the second or third centuries AD, among which standing depictions predominate,[325] including three soldiers.[326]

As elsewhere, the question of monument-buying socio-economic levels represented by figured stelai relies upon the inscription evidence. Personal details as recorded are obscure beyond name and possible kin ties. If the stelai from the area of the Hippodrome do constitute a family group, the epigraphic record offers no indication of their position in the *polis* (**147**, **148**, **183**). Only a handful of monuments record profession, namely the two Roman soldiers (and probably the third), the *murmillo* gladiator, the *grammatikos*, and the Caesonii family. For the last, the depiction of a ship on the lower part of the Caesonii stele (**105**) may or may not indicate an active role for the Caesonii family in maritime trade, but there were Caesonii in the area of Nikaia, another trading centre, during the Imperial period, where a Caesonia Secunda was wife of a Greek named Threptos.[327] These professions again suggest mid-range socio-economic levels. A fragmentary stele from Beyazit, for which no inscription survives, depicts a frontal

[320] Łajtar 2000, Nos. S 30-65.
[321] Łajtar 2000, S 31: Μᾶρκος Κίνκος Νιγρεῖνο[ς] / στρατιώτης χώρτης ἑνδεκάτης ὀρ/βανῆς ἥρως ἀγαθοποιός. (*Marcus Kinkos Nigeinos, soldier of the 11th Cohort Urbana, beneficent hero.*)
[322] Fıratlı 1966, 208 No. 260 Pl. 26; PM 306 Pl. 54; Łajtar 2000, S 31.
[323] RE 1899, 2555-2558; Łajtar 2000, S 31.
[324] Łajtar 2000, Nos. S 62-65.
[325] PM 303 Pl. 55, 310 Fig. 23, 313 Fig. 25, 627 Pl. 96, 781 Fig. 60, 1166 Fig. 75, 2103 Fig. 105, 2106, 2190 Pl. 312.
[326] PM 303 Pl. 55, 310 Fig. 23, and 313 Fig. 25.
[327] Durugönül and Şahin 1993, 55-60; Łajtar 2000, 193.

woman in a *chiton* and mantle knotted in front of her breast (**113**), an iconographic characteristic of the Egyptian goddess Isis and her priestesses, such as on a Roman-period grave stele from Athens.[328] Another Byzantion stele of unknown date shows the same knotted mantle, commemorating one Glykea, daughter of Herakon.[329] Although these iconographic elements are not direct evidence of the presence of an Isis cult in Byzantion, a Roman-period dedicatory stele found in Istanbul reads Ἐπικράτη Διονυσίου Εἴσι (*Epikrate, daughter of Dionysios, to Isis*).[330] In addition, a coin issue from the reign of Caracalla depicts Isis Euploia.[331] Some literary evidence also attests to the presence of cults of Egyptian gods in Byzantion, such as Polybius IV 39.6, which notes a Serapeum on the European side of the Bosporus, opposite a Hieron of Zeus Urios.

Some Hellenistic stelai record other professions, including a second-century BC stele for a *paidagogos* Athenodoros found in Galata,[332] and a female ἰατρείνη (translated as doctor or mid-wife).[333] Among the first-century BC stelai from Byzantion is a monument for three members of a family from Praeneste originally, the Anicii, who probably served as *negotiatores* in Byzantion (**106**). Other *negotiatores* families are represented on earlier stelai from Byzantion, including for one Cocceia Prima, one Vibia Moschi(o)n, and for Varini Polla and Paconia Polla, connected to the Varinii family.[334] Names preserved on multiple stelai from the first-century BC also attest to Greeks who received Roman citizenship (**89** and **131**), individuals who may have been freed slaves.[335] Additional stelai not included in the catalogued number here further attest the presence of enslaved- and freed-persons among those commemorated by figured stelai. A stele of unknown date found in the environs of Byzantion (Yarımburgaz), now lost, with a

[328] Walters 1988, 83, Pl. 6 a,b; Spathi 2012, 98.
[329] Łajtar 2000, no. 139.
[330] Łajtar 2000, no. 16.
[331] Schönert-Geiss II, no. 1587.
[332] Laurent 1932, 425-426 No. 3 Fig. 4; Voutiras 1998, 145-147; Łajtar 2000, No. 156.
[333] Fıratlı and Robert 1964, No. 97-97 No. 139 Pl. 35 (with commentary by Robert, 175-178); PM 467 Pl. 77; Łajtar 2000, No. 128.
[334] Fıratlı and Robert 1964, No. 148; Łajtar 2000, No. 136 [for Cocceia Prima]; Fıratlı and Robert 1964, No. 169 Pl. 43; Łajtar 2000, No. 161 [for Vibia Moschi(o)n]; Fıratlı and Robert 1964, No. 179 Pl. 45; Łajtar 2000, No. 175.
[335] Stelai for freed slaves, without Roman citizenship, also occur among the pre-first-century BC stelai, including Fıratlı and Robert 1964, No. 119 Pl. 29 (PM 273 Pl. 51; Łajtar 2000, No. 91), Fıratlı and Robert 1964, No. 130 Pl. 31 (Łajtar 2000, No. 100). Other unprovenanced stelai perhaps from Byzantion or its environs originally may provide additional evidence for the second and first centuries BC (Łajtar 2000, Nos. 345, 352, 353, and 372).

frontal man standing with a horse commemorated Hermaphilos, *oikonomos* of one Thrason.[336] In addition, a first or second-century AD banquet stele probably from the territory of Byzantion, now in Bucharest, records three individuals commemorated, two slaves owned by the *polis* and a woman, Tertia, daughter of one of the slaves but apparently already free or at least not owned by Byzantion.[337] A municipal slave is also recorded on a sarcophagus fragment.[338] Only the two stelai for the Pannonian soldiers among this group have Aurelius in their onomastics as a result of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (5.4), yet there is greater evidence for this citizenship grant from non-figured stelai and some of the sarcophagi, including two of those with stele-like reliefs, a result probably of the gradual decline of figured stelai by the late third century AD in Byzantion and the shift to other funerary monument-forms.[339]

Patrons of figured stelai thus included members of the 'professional' strata, freeborn and freed-persons, as well as those holding Roman citizenship and some Roman military personnel. The vast majority, however, remain indistinct beyond name. Comparison with the other prominent relief monuments from Byzantion's necropoleis, namely sarcophagi, presents a similarly obscured picture for most sarcophagus owners, with the exception of that monument for the family of a Roman prefect noted above and a non-figured first-century BC sarcophagus for a judge from Mylasa who died while in Byzantion.[340] Two other sarcophagi with more detailed inscriptions (5.1.1) offer evidence of renovation and inheritance of pre-existing family tombs, but beyond recording the *hekatostys* of the deceased other personal information is sadly absent.[341] Overlap between patrons of these respective monument-types is probable, particularly if those sarcophagi with a stele-like arrangement of reliefs came into use as an available alternative to free-standing individual stelai marking graves in a family burial space, interment of allowed members now in a single sarcophagus – as opposed to multiple individual burials – with individual 'stelai' marking its face. The use of this amalgamation of two traditional monument forms on the funerary-scape of Byzantion towards the end of the Roman period, albeit for a

[336] Łajtar 2000, No. 185.
[337] Łajtar 2000, No. 242; National Museum (Bucharest), inv. no. L 1423.
[338] Łajtar 2000, No. 313. Other municipal-owned slaves are known: IG IX 2.871 (Larissa in Thessalia), I. Delos 1764 (Delos), Robinson 1913, 73 (Cyrenaica). On the issues of this category of slave, see Robert 1968, 436-439.
[339] Non-figured stelai: Łajtar 2000, Nos. 294-296. Sarcophagi: Łajtar 2000, No. 318, 320, and S 64.
[340] Łajtar 2000, No. 316. The inscription is within a *tabula ansata*.
[341] Łajtar 2000, Nos. 318 and 320.

relatively short period, underscores the continuity of relief stele-like forms within this landscape and the enduring appeal of these forms and imagery – particularly the banquet motif – among a mixed if often indistinct population of patrons.

Conclusion

The picture of Byzantion's necropoleis-spaces based upon the surviving archaeological evidence, while fragmentary, presents less diversity of relief monument-types than apparent in other *poleis* such as those in Bithynia-Pontus, with a preponderance of stelai and sarcophagi making up individual as well as family or kin burial spaces. The prominence of figured stelai in this monument landscape during the Roman period, and of particular motifs such as banquets, highlights continuity with the Hellenistic funerary repertoire within an equally long-established and even, by the Roman period, historic physical use-context.

This continuity with tradition appears in juxtaposition with changes – however subtle – over time, in decorative framing and desired elements emphasized in relief depictions, both linked to individual taste and consumer demand as well as workshop characteristics. Emphasis upon wealth, 'civilized culture,' learning, and the pastimes of the Greek populace, set within elaborate and opulent architectural frames, is apparent on Byzantion-stelai of the third to first centuries BC. The material of the late first century BC on, however, while depicting the same broad types of iconography and forms, displays less ostentatious settings in which objects, accessories, and attributes emphasize learning and wealth within more 'standardized' image schemas. The development of the sarcophagus with stele-like reliefs-amalgamation epitomizes this shift in consumer demand during the Roman period, individual taste producing a unique monument form simultaneously appealing to both tradition and larger-scale monuments for family use. These monuments represent the culmination of some seven centuries of figured-stele traditions in Byzantion, the re-foundation of the Constantinian capital and the rise of Christianity marking a more permanent shift and abandonment of figured-stele forms (Chapter 9).

CHAPTER 6

MYSIA AND THE *PROVINCIA* OF ASIA: EPHESOS, KYZIKOS, AND GÖNEN

The region of Mysia and the Roman *provincia* of Asia represent a substantial geographic area, one significant for two reasons. First, it ranks among the earliest areas of Roman influence in Anatolia as well as the first Roman province here. Second, the area incorporates some of the largest, most populated, and more politically and culturally significant Hellenistic *poleis* of Roman Anatolia, such as Ephesos, Kyzikos, Pergamon, and Smyrna. The active role of the cities in this region in the political, social, cultural, and intellectual movements which mark the period from 100 BC to AD 400 make figured stelai from this area essential to any consideration of these monuments within Anatolia. The geographic area constituting Mysia is confusing the ancient sources such as Strabo, but was subsumed by the newly-formed Roman province of *Asia* in 131/129 BC, and these administrative borders represent the geographic parameters utilized here. The administrative borders allow for the Roman-period connections between the cities and settlements related to provincial administration to be taken into account, but other – pre-Roman – connections between cultural regions such as Mysia are also considered where these may be hypothesized. For the purposes of this study, the sites of Ephesos, Kyzikos, and Gönen will serve as case-studies, the surviving stelai from these habitation areas permitting a focused examination of stele-use across different settlement-types, from provincial capital (Ephesos), to *polis* (Kyzikos), to rural settlement (Gönen). The region of Lydia, incorporated into the political and administrative boundaries of the *provincia* of Asia until AD 297, is not included here but as its own *provincia* case-study (Chapter 7) in light of the diversity – both cultural and in terms of settlement history – which marks this region and the patterns of stele-use compared to the rest of *Asia*.

The intensive publication of epigraphic evidence from Mysia and *Asia* over the last century has incorporated stelai, including the *Inschriften Kleinasien* series. Iconographic evidence, however, has been only superficially presented in these tomes. Pfuhl and Möbius (1977/1979) presented some figured stelai, without any geographic analysis. While studies have

been made of Hellenistic-period stelai in pertinent case-studies,[342] figured stelai of the Roman period with known provenance from the broader region have not been examined in detail.

6.1 Regional History

Mysia refers to the region of northwest Asia Minor named after a Thracian tribe, roughly bordered by the Hellespontus and the Propontis to the north, in the east by the Rhyndacus River and the Olympus massif which separate this region from Bithynia, and in the west by the Troad.[343] Articulating the southern borders proves more difficult, although the region bordered Phrygia and Lydia (**Figures 34-35**). Mysia never formed an economic or administrative unit as Bithynia did, yet remained an important region for its strategic port cities, including Apollonia, Kyzikos, Priapus, and Parium, as well as roads and rivers which constituted major thoroughfares between Europe and Asia Minor (**Figure 5**).[344] A coast road, probably beginning at Kyzikos, connected the coastal cities, and the main rivers with navigable sections, including the Rhyndacus, Macestus, Tarsius, Aesepus, Granicus, Scamander and Caicus, provided additional connections, for example along the Rhyndacus to Prusa ad Olympum and on to Bithynia and Phrygia.

Much of Mysia was incorporated into the *provincia* of Asia, with the capital at Ephesos, formed in 131/129 BC when Rome took possession of the Pergamene kingdom.[345] Kyzikos, for example, lost its free status under Tiberius who made the *polis* part of the *provincia*.[346] In contrast to Mysia, *Asia* as a *provincia* did constitute an economic and administrative unit. Like the double-province to the north, the pre-Roman landscape incorporated into the new *provincia* was an urbanized one, and despite the loss of political autonomy between the fourth century BC and the first century AD, these regions were already densely populated with urban centres by the

[342] Zanker 1993, for Smyrna; Fabricius 1999, for Kyzikos.
[343] For regional subdivisions and descriptions, see: Ptol. *Geogr*. 5.2.15; 8.11.1; Str. 12.4.4; 10; 8.8; 12; 12.8.11; Pliny HN 5.123; 6.133-135.
[344] Marek 2016, 372-381 (Map 20), 391 (Map 22).
[345] Magie 1950, 147-176; Mitchell 1993, 72; Marek 2016, 251-255.
[346] Tacitus *ann.* 4.36; Suet. *Tib.* 37; Dio 57.24.6.

time of Roman control, and pre-Roman *poleis* retained their Greek cultural traditions and identity, and often their existing civic territories.[347]

During the mid-third century AD, the province was divided administratively with the formation of the province Phrygia-Caria, and, with the reforms of Diocletian and his successors, by the first-quarter of the fourth century seven administrative units existed in place of the original province.[348]

Three case-studies had been selected from this region. Ephesos, located approximately three kilometers from modern Selçuk, was an ancient (with Chalcolithic and Bronze Age settlements prior to the foundation of the Greek colony) and flourishing Greek commercial centre on the Ionian coast by 131 BC when it came under the control of the Roman Republic as a *civitas libera atque foederata*.[349] At various points in its history the city had been under Persian, Seleukid, Ptolemaic (246-196 BC), and Attalid (188-131 BC) domination, valuable for its natural harbor. Ephesos was the first *polis* in the new *provincia* to be named *metropolis,* followed in time by six others, and was seat of the proconsul of *Asia*.[350] Extensive epigraphic evidence indicates the influx of Roman settlers into the provincial capital by the Augustan period, and wide-spread excavations carried out in and around Ephesos have revealed both the extent of the Roman and Early Byzantine city as well as evidence of economic significance and population growth during the Roman and Late Antique periods.[351] Areas of archaeological exploration have included the city's multiple necropoleis, addressed in more detail below.[352] The city suffered damage from many earthquakes (AD 23, 262, 359-366, 467/8, 557, and 614), undergoing comprehensive construction activity during the Late Antique and Early Byzantine periods, beginning with Theodosius I (AD 379-395), including the development of a second city centre around the church of St. John, which became the medieval city centre.[353]

[347] Magie 1950, 159-176.
[348] Marek 2016, 392-395, and Map 23.
[349] ILS 34; Koester 1995.
[350] Cass. Dio. 51.20.6; Marek 2016, 420.
[351] Successive annual excavation reports in *AAWW* and *JÖAI*, as well as excavation publications and monographs in *FiE* since 1906.
[352] Pietsch 1999; Pillinger 2001; Steskal *et al*. 2011; Steskal 2013; 2017.
[353] Ladstätter 2017, 239-240.

Located on the south coast of the Propontis on the isthmus of the Arktonnesos (Kapıdağ) peninsula, modern Balkız, east of Erdek, is associated with ancient Kyzikos. The strategic geographic location of Kyzikos, as well as its double harbor and large territory,[354] led to the city's prosperity in antiquity and role in international commercial trade. A mid-seventh-century BC Milesian foundation, Kyzikos was declared a free city in the treaty of Apamea in 188 BC.[355] Augustus temporarily revoked the freedom of the city after it had put to death a group of Romans,[356] and under Tiberius it was incorporated into the province of *Asia*.[357] Due to its strategic location, the city was among the harbor bases of the *classis Pontica*.[358] Perhaps in connection with this or with the general trading vitality of the *polis*, Strabo identifies 200 shipsheds (12.8.11). Under Hadrian the city was rebuilt following an earthquake, and awarded the title *neokoros*.[359] Systematic excavations have yet to be undertaken at Kyzikos, and as a result much of its urban – and necropoleis – landscape remains undocumented.

Little is known about the ancient rural settlement at modern Gönen, situated on the ancient Aisepos river, about thirteen kilometers south of ancient Zeleia, itself thirty-five kilometers southwest of Kyzikos. As with other sites in *Asia*, funerary remains represent the primary evidence for these rural settlements and villages in the absence of systematic survey.

6.1.1 Case-study necropoleis

Among the best studied necropoleis for the case-study sites from *Asia*, benefiting from systematic and formal excavation, occur at Ephesos, as well as continued work at Kyzikos. Three extra-urban necropoleis active during the Roman period have been investigated, namely the West necropolis (the so-called Harbor necropolis), forty-five hectares in size, the Southeast necropolis along the Sakikaya, roughly ten hectares, and the East necropolis, along the Panayırdağ, about thirty-five hectares (**Figure 36**).[360] Thus some ninety hectares of burial space

[354] Cf. Strabo 12.8.11.
[355] Plutarch *Lucullus* 9; Appian *De bello civili* 5.137; IGR IV 135. Hasluck 1910; Magie 1950, 811-812, 901-904; Engelmann and Knibbe 1989, 103-106.
[356] Cass. Dio 54.7 and 23.
[357] Tacitus Annules 4.36; Cass. Dio 57.24.6.
[358] Dio 79.7.3. A tomb epitaph from Kyzikos identifies a prefect Crispinus (Merkelbach and Stauber 1998-2000, II.49).
[359] Marek 2016, 420.
[360] Steskal 2017, 176-179. It has only recently come to my attention that four figured stelai depicting gladiators recovered in Ephesos (Zülkadiroğlu and Içten 2002, 78-81) were discovered *in situ* set in "simple grave walls" of a

used during the Roman period is known at Ephesos. Evidence indicates that these burial spaces were densely packed during the Roman period, with more than 1,200[361] individual burial sites known, primarily built-tombs and free-standing sarcophagi.[362]

Studies of funerary practices and social stratification based upon the funerary monuments at Ephesos have demonstrated the impact of the Roman presence in the *polis*. Contact with Rome brought about an increase in the number of cremation burials at Ephesos, represented by a series of some 180 burial containers and fragments, including 137 *ostothekai*.[363] Chronological and stylistic analysis has suggested a cycle of producing increasingly ostentatious burial containers, a so-called "Style war"[364] between the existing provincial elite at Ephesos and newly-arrived Roman settlers.[365] The iconographic shift beginning during the Augustan period from plain and unornamented *ostothekai* to more grandiose garland motifs, culminated towards the end of the second century AD with the garland sarcophagus.[366] Inscriptions from these containers indicate that the primary consumers of both plain and garland *ostothekai* were Roman settlers and citizens, and over half of the Roman names have Greek cognomen, perhaps freedmen.[367] These individuals, marginal in Roman society as freed slaves, held a vital commodity, namely Roman citizenship, possessed by few provincials prior to the second century AD.[368] Ostentatious burial containers, as expressions of economic and social capital, served as a medium for articulating wealth and status of settlers in contest with local elites.[369]

'mass grave' for sixty-eight individuals about 300m east of the stadium at the foot of the Panayirda hill between the processional path (the so-called *Damianosstoa*) and the ancient road (Pietsch and Tinkl 1995, 19-48; Kanz and Grossschmidt 2009).

[361] Only above-ground burials, the original number of burials would have been much higher (Steskal 2017, 179). In the West necropolis, some 355 burials were found on the surface, but more than one thousand were identified by geo-physical survey and aerial photographs in the survey published by Steskal. Seventy-four surface burials were discovered in the Southeast necropolis, and ninety-nine in the East necropolis.

[362] Steskal 2017, 179.

[363] Asgari 1977, 373 nos. 806, 451, and 452; Thomas and Içten 1999, 549-554 Pls. 131.3-4, 132.1-4; Thomas 2005, 292.

[364] Defined by Thomas as "a cycle of increasing ostentation in burial containers between the Roman settlers and the provincials," a manifestation of the political and social instability caused by the Roman freedmen (Thomas 293, 298). See also Parker-Pearson 1984.

[365] Thomas 2005, 292-293.

[366] Thomas 2005, 294-296; Öğüş 2010, 275-276.

[367] Thomas 2005, 296-297.

[368] See Hodder 1979.

[369] Thomas 2005, 298.

Unfortunately, the evidence of figured-stele use at Ephesos is limited, only two with a known provenance datable to the Roman period catalogued.[370] In spite of the limited – and probably artificially low – number which are not representative due to preservation, reuse, and lack of provenance, the site is retained as a case-study as comparison for the broader iconographic trends in the province. Epigraphic evidence from figured stelai suggests at least some were used in conjunction with other monuments, as well as simpler markers. For example, the epigram from a stele found in Demirkapı (between Hadrianoutherai and Miletoupolis) notes a *τύμβος* as well as a *στήλη* as part of the monument commemorating the deceased.[371]

As with the case-study sites in Bithynia-Pontus, the necropoleis of Kyzikos have not been systematically explored. Scattered findings suggest that perhaps one necropolis is situated outside of the eastern city-wall, and another west of the *polis*.[372] Other evidence of burials may be seen north of the city-walls, near the Roman amphitheater. The Byzantine-period necropoleis are concentrated south of the city, on either side of the Panormos harbor in the zone between the city-wall and the canal separating the city from the mainland.[373] In his 1880 account, Sorlin-Dorigny made note of a collection of graves with bronze coins of the Augustan to later periods,[374] located at the entrance to the village of Yeni-Keui (Yeniköy, now Aşağıyapıcı) on the east coast of the peninsula, listed on the maps in the appendix of Hasluck (1910). Unfortunately, Sorlin-Dorigny did not provide further information about these graves. Scattered burials have been discovered in the eastern section of the *polis*, near the Bay of Bandırma, as well as in the western necropolis northeast of the Temple of Hadrian with sondages carried out since 1989, including three Roman-period sarcophagi[375] as well as the *naiskos*-relief monument discovered

[370] Four additional figured stelai have come to my attention, too late to be included in the catalogue for Ephesos, but noted here and discussed below.
[371] Peek 1960, 211; PM 2176; Schwertheim 1980, No. 538 Pl. 44; Cremer 1991, KB 11.
[372] Fabricius 1999, 314-318, figs. 40-41.
[373] de Rustafjaell 1902, 180-187; Hasluck 1910, 15-18; Sève 1979, 343-345; Fabricius 1999, 314-315.
[374] Sorlin-Dorigny 1888, 4-6: "Ces bronzes au capricorne sont assez fréquents dans les tombeaux des Cyzique situés, près de la porte est de cette ville, de chaque côté de la route qui conduit à Pérama. Cette nécropole, que j'ai en partie explorée, doit avoir été établie aprés le siège de Mithridate et je ne crois pas qu'on ait continué d'y enterrer au second siècle; en effet, les tombeaux, renfermant des monnaies de l'époque des Antonins et des princes syriens et africans, sont situés dans un endroit assez éloigné. Dans la plupart des tombeaux du cimitière de la route de Pérama, on trouve, près de la tête du mort, une bractéate d'or estampé, mais les plus souvent une pièce de bronze." An Imperial-period grave for a man in the area was also published by Carabella, who also noted the presence of unguentaria, a lamp, glass vessels, one of which had figured adornment, aryballoi, and a strigil (Carabella 1879, 204-206 Pl. 7).
[375] Yaylalı, Koçhan, and Başaran 1991, 209-210 Pl. 3.4, fig. 21; Yaylalı 1991, 174 Fig. 4; Yaylalı and Özkaya 1994, 545-546, Pl. 4; Yaylalı and Özkaya 1995, 114 Figs. 20-22, Pl. 2.3; Yaylalı and Özkaya 1998, 375-376, Fig. 19.

by E. Akurgal in the 1950s.[376] Some inscriptions from figured stelai from Kyzikos, and the region of Mysia more broadly, utilize a formula beginning with *ὑπόμνημα*, but whether this refers to a specific sort of 'tomb' or to a burial more generally remains unclear as it occurs in inscriptions from stelai as well as sarcophagi.

6.2 Geographic distribution

Of the 153-known figured stelai from sites in the region of Mysia and *Asia*, 113 are from sites with more than three stelai finds, represented in **Table 10**, while the remaining are from single find-spots or fewer than three. The highest concentration of figured stelai from 100 BC to AD 400 occurs in northern sites of the *provincia*, with the exception of Smyrna.

Only a sample of the figured stelai from Mysia and the *provincia* will be the focus of this chapter, the sites chosen based upon the number of provenanced figured stelai to make up a representative sample for the regional use of this monument-type. Iconographic and epigraphic evidence from fifty-six stelai (ASIA **191-246**) from the provincial capital at Ephesos (two),[377] the *polis* of Kyzikos (forty-nine), and the rural settlement at Gönen (five) will be presented, with focus on types of imagery employed, emphases in the epigraphic record, and in particular those characteristics distinguishing these case-studies from each other or from those in other provinces.

The difference in known stele-numbers between Ephesos and Kyzikos in the Roman period is marked, and the number for the former may be artificially low in light of both the poor state of preservation for many funerary monuments from Ephesos, and the patterns of re-use over the course of not only the Late Antique and early Byzantine periods in Ephesos but also the later Ottoman period into modern times. Furthermore, as in many regions of Anatolia, many stelai have been published with unknown provenance or findspot, so that they may be attributed only stylistically to sites such as Ephesos or their environs.[378] That being said, the number of known Roman-period stelai for Ephesos remains lower than for the Hellenistic period, and given the

[376] IK Kyzikos no. 146. A banquet scene adorns the monument, dated to the second century BC.
[377] The four additional figured stelai which have come to my attention are not included in the catalogue.
[378] IK Kyzikos; IK Ephesos.

higher numbers of other monument-types employed in Ephesos, figured stelai may not have featured as prominently among funerary monuments utilized in the Roman period.

6.3 Iconography

The fifty-six-surviving figured stelai from the three case-study sites display a familiar selection of image-types (**Table 11**). Banquet scenes predominate, as single reliefs and in combination with another scene(s). Thirty-three of the forty-nine stelai from Kyzikos feature banquet scenes as the primary scene, and four of the five from Gönen. One of the two stelai from Ephesos shows a banquet. These depictions share the same basic schema as banquet scenes examined previously, with a reclining male figure and a veiled seated woman, a tripod table, and one or more small-scale servants in attendance (EPHESOS **191**; KYZIKOS **198-200**, **202**, **206-207**, **210**, **212**, **218**, **235**, and **236**; GÖNEN **244**).

Some distinct variations occur in the schema of the majority of the banquet scenes from the case-study sites. First, the raised wreath in the hand of the reclining banqueter, an attribute common to those scenes in Bithynia-Pontus and Byzantion, is almost completely absent, with one instance known from Kyzikos (KYZIKOS **212**). Instead, the majority of the male figures are shown with their right arms resting across their legs, holding a vessel in their left hands (such as KYZIKOS **193**, **196**, and **198-199**). The style of the table also varies in some scenes from Kyzikos and Gönen, appearing as a bench-like rectangular tripod (KYZIKOS **214**; GÖNEN **243**, **245**). There are also differences apparent in styles of *klinai*, such as a couch with high, curved ends and a back (KYZIKOS **212**), and another with folds suggesting it is draped in a cloth (KYZIKOS **196**). The chairs of the female figures also vary, sometimes within the same scene, such as two slightly different 'block-like' seats on a first-century BC stele, one displaying a pattern, the other covered in draped cloth (KYZIKOS **214**). Two other stelai from the same period show two women seated on high, thin-backed chairs (KYZIKOS **215** and **216**).

Banquet scenes here also feature more primary figures. For example, six main figures appear on a first-century BC rectangular *naiskos*-stele, including four reclining male figures and two seated women (KYZIKOS **193**). On other examples, two or three men recline, with one or

more women seated facing each other at the edges of the scene (KYZIKOS **203-205**, **208**, **211**, **214-216**, **232-234**, and **237-238**; GÖNEN **242-243**). Another stele, from the first-century BC, shows two men reclining, but is unusual in not including female figures (KYZIKOS **196**). Standing non-servant figures, still smaller in scale but distinguished from servants by clothing and pose, may also be added, as on a first-century BC stele with a small-scale frontal male figure wearing a *himation* in a typical pose (KYZIKOS **204**).

While the poses of most male figures in banquet scenes remain consistent, those of female figures can differ, even within the same scene. For example, on a first-century BC *naiskos*-stele two women flank the central *kline*, one a traditional *Pudicitia*-type, the other leaning backwards, her right hand resting behind her, her left in her lap, her left leg slightly extended (KYZIKOS **214-215**). The latter figure-type has been designated the Penelope-type.[379] Variants of the *Pudicitia*-type also appear, such as a so-called *Pudicitia* Philista, after the second-century BC Stele of Philista from Smyrna, where the left hand of the seated woman is vertically raised, clasping the edge of her mantle, her right arm resting on her lap (KYZIKOS **202-203**).[380] This pose is not entirely dissimilar from the standard pose of female figures in banquet scenes not only in Mysia but also in Bithynia-Pontus and Byzantion. Another *Pudicitia* variant, the "Braccio Nuovo," named after the statue by the same name in the Vatican Museum, features a bundle of cloth, clutched in the right hand at the edge of the mantle near the neck, covering the left arm (KYZIKOS **205-208**, **235**).[381] A stele from Gönen (GÖNEN **243**) features another variant of the *Pudicitia* pose, the so-called Proto-*Pudicitia*, which might date back to the fourth century BC.[382] These poses occur primarily on first-century BC stelai.

Some banquet scenes incorporate additional objects, including vessels (KYZIKOS **196**, **200-201**, **204**, and **214**) and wool-baskets (KYZIKOS **198**), such as female servants holding a *kalathos* (KYZIKOS **198-200**, **210**, **218**, and **233**). A *naiskos*-stele dated to the second century AD

[379] Gauer 1990, 31-33; Stähler 1990, 5-7; Cremer 1991, 89-90.
[380] PM 435 (for cf., 434, 436, 572, associated with Smyrna, and dated between the middle and end of the second century BC); Cremer 1991, 86-87.
[381] Horn 1931, 65 Pl. 23; Cremer 1991, 83.
[382] Conze 1893-1906, no. 859 Pl. 154, no. 1179 Pl. 260, no. 306 Pl. 74, and no. 454 Pl. 108; Cremer 1991, 87-88.

incorporates what may be a long, tapered trumpet-like instrument suspended above the heads of the figures (KYZIKOS **218**).

Banqueting scenes also appear in combination with other scenes. Some of these are flat-relief depictions, such as a ship with no masts on a first-century BC stele (KYZIKOS **214**), but more frequently these are framed relief fields of variable scale (KYZIKOS **215-216**, **222**, **238**, **240**). Banquet scenes may be used in conjunction with horse-and/or-rider motifs. One of these shows a horse-and-rider pair (KYZIKOS **238**), another an attendant holding a horse (KYZIKOS **215**). On another scene accompanying a banquet, a woman is seated on the ground line (without a chair) holding an object in her hands, while the central standing man, frontal in a *himation*, extends his right hand to her (KYZIKOS **216**). For these three stelai, the secondary fields are equal in size or smaller than the banquet scenes, the placement of the latter above the other reliefs suggesting the banquet is the primary depiction. A first-century BC stele from Gönen features a smaller secondary relief also with a horse-and-rider scene (GÖNEN **245**). This scene is exceptional in that the rider is a veiled woman, seated frontal on the back of the horse, both hands resting in her lap. Two smaller-scale figures accompany the scene, a standing 'Penelope'-type at the left, and a male at the right who holds the bridle of the horse.

Bust or half-figure depictions constitute another category of iconography appearing as single scenes or as primary scenes. Six are known from Kyzikos, and one from Gönen. A first-century AD example found in Endek-Artake shows a typical male half-figure (KYZIKOS **220**). Two half-figures appear on another stele of the same period, a veiled woman at the left and a man at the right (KYZIKOS **229**).

Two stelai include half-figures with other reliefs (KYZIKOS **222** and **240**). On a first-century AD stele, for example, a larger field carries three frontal half-figures, a man and veiled woman flanking a more youthful, nude, central male bust (KYZIKOS **222**). Below, in a smaller field, is a banquet scene in the typical schema but with a central frontal man wearing a *himation* standing in front of the couch. A second, fragmentary stele depicts the remains of a female half-figure in the upper field, above a smaller field with a typical banquet (KYZIKOS **240**). Whereas

banquet scenes may appear as primary or secondary scenes, half-figure depictions always occupy the upper field when shown in conjunction with another scene, and are larger in scale.

Other image-types from the Kyzikos stelai include seated figures. One of these (KYZIKOS **216**) is an unusual instance in this case-study group as the woman is not seated on a chair. Another stele features a veiled woman seated on a chair at the right, in a pose similar to that in banquets, an attendant standing in front of her (KYZIKOS **223**). The relief on this monument is probably second or first century BC in date, while the surviving inscription is likely second or third century AD, representing an example of the reuse of older relief stelai in the Roman period. A variation of this iconographic motif on a first-century AD stele shows a seated man, in front of whom a smaller male figure stands over an anvil (KYZIKOS **227**). Another early Imperial stele adds a horse-and-rider pair, facing a seated woman larger in scale to both (KYZIKOS **225**). On a second-century AD stele, two male figures stand in front of a seated veiled woman, a horse-and-rider pair in a second scene looking towards a snake-entwined tree, at the foot of which stands an altar (KYZIKOS **241**). Three riders in *chitons* and chlamys approach an altar (with a relief of a ram) at the base of a snake-entwined tree over which a veiled woman makes an offering in a fragmentary scene on another second-century stele (KYZIKOS **224**).

In addition to these types of imagery, gladiator figures occur on two second-century AD stelai (KYZIKOS **221**, **228**). An inscription for one of these, dated by the hairstyle to the Antonine period, identifies the deceased, Euprepes, as a *provacator* (KYZIKOS **221**). The other is fragmentary, a frontal male figure standing with a shield and helmet, but the inscription does not explicitly identify the deceased as a gladiator (KYZIKOS **228**). Four additional stelai have come to my attention from Ephesos, not included in the catalogue, which all depict gladiators.[383] Two of these feature representations of a *provocator*, another two a *thaex*, all shown with the armour and weapons of their occupation as well as the wreaths and palms of their victories.

An agricultural motif occurs on one third-century AD stele, with a farmer holding a *kentron* behind a plough pulled by two oxen (KYZIKOS **226**). This is the only instance of this motif on its own among the Mysia stelai. The form of the stele, a *naiskos* arch-in-pediment with

[383] Zülkadiroğlu and Içten 2002, 78-81.

akroteria, is noteworthy for its similarity with stele-forms from Prusa (about 60km from Kyzikos) where agricultural motifs are more prominent (Chapter 4).

One stele, now lost, is attested to depict a man standing in a ship holding what may be a rudder with a pouch or bag under his arm (KYZIKOS **231**). An inscription identifies the deceased as holding the official position of *stolarches*. The purported iconography for this stele may be similar to a stele now visible in the garden of the Bandırma Museum showing a male figure seated in a ship (**Figure 37**).[384]

Eight multi-relief stelai occur in the case-study evidence. The two primary image-types paired with other scenes are banquets (five, KYZIKOS **214-216**, **238**; and GÖNEN **245**), and half-figures (two, KYZIKOS **222**, **240**), with one seated-standing depiction as the primary relief (KYZIKOS **241**). The majority occur in Kyzikos, although multi-relief types appear across Mysia. Scenes combined with banquets as the primary image include horse-rider pairs (KYZIKOS **215**, **224**; GÖNEN **245**), a ship in flat relief (KYZIKOS **214**), and seated-standing figures (KYZIKOS **243**). The only type with which banquets appear as a secondary motif are half-figures (KYZIKOS **222** and **240**). The single seated-standing scene is combined with a rider relief (KYZIKOS **241**).

For the current case-study examples, there is no obvious distinction between either the paired reliefs or the placement of the inscriptions to suggest a chronological gap. The fact that only one of the eight stelai commemorates two persons (KYZIKOS **215**), probably a father and son, while the other seven are single commemorations reinforces this. For the double commemoration, the inscriptions, both names, appear between the two reliefs fields, strategically placed below each respective reclining male figure in the upper banquet scene. In terms of persons commemorated, only one stele commemorates a woman, one of the two stelai with a half-figure paired with a lower banquet (KYZIKOS **240**). The only distinction among the imagery is the half-figure representing a woman.

[384] Museum inv. no. 2017/1775.

6.4 Inscriptions

Of the fifty-six figured Roman-period stelai from the case-study sites, fifty-three have a surviving inscription. The majority include only the name(s) of the deceased in a two-part formula of name with patronym, most in the nominative, and some with *χαῖρε*. Some inscriptions follow the standard formula of "so-and-so for so-and-so, *μνήμης χάριν*," although these are fewer in number than in other regions. Others contain dialogue between the passerby and the deceased (KYZIKOS **204**, **209**). Elements of some inscriptions are unique to Mysia and *Asia*, namely the use of *ὑπόμνημα* ("tomb") followed by the name of the deceased and usually a clause naming the dedicatee(s) (KYZIKOS **210**, **213**, **230**, **239**). One inscription from Gönen (GÖNEN **246**) is longer, beginning with the *ὑπόμνημα* for the formula, and includes an imprecation against other bodies than those specified (a husband and wife) being buried in the tomb, and the fine for this offense payable to the city.

Some stelai feature more detailed inscriptions or epigrams (KYZIKOS **214**, **216**, **230**, **231**). A second-century stele, for example, clearly dictates who is allowed to be buried in the tomb (*ὑπόμνημα*), namely Hermaphilos Stratonos who set up the monument while living, together with his foster-sister, her husband, and her son (KYZIKOS **230**), continuing with an injunction and specified fine for any person who disturbs the burial. The stele for the *stolarches* similarly set fines for any disturbance of his memorial, to be paid to the *fiscus* and to the *polis* (KYZIKOS **231**).

Two other stelai, both first century BC in date, begin with a standard identification of the deceased. One then continues with a dialogue between a survivor and the deceased, also giving the birthplace of the latter, namely Limnai (KYZIKOS **214**). The other provides commentary on Hades carrying away the deceased (KYZIKOS **216**).

The surviving inscriptions from the Kyzikos stelai display little priority for the age or profession of the deceased, with only two exceptions recording age (KYZIKOS **226**, **229**), the stele for a *stolarches* and another which identifies the deceased as a gladiator (*provacator*) (KYZIKOS **221**). Two second-century AD inscriptions designate the (male) deceased with the title *ἥρως* (KYZIKOS **224**, **241**). One names three men, each identified as a *ἥρως* (KYZIKOS **224**), and the

other stele, although commemorating four men, distinguishes only one with the title (KYZIKOS **241**). The latter is also the only instance among the Kyzikos stelai which identifies the monument as a stele. It is worth noting that both of these stelai feature reliefs with horse-and-rider figures approaching an altar at the base of a snake-entwined tree, and KYZIKOS **224** shows three riders, echoing the inscription.

Among the inscriptions, more men are commemorated than women (fifty-one versus thirteen respectively). Single commemorations are the majority (thirty-two). Twelve are for two or more unmarried persons, and only two are for married couples. Where two or more unmarried persons are commemorated, these are usually members of the same family, such as siblings, foster-siblings (KYZIKOS **207**), and a parent with a child. One stele was set up by a man for himself and his foster-sister, together with her husband and son (KYZIKOS **230**). The connections between commemorated persons, however, are not made clear in all cases, perhaps reflecting combinations of immediate and extended family (KYZIKOS **193**, **224**), and suggesting that specifying such connections was not necessarily a priority.

Similarly, recording the name of the commemorator does not appear to have been a priority, with only nine instances. Of these, six are single individuals, and constitute siblings, a foster-parent (KYZIKOS **207**), a husband, and two men who funded their own monuments for themselves and either a spouse or extended family. Three inscriptions record two or more persons responsible for the commemoration, two of which are sons for a parent or both parents (KYZIKOS **210**, **212**). In the case of the third, the exact relationship between the three commemorators, and with the deceased, is not clear but again based upon names seems a combination of immediate and perhaps more extended family (KYZIKOS **241**).

Names here are a mix of Greek or local elements, as well as some Latin names. Greek names predominate, many of which are familiar from other regions, such as Apollonios, Artemeisia, Diagoras, Dionysios, Helene, Metrodoros, Theodoros, and Theodotes among others. There are fewer instances of Roman or Latin names, such as a tomb of Aulus Vettienus (KYZIKOS **210**), and one Aelia Philemation (KYZIKOS **213**). A third-century AD stele is dedicated to one Septimia Aurelia Ophelime by her husband Markos Ouapios Trophimos

(KYZIKOS **239**), the only instance of an Aurelii name. The onomastic repertoire here – particularly for Kyzikos – with a preponderance Greek names probably indicates more individuals holding citizenship of the *polis*, in addition to some indicators of a Thracian population (such as KYZIKOS **215**).[385]

6.5 Discussion

The figured stelai from these case-study sites share many elements, although diversity is apparent elsewhere in Mysia and *Asia*, particularly in the southern areas such as around Smyrna.[386] Shared elements of figured stelai from the area around Kyzikos and Gönen, including the sites of Miletoupolis and Karacabey not included here, such as the number of figures in a scene, a bench-like table, the absence of a wreath, variations of the *Pudicitia*-type for poses for women, and in the inscriptions the use of the formula *ὑπόμνημα*, are due to both geographic proximity, namely to Kyzikos, and characteristics of workshops.[387]

The most evidence for Hellenistic precedents for stele-use survives from Kyzikos, where the most frequent relief-type, with some 130 instances,[388] is the banquet, virtually identical in schema to the Roman-period monuments.[389] Other image-types employed on Hellenistic stelai from Kyzikos and its environs are in common with those of the Roman period, such as standing, seated, and seated-standing, although during the Roman period these scenes, including banquet motifs, appear more 'standardized'.[390] The variant female poses, like the scenes themselves,

[385] Fabricius 1999, 302-303.
[386] At Smyrna, for example, the number of standing-figure scenes are higher, carrying over from Hellenistic traditions (Petzl 1982, nos. 166, 175, 376, 397, 416, 541; Zanker 1993, 214-230; Karlsson 2014). Three Roman period stelai from Smyrna (Petzl 1982, nos. 399; PM 1216, 1241) are for gladiators, among a collection of other inscriptions which attest to the prominence of gladiators (Petzl 1982, nos. 399, 400, 546-548; Petzl 1987, nos. 835-843; for additional relief imagery, Petzl 1982, nos. 412-415, 418-419).
[387] These elements have been used to ascribe stelai with unrecorded provenance to Kyzikos or the broader territory of northern Mysia (Schwertheim 1980, no. 384; Schwertheim 1983, nos. 10, 15, 16; Sayer 2000, nos. 14 and 15; Tranrıver 2002, 104 No. 3).
[388] Calculated by Fabricius 1999, 277-314. This number includes stelai of first-century BC date, thus overlapping with those stelai included here with known provenance. Also Schwertheim 1980; 1983; Cremer 1991; Şahin 1997; 2000; Puddu 2010, 57; Karlsson 2014; Fabricius 2016, 55-58.
[389] For example, PM 1631 Pl. 238, 1633 Pl. 239, 1918 Pl. 276; IK Kyzikos nos. 46, 100, 128, 146 Pl. 42, 150, 170 Pl. 14, 173, 300 Pl. 23, 321 Pl. 25, 519 Pl. 38; Cremer 1991, KSt 1 Pl. 10, KSt 30 Pl. 13, and KSt 44 Pl. 14.
[390] For examples of a Hellenistic-period seated scene, IK Kyzikos no. 81 Pl. 8; Cremer 1991, K 55 Pl. 16, KF 1, KF 2.

make up part of a long-standing iconographic repertoire. The 'Penelope'-type and the variants of the *Pudicitia*, namely the Philista, the Braccio Nuovo, and the 'Proto-*Pudicitia*' originate in the Hellenistic period, between the fourth and second centuries BC.[391] The Philista-type is also noteworthy for its probable Smyrnean origins.[392] For male poses, one stele displays a distinct type, the so-called philosopher- or Demosthenes-type (Chapter 5), a seated male with right foot pulled back, left slightly extended, right hand under chin (as in KYZIKOS **227**). This type, in use since the third century BC although not as prominent by the Roman period on stelai, suggests a continued connection with traditional motifs as well as the emphasis and value of being seen engaged in intellectual pursuits.[393] The inscriptions from these monuments also include some indications of occupation and designations of the deceased as *ἥρως*.[394]

Other motifs included in banquet imagery on Hellenistic-stelai from Kyzikos have been discussed by in detail by Fabricius. These include objects associated with a symposia context, such as *kylikeia* and vessels (**Figures 38-41**), as well as snakes and horse protomes which, together with rider imagery, have been interpreted as visual allusions to heroic qualities of the deceased.[395] For Kyzikos specifically, evidence from the epigraphy suggests that these *ἥρως* identifiers, limited in number,[396] represented actual awards in the Hellenistic period, probably reserved for the upper aristocratic elite.[397] Fabricius has convincingly shown that these functioned within an arena of competition among this social group, who into the early Roman period monopolized the visual expressions of heroization conveyed by this type of imagery, namely banquets with heroizing elements such as snakes and horse imagery.[398] For example, an honorary decree of the Early Imperial period for one Demetrios and his family suggests a heroon state-grave for his grandfather, Asklepiades, erected in the gymnasium, awarded by the demos in

[391] Conze 1893-1906, no. 859 Pl. 154, no. 1179 Pl. 260, no. 306 Pl. 74, and no. 454 Pl. 108; Horn 1931, 65 Pl. 23; Gauer 1990, 31-33; Stähler 1990, 5-7; Cremer 1991, 83-90.
[392] PM 435; Cremer 1991, 86-87.
[393] Plautus *Miles* 209-219; Richter 1965, figs. 1106-1108; Cremer 1991, 91-92; Zanker 1993, 219.
[394] Fabricius 1999, 305-307. IK Kyzikos no. 340 records a barber (*koureos*), and PM 1647 commemorated a lamp-lighter (*lampadiokopos*). The latter may have been produced by the Kyzikos workshop but probably was not set up here, given the Doric name of the owner, Matrodoros (Fabricius 1999, 307).
[395] Fabricius 1999, 291-293, 305-307, 312-314, 325-328; Fabricius 2016, 55-58.
[396] The number of *ἥρως* additions in Kyzikos is not as prominent in the Hellenistic period as for other cities in the Greek world, such as on Samos (Fabricius 1999, 121-123, 152-163; Fabricius 2016, 58).
[397] Schwertheim 1980; 1983; Fabricius 1999; 2016, 58.
[398] Fabricius 1999, 325-334; Fabricius 2016, 55-58.

recognition of the *oikist*'s participation in the Alexandrian War (46 BC).[399] The descendants of Asklepiades could then participate in these state-sanctioned honours, for example an annual *agon* held in his honour during which honorific wreaths were given in genealogical order.

Other relief-types, namely rider figures and hunt scenes, also occur on Hellenistic and to a lesser degree Roman-period stelai. On Hellenistic-period examples, as for the Roman period, these depictions are usually paired with other scenes, such as banquet, seated, or seated-standing scenes, as on a second-century BC fragmentary stele found between Aksakal and Bandırma and a second from Ergili-Daskyleion.[400] Hellenistic depictions of riders both in Kyzikos and in Mysia more broadly often include altars, as well as *ἥρως* in the inscriptions, as in a third-century BC example from Miletoupolis, leading some scholars to argue these represent heroizing imagery of the deceased.[401] The connection between rider figures – as opposed to horses without riders – and heroization particularly given the identification *ἥρως* in many cases has merit, although Cremer's argument that this only applied to the young who died unmarried falls short of explaining cases where the deceased were clearly older and/or married.[402] Corsten, alternatively, has suggested the rider motif should be considered as influence of the Thracian population in Mysia.[403] While a possibility during the Hellenistic period, the Roman-period evidence does not suggest any other association between the monuments and Thracians (names, for example), so that any direct correlation with a Thracian population element should not be considered necessary.

One image-type, the half-figure, appears more prominently during the Roman period than among the Hellenistic corpus. The incorporation of this type into the pre-existing repertoire for stelai around the time of the formation of the Roman *provincia* suggests this iconography largely derived from Italian bust-forms, such as so-called freedman portraits.[404]

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[399] *IGR* 4 no. 159; Hasluck 1903, 89-91; Hasluck 1910, 264 no. 210; Gauthier 1985, 57, 61; Jones 2010, 35-36; Fabricius 2016, 58.
[400] IK Kyzikos nos. 411 (the inscription on this stele is probably of later date than the relief) and 51; PM 1982 Pl. 285.
[401] PM 1377 Pl. 200; IK Kyzikos no. 410 Pl. 30. Cremer 1991, 55-70.
[402] IK Kyzikos 515 Pl. 39; IK Kyzikos II.65. Both of these are Roman-period (first and second century AD) examples.
[403] Corsten 1993b, 309. See also Adrianou 2017, 110-117.
[404] Cremer 1991, 93-101. For the Italian bust forms, see Zanker 1975, 267-269; Frenz 1977; Kleiner 1977; Frenz 1985; Pflug 1989.

Limited conclusions may be drawn regarding the chronological distribution of figured stelai (**Table 12**). Based upon the higher number of finds from Kyzikos, the concentration of known stelai falls in the first-century BC, tapering off gradually between the first and third centuries AD. Comparison with other sites in the vicinity, namely Karacabey and Ergili-Daskyleion, also indicates higher numbers for the first-century BC whereas the evidence from Miletoupolis is predominately second and third century AD. This suggests a gradual decline in general across the region from the first century AD on, with some diversity representing more localized tastes and trends, following the broad preponderance of the monument-type during the Hellenistic period. The limited surviving evidence from Ephesos allows for no conclusions, although in the provincial capital figured stelai had not constituted a prominent tradition in the Hellenistic period, and did not become one during the Roman period. Nearby Smyrna, where as in Kyzikos figured stelai had featured as a popular funerary monument during the Hellenistic period, also presents evidence for a decline in stele-numbers during the Roman period.[405]

Of note is the chronological pattern apparent in the iconographic types employed on multi-relief stelai. The limited relief-types employed may be chronologically divided. Banquet scenes as primary upper reliefs, for example, all date to the first century BC, while the half-figure type as a primary motif appears in the first century AD, consistent with the greater prominence of half-figures after the first century BC.

Other relief monuments from the same use-contexts in the case-study sites offer comparative material for figured-stele patterns. Non-figured relief stelai depicting objects include two examples from Kyzikos, second and third century AD in date respectively.[406] Another Kyzikos stele, undated, shows a wreath.[407] Two second-century stelai probably from Hadrianoutherai also depict objects. On one, for a man, a wreath, a diptych, and a *falx vinitoria* decorate the main field, under a pediment carrying an eagle, while the other, for a woman, includes a spindle-and-distaff, comb, and *kalathos* with the wreath, a dove-like bird in the

[405] Zanker 1993.
[406] IK Kyzikos nos. 205 and 214.
[407] IK Kyzikos no. 427.

pediment field.[408] These non-figured types survive in fewer numbers in *Asia* compared to Bithynia-Pontus.

Monuments such as *bomoi* also appear in the case-study necropoleis and the broader region. For example, twenty-five inscribed *bomoi* have been found in Mysia, including around Kyzikos, although only one in Kyzikos at present, but only two of these altars carry reliefs. One, found in Edincik, from the third century AD, shows a horse-and-rider pair, and another, undated from Büyükbalıklı, carries a farmer and plough.[409] Many reliefs with funerary inscriptions have been discovered in both Ephesos and Kyzikos but their fragmentary nature does not allow for reconstruction of the original monument-type. For example, a relief fragment of Hadrianic date from Kyzikos depicts a row of nude female figures which probably came from a funerary monument originally.[410] Numerous fragments of relief panels in addition to stelai now adorn the garden of the Bandırma Archaeology Museum, some mirroring prominent motifs, namely banquets, common to the regional repertoire, while another panel shows a *prothesis* scene (**Figures 42-43**). An early or middle Roman Imperial panel from Ephesos shows a seated veiled woman, and a rider approaching an altar appears on another relief.[411] Some may have been panels from built tombs, or otherwise part of larger units as opposed to freestanding stelai. Sarcophagi are also numerous, although usually quite fragmentary, but do indicate that this monument-type came into greater prominence in the Roman period, together with *ostothekai*. These types feature more Aurelii names.[412]

Broader regional comparison of figured stelai illustrates continuity of iconographic types, as well as general schema. Banquets as single reliefs and in combination with other reliefs predominate in the majority of sites with four or more stelai (**Table 10**), and across the region more broadly, with the exception of Smyrna where standing figures represent the higher

[408] Akyürek Şahin and Onur 2010, Nos. 3-4.
[409] IK Kyzikos nos. 110 and 385.
[410] PM 2098 Pl. 302; IK Kyzikos no. 537 Pl. 41.
[411] PM 1315 Pl. 193; IK Ephesos no. 2329C. Other grave relief panels from Ephesos include IK Ephesos nos. 2231, 2236A, 2255E, and 2418.
[412] IK Kyzikos no. 110 (bomos), 113 (grave relief), 112 and 117-118 (sarcophagi). Other grave inscriptions record Aurelii but the original monuments these accompanied are unknown (IK Kyzikos nos. 103-109, 111, 114-116, 119-122).

proportion of both Hellenistic and Roman-period stelai.[413] Some examples of variation to the banquet formula include a two-relief first- or second-century AD stele from Karacabey where, in addition to a typical banquet in the lower panel, an upper field depicts a *kline* but with a male figure seated at the right end, a casket on the left end of the couch, accompanied by a male attendant holding a diptych.[414] Half-figures occur frequently as well, often in combination with other image-types, mainly banquet scenes but also riders, agricultural themes, and objects (**Figures 44-45**).[415]

Other types of iconography from sites in the *provincia* either do not appear among the current case-study sites or occur in higher numbers elsewhere. For example, an ornate second-century AD stele from Karacabey shows in a lower relief the figure of Hermes, identified by his *cadeucus/kerykeion*, as Psychopompos gesturing with a staff towards a winged, flying insect (**Figure 46**).[416] This is the only identifiable representation of Hermes among the surviving figured stelai known from *Asia*, although Hermes appears in epitaphs, and is represented on other types of funerary monuments.[417] The greatest diversity of iconography occurs in Smyrna where banquet scenes are superseded in number by standing depictions. Of note among the Roman-period stelai from Smyrna includes a standing male figure in a short *chiton* bearing a double-axe, accompanied by a dog, as well as a male figure wearing only a chlamys and pointed cap holding a spherical 'ball', dated to AD 41/42 or AD 96.[418] Gladiators also appear prominently at Smyrna, with three instances on figured stelai, as well as on other funerary monuments as at Ephesos.[419] In addition to the four stelai with gladiator figures noted above, at least three other relief monuments depict similar figures.[420] Unique among stele iconography in the Roman

[413] For Hellenistic stelai from Smyrna, see Zanker 1993. Of the nineteen Roman-period stelai with known provenance for Smyrna, nine show standing figures, the remaining representing banquet (four), and seated-standing (six) (PM 160, 448, 473, 524, 737, 777, 788, 847, 878, 978, 1139, 1140, 1168, 1216, 1241, 1603, 1985, 2222; Petzl 1982, no. 399).
[414] Hasluck 1910, No. V 53; PM 1534 Pl. 221; Schwertheim 1980, No. 91 Pl. 8.
[415] For example, PM 1113, 1118 Pl. 169, 1156 Pl. 308, 1608 Pl. 308; Schwertheim 1980, Nos. 6 Pl. 12, 18, 38 Pl. 2, 45, 50, 65, 138 Pl. 12, 162 Pl. 13, 515 Pl. 39, 533; Schwertheim 1983, Nos. 69, 80, 86; Schwertheim 1985, No. 7 Pl. 15.
[416] PM 1636 Pl. 239 [figure with double-axe]; Peek 1955, GV I 1884; PM 788 Pl. 116; Petzl 1982, No. 541 [figure with 'ball'].
[417] Hermes is depicted on a Roman-period sarcophagus from Byzantion (Łajtar 2000, No. S 63).
[418] PM 1168 Pl. 175.
[419] PM 1216 Pl. 182, 1241; Petzl 1982, no. 399 Pl. 28.
[420] Zülkadiroğlu and Içten 2002, 76, 78.

period, like depictions of Hermes, is a first- or second-century AD obelisk-stele depicting a seated bearded man, his right shoulder and arm uncovered, holding a long tapering staff and gesturing towards a skull on the groundline (**Figure 47**).[421]

Characteristics of multi-relief stelai from the case-study sites have been discussed, but this type occurs frequently elsewhere in the region of Mysia. Figured stelai with two or more reliefs number at least thirty-nine with known provenance attributed to the Roman period. Two-relief stelai, with thirty-two instances, outnumber both three-relief (six) and four-relief (one).[422] As primary/uppermost reliefs, banquet and half-figures predominate, with twenty-two and fifteen respectively, with a single occurrence outside of the case-study material of a seated-standing scene as the primary relief. More prevalent combinations include banquet with horse-rider scenes (ten) (**Figures 48-49**), and half-figures with banquet scenes (ten) (**Figure 44**). Other types utilized as secondary reliefs include plough motifs, although in a limited number compared to Bithynia-Pontus, seated, standing, and seated-standing scenes, as well as some banquet scenes paired with other banquets. In terms of chronology, while multi-relief stelai in *Asia* appear from the first-century BC up to the second century AD, a higher number have been attributed to the first century BC/AD (nineteen), the exception being the site of Miletoupolis where more second- and third-century AD monuments appear. The preponderance of multi-relief stelai in Mysia may be linked to Graeco-Persian stelai used in the region, particularly in the satrapy capital at Daskyleion (Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.15), from the fifth and fourth centuries BC.[423] The site was later incorporated into the territory of Kyzikos, at which point the Graeco-Persian stelai, potentially still visible, may have given rise to the Hellenistic-period multi-relief stelai, which continued into the Roman period.[424] Some components of the iconography on these fifth- and fourth-century BC stelai continued in use in later periods, including the hunt and figures on horseback,

[421] Peek 1955, GV I 1364; PM 847 Pl. 123; Petzl 1982, No. 558.
[422] Two-relief stelai: PM 1156, 1534, 1636; Schwertheim 1980, no. 8; Cremer 1991, UMiS 8, MiKSt 2, MiKSt 3, MiKSt 6, MiKSt 8; MiKSt 11, MiSt 38, KB 1, KB 3, KB 5, KB 7, KB 8, KB 10, KB 11, KB 13, KB 14, KH 5, KH 8, KH 9, KH 10, KH 12, KH 13, KH 16, KH 19, KN 7, KN 10, KN 12, KS 4. Three-relief: Cremer 1991, UMiS14, MiKSt 1, MiKSt 7, KB 6, KB 12, KH 23. Four-relief: PM 687.
[423] Cremer 1991, 17-21. On Graeco-Persian stelai, see PM 2-6, 73-75; Altheim-Stiehl, Metzler, and Schwertheim 1983, 1-3 Pl. 1; Cremer 1984, 87-89 Pl. 6; Nollé 1992; Fabricius 1999; Karagöz 2013. For Daskyleion as a Persian satrapy, see Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.15.
[424] Cremer 1991, 17-18, 26-27; Nollé 1992; Fabricius 1999; Karagöz 2013. On Daskyleion becoming part of the territory of Kyzikos, see Strabo 12.8.11. A group of eight Graeco-Persian stelai have been found at Daskyleion, including PM 3 Pl. 2, 5 Pl. 2, 74 Pl. 19, 73 Pl. 19.

motifs which were then combined with banquet or half-figure depictions into the Roman period.[425] The chronology of multi-relief stelai and their iconography from the case-study sites noted above is consistent with that of the broader regions for this type, namely a higher number of multi-relief monuments with primary banquet scenes during the first century BC and a greater proportion of half-figure dominant stelai from the first century AD onwards.

In looking at figured stele-use in the broader region, some of the wider trends find exception in Miletoupolis, particularly in terms of the chronological patterns in the stele-types produced by the local workshop (3.2.2) proposed by Cremer, although those monuments produced at Miletoupolis do not equate to stelai used at the site. Cremer's analysis does point to some possible trends in the production of certain types of stelai as tied to *polis* economics.[426] Two main types produced by the Miletoupolis workshop have been identified by Cremer, namely a single-relief *naiskos*-type and a multi-relief type, the latter subdivided into those with banquets or half-figures predominating. Based upon the chronological distribution of the two, Cremer has proposed that higher numbers of the single-relief stelai, assumed to be less expensive to produce than the multi-relief type, in the second century AD compared to the first and early second centuries AD result from an economic downturn in the *polis*. The chronological distribution, however, need not necessarily be due to economic factors alone as much as individual choice for a particular monument-type.

Those stelai included in the sample and examined thus far as part of the broader figured-stele habit in *Asia* clearly share iconographic and form traditions. Other areas of the *provincia*, particularly along the border zones with Lydia and Phrygia, feature similar iconographies but rendering and style differ more markedly. For example, among sixteen stelai found in or attributed to the site of Kadoi (Eski Gediz, in the Upper Hermos Valley, in the border area between Mysia Abbaeitis, Lydia, and Phrygia) nine stelai depict standing or half-figures but stylistically these depictions – while produced locally – have more in common with Phrygian monuments.[427] Non-figured reliefs, incorporating objects – mirrors, combs, wreaths, and sickles

[425] Cremer 1991, 19-31.
[426] Cremer 1991, 105-111.
[427] PM 1137, 1138, 2183, 2202, 2283; Lochman 1991, nos. 1-5 [standing], 6-9 [half-figures], 10-16 [reliefs without human figures].

among others – as well as animals including birds and lions, share some elements of overlap with those stelai whose style of execution and rendering present continuity with the Hellenistic tradition but also clearly with door-stelai, unsurprising given the proximity of the Kadoi to Aizanoi and its prolific door-stele workshop.[428] These non-door figured stelai with strong Phrygian influence, Roman-period products,[429] do not appear in concentrated numbers in any of the sample case-study sites as the latter are further from the border zones with Phrygia but the type represents an important component in the broader stele-habit in Roman-period Anatolia.

Once again, reconstructing the groups represented by these monuments produces limited conclusions. Only two stelai identify an occupation for the deceased, namely the *stolarches* and the *provacator*. One stele depicts a smaller-scale man holding an object over an anvil, in front of a man seated at the right (KYZIKOS **227**), but the inscription does not name a trade. A similar scene constitutes the lower relief accompanying a larger field with a typical banquet on a late second-century BC stele found in Yenice (**Figure 50**).[430] Here again the inscription does not identify a profession for the deceased, one Hephaistion, *ἥρως*, although the correlation between the deceased's name and the image, a motif familiar from depiction of the god Hephaistos, is obvious.[431] Other iconography perhaps representative of profession includes ships, one of which survives from the case-studies (KYZIKOS **214**), among others known from the broader region, such as another auxiliary incised relief on an undated stele discovered in a cemetery between Karacabey and Miletoupolis.[432] Ships also occur on Hellenistic-period stelai, as in the case of a fragmentary field from a second-century BC Kyzikos stele showing, in addition to a standing male figure, the prow of a ship.[433] The higher number of epigrams from stelai in these sites evoke a sense of intellectual engagement, real or perceived, on the part of the deceased or commemorator, but does not serve as a reliable gauge of social or economic standing.[434]

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[428] Lochman 2003, 26-54.
[429] The ateliers in Kadoi appear to have been producing these stelai in the mid-to-late second century AD (Lochman 1991, 17-21).
[430] PM 1170 Pl. 175; IK Kyzikos 232 Pl. 16. Now in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum (inv. no. 5366).
[431] Cremer 1991, 43-44.
[432] IK Kyzikos 294 Pl. 22; Cremer 1991, KN 4 Pl. 3.
[433] IK Kyzikos 53 Pl. 4.
[434] Emphasis upon intellectual pursuits read by some scholars in the imagery in particular on stelai from Mysia and *Asia* has been connected to the prominence of the region, and Smyrna in particular, in the so-called Second Sophistic, with renowned thinkers such as Polemon of Smyrna, as well as textual evidence such as Philostratos in the *Vitae Sophistarum* (613) who describes Smyrna as a city "which more than any other city sacrificed to the

Comparing the Hellenistic and Roman-period material for the region, there is limited change apparent from the onomastics, with a continuation of primarily Greek names, as well as some Thracian, but only limited evidence from stelai of a Roman presence. The iconographic vocabulary employed in the Roman period, while deploying many of the same motifs and schemas as the Hellenistic repertoire, displays a decline of the heroic imagery of the third to first centuries BC, such as snakes or horse protomes – although the continued albeit limited use of riderless horses in scenes may be interpreted as heroic as well as wealth allusions – and of those symposia elements contextualizing some banqueting imagery (KYZIKOS **201**). These elements emphasizing familial and genealogical cohesion for the maintenance of the social standing of a particular elite group during the Hellenistic period, in particular for Kyzikos, do not feature as prominently from the first century BC onwards. The imagery, formerly monopolized by the aristocratic elite, by the Roman period appears to have expanded in use to a broader socio-economic spectrum, including gladiators, 'professional' groups, and – potentially – traders, in addition to Roman military personnel. Furthermore, some (iconographic) evidence for this monument-type as well as the iconography suggests use among farmers by the Roman period (KYZIKOS **226**), although less than in Bithynia-Pontus.[435] Furthermore, while the Hellenistic and Early Imperial (first century BC to first century AD) depictions of banquets from Kyzikos as well as Miletoupolis tend to include more primary figures as reclining men and seated women, later evidence features fewer such expanded scenes, suggesting consumer demand favored scenes of a single reclining man and seated woman. This trend for single-couple banquets may be linked with the expansion of the socio-economic consumer base utilizing this monument-type and less priority among these patrons – compared to the aristocratic elite of *poleis* such as Kyzikos – for visually representing familial and genealogical continuity cementing their position in the *polis* community. Exceptions include an ornate *naiskos*-stele self-dated to AD 148/149 found in Devecikonağı (near Mustafakemalpaşa) with an expanded banquet scene, including two

sophistic Muses," and attests to a Museion in Smyrna where book-laden *paidagogoi* led boys to be instructed by masters (618).

[435] Another Roman-period example found in Daskyleion-Ergili (now in the Museum Basmahane in Izmir, inv. no. 358) has a farmer with a plough as a secondary relief, carved at a lower level of relief, to a typical banquet scene (PM 1141 Pl. 286; IK Kyzikos no. 230; Cremer 1991, KN 10).

reclining men and two seated women as well as a child on the lap of one of the latter, although a single commemoration for a woman.[436]

What is not apparent in the figured-stele evidence from the case-studies, or indeed from *Asia* more broadly, is the "style war" or competition between social groups expressed in changes in funerary monument-types and decoration as apparent in Ephesos (6.1.1). This probably results from the distinctive population make-up for Ephesos – as provincial capital – from the first and second centuries AD compared to *poleis* such as Kyzikos, the former marked by an influx of Roman colonists. The influence of a Roman presence in the new *provincia* may be expressed, however, in the increase in half-figure depictions between the first and third centuries AD on stelai, to the extent that this iconographic type outnumbers standing depictions in the region.[437]

Conclusion

The overview of the iconographic and epigraphic evidence from the figured stelai from the three case-studies for Mysia and *Asia* illustrates the simultaneous regional diversity and continuity within a large geographic area. Stelai display continuity with much of the Hellenistic-period material, particularly in Kyzikos and its environs where the distinction between the Hellenistic and Roman-period material is blurred, but also older traditions apparent in the continued and expanded use of multi-relief stelai with their origins in Graeco-Persian monuments. While there is obvious iconographic and geographic overlap in stele-use around Kyzikos, the evidence also presents more localized patterns in the broader region, such as at Miletoupolis. More diverse patterns also appear along border zones such as in Kadoi, where evidence suggests greater affiliation with that from Lydia (Chapter 7) and Phrygian traditions. The limited evidence from Ephesos – while not representative in itself – demonstrates the same sorts of iconography and epigraphic components as the other case-studies, with higher occurrences of gladiators, but preferences in the provincial capital favored other monument-types. Evidence from Gönen demonstrates members of the population engaged in the same cultural milieu as citizens of

[436] PM 1972 Pl. 283; IK Kyzikos no. 484; Cremer 1991, MiK 1.
[437] The exception being Smyrna, where standing figures remain predominant over other types. There are some instances of bust-like half-figures which may date from the Hellenistic period (Cremer 1991, KB 15-16).

poleis, and their desired self-perception. Patterns of use suggested by the distribution of stelai in this region, namely the concentration of figured stelai in settlements and *poleis* in the north, and questions of how this might relate to settlement types among other factors will be taken up later (Chapter 9).

The evidence for the use of figured stelai in *Asia* defies regional generalizations and highlights the importance of both local conditions and individual patron preference. Priorities of patrons appear manifested in not only regional distribution patterns but also iconographic trends and emphases in self-representation. The preoccupation of Hellenistic-period aristocratic stele-owners with displaying expanded and more complex scenes on monuments – rich with references to heroic honors and symposia contexts – gradually faded in favor of emphasis placed upon more "standardized" schemas for banquets as well as standing and half-figure representations. These shifts point to individual choice as well as an expansion of those socio-economic groups utilizing the monument-type in the Roman period.

CHAPTER 7

LYDIA: SARDIS, SAITTAI, AND IAZA (AYAZVIRAN)

Among the provinces constituting the geo-political framework for the current analysis, Lydia represents the latest, organized as a *provincia* only in the late third century AD, the region for most of the Roman period making up much of the core of *Asia*. The region and selected case-study sites are considered separately from those of *Asia* due to the differences in settlement-types as well as regional and chronological distribution patterns, and so that the cultural traditions distinguishing Lydia as a region from the more strongly Hellenized regions of coastal Asia Minor and Mysia may be taken into account.

Sardis, Saittai, and Iaza have been chosen based upon two criteria. First, and particularly with regard to Saittai and Iaza, based upon the distribution of finds, these sites having the higher number of figured stelai with known provenance. Second, for the rank of these sites, in as much as one can be reconstructed, in a settlement hierarchy, with Sardis as the provincial capital, Saittai as an urban centre, and Iaza as a rural settlement. While the borders of the Roman *provincia* demarcate the geo-political limits of the present analysis, the overall chronological framework, 100 BC-AD 400, is maintained for comparison across provinces, acknowledging that the early centuries of this timeframe pre-date the official organization of the province.

Pfuhl and Möbius (1977/1979) included some stelai from the region, and since the 1970s publications of inscriptions from the region have been presented in multiple editions of the *Epigraphica Anatolica*, the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, the *Tituli Asiae Minoris V*, Malay's *Researches in Lydia, Mysia, and Aiolis* (1999), and in Herrmann and Malay's *New Documents from Lydia* (2007).

7.1 Regional history

The Roman province of Lydia is the latest of those making up the geographic framework for figured-stele analysis here, becoming an official administrative unit with Diocletian's reorganization of the eastern provinces in AD 297, the region originally forming part of the province of *Asia* (**Figures 34**, **51**). The *provincia* encompassed what had been the heartland of the Lydia kingdom of the seventh and sixth centuries BC, its southern border with Caria created by the Maeander and Mes(s)ogis rivers, its eastern with Phrygia by the confluence of the Maeander and Lycus as well as the Hermus in its upper course and the Dindymus mountains.[438] Lydia's northern border with Mysia was formed by the Caicus river and the Temnus among other mountain ranges. Historically the region functioned as a political centre for a succession of empires. Lydia was included among those Seleukid territories ceded to the Attalid Eumenes by Antiochus in 188 BC, and was granted with the rest of Attalid kingdom to Rome in 133 BC, becoming part of the *provincia Asia* until the Diocletianic reforms making Lydia one of the seven provinces in the *dioecesis IV Asiana*, with its capital at Sardis.[439] The region, as with others in Anatolia, suffered from earthquakes, and in AD 399 was sacked by Ostrogoths from Phrygia.[440]

The river valleys of Lydia constitute a fertile area, marked more by royal- or privately-owned estates through much of its history than urban centres, constituting a distinct settlement pattern from the rest of *Asia*.[441] The limited urbanization of this area and Galatia (Chapter 8) prior to the Roman period had a significant impact on the nature of settlements, and any hierarchy therein, in sharp contrast with heavily urbanized provinces such as Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia* (Chapter 9). Hellenistic foundations include *katoikiai* or military colonies such as Thyateira in 281 BC and Stratonikeia-on-the-Caicus among other third-century BC Seleukid foundations, as well as Attalid *katoikiai* founded in the second century BC such as on the 'Hyrcanian plain,' in Magnesia ad Sipylum (modern Manisa), Mostene, and Nacrasos, in

[438] *Il.* 2.459-463; Hdt. 7.30; Roosevelt 2003, 22-35.
[439] Hanfmann et al. 1983; Rautman 1995; 2008.
[440] On earthquakes, Suet. *Tib*. 8 (24 BC, at Thyateira), and Tac. *Ann*. 2.47 (AD 17, in twelve cities in *Asia*, seven of which were in Lydia). On the Ostrogoth raids, Zos. 5.18; Mitchell 1993, 235; Rautman 1995; 2008.
[441] Hdt. 7.27-29 (on the estates of Lydian rulers and elite). On the estates of the Achaemenid Persian satraps, Thuc. 1.138; Xen. 2.1.3, 7.8.8, and 8.17; also Arr. *Anab*. 1.17.4.

addition to Attalid-founded *poleis*, such as Philadelphia (modern Alaşehir) and Apollonis.[442] During the Roman period, the region underwent a process of urbanization as well as increased urban infrastructure and monumentalization. Settlement evidence in northern Lydia for the Roman-period illustrates the narrow delineation between cities and villages, particularly in a region where *poleis* were largely a Roman-period phenomenon, and 'villages,' whatever their size, represented a more traditional form of settlement. East of Thyateira (modern Akhisar) and Philadelphia, no pre-Roman cities are known in northern Lydia, and the Macedonian *katoikiai* did not develop into urban centres until after Roman rule.[443] Some ten city territories, including Saittai, are believed to have divided the conventus of Sardis, of which only Iulia Gordios (modern Gördes) and Saittai (modern Sidaskale) developed into prosperous urban centres, the latter based upon its textile industry, with public buildings and elements of civic culture.[444] This arbitrary division between large villages and *poleis* in northern Lydia has led scholars to argue for a more nuanced definition of these settlement-types, considering sites in terms of 'organized' versus 'unorganized' settlements rather than cities and villages.[445]

Beyond urban centres and their territories, through the Roman period Lydia remained largely marked by rural estates, the old Persian and Hellenistic royal lands transferred to imperial-owned domains or private estates.[446] Tracts of land also appear to have been owned by a higher number of smaller-scale landowners.[447] As a result, wealth in north Lydia was not concentrated in the hands of an urban aristocracy, as in Bithynia, but dispersed among a higher number of smaller farmers who had retained ownership of their land.[448]

Sardis, capital of the Lydian kingdom, also became the provincial capital of the Late Roman *provincia*. Located on the edge of the fertile Hermus plain, Sardis throughout its history benefitted from a strategic location. By the seventh and sixth centuries BC the city functioned as

[442] Tac. *Ann*. 2.47; Str. 12.8.18 and 13.4.10. On Macedonian *katoikiai*, see Magie 1950, 972-973: Nacrasos (IGR iv.1160), Acrasos (Robert 1962, 75-77; OGIS 290), Thyateira (TAM v.2.901, 1109, and 1166), Doidye (TAM v.2.1188, 1190), Agatheira (TAM v.2.1307), Hyrcanis (TAM v.2.1308), Kobedyle (TAM v.1.221), and Adrouta (Keil and Premerstein 1914, 46-47); also Mitchell 1993, 180-181.
[443] Debord 1985, 345-358; Mitchell 1993, 180-181.
[444] Eck 1983, 853-857; Mitchell 1993, 180.
[445] Mitchell 1993, 182.
[446] Mitchell 1993, 161-162.
[447] Debord 1985, 345-359; Mitchell 1993, 161.
[448] Mitchell 1993, 162.

capital of the Lydian kingdom, of the Persian satrapy later under the Achaemenid Persians (ca. 547-334 BC), and formed the western capital of the Seleukid empire, a stage at which the city acquired the components of a traditional Hellenistic polis.[449] After the incorporation of the city into the *provincia* of Asia, the urban landscape and infrastructure benefitted from both imperial and local elite support, continuing to flourish into Late Antiquity, becoming a bishopric, before declining in the sixth and seventh centuries largely due to continued invasions by Goths, Sassanian Persians, and Arabs, at which stage the lower city was abandoned while the acropolis remained a viable stronghold, its later fortification walls incorporating reused marble blocks.[450]

Saittai, modern Sidaskale near Içikler, is situated in the triangle between the upper Hyllus river (modern Demirci Çayı) and the Hermus river.[451] The site has not been excavated and is now covered by agricultural fields but still-visible remains include a stadium (**Figures 52-54**).[452] The relatively few Hellenistic-period inscriptions from the area of Saittai[453] suggest that the site, if not a foundation of the first-century BC, only grew to urban status during the Roman period, part of the conventus of Sardis. Inscriptions from the stadium naming multiple city tribes suggest Saittai controlled a large territory, including the inhabitants of two outlying villages, Tamasi and Satala.[454] Further epigraphic evidence indicates Saittai's role as an important regional centre for textile production.[455] In the Late Antique or Early Byzantine period, the settlement moved to the Byzantine fort of Magidion/Magidia located nearby, and was a suffragan diocese of Sardis.[456]

[449] Hanfmann *et al*. 1983; Dusinberre 2003; Ratté 2008; Cahill 2010.
[450] Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975; Rautman 2011, 1-26; Rautman 2017, 231-237.
[451] Personifications of these rivers appear on some issues of the city's coinage (Robert 1958, 134; Robert 1976, 28 No. 16).
[452] Naour 1983, 107; Naour 1985, 16-17; Petzl 1985, 72-74; Kolb 1990, 107-109; Mitchell 1993, 180.
[453] Most of these are epitaphs, some of which lack provenance but have been associated with the region (SEG 40.1062; 44.966-970; 44.964). Another is first-century BC honorific inscription (SEG 44.964).
[454] Kolb 1990, 105-129; Mitchell 1993, 202.
[455] Naour 1981, 18-20; Pleket 1988, 32-33.
[456] Hierokles Synekdemos 669; *Not. Episc*. 1.166, 3.99, 7.151, 8.178, 9.85, 10.225, 13.85.

The ancient settlement at modern Ayazviran[457] (now Ayazören), Iaza, is known from two epigraphic records.[458] An inscription honoring one Philippikos, son of Neikandros, *euergetes*[459] of the Iazenoi, indicates that the Iaza was organized as a *katoikia*, although the level of organization for the community is unknown.[460] This inscription does not make it clear whether those positions held by the honorand – archon, eirenarch, and *agoranomos* – were in Iaza or a neighboring city such as Kollyda, Maionia, Saittai, or Tabala. Epigraphic evidence from other villages demonstrates archons and *agoranomoi* could serve in these settlements, but there is no evidence to date for an *euergetes* as a village-level official.[461] To which *polis* territory Iaza belonged also remains debated, the most probable candidates being Kollyda or Maionia.[462]

7.1.1 Case-study necropoleis

The funerary landscape of Lydia has much in common with the provinces of Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia* but also some dissimilar components. The territory of Sardis provides evidence after ca. 600 BC of co-existing burial choices, including tumuli,[463] rock-cut tombs, sarcophagi, and cist graves.[464] At least 1,154 rock-cut tombs in the Sardis necropolis were examined by H.C. Butler between 1910-1914 and in 1922, many indicating reuse well into the Roman period.[465] Some door-façade and non-figured stelai have been found in the vicinity of Sardis, probably originally marking the entrances to the dromoi, as at Tomb 813 (**Figure 55**).[466] Terracotta and stone sarcophagi occur in both tumuli and rock-cut tombs, or may be on their own laid in earthen pits, from the fifth century BC and through the Hellenistic period.[467] The chronological breadth of the funerary evidence shows the continuation of certain pre-Roman tomb types.

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[457] Petzl 1978, 256 and n.40, and Robert and Robert 1978, 436, noted the survival of the ancient name in the village name Ayazviran.
[458] TAM V.1.468a and 475; Zgusta 1984, 356; Naour 1984, 52-53; Herrmann and Malay 2007, no. 53 (commentary).
[459] For other *euergetai* in villages in the regions, see Mitchell 1993, 184.
[460] Herrmann and Malay 2007, No. 53.
[461] Mitchell 1993, 183; Schuler 1998, 237-8 (archons), and 244 (*agoranomoi*). For *euergetes* as a as an office, see Robert 1928, 408 n.3, and Drew-Bear and Naour 1990, 1970 n.219.
[462] Petzl 1984, 52, attributes the village to Maionia, whereas Herrmann and Malay 2007, n.123, suggest Kollyda.
[463] Roosevelt 2003, 126-200.
[464] Shear 1922, 395-396; Greenwalt 1972; Hanfman et al. 1983, 60-61; McLauchlin 1985, 66-69; Roosevelt 2006; Roosevelt 2009; Baughan 2010, 273-304.
[465] Butler 1922, 158-165; Hanfmann 1983, 58-59; McLauchlin 1985, 54-66; Roosevelt 2003, App. 4.
[466] Ratté 1994, 594-607; Roosevelt 2006.
[467] Hanfmann 1983, 61-62; McLauchlin 1985, 72-75, 147-150; Roosevelt 2003, 131-133.

The evidence for necropoleis from Saittai is less preserved, due to both lack of systematic excavation as well as modern agriculture above the ancient settlement. The account of William John Hamilton in the region, published in 1842, notes the presence of sarcophagi and tombs in the area surrounding the ancient site,[468] but the majority of these have been moved to the museum in Manisa or no longer survive. Even less is known about the necropoleis for Iaza.

7.2 Geographic distribution

A least one hundred provenanced figured stelai are known from Roman-period Lydia.[469] The distribution of stelai in the province is marked by few figured stelai finds in concentrations of more than three, represented in **Table 13** and **Figure 56**. As elsewhere, subsequent reuse has impacted both distribution and find circumstances. In some instances, stelai were reused within a funerary context, as in the case of a figured stelai found in the Kayster Valley with the remains of a frontal standing woman with an inscription, now effaced, on one side and on the back face a second inscription, post-AD 212, was subsequently carved, identifying another tomb.[470] As elsewhere, modern reuse occurred within the proximity of original use in antiquity, namely within modern rural villages or farms. In Lydia, another pertinent factor for distribution and provenance remains clandestine excavations common across the region.[471]

Among the most striking features of figured-stele use here is the sharp drop in the number of (provenanced) stelai for Lydia compared to other regions, calling into question the applicability of discussing a 'stele-habit' for the region. The term remains useful given the deliberate choice for this monument-type among patrons, and for situating stele-use in Lydia – however limited in scale – within broader Anatolian use-patterns. The distribution of figured stelai in the Roman *provincia* is such that in spite of its scale and comparatively recent

[468] Hamilton 1842, 143: "After proceeding three miles up the ridge, on reaching the undulating summit of the ridge, I suddenly found myself amongst the tombs and sarcophagi of a ruined city, which had stood in a small plain to the N.W., surrounded by low hills covered with tombs and sepulchres."
[469] This does not include numerous unprovenanced figured stelai which, based upon epigraphy and iconography, have been ascribed to Lydia (Gibson 1978; Malay 1982; Malay 1994; Aytaçlar 2004; Kobes 2005; Malay 2006; Malay and Ricl 2006, Nos. 32-38; Akyürek Şahin and Onur 2008).
[470] Malay and Ricl 2006, no. 63 (fig).
[471] Malay 2006; Malay and Ricl 2006, nos. 36-37 (figs.).

foundation as a regional urban centre, Saittai features the highest concentration, with twenty-two showing figures rather than wreaths or objects alone. Sardis, despite being a larger centre of population as well as the provincial capital, features only three figured stelai known. As with Ephesos, this number may be artificially low due to state of preservation but may also represent a real pattern, and while not representative in itself, Sardis is retained as comparison for broader regional trends. The majority of other finds are dispersed across the rural landscape, and it is probable that these were originally used in rural locations or villages. For the purpose of this study, the iconography and inscriptions from the total of thirty-eight figured stelai (LYDIA **247-284**) from the case-studies of Sardis (three), Saittai (twenty-two), and Iaza (thirteen) will be examined.

7.3 Iconography

The surviving evidence indicates a narrow spectrum of relief types employed, represented in **Table 14**. The majority of scenes depict standing figures (thirty-two), with three stelai showing horse-rider pairs, two from Saittai (SAITTAI **251** and **257**) and the third from Iaza (IAZA **275**). One stele from Sardis depicts a gladiator figure (SARDIS **249**), another the only seated-standing depiction (SARDIS **247**).

Some of the standing figures are depicted in standard frontal manner, with the typical frontal pose and *himation* with arm-sling (SAITTAI **255**, **261**, **266**; IAZA **272**, **277-278**).

Others of the surviving standing figures vary from standard scenes in the objects they carry. For example, a second-century AD depiction from Sardis shows a nude athlete, carrying a javelin (SARDIS **248**). A male figure from a second- or third-century AD stele stands holding a patera (SAITTAI **260**). Another, dated to AD 214/215, shows a man holding a staff in one hand, and in the other a basket with objects, one of which may be a hoe for threshing grain (SAITTAI **262**), not dissimilar in theme to a youth carrying a sickle and grapes (SAITTAI **271**), or another male figure carrying a staff and a bag (SAITTAI **268**). A mid-third century stele from Iaza also depicts a man bearing both a staff and what may be a bow (IAZA **279**), and another dated to AD

232/233 shows a male figure standing holding a staff with two mules (IAZA **276**).[472] One of the two figures on a stele from Iaza carries a bird and grapes (IAZA **280**). In addition, two stelai from Saittai show what may be described as craft or professional objects. The first, either from AD 234/235 or 288/289, depicts a standing man in a *chiton* holding tongs with his left hand over an anvil, and a hammer in his right (SAITTAI **263**). On the other, dated to AD 247/248, three figures are represented, two men and a woman, two of whom hold objects (SAITTAI **266**). The man at the left, wearing a *himation*, holds what may be a book-roll in his hand, while the central man, in a *chiton*, holds a hammer and tongs. The inscription indicates the stele commemorated two men, with no allusion made to profession. A stele dated to AD 249/250 features a male figure as a bacchant, with bells attached to his clothing (SAITTAI **267**).

In terms of composition, more single figures are depicted, with twelve occurrences, compared to two or three persons. Only nine stelai depict two or three figures. Four of the these show three figures (SAITTAI **252-254**, **266**), the other only two (SAITTAI **255**; IAZA **274**, **280**, **282**, **283**). These representations are typical in many ways, including dress and pose, but also feature more individualized elements. For example, on two separate stelai men are shown holding craft or workshop tools, namely tongs and hammer (SAITTAI **263**, **266**), and one is depicted over an anvil (SAITTAI **263**). Other men hold objects possibly related to their profession or status, including a patera (Saittai **260**), a staff with a bag (SAITTAI **268**), or basket with objects (SAITTAI **262**), in addition to craft scenes and agricultural tools (for example, SAITTAI **271**; IAZA **276**) references not reflected in the epigraphic record. Even the inscriptions on those stelai with representations of the athletic nude and the gladiator from Sardis (SARDIS **248**, **249**) as well as the bacchant from Saittai (SAITTAI **267**) do not directly allude to these activities.

Three stelai feature horses with or without surviving human figures. An intact relief dated to AD 107/108 shows a horse-and-rider pair, the rider carrying a staff (SAITTAI **251**). The fragmentary second stele depicts three legs of a horse in the surviving section (SAITTAI **257**), at least one figure, standing or riding, probably originally accompanying the animal. The other depiction, from Iaza, shows a male rider (IAZA **275**).

[472] It is not clear on IAZA **276** if someone is shown on the mule as well.

No banquet scenes survive among the figured stelai, and only one depiction of a seated figure (SARDIS **247**) appears. The majority of the surviving figures depicted are men, with fewer instances of women either alone or with a male figure (SARDIS **247**; SAITTAI **256**, **259**, **264**, and **270**; IAZA **273**, **274**, **280**-**283**). Fewer smaller-scale figures are represented.

7.4 Inscriptions

All thirty-eight stelai from these sites have surviving inscriptions, although some are too fragmentary to yield much constructive information. Length varies but inscriptions follow a standard formula, beginning with a year and month in all but four cases, based upon the Sullan era, then proceed to give the name of the deceased and the person(s) responsible for the commemoration, ending with some form of *μνήμης χάριν*. The inscriptions from Saittai and Iaza are also distinguishable for the use of *ἐτίμησαν* as part of their formula, in keeping with other Lydian inscriptions marked by some form of *τιμάω* with the accusative names of the deceased,[473] characteristics shared by figured and non-figured stelai. Some inscriptions provide additional detail, including imprecations against any who disturb the grave (SARDIS **249**; SAITTAI **252**, **258**, **263**), one of which (SAITTAI **263**) wishes the gods be angry with the person responsible. Four stelai include epigrams (SAITTAI **255**, **257**; IAZA **276**, **280**), of which one (SAITTAI **255**) alludes to the decision of the Fates to take the life of one Hephaistion early, and also references Hermes Kyllenios who directs the deceased to Eliysium rather than Acheron.

Few personal details are included. Seven surviving inscriptions record the age of the deceased (SARDIS **249**; SAITTAI **257**, **265**, **268**; IAZA **273**, **277**, **284**).[474] Only two stelai record profession, namely a monument from Saittai honoring a steward or *saltuarius* of one Septimius Iollas (SAITTAI **264**), and a stele from AD 223/224 commemorating a soldier, Aurelius Neikias (IAZA **275**). Another identifies one of the deceased men as a priest of the cult of (Thea) Larmene (SAITTAI **255**).

[473] Naour 1981, 15-16; Malay 1982, 112; Malay 2006, 87.
[474] This information is more often part of the formula on non-figured stelai.

For those stelai with legible inscriptions, single or individual commemorations far outnumber those for two or more persons (thirty-four versus three), and there are no surviving dedications for married couples. Of those persons commemorated, twenty-eight are men and twelve are women.

All of the surviving inscriptions from these case-study sites record the individual(s) responsible for setting up the monuments. With the exception of two inscriptions, all of the inscriptions record multiple (two or more) persons, and all specify the relationship between the deceased and those honoring him or her. Furthermore, in all but one case the ties between the deceased and those dedicating the stele are familial, with one or more kin relationships recorded. These include surviving spouses, children, including *threptoi*, foster-parents, siblings, uncles, and grandparents. A stele from Iaza (IAZA **277**) records foster-parents and two *σύντροφοι* as well as a husband among those commemorating one Eutychiane, although whether the *σύντροφοι* represent *threptoi* or the biological children of the parents is unclear. This designation (*σύντροφος*) occurs on three other stelai here (SAITTAI **259**, **271**; IAZA **273**). Likewise, two stelai identify members of the family as *νύμφη* (SAITTAI **259**; IAZA **283**), probably used to designate a woman connected to the family by marriage.[475]

The names on the stelai from Saittai are a combination of Greek and Roman. Names familiar from other regions include Alexander, Apollonides, Artemiforos, Asklepiades, Glykon, Hephaistion, Metrodoros, Philoumenos, Stratonikos and the feminine variant Stratonike, and Theogenes. Roman influence is apparent with Aurelii names as appear on four stelai (SAITTAI **260**, **270**; IAZA **275**, **284**). The first of these probably pre-dates AD 212. Indigenous names among the case-study stelai, such as Aphphias and Tatianos (SAITTAI **262**, **269**), and Ammias (IAZA **277**), do not appear with equal density as in other inscriptions from Lydia.[476] The prominence of Greek compared to indigenous names in some areas may in part be connected to the Hellenistic-period Macedonian *katoikiai* which functioned to secure the region, including Philadelphia and Thyateira, both Seleucid foundations.[477] The diverse 'multi-national' history of

[475] Petzl 1990, 60; Thonemann 2013, 132-133
[476] Malay 2006, 87 and nos. 1-16.
[477] Naour 1981, 16; Mitchell 1993, 180.

Lydia – encompassing Lydian, Achaemenid, Seleukid and Attalid as well as Roman political domination and settlement – is represented in the diversity of names among the population, including Greek and Italian immigrants in addition to the indigenous population.

7.5 Discussion

Surviving figured stelai from these case-study sites, particularly Saittai and Iaza, display a preference for a very specific iconographic element, namely standing figures, as well as some rider imagery. Standing figures dominate the repertoire at Saittai and Iaza, such that banquet imagery, the dominant motif in the majority of other sites and regions, is absent. Only two provenanced stelai with a banquet scene are known to me, dating to the first or second century AD, from Magnesia ad Sipylum and Philadelphia, while three depictions of banquets occur on Roman-period stelai with unknown findspot in the Kayster Valley, in addition to a fragment of a banquet in the Manisa Archaeology Museum.[478] There is a limited tradition of banquet imagery on free-standing figured stelai in the region of Lydia during the sixth to fourth centuries BC, together with some standing, seated, and rider figures or hunting scenes.[479]

Comparing Roman-period evidence of figured-stelai use with Hellenistic evidence is difficult given the dearth of provenanced evidence. At least seven pre-Roman stelai, showing standing, seated, or seated-standing figures, survive from Sardis.[480] No figured stelai of the Hellenistic period survive from Saittai, for which the earliest evidence as a site dates to the late first century BC, or from Iaza. Furthermore, Hellenistic figured stelai from the broader region of Lydia (within what would become the *provincia* borders) is limited and dispersed. Only ten provenanced cases are known at present from the region from the third to first centuries BC, not counting Sardis. Three of these are from non-urban village sites, and seven from more

[478] SEG 50.1185; Malay 1994, nos. 245 and 248; Malay and Ricl 2006, nos. 41, 52, and 56. Manisa Archaeology Museum inv. no. 423.
[479] Roosevelt 2009, 156-164. There are three known examples of banqueting scenes from pre-Hellenistic period stelai in rural Lydia, as well as two instances of standing figures, two of seated, and five scenes with either rider or hunting/battle motifs.
[480] SEG 53.1354; PM 418 Pl. 69; Malay 1994, nos. 212 and 214, sixth and late-fourth or third century BC respectively. Also Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 114-127 nos. 134, 136, 138, 140, 141.

prominent urban centres, including Maionia, Philadelphia, and Thyateira.[481] Four figured stelai from the Hellenistic period have been found in Hypaipa.[482] The majority depict standing figures, with only one of the four from Hypaipa showing a banquet and another from the same location a frontal seated woman. The limited evidence of Hellenistic-period figured stelai suggests that the figured stele-habit in Lydia more broadly is largely a Roman-period phenomenon.

The chronological distribution of stelai in the case-study sites, represented in **Table 15**, is provided by the epigraphic formula employed on the majority of stelai, the inclusion of a date a trend in the broader region. The highest numbers of surviving stelai are dated by their inscriptions to the second and third centuries AD, with a slight increase in the latter period.

These use-patterns, particularly in and around Saittai and Iaza, may be compared with other funerary monuments. Of non-figured stelai in use at the same time, two types occur, namely those displaying only a wreath (twenty from Saittai) and those featuring a collection of objects,[483] which may include a wreath (seventeen from Saittai).[484] In terms of epigraphic evidence on these types, the majority from Saittai adhere to the same formula, although the age of the deceased is recorded more frequently. The dates follow the same trajectory as figured stelai, with very few first-century AD stelai but a definite increase between the mid-second and mid-third centuries AD. The names of individuals, deceased and living, are also of the same variety, that is predominately Greek or Roman, as those on figured stelai.

Among some of the non-figured types, there is evidence of non-kin individuals, or specifically groups, responsible for putting up stelai which are not represented among figured stelai. For example, three non-figured stelai record deceased men honored by the *συμβιωταί*, members of a *συμβίωσις*.[485] On another stele, mid-second-century in date, the *ὑφανται*

[481] SEG 35.1166 (Maionia); 27.788 (Philadelphia); 36.1105 (Thyateira).
[482] IK Ephesos 7.2 nos. 3723, 3825A, 3829A, 3856.
[483] Barkir-Barthel and Müller 1979; Naour 1981, Nos. 3, 6, 11-13; Naour 1983, Nos. 22-24; Naour 1984, No. 3; Naour 1985, No. 13; Tanyeri 1985, No. 1; Petzl 1998, Nos. 20, 27; Malay 1999, No. 209. Comb and mirrors, with wreaths, are the most frequent objects represented, and there is at least one known stele showing a perfume bottle and a wool basket (Malay 1999, No. 209).
[484] Naour 1981, Nos. 3, 7, 10, 12; Malay 1982, No. 9; Naour 1983, Nos. 16, 18, 20, 21, 24; Naour 1984, No. 3; Naour 1985, No. 13; Tanyeri 1985, No. 1; Petzl 1998, Nos. 20, 27; Malay 1999, Nos. 88, 90, 92, 206, 207, 209-212.
[485] SEG 31.1016; 31.1010; 29.1188.

(*hyphantai*) honor the deceased man, probably a guild of weavers distinct from other guilds such as the *λανάριοι*, *ἐριοργοί*, or the *λινουργοί*, all of which are attested in inscriptions from Saittai, and all of which worked with wool and linen.[486] Two second-century stelai likewise were set up for members by the *ὁμότεκνον* of the *lanarii*.[487] This group of non-figured stelai illustrate the prominence of guild and other associations in Saittai (the *λινουργοί*, for example, had their own seats in the city's stadium[488]), and further indicates a role of these associations as funerary societies. The stelai set up by these groups do not mention kin or other relations of the deceased, emphasizing instead membership within the association.

There is no evidence for these associations using figured stelai. This category of monument, in contrast, was set up by a family member or a family unit. The division is perhaps related to the cost of a figured stele compared to non-figured, depending upon the difference in expense we might imagine between representations of figures versus objects or wreaths. Alternatively, where membership of the association was considered of higher priority, additional, more elaborate iconography may have been unnecessary or undesirable. There are no other obvious distinctions between those using non-figured and those using figured stelai, either based upon gender or legal status, or indeed a chronological factor, suggesting priority and perhaps financial expense were the main factors behind the choice of one versus the other. The only potential correlation which may be suggested is the use of certain objects as an iconographic motif here, including combs, wool-baskets, and mirrors in addition to wreaths, on stelai for women. Those non-figured stelai from Saittai with other objects in addition to wreaths all commemorate at least one woman, and only two commemorate a man in conjunction with a woman.[489] Non-figured with wreaths alone also may commemorate women, but the inclusion of other objects here seems to have been predominately in cases for female commemorations.

Further evidence indicates that both figured and non-figured monuments might be used by the same family. A non-figured stele from Saittai, without wreath or objects, dated to AD

[486] Naour 1983, 132-133; SEG 33.1017; SEG 29.1191.
[487] SEG 49.1663; 49.1664.
[488] Kolb 1990, 105-119.
[489] Bakir-Barthel and Müller 1979, nos. 43-44, 48; Naour 1981, nos. 3, 11-13, 17; Naour 1983, nos. 22-24; Naour 1984, no. 4; Naour 1985, no. 13; Tanyeri 1985, no. 1; Petzl 1998, nos. 20 and 27; Malay 2007, no. 209.

199/200, commemorates a *threptos* and *σύντροφος* Demophilos, honored by Glykon, his wife Popliane, and their sons Glykon, Poplios, and Loukios.[490] A second stele, figured, dated three years later (AD 202/203), is probably by the same family, naming Popliane, Poplios, Loukios, Glykon the younger, and a Menophilos, now honoring Glykon the elder (SAITTAI **261**). The pediment and akroteria of this monument also display more ornamentation than the earlier stele. The unadorned gray marble stele of the *threptos* Demophilos, simpler in form than that of the patriarch, presumably was less expensive in comparison. It may be that this family could not afford the financial expense of a more ornate stele for Demophilos but preferred and was prepared to pay for an adorned monument at the time of the father's death.

Other funerary monument-types from the case-study sites survive, such as two *bomoi* from Saittai and cinerary chests from Sardis, but these carry no reliefs accompanying the inscriptions.[491] Some door-façade stelai have been discovered near Sardis, but their date is unclear and may pre-date the Roman period. A stele perhaps of Late Roman date with a gorgoneion-in-pediment motif was found in the vicinity of Roman-built chamber tombs,[492] as well as two relief fragments depicting standing female figures.[493] Other funerary monuments with reliefs known from Sardis or its environs include three panels with *venatio* scenes, probably second to fourth century AD in date.[494] Another frieze depicts five gladiators, and a charioteer appears on another fragment.[495]

Elsewhere in Lydia, the pattern appears similar. Evidence for figured stelai survives from Magnesia ad Sipylum, as well as from Kollyda, Maionia, and Silandos, where the known figured stelai show standing figures.[496] Multiple figured stelai have come from the Kayster Valley area, although their exact findspots are unknown. The representations include, in addition to the three banquet scenes noted above, a stele with only a reclining male, two depictions of

[490] Petzl 1978, No. 8; SEG 28.921; TAM V.1.168a.
[491] Bakir-Barthel and Müller 1979, 191-193 no. 49; Malay and Ricl 2006, no. 23; SEG 45.1652.
[492] Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 124 no. 150.
[493] Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 124-125 nos. 151-152.
[494] Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 120-122 nos. 146-148 figs. 285-292.
[495] Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 125-127 nos. 155 and 157.
[496] Kollyda: Naour 1984, no. 20; Naour 1985, no. 15; Malay 1999, no. 152; Magnesia ad Sipylum: Malay and Ricl 2006, no. 22. Maionia: Naour 1984, nos. 15-17, 19; Naour 1985, no. 14; Malay and Petzl 1985, nos. 1, 7; Malay 1999, nos. 165, 167. Silandos: Naour 1981, no. 23; Naour 1983, no. 9; Malay 1999, no. 148; Malay and Ricl 2006, no. 22; Herrmann and Malay 2007, no. 74.

standing figures, and one seated-standing.[497] Among figured-stele finds from Lydia, standing representations predominate. Three unprovenanced stelai attributed to northeast Lydia based upon epigraphic and stylistic characteristics[498] are of note for their more unusual imagery. Two depict standing figures, a male on one stele and a female on the other, next to altars.[499] The stele showing the man commemorates a priest. These may offer imagery comparable for the fragmentary stele from Iaza with an altar in relief (IAZA **284**). A third stele has been described as depicting a "praying man" but unfortunately in the case of this stele and the two previous, no photographs had been published before they were sold at auction into a private collection in 2006.[500] The inscription for the latter stele identifies parents who set up the monument for their son, followed by a imprecation and fine of 1,500 *denarii*. Another stele with unknown findspot carries a half-figure which may be a gladiator.[501] The chronology for figured stelai from these areas follows the same pattern as the case-study sites, the majority concentrated in the second and third centuries AD.

Non-figured stelai with objects and wreaths occur frequently in Lydia. Wreaths in particular proliferate on Lydian funerary monuments.[502] Some stelai include both a wreath and objects, as at Saittai, as well as on Roman-period examples from Hierokaisareia, Iulia Gordios, and Maionia.[503] Objects on these include mirrors, combs, and wool-baskets. Again, for those stelai with representation of objects in addition to wreaths, the commemorations are for women.

The surviving details about the families represented on Lydian case-study stelai and their socio-economic levels is limited, but the evidence suggests these are mid-range families financially capable of affording a figured stele when desired. These may have been free citizens, or may have been connected to larger private estates around Saittai, as in the case of Asklepiades, *saltuarius* of Septimius Iollas, who himself may be the same person who appears

[497] Malay and Ricl 2006, nos. 45, 50, 55, and 58.
[498] Malay 2006.
[499] Malay 2006, nos. 15-16. For the depiction of figures with altars, see also Cremer and Nollé 1988, 207-210 no. 4 (AD 138/139).
[500] Malay 2006, no. 13.
[501] Malay 2006, no. 3.
[502] Naour 1981, 11-16; Malay 1982, 112-118 nos. 1-3, 5-13; Petzl 2005, nos. 2-9; Malay 2006, nos. 5-6, 8-12; Malay and Ricl 2006, nos. 2, 7, 10, 20, 27, 30, 33-35.
[503] Naour 1984, no. 19; Malay and Ricl 2006, nos. 8 and 27.

on a coin produced by the city from the time of Philippus, or soldiers as in the case of Aurelius Neikias.[504] The commemorators on stelai indicate a higher number of family units, consisting of two or more related individuals, honoring a deceased member of the family compared to single individuals. Parents commemorate a deceased child in the case of four figured stelai here. The number of family-unit dedications, representing half of the surviving commemorations, may in part stem from a financial motive in distributing the cost of a monument among more members of a family. With economic as well as urban expansion in the Roman period came the development of more prominent mid-range socio-economic levels, and the individuals participating in the stele-habit appear to be from those levels who benefited most from urbanization under Roman rule. Furthermore, group commemorations of an individual point to a desire or priority to represent a cohesive family unit, emphasizing family or kin ties as well as honoring the deceased.

Conclusions

Examination of the surviving figured stelai from Sardis, Saittai, and Iaza points to mid-range socio-economic groups prospering during the urbanization and economic expansion within the region during the Imperial period. These groups, whether craftsmen, other producers in a market-town, or stewards attached to private estates within the expanded territory of Saittai, participated in a funerary-monument habit for which there is limited surviving Hellenistic-period evidence. Based upon the secure chronological distribution of the evidence from across the *provincia* of Lydia, the use of figured as well as non-figured stelai was most pronounced during the second and third centuries AD. The multiple and overlapping socio-economic groups participating in the stele-habit included smaller (nuclear) to extended family units and non-kin associations acting as funerary societies. Buyers, with the exception of the guild associations, used figured and non-figured stelai simultaneously, their preference a factor of desired choice and financial ability, such that both types of stelai were employed by the same families.

The use of figured stelai among the case-studies indicates a divergence from the majority of those sites from other regions where the figured stelai-habit of the Roman period is largely concentrated in pre-Roman urban centres which have a pre-existing Hellenistic stele-habit and

[504] TAM V.1; Herrmann and Malay 2007, 72.

iconographic repertoire which continues with marked continuity. Lydia, in contrast, presents a largely rural landscape with few pre-Roman urban centres but among whose populations, with urban growth, some individuals bought into a limited figured stele-habit from the second century AD. The potential motivations behind their preference for this monument-form will be examined in a subsequent chapter (Chapter 9).

CHAPTER 8
GALATIA: ANKYRA, KINNA, AND KERPIÇ

The Roman province of Galatia, like Lydia, contrasts sharply with the coastal regions considered in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, its distinct geo-political history marking both its settlement and funerary landscape. The sites of Ankyra, Kinna, and Kerpiç constitute the case-studies selected for the use of figured stelai in central Anatolia. The choice of these sites is due firstly to the distribution of finds with recorded provenance, and secondly to the cross-section of settlement types they represent. The distribution of figured stelai is such that Kinna and Kerpiç, in spite of being a smaller urban centre and a town or village settlement respectively, feature the higher concentration of figured stelai finds within the borders of the Roman *provincia*. The focus on the area of north Galatia rather than to the south in the region of Phrygia, Lycaonia, Pisidia, or Pamphylia is due to the nature of figured-stele distribution, favoring the north, as opposed to door-façade stelai which are more concentrated in the south.

The seventh and eleventh volumes of the *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* publish most of the epigraphic evidence for stelai from Galatia, the latter providing photographs of the Kinna monuments. Mitchell's volume of the inscriptions from northern Galatia (*RECAM* II 1982) also publishes and provides some commentary on these inscriptions, particularly on the Kerpiç material, and the 2012 volumes *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Ankara (Ancyra)*, edited by Mitchell and French, permits comparison of the material from the provincial capital.

8.1 Regional history

The sites of Ankyra (modern Ankara), Kinna (modern Karahamzalı), and Kerpiç are located within the *provincia* constituting much of the central Anatolian plateau (**Figures 34**, **57**). During the Hellenistic period, nomadic Gaulic tribes settled in central Anatolia around collections of fortified points in the area adjoining the Pontus and Cappadocia, and northwest Galatia, with centres at Tavium, Pessinus, and Ankyra, congregating in areas with already limited exposure to

Greek or Hellenistic culture and maintaining a tribal organization through the first century BC.[505] Urban centres, as such, do not feature predominantly in this landscape. On the western edge of the plateau, some cities grew up from Macedonian military settlements, as at Dokimeion, but these arguably constitute a boundary of Hellenistic Asia Minor, with the area to the west more closely tied with the Aegean under Hellenistic kingdoms and where Greek culture had been readily adopted from the fourth century BC.[506] In the central and eastern areas of the plateau, cities were exceptions as opposed to the rule, and other settlement forms constituted alternative centres of population and authority. For example, in so-called 'temple states' such as at Pessinus the population, administrative structure, and nature of the cult differentiated these from Greek civic centres.[507] Sites such as Pessinus, as well as Tavium and Gordion, also constituted centres of inter-regional and local trade, emporia which emerged as population centres.[508] Besides religious or commercial centres, other settlement types included parts of the region controlled by forts, such as Ankyra and Tavium. From the fourth to first centuries BC, there is limited evidence for the traditional criteria of Hellenization, namely public building works or an epigraphic habit, as well as coinage. Some well-populated and wealthy settlements, such as Iconium, did mint their own coinage, and under Roman control became cities, such as Soatra and Savatra also.[509] Archaeological excavation and survey has been restricted with regard to Greco-Roman material evidence, suggesting only few exceptions to the rule. Some evidence of Hellenization arguably occurred as part of a top-down process under royal patronage, such as the Attalid dedication of a Greek-style temple at Pessinus.[510]

Following the death of Amyntas (Strabo 12.6.3), the territory of his kingdom was annexed by Rome in 25/24 BC and over time incorporated into the new "conglomerate" province of Galatia, with its capital at Ankyra.[511] The annexation resulted in changes to the settlement patterns of the territory now part of the *provincia*. Hillfort "chiefdoms," for example, were largely abandoned, and a series of Roman *coloniae* founded, such as Antiocheia in Pisidia,

[505] Strabo 12.5.1-4; Mitchell 1993, 51-57; Marek 2016, 205, 566-567.
[506] Mitchell 1993, 85.
[507] Virgilio 1981; Mitchell 1993, 82; Dignas 2002, 233-246.
[508] Strabo 12.5.2-3; Mitchell 1993, 82-83; Dignas 2002, 227, 229-233, 245.
[509] Aulock 1976, nos. 155-189; Mitchell 1993, 96.
[510] Claerhout and Devreker 2008, 19-56; Verlinde 2015, 20-24.
[511] Mitchell 1982, 14; Marek 2016, 320, 361.

Germa north of Pessinus, and Iconium.[512] Roman colonies and colonial settlements served as a defense of the road system traversing the province, connecting the coastal areas with the eastern frontier, and also constituted a major element in Roman urbanization policy in Galatia.[513] Existing centres, such as Pessinus and Tavium as well as the fortress of Ankyra, expanded to urban centres and *poleis* from the Augustan to the Flavian periods (**Figure 58**).[514] Early Roman settlements, for example, were established at these sites, with evidence from coinage suggesting foundations between 29-13 BC,[515] the three Galatian centres maintaining control over territorial boundaries.[516]

New city foundations also appeared in the landscape. By the second century AD, four cities, namely Kinna, Perta (identified with the modern village of Giymir, on the north-east slopes of Boz Dağ), Savatra (mentioned in Strabo 12.6.1), and Kana (probably the modern village of Gene) (**Figure 58**).[517] One known surviving public inscription of the Trajanic period (MAMA VIII.211) was found between Ankyra and Iconium, a sparsely populated area largely resistant to urbanization where typical settlements were smaller villages. The assessment of the absence of urbanism in this area is based upon both the limited epigraphic evidence prior to Roman rule, and Strabo's presentation of Galatian settlements (12.5).

Smaller village settlements in Galatia, as in Lydia, remained the most profuse and fundamental unit of settlement during the Roman period, although their traces in the archaeological record are largely confined to epigraphic attestations, including references to *komai* or *choria*, as well as dedications and funerary monuments.[518] The rural areas of the

[512] Levick 1967, 193-194; Mitchell 1979, 409-438; Mitchell 1982, 14; Marek 2016, 322.
[513] Mitchell 1982, 14-15; Marek 2016, 322.
[514] Mitchell 1982, 14.
[515] Mitchell 1993, 86-87. Second-century AD coins from Tavium (Mitchell 1986, 20-21) record its foundation in 22-20 BC, while those from Pessinus suggest sometime between 29-13 BC (Grant 1950, 43 no. 1-3; Devreker *et al*. 1984, 190-191 nos. 1-3), although based on different civic eras. For Ankyra, see Mitchell 1986, 21-22, and an alternative view expressed in Leschhorn 1992, 315-336.
[516] The names, Sebasteni Tolisobogii Pessinuntii (Pessinus), Sebasteni Tectosages Ancyrani (Ankyra), and Sebasteni Trocmi Taviani (Tavium), identify Augustus as the imperial power, and retain the older tribal associations and names (Mitchell 1993).
[517] For Perta, see Ruge 1937, 1058-1059; MAMA VIII, 13-14; Robert 1965, 57-59, 63-64; Mitchell 1993, n.178. For Savatra, see Robert 1955, 72-74; Robert 1965, 42-44. Savatra, unlike the other three sites, appears to have been a pre-Roman settlement based upon numismatic evidence from the first century BC with the legend ΣΟΑΤΡΕΙΣ (Aulock 1976, no. 154; Mitchell 1993, n.182).
[518] Mitchell 1982, 15.

central Anatolian plateau have been reconstructed as parceled into both civic territories and tracts of estates owned by local elite, wealthy aristocrats from further afield, and the emperor. Evidence from the Roman period suggests a higher population in the central plateau, and settlements probably inhabited by serf – or perhaps tenant in some places – farmers, attached to large estates, transforming the economic and social profile of central Anatolia, an impression given by the epigraphic evidence published in MAMA I-II, as well as RECAM II. Patterns in estate-ownership changed in Galatia during the Roman period, from Italian-born owners in the first century AD, to imperial acquisition of land-holdings probably in the Hadrianic period, dominating the southern half of the plateau.[519] The overall demographic and economic picture of Galatia in the Roman period presented by the surviving evidence points to wealthy elite living in or near urban centres, and villages predominating in rural areas tied to the economic base of the region – agricultural and pastoral activities – and made up of largely non-elite populations, factors impacting the distribution of monuments as well as burial traditions more broadly.[520]

Ankyra, located in the northern portion of the Roman province, featured the ancient citadel of the pre-Roman fortress on the left bank of the Ankara Çayı, a tributary of the Sakarya river, the ancient Sangarius. The oldest archaeological remains suggest the site was an early Phrygian settlement, perhaps from the ninth to sixth centuries BC.[521] Around 278 BC the city, with its fortress and shrine of Men, was occupied by one of the three main tribes of the Galatians who settled in central Anatolia.[522] Following the Roman annexation in 25 BC, Ankyra became *metropolis* of the new province and seat of the *koinon* of Galatia.[523] Archaeological remains from the Roman-period include the Temple of Augustus and Roma (consecrated AD 19/20), the Roman baths, and parts of the Roman road system.[524]

[519] Mitchell 1993, 157.
[520] Mitchell 1993, 154-157, 253-258; Goldman 2017, 150-151, 171-173.
[521] Mitchell and French 2012, 1.
[522] Marek 2016, 205-206.
[523] Mitchell and French 2012, 10-14.
[524] Mitchell and French 2012, 3-6. A variety of texts suggest the importance of Ankyra along the road system to the eastern frontier of the Empire (such as the *Itinerarium Antoninum*, the title suggesting it was written in relation to the Parthian campaign of Caracalla between AD 213-216). The evidence for roads discovered around Ankyra point to route leading west towards Nikomedia and the Bosporus, northwest into Bithynia, north into Paphlagonia, northeast towards Pontus, east into eastern Galatia, southeast into Cappadocia, south into Lykaonia, and southwest into Asia and towards the Galatian city of Pessinus (Mitchell and French 2012, 6). Furthermore, Roman milestones have been discovered in conjunction with all of these routes (French 1988).

Unfortunately, little may be said about the two other case-study sites. Located at modern Karahamzalı eighty kilometres south of Ankara, northwest of Lake Tatta (modern Tuz gölü), Kinna occupied a low mound east of the modern road between Ankara and Konya. The site has been identified based upon inscriptions discovered here, as well as an inscription (originally with a statue) set up by the city's magistrates, council, and people for Gordion III, the first attestation of Kinna as a *polis*.[525] Although known to have existed by the third century AD, another inscription honours an Antonine procurator of the province by a man probably enfranchised under Hadrian.[526] Nothing is known about the status of Kinna prior to the Roman period, and no archaeological excavation has been carried out at the site.

Even less is known about the Roman-period settlement at the modern village of Kerpiç, located nearly forty-three kilometres from Kinna (Karahamzalı), and nearly 195 kilometres from Ankyra (Ankara). The only evidence suggesting an ancient settlement comes from funerary monuments discovered here.[527] The type of settlement, however, remains unknown, and it may have been a village within the territory of Kinna or part of a private estate.

8.1.1 Case-study necropoleis

The case-study sites for Galatia, like those for Lydia, preserve relatively little evidence for their necropoleis. For Ankyra, a series of twenty large tumuli extending west of the modern city centre from the Mausoleum of Atatürk to the Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi testify to the Phrygian presence in the ninth and eighth centuries BC, but unfortunately the necropoleis in use during the Roman period have not yet been located.[528] Some of the surviving epigraphy points to the monument-types employed, such as the high number – at least forty-five – of funerary

[525] Mitchell 1982, 21, nos. 397-399; *TIB Galatien* 189-190; Mitchell 1993, I.96. The inscription for Gordion III (Mitchell 1982, no. 396) was discovered "near a spring" in Akarca, about twenty kilometres east-southeast of Karahamzalı, but is said to have been moved from the latter sometime in the modern period.
[526] Mitchell 1982, no. 398
[527] RECAM II.368-391.
[528] Mitchell and French 2012, 18-19; Peschlow 2017, 350, 352-353. Two Late Antique hypogea with early Christian paintings were discovered during construction of the rail station southwest of the city, together with another burial area (excavated in 2009) within a retaining wall and with three barrel vaulted burial chambers containing the remains of wooden coffins, mosaic tesserae, and a selection of grave goods including jewelry which has led to suggestions of a fifth century AD date (Peschlow 2017, 352-353).

bomoi, between 1.40 and 1.80m in height.[529] These monuments could stand alone or served as a pedestal-base for *ostothekai* or other form of small cinerary chest (*kaustra*).[530] Inscriptions also offer evidence for some private funerary spaces which might be delineated by a *peribolos* or *periphragma*,[531] and could include rooms such as *triclinia*[532] or a *koiton* (used for incubation),[533] *exedra* for statues,[534] or other construction such as a *heroon*.[535] A fragmentary inscription on a *bomos*, discovered at Büğduz north of Ankara, indicates this was originally part of a larger tomb space, set up in AD 126 by one Diogenes "of the bouleutic order" for his wife, whose grandparents were also *bouleutai*, and two sons.[536] In honour of his wife Diogenes had aggrandized the family tomb (*progonikos taphos*) with the addition of an *exedra* and a *trikleinon* together with the *ostotheke*. This tomb is among those associated with the wealthier and more socially elevated in Ankyra, but the surviving funerary evidence suggests less variety of monument-types than seen in other urban necropoleis in other regions.

The surviving monuments from Ankyra shows plentiful evidence for the reuse of many funerary elements, as in the case of two stones reused as a Jewish and a Christian grave marker respectively,[537] and as building material, demonstrated by numerous recut *bomoi*.[538]

For Kinna and Kerpiç, no evidence for these necropoleis is known beyond the surviving inscribed monuments. Other excavated necropoleis indicate types including statues of crouching lions, door-stelai, non-figured/non-relief stelai, and undecorated *bomoi*.[539]

[529] Mitchell and French 2012, 18.
[530] Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 223, 224, 243, 270, 275, 297 (*ostothekai*), and 221 (*kaustra*). See also Kubinska 1997 and 1999.
[531] Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 284-285, 299.
[532] Mitchell 1982, no. 194; Mitchell and French 2012, 19.
[533] Mitchell and French 2012, no. 299.
[534] Mitchell and French 2012, no. 284.
[535] Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 275 and 284.
[536] Mitchell 1982, no. 195; Kubinska 1995, 233-236; Petzl 1995, 106; Kubinska 1997, 21-24 no. 14; Mitchell and French 2012, 19 and no. 224 (commentary).
[537] Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 153 and 160.
[538] Mitchell and French 2012.
[539] Temizer 1973, 82-85; Goldman 2017, 150.

8.2 Geographic distribution

The province of Galatia features few non-doorstone figured stelai. Besides the eighteen stelai from the case-study sites (GALATIA **285-302**), only twenty-five other figured stelai with recorded provenance are known, and these occur in concentrations of three or fewer, suggesting these were from rural village settlements or perhaps private estates.[540] The exceptions are Kinna with six and Kerpiç with ten, which show human figures rather than only wreaths or objects. Ankyra, although the provincial capital, features only two stelai, compounded by the fact that very few inscriptions of any type for the ancient city have been found in situ and, as elsewhere, many monuments are without recorded provenance.[541] The site of Ankyra, as with Ephesos and Sardis, is included for the purposes of inter-regional comparison.

As with the case-study sites in the preceding chapters, the distribution of evidence here has been impacted by the post-antiquity movement of stelai from the medieval period to the present day. This is primarily on a private scale – in farms and villages – and the proximity of these secondary locations to known or probable ancient sites suggests the distance of movement in many cases is not great. Moreover, the distribution of permanent grave-markers or tomb elements in Galatia in comparison with the results of excavations of necropoleis indicates the relative scarcity of all stone monument-types, higher in urban centres such as Pessinus or Kinna with a scattering in rural communities in proximity of these sites.

8.3 Iconography

The eighteen surviving stelai from these case-study sites display a limited spectrum of relief-types, namely standing figures, bust or half-figure types, and gladiators, as represented in **Table 16**. Although frontal standing figures predominant, followed by bust or half-figures, these image-types are not distributed equally across the three case-study sites. All nine standing figures originate from Kerpiç, six of the seven half-figure or bust types are from Kinna, and both

[540] Mitchell 1982, 15.
[541] For example, another figured stele, depicting two half-figures, with unknown provenance (Mitchell and French 2012, no. 271).

gladiator reliefs appear in Ankyra. The majority of the standing and half-figure depictions are accompanied by secondary fields representing collections of objects.

Standing figures occur at Kerpiç, with nine of the ten surviving figured stelai here showing standing frontal figures (KERPIÇ **293-301**). Four feature standing figures alone (KERPIÇ **294**, **298**, **300**, and **301**), five standing figures in combination with fields of objects, including wool-baskets, vessels, tripod tables, chests or caskets, combs, axes, spindles-and-distaffs (KERPIÇ **293**, **295-297**, and **299**), such as above the head of two oxen (KERPIÇ **296**) or just visible below the inscription (KERPIÇ **299**).[542] The number of figures represented are between one and four, male and female figures together with the exception of a stele depicting three women (KERPIÇ **299**) commemorating only the female members of a family.

One stele from Kerpiç does not show full figures but instead a female half-figure, with a wool-basket, spindle and distaff (KERPIÇ **302**). This relief-type is the only image represented on the figured stelai from Kinna (KINNA **287-292**). These half-figures are presented in a typical manner and pose for both men and women, although sometimes more block-like in their rendering. The depictions include between two and four figures, both men and veiled women, with no obvious depictions of children or servants. A more ornate stele, with an architectural frame, features four shoulder portraits in an almost *tondo*-shaped upper field and an *aedicula* in a lower frame, above a collection of objects (KINNA **289**).

Collections of objects, feature on four stelai, including tripod tables, vessels, wool-baskets, chests, spindles-and-distaffs, mirrors, and farming accoutrements such as ploughs (KINNA **287**-**289**, **292**). One also shows a horse and an ox-team yoked to a plough (KINNA **292**).

The two stelai with known or recorded province for Ankyra feature gladiator figures. One represents a *retiarius* with his net, trident, and short dagger, shown with the wreaths of his seven victories (ANKYRA **285**). The second gladiator, wearing a helmet, armour, and greaves, carries a short sword and square shield, again with wreaths and a palm branch (ANKYRA **286**).

[542] Kerpiç **278** in the catalogue also shows objects more often associated with door-façade stelai (that is, a door-knocker and keyplate).

8.4 Inscriptions

The surviving inscriptions from these case-study sites follow the general formula of the name of the dedicator, name of the deceased, and some form of *μνήμης χάριν*. Limited detail is included regarding the deceased. Age, for example, is not recorded, nor profession or occupation, with the exception of one of the inscriptions from Ankyra, which identifies the deceased, Callidromos, as a *retiarius*, seven-times victorious, who died in his eighth combat (ANKYRA **285**). The inscription further records the origin of the gladiator, namely *Asia*, as does the second stele from Ankyra, identifying the homeland of Peitheros as Oescus, in modern Bulgaria (ANKYRA **286**).

Only four of the monuments are dedicated to one individual, and only two are for married couples. Nine are dedicated to family units of between two to four persons. For example, from Kerpiç, one Aurelius Manes set up a stele for his wife, daughter, and two grandchildren (KERPIÇ **293**). Aurelius Kallikrates set up a monument for his wife and his father (KERPIÇ **296**), and one Frugi dedicated a stele for three persons, including his step-father and son (KERPIÇ **300**). Surviving and legible inscriptions, indicate near equal numbers of male and female commemorations, seventeen and eighteen respectively.

The majority of commemorators are single individuals (eleven), whose relationship with the deceased is specified in all but one instance, and in other cases the ties are familial, whether spouse, parent, or sibling. For example, Panmousos Asklepios and Baba put up a stele for their son and themselves while they were still living (KERPIÇ **295**). One Hadriane dedicated a stele for her husband, her son, and for herself (KERPIÇ **298**). Another identifies one Chryste who set up the stele for her mother and two sisters (KERPIÇ **299**) and is the only stele to commemorate women alone. One Patrokles and Ianuarius together with unnamed co-heirs put up a monument to their father and mother, Kyrille, further identified as a "servant of God" (*Θεοῦ δούλῃ*) (KINNA **288**). This last (*ἡ δούλη/ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ*) is characteristic of Christian funerary epigraphy in Galatia,[543] and makes this stele the only identifiably Christian figured stele among all the case-

[543] Other instances occur in Tavium and its territory, where seventy-six funerary monuments, including non-figured stelai, use this description (RECAM II.423-499).

studies. Two inscriptions record not only that the owner(s) were still living, but that the person was 'in their right mind' (*φρονὲω*) (KINNA **287** and **291**).

Recorded names indicate a mixture of Greek, Roman, and indigenous names. Among the more prominent names is Manes which recurs on multiple stelai, referring to different individuals (KERPIÇ **293**, **297**, **302**). There are two instances of Aurelius (KERPIÇ **293**, **296**), and also of Frugi (KERPIÇ **300**), a Roman *cognomen* which occurs elsewhere in the region.[544] As in Kerpiç, the surviving names recorded from Kinna show a mixed population. These include indigenous names such as Dido and Dades (KINNA **287**) known from other inscriptions from central Anatolia, for example Galatia, Lykaonia, and Phrygia, and Kyrion (KINNA **288**). Greek names also appear prominently, such as Asklepios and Demetrios. Finally, Roman names include Aurelia (combined with Dido on KINNA **287**), Ianuarius (KINNA **288**), and a Greek transliteration of the more common Roman name Urbana (KINNA **279**).

8.5 Discussion

The surviving figured stelai from these case-studies demonstrate obvious preferences for particular image-types, namely standing frontal and half-figure types, and for gladiators in Ankyra. The composition of standing figures and half-figures is similar to that from other such depictions in other case-study sites, particularly in their frontality. Some elements differ, as evident in the standing figures from Kerpiç, where the clothing type, in the case of some male figures, is not the traditional *himation* but a short-tunic and cloak. The are no identifiable individualizing elements represented in the scenes.

Although standing and half-figure image-types dominate the iconographic repertoire, collections of objects constitute a prominent secondary motif. Objects appear as the main motif on non-figured stelai from the same locations, with seven at Kerpiç and three from Kinna (**Figure 59**).[545] The objects depicted on both figured and non-figured stelai are nearly identical,

[544] MAMA XI.225 is a non-figured stele from Kinna, where a final sigma was added to the name, perhaps as a Greek termination for a Roman name.
[545] Non-figured stelai with depictions of objects from Kerpiç (RECAM II.374-376, 383-384, 386, 391) and Kinna (MAMA XI.224, 235, 250).

including wool-baskets, various types of vessels, tripod tables, chests or caskets, mirrors, combs, axes, spindles-and-distaffs, as well as ploughs and oxen. These objects, which also feature on door-façade stelai from Galatia and Phrygia, may be linked with the economic foundation of the region, namely agricultural production and viticulture.[546]

Although only two figured stelai from Ankyra have known provenance in the ancient city, others possibly from the site include a mid-to-late second-century AD stele with two half-figures, as well as a second-century stele with two raised hands as the only relief besides palmette decoration.[547] Other non-figured stelai here display floral adornment, usually in the pediment, and one shows a plough between two bucrania.[548]

A comparison of the Roman-period stele-habit with pre-Roman, namely Hellenistic, evidence is difficult here, due to the dearth of surviving Hellenistic stelai, figured or other. Two published stelai of Hellenistic date are known to me at the present time, one a second-century BC funerary epigram from Ankyra,[549] and the other a first-century BC or AD non-figured marble stele from Tavium.[550] As systematic excavations have not been carried out at Kerpiç and Kinna, little is known about the status of either site prior to the Roman period. The scarcity of Hellenistic evidence occurs more broadly within the borders of the *provincia* of Galatia (and Lykaonia), and what little has been discovered is dispersed. The excavations at Pessinus support this trend, as the acropolis necropolis or other necropoleis do not feature surviving above ground elements from the Hellenistic period (2.1.1). The limited or near-absent number of Hellenistic-period stelai suggests that any stele-habit in Galatia more broadly is predominately a Roman-period occurrence.

The chronological distribution of figured stelai from the case-study sites (**Table 17**) is difficult to reconstruct given the lack of a dating formula from the inscriptions, the low state of preservation, and the dearth of reliable diagnostic features. The problems with dating are

[546] Waelkens 1977, 310.
[547] Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 271 and 241.
[548] Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 235, 254, and 269.
[549] SEG 30.1459.
[550] SEG 56.1427.

obvious from the high number of monuments which cannot be attributed more securely than the Roman Imperial period.

Non-figured/non-relief stelai were in use contemporaneously with figured monuments at these sites. Non-figured stelai with representations of objects have already been noted. Other types feature no relief decoration beyond an inscription which may or may not be set within an architectural frame (**Figure 60**). A small number of later stelai from both Kerpiç and Kinna display crosses as a motif, sometimes in architectural frames (**Figure 61**). Three have been found around Kinna,[551] and one at Kerpiç.[552] Some of the stelai from the territory of Tavium with a Christian formula in their surviving inscriptions also feature crosses as their primary or sole decorative feature, although some of these are probably later in date than the period under consideration here.[553] Identifiably Christian dedicatees on stelai from Kerpiç and Kinna later than KINNA **288** are recorded on non-figured stelai.

In addition to stelai, other funerary monuments from the case-study sites include *bomoi* and some doorstones. Surviving *bomoi* outnumber stelai from Ankyra with over forty-five monuments, most of which are non-relief (8.1.1). A late second- or early third-century AD example features a badly preserved standing figure on one face,[554] and two Trajanic-period *bomoi* for Roman centurions depict a frontal male figure holding a staff.[555] Other examples of relief on *bomoi* from Ankyra include garlands or wreaths,[556] and three cases with half-figures, one a *bomos* intended to carry an *ostotheke*.[557] *Bomoi* from Ankyra have been dated to between AD 110-200.[558] Other relief-bearing monuments from Ankyra include a half-column recut as a stele with a half-figure, probably second century AD in date, again with unknown findspot, and fragments from a sarcophagus.[559]

[551] MAMA XI.229, 240, 244.
[552] RECAM II.385.
[553] RECAM II.428, 430, 435, 436, 438, 441, 443, 444, 448, 450, 453, 455, 462, 465, 467, 468, 470, 474, 477, 479, 480, 482, 483, 490, 492, 494, 496, 499.
[554] Mitchell and French 2012, no. 268.
[555] Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 161 and 169.
[556] Mitchell and French 2012, no. 131.
[557] Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 217, 256, and 277.
[558] Mitchell and French 2012, 18.
[559] Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 237 and 305.

Two funerary *bomoi* are known from Kinna, including a second-century AD *bomos* of trachyte now in the mosque of Kula which was originally set up for a former soldier of the 3rd Legion by his wife.[560] The only relief here is a six-point star between the mouldings. Kerpiç, unlike Ankyra and Kinna, does not offer surviving evidence of *bomoi* but three doorstone monuments are known from the site, all Roman period in date. Iconography on these includes objects in common with stelai, and one depicts two male figures with joined hands.[561] The choice of a particular monument form, such as a stele, in some areas over others, such as a doorstone or *bomos*, probably relates both to personal choice as well as localized traditions and perhaps local craftsmen. States of preservation and patterns of reuse also impact our understanding of this distribution, and monuments of perishable material such as wood – which could carry relief – now lost in the archaeological record but used in antiquity would have presented a more nuanced picture of the Galatian monument landscape.

The recorded types of permanent funerary monuments and associated necropoleis use-contexts in Galatia are relatively limited compared with neighboring regions such as western Phrygia with Asiatic sarcophagi and rock-cut tombs.[562] While figured stelai, particularly non-door-motif stelai, are not prevalent in Galatia, comparison with the case-study stelai indicates the extent of trends in iconographic motifs and presents a clearer chronological picture. Other provenanced figured stelai from Galatia share the primary iconographic types as Kinna and Kerpiç, namely standing and half-figure representations, with eight standing depictions, two half-figures, and three with either standing or half-figures.[563] Numbers for known figured stelai in Galatia are much lower than for known door-stelai. In 1986 Waelkens catalogued 87 doorstones for Galatia (excluding Phrygia), a number which will only have increased since then with new finds and publications. Among those sites beyond the selected case-studies featuring a more comparable sample of figured and door-façade stelai is the area of Axylon, a treeless steppe between Amorion, Laodikeia, and Kinna, where inscribed monuments attest to several

[560] MAMA XI.223.
[561] RECAM II.372, 377, and 380.
[562] Kelp 2013, 79-86.
[563] RECAM II.29, 52, 62, 193, 205, 246, 253, 264, 268, and 313; MAMA XI.202-204, and 212 (Axylon).

settlements active in the Roman and late Roman periods.[564] Among the published funerary monuments for the area, four figured stelai appear, all showing frontal standing figures with a collection of objects such as wool-baskets, spindles, and distaffs, in addition to five non-figured stelai.[565] There are also at least six door-stelai, all with at least incised objects in addition to the door motif and associated lock-and-handle, and four of these bear figures, either standing or half-figures.[566] Finally, two relief and figured *bomoi* have been found in the area, both featuring standing figures on one face.[567] Those monuments which may be more reliably placed in a chronology fall between the late first and third centuries AD, and a group of inscriptions on non-relief monuments datable to the fourth and fifth centuries AD which commemorate Christians.[568] The pattern of funerary monuments and their patrons from the Axylon reinforces those patterns for image-types suggested by the case-study sites, and illustrates that different types of relief-bearing funerary monuments, particularly figured and door-stelai, were used contemporaneously in the region, although relative numbers of door-stelai increases further south towards and into Phrygia. For example, the site of Vetissos, whose exact location in the Axylon remains unknown, was among the larger doorstone workshops in northeast Phrygia.[569]

Epigraphic evidence from non-figured stelai found in Kerpiç and Kinna adheres to the same formula of "so-and-so for so-and-so" as on figured types. The distribution of dedicators is consistent, for example one to two persons with an identified relationship to the deceased at Kerpiç. Half of the inscriptions from non-figured stelai from Kerpiç are single commemorations (seven of the fourteen), with only two for three related persons.[570] Among the surviving inscriptions from non-figured stelai from Kinna, single commemorations (twelve of the eighteen) and individual commemorators predominate. The dates from these non-figured stelai have proven as difficult to determine as figured monuments, although there are a higher number of

[564] Livy 38.18.4; Str. 12.6.1; Wenzel 1937; Mitchell 1993, 143-147; MAMA XI for twenty-one of the published monuments from this area. The modern villages here include Çeşmelisebil, Kuyulusebil, Hodoğlu, Özkent, Sülüklü and Zaferiye (in the territory of Vetissos), Yunak, Aşağı Küçükhasan, Yukarı Küçükhasan, and Yukarıaliçomak.
[565] MAMA XI.202-204, 207, 210, 212, 214, 216-217.
[566] MAMA XI.205, 209, 215, 218, 220-221.
[567] MAMA XI.213 and 219.
[568] For the latter, examples include MAMA XI.206, 207, and 216.
[569] *MAMA* VII, xxi-xxv and nos. 311-62; Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 252-4, 264; *TIB Galatien* 242, Vetisso; Waelkens 1986, 230-240 and nos. 592-617; Mitchell 1993, 155.
[570] RECAM II.381 and 384.

possible fourth or fifth-century non-figured monuments from Kinna, five, than Kerpiç.[571] Evidence points to the use of non-figured stelai after AD 400. The names of individuals on the non-figured stelai from these sites presents the same mixture of Greek, Roman, and indigenous names, as those from figured counterparts.

Another element in common with both figured and non-figured stelai is the relation of owners to those commemorated, ties specified in the epigraphic evidence, recording parents, children, siblings, or other extended family responsible for setting up monuments. Only one of the stelai from Ankyra records the commemorator (ANKYRA **286**) but a comparison with non-figured stelai as well as funerary *bomoi* from the *polis* indicates a similar pattern of family as commemorators for the majority but also, specifically for the military monuments, heirs and fellow soldiers in addition to family.[572] There is a single instance of *συνκληρονόμος* or 'co-heir,' a rare term in the epigraphic record (KINNA **288**).[573] One distinction, albeit a minor one, between figured and non-figured commemorations at both Kerpiç and Kinna noted previously is the numbers of persons commemorated per monument. For figured stelai, more instances of two or more persons commemorated (seven for Kerpiç, five at Kinna) survive, compared to non-figured where these are the minority. This probably represents a choice or desire on the part of dedicators to show depictions, albeit non-specific, representative of the family unit, rather than a cost factor as some non-figured stelai still feature depictions of objects and thus may not have differed widely in expense from those monuments bearing figures. No other obvious distinction appears between those families using non-figured/non-relief versus figured stelai. In Ankyra as well no obvious factors distinguish groups using figured, non-relief stelai, and *bomoi*, either in names or language as in Ankyra, opposed to Kinna and Kerpiç, there is evidence for inscriptions on *bomoi* and non-relief stelai in Latin and also of bilingual epitaphs.[574]

[571] Two of these commemorate members of a church, namely a deacon and presbyter (MAMA XI.240 and 243).
[572] Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 157-163, 167, 169-178, 180-182, 184-190.
[573] Cf. SEG 8.91
[574] For Latin epitaphs, see Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 44, 47; 66-69 (imperial slaves); 157-163, 167, 169-178, 180-182, 184-190 (military commemorations). For bilingual, see Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 215 and 217. There are also examples of Greek inscriptions using a Latin formula, such as Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 219-220, 223-228.

Few surviving details from figured stelai permit a reconstruction of the socio-economic standing of those persons utilizing this type of funerary monument. These were arguably mid-range families, probably free citizens or perhaps connected to private or imperial estates in the region.[575] The higher number of single commemorators compared to family units may suggest greater financial recourse for some families in Kerpiç and Kinna. Another factor which may have played a role in the development of a stele-habit and cost is the impact of increased quarrying activity in the broader region during the Imperial period, resulting in more readily-available material, namely limestone and marble, for a wider spectrum of society, particularly in more rural communities (3.3).[576] At Kerpiç and Kinna, 'workshops', perhaps no more than a single local individual, utilized material from local quarries. For Kinna, where limestone dominates, non-figured stelai as well as other inscribed monuments are either of limestone or trachyte, with only two surviving instances of gray marble, namely the upper moulding of a funerary *bomos* and a fragmentary stele, probably non-figured but reused as a half-column in the early Byzantine period.[577]

In Ankyra, other funerary monuments attest to the gladiatorial presence represented on figured stelai, including a *bomos* for a gladiator and a relief block, showing a male figure holding a long baton, probably first or second century AD in date, set up for a *summa rudis*, a trainer of gladiators and judge of combats, from Pergamon who probably had been a gladiator himself before being freed and granted Roman citizenship under Hadrian.[578] Although figured stelai here offer a limited picture, consideration of comparable funerary monuments, namely *bomoi* as well as non-figured stelai, presents a more complete picture. Members of Ankyra's upper socio-economic echelons employed these monuments, although *bomoi* may have been used in conjunction with other monuments such as *ostothekai* and/or as part of larger tombs spaces for these higher-ranking groups as in the case of *bouleutai* families or descendants, or officials connected to the provincial administration. For example, a non-figured *bomos* commemorates the wife of a *decurialis lictor*, set up shortly prior to AD 165, in addition to a second *bomos* of a

[575] There is evidence for two estates between Juliopolis and Germa, namely a private (belonging to M. Plancius Varus from Perge) and an imperial (*choria Considiana*) estate (Anderson 1937, 18-21; Mitchell 1980, 1074-1075; RECAM II, 21).
[576] Kelp 2012, 83-84.
[577] MAMA XI.231 (*bomos*) and 232 (fragmentary stele).
[578] Mitchell and French 2012, no. 148.

similar period for the wife of a treasury advocate, and a third-century AD non-figured stele set up by a freedman for a *hypographeus* attached to multiple provincial governors.[579] Other individuals, namely imperial slaves, also are represented, for example monuments for a *commentarius* and a *tabularius* among others.[580] Besides members of the aristocracy and governing administration, however, the evidence also points to Roman soldiers (including veterans), and freed-persons such as a second-century AD non-figured *bomos* set up for a *threptos* and freedman by his foster-father, and a *bomos* meant to bear an *ostotheke* commemorating a freed couple set up by the husband.[581] For many other monuments little may be said about the socio-economic status of the persons commemorated, although indicators of Galatian families holding Roman citizenship are present in some cases, such as on a second-century AD non-figured *bomos* for a *phylarch* and his son.[582]

Conclusions

The surviving figured stelai from Ankyra, Kinna, and Kerpiç provide evidence of monument buyers, probably from mid-range socio-economic groups, participating in a limited stele-habit for which there is no surviving Hellenistic-period evidence, following the economic growth and urban expansion of the first and second centuries AD. Inscriptions from these monuments indicate a strong priority given to recording kinship ties over personal details, reinforced by the majority of figured stelai commemorating family units. Iconographic preferences among the populations of these sites present both the reality, namely collections of objects representative of the economic lifeblood of the region and daily life for these families, as well as perhaps desired representation in standing or half-figures forms arguably from the sphere of civic honorific statues. The provincial capital at Ankyra represents an exception in that the limited surviving figured-stele evidence diverges from the rest of the region in showing gladiators.

The use-patterns from Ankyra, Kinna, and Kerpiç, and the *provincia* of Galatia more broadly, presents the limited adoption of a figured stele-habit in a rural landscape with the spread

[579] Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 44, 64, and 65.
[580] Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 66 (monument for a *commentarius*), 67 (for a *tabularius*), 68 (for the wife of an imperial slave), and 69.
[581] Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 112 (for a *threptos* and freedman) and 262.
[582] Mitchell and French 2012, no. 126.

of urbanism in the Roman period. This adoption, however, was not universal nor evenly distributed, a result not merely of the vagaries of the evidence. The limited (provenanced) evidence from the provincial capital at Ankyra compared with other settlements, namely Kinna and Kerpiç, highlights this distribution pattern. The picture is reinforced by pre-Roman urban and commercial centres such as Pessinus and Tavium, as well as more recent Roman foundations such as the *colonia* at Germa, which do not feature figured stelai. Comparison with other surviving monuments from the funerary landscape of the case-studies points to other types such as *bomoi* and door-façade stelai active at the same time as figured stelai, and in cases such as Ankyra indicate a preference among monument-buyers not for stelai, figured or non-figured, but for *bomoi* and *ostothekai*. All of these monument-types appear in the archaeological evidence only after the region came under Roman control, the use of these monuments arguably representing an expression of cultural affiliation for some groups, in addition to those persons already attached to the governing administration. The absence of any permanent markers in some excavated necropoleis – such as at Gordion – may be tied to economic factors, some members of the rural population unable to afford a stone monument, but also choice among individuals. The data from Galatia more broadly highlights the role of the consumer and individual choice in the selection of funerary monument-types, evidence indicating a monument repertoire available from the first century AD of which figured stelai constituted one option. The case-study evidence presented illustrates that no one socio-economic group, such as newly franchised citizens, utilized any single monument-type.

CHAPTER 9: PEOPLES, SETTLEMENTS, AND THE CULTURE OF FUNERARY STELAI IN ASIA MINOR

The preceding chapters have presented the geographic distribution of figured stelai as well as the iconography and inscriptions employed, analysis revealing often different patterns of use. Reconstructing the human environment, not merely the monumental environment, in which these monuments operated and functioned is essential to understanding not only their distribution and use-patterns across space and time, but also how these monuments were viewed and their agency as objects. Placing the patterns of stele-use in conversation with those of settlement in Roman-period Anatolia takes into consideration the regional histories of occupation and habitation as well as the cultures of inhabitants impacting such patterns. Some epigraphic and iconographic elements employed on these monuments are consistent but the distribution of these is unequal and indicates more regional preferences.

The first part of this chapter (9.1) presents the surviving picture of those recorded peoples employing this monument-type, situating the patterns of figured stele-use with those of settlement during the period and geographic regions under consideration. The second part (9.2) expands upon this, considering regional use-patterns for iconographic and epigraphic elements, as well as multi-figure stelai, and the culture of stelai in Roman-period Anatolia.

9.1 Peoples and settlements

The aim of this first section is two-fold: first, to reconstruct those persons employing this monument-type as represented in the epigraphy; and second, to resituate stelai within the geo-political landscape, examining stele-use within specific settlement-type categories.

9.1.1 Demographics

This section addresses the first of these questions, namely what figured stelai, specifically the epigraphic evidence, can say about the people buying and using these monuments, and where

possible their socio-economic standing within the demographic structure of the settlement. The problems associated with using epitaphs in studies of social histories or ancient demographics have been frequently discussed by scholars.[583] The present inscriptions are among the hundreds of thousands of Greek and Roman funerary epitaphs which record names of individuals, sometimes other details such as age, and often with references of one or more family members or relations. This magnitude of information, while pertinent to demographic studies, introduces biases, particularly in the form of conventions in commemoration. But in spite of the problems of interpretation posed by funerary inscriptions, these provide some insight into the social structures, origins, and socio-economic standing of those persons commemorated.

The majority of the inscriptions follow a general formula across the case-study regions, naming and identifying the deceased with varying levels of other verbal attributes, while other components, such as χαῖρε and ἥρως formulas as well as naming and identifying the person(s) responsible for setting up the monument, vary more regionally. In this section, these regional patterns will be compared, with focus upon names, age groups and gender, types of commemorations, profession and socio-economic groups, and finally known causes of death. Within this case-study corpus, no obvious or identifiable chronological distinctions present themselves in terms of onomastics, general formulae, details included or omitted, or characterization of the deceased.

Names and origins of persons commemorated

Onomastic considerations of those persons using stelai suggests a mixture of Greek, some 'Roman',[584] and indigenous groups, hardly surprising within such an intercultural region. The higher concentration from across the case-study regions feature names familiar from other areas of the Greek east.[585] Some 'Roman' or Latinized names appear, in many cases for freed-persons (NIKAIA **20**; PRUSA **26**, **27**; KESTAL **78**). There are some instances of persons with Roman

[583] Epigraphic studies on demography in the ancient world have highlighted the complexities and difficulties of using documentary evidence outside of Egypt (e.g., Scheidel 2012, 102; Thonemann 2013, 124).
[584] This is not a linguistic category as it comprises Etruscan and Greek elements in addition to Latin.
[585] Male names include Alexandros, Apollodoros, Apollonidos, Apollonios, Asklepiades, Demetrios, Diagoras, Diodoros, Diogenes, Dion, Dionysios, Eutyches, Hesperos, Leukos, Menekrates, Metrodoros, Protion, Sokrates, Sosthenos, Telesphoros, Theodoros, Theodotes, Theophilos, Zosimos, and Zotichos. Female names include Artemeisia, Demokratia, Eirene, Gykea, Hedeia, Helene, Lysidike, Stratonike, and Tyche.

citizenship prior to AD 212, identified by the Marcus Antonius (BYZANTION **93** and **109**) and Tib. Claudius (NIKOMEDIA **10**; BURSA **62**) nomenclature, but a higher number arguably post-date the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, with thirteen stelai bearing Aurelii names.[586] The low number of names indicating Roman citizenship – particularly of Aurelii – among the inscriptions is striking compared to other monument-types elsewhere, such as sarcophagi in Aphrodisias.[587] This pattern from stelai does not appear to be due to a flaw in the evidence sample as comparison with other sites from the regions indicates.[588]

No one case-study site or region shows a higher density of indigenous names in the stele-record, but across the regions there appear to be a higher number of indigenous female names (such as Eia) compared to male, often included together with names of Greek origin (as in PRUSA **28**; KINNA **287**). Similarly, 'Roman' and Greek names may appear within the same family, often among the children (for example, BYZANTION **98**).

The names apparent from figured stelai in the case-study sites, with limited exceptions, in general terms share much of the same onomastic *koine* as elsewhere in Anatolia and the Greek East, representative of a wider tendency to transition from indigenous to Greek, semi-Greek, and Roman nominal forms among the middle and upper strata.[589] Personal names confirm that Greeks or those with Greek onomastics owned the majority of these figured stelai. Two observations should be made. First, there is no case here of only non-Greek onomastic context that may be ascribed to non-Greeks. Second, for those mixed onomastic contexts (PRUSA **28**; BYZANTION **98**; KINNA **287**), it is not clear whether these correspond to a family of mixed ethnic origins or should be attributed to the "cultural assimilation" of non-Greeks. When not commissioned for Greeks or "Romans," stelai were purchased by or on behalf of non-Greeks culturally and socially integrated into the *poleis* or local societies, and into the commemorative practices of the settlement they inhabited. The conformity of architectural form and iconography (9.2) from a predominately Greek and Hellenistic repertoire confirms this.

[586] NIKAIA **17**; PRUSA **52**; GEYVE/PAMUKOVA **86**; BYZANTION **114-115**; KYZIKOS **239**; SAITTAI **260**, **270**; IAZA **275**, **284**; KINNA **287**; KERPIÇ **293** and **296.**
[587] Smith 2008, 347-394; Öğüş 2010.
[588] IK Amisos; IK Klaudiopolis; IK Kios; IK Sinop; IK Smyrna, among others.
[589] Brixhe 2013, 29; Coşkun 2013, 88-89.

Methodologically reliable indications of origin in the epigraphic record are slim, few inscriptions referencing geographic origins for the deceased. The Byzantion stele for a *grammatikos* identifies his homeland as Klaudiopolis, Athens as his place of study, and finally Byzantion as his place of work and ultimately his resting place (BYZANTION **190**). Other examples include the stele for the *stolarches* from Ravenna (KYZIKOS **231**), and the two Ankyra gladiator stelai (ANKYRA **285**, **286**). Military personnel and gladiators appear among the primary groups identifying their place of origin, such as one of the soldiers buried in Byzantion from Syria-Phoenicia (BYZANTION **115**). For these professions, more mobile compared to the general population and by nature of their occupation more likely to die someplace distant from their place of birth (IAZA **275**), recording their geographic origin was a higher priority than for those were lived and died in the same *polis*-territory of their birth.[590]

Gender and age-groups

Fragmentary inscriptions do not always allow for the reconstruction of commemorations and the numbers remain too low to be representative, but some conclusions still may be drawn. Across the case-study areas, men and women are commemorated by figured stelai, and while the proportion of male to female commemorations varies regionally,[591] more men are recorded than women in all cases except Galatia where the distribution is nearly equal.

Age at death is not recorded in all regions, and within regions does not appear consistently. The case-study group with the highest number of recorded ages is Bithynia-Pontus, with 57 stelai recording age. For Byzantion, only seventeen stelai preserve age at death. Nine case-study stelai record age at death for *Asia* and Lydia, although for the latter age is more frequently included on non-figured stelai, often with precision as on a stele with only a wreath decoration from Saittai set up by an association of carpenters for a slave aged twenty-three years nine months.[592] Galatia features no surviving recorded ages at death.

[590] Other examples from beyond the evidence sample include a judge from Mylasa who died in Byzantion (Łajtar 2000, No. 316) and the *summa rudis* who died in Ankyra (Mitchell and French 2012, no. 148).
[591] The numbers of male-to-female commemorations are, respectively, 71 to 49 (Bithynia-Pontus), 72 to 49 (Byzantion), 51 to thirteen (*Asia*), eighteen to four (Lydia), and seventeen to eighteen in (Galatia).
[592] Bakir-Barthel and Müller 1979, 167-170 no. 28.

The recorded ages at death for Bithynia-Pontus (fifty-seven) and Byzantion (eleven) allow for only limited comparison but the higher proportion falls between 18-41+. There does not appear to be an obvious pattern for those with their age recorded or those not, such as either 'extreme' youth or maturity, nor for those who have not lived to be legal adults, or died before marriage. These are not the obvious guiding criteria for the record of age. Nor is gender, as both men and women have age recorded, and in all age categories. The inclusion of age in the inscription was a regional preference in areas such as Bithynia-Pontus, but remained a matter of individual choice in all regions, particularly in *Asia* and Lydia where the evidence is more limited.

Designation of persons as 'living' (ζῶν, ζῶντες, ζῶσα, ζῇ) survive in twenty-two instances.[593] The majority of these persons are also commemorated by the stele and bought or contributed to the purchase of the monument. These are usually familial relations and, as represented in the Byzantion examples, typically married couples or parents outliving a child.

Types of commemorations

In four of the five case-study regions, single commemorations outnumber those for multiple persons or married couples, in Bithynia-Pontus, Byzantion, *Asia*, and Lydia.[594] The evidence from Galatia in comparison presents a slightly higher number of commemorations for groups of two or more persons (nine) compared to single (four) or only married couples (two).

Units of two or more unmarried persons occur in all regions, and present a picture of more diverse family or kin groups, which may not always be fully reconstructed. Commemorations incorporate the nuclear family, including parents, siblings, children, foster-children, as well as extended family such as in-laws, sometimes for multiple generations. In Galatia outside of Ankyra[595] the evidence points to nuclear family units commemorated, such as

[593] NIKOMEDIA **1**, **8**; PRUSA **61**; BYZANTION **94**, **97**, **102**, **117**, **136**, **139**, **143**, **159**, **161**, **165-166**, **168**; KYZIKOS **230**, **241**; GÖNEN **246**; KINNA **270**, **274**; KERPIÇ **278**, **281**.
[594] 48 in Bithynia-Pontus, 34 in Byzantion, 32 in *Asia*, and 34 in Lydia.
[595] Besides the two provenanced figured stelai for gladiators in Ankyra (ANKYRA **285-286**), non-figured stelai and funerary *bomoi* also show comparatively few numbers of group-commemorated persons per monument (see Mitchell and French 2012).

a surviving spouse (either husband or wife) setting up a stele for a child and deceased spouse (KINNA **287**; KERPIÇ **293**, **298**), or parents for themselves and their children (KINNA **291**; KERPIÇ **295**). One stele, found in Kerpiç, commemorates the female members of a family, namely sisters and daughters (KERPIÇ **299**). In Galatia, the emphasis is the family, a stele-monument set up for multiple closely related persons, in some cases for up to three generations (KERPIÇ **293**). Beyond Galatia, some connections or relationships are not specified in the surviving epigraphic record, but suggest more complex kin ties encompassing persons beyond the nuclear family (such as PRUSA **21-22**; BYZANTION **105**, **127**).

A further component to be taken into account for considerations of family and wider kin groups is the person(s) buying the monument, or their relationship with those commemorated. These persons are not always named, nor their relationship with the deceased always specified. In Lydia and Galatia, the identification of the monument owner and their connection with those commemorated is a priority in the surviving inscriptions, in comparison with Byzantion in particular. The number of commemorators may vary, with individual persons in Galatia to two or more in some cases in Lydia.[596]

Whether single or multiple persons set up the monument, specified relationships with the deceased are usually familial, including parents, grandparents, spouses, siblings, children, including foster- or step-children, and *threptoi*. Alternatively, the deceased or one of those commemorated may be the owner of the stele, put up for themselves or specifically with their own funds (NIKAIA **12**, **14**; PRUSA **50**, **54**, and **82**; KYZIKOS **228**). Recording a monument set up by his/her own means on stelai occurs more frequently than represented among the case-study sample, and indicates that this specification is more common in Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia*.[597] Other persons with recorded ties to the deceased include friends, associates, and heirs, including "fellow-initiates" (KESTAL **85**), or in Byzantion military colleagues (BYZANTION **114**, **115**). In some cases, such as on some stelai from Lydia, groups including family and extended kin – "school companions," *σύντροφοι*, and *νύμφη* – were responsible for funerary honours (SAITTAI **259**, **271**; IAZA **273**, **277**, **283**).

[596] As in SAITTAI **250**, **252**, **254**, **258**, **261**, **266**, **268**, **270**; IAZA **272**, **277-278**.
[597] NIKAIA **12**, **14**; PRUSA **50**, **54**; KESTAL **82**; KYZIKOS **228**.

Whether the buyer was an individual setting up a stele for another or the deceased putting up their own monument, women appear in the record along with men. As commemorators, women set up stelai as wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters.[598] Furthermore, both male and female stele-owners (whether alive or deceased) represent those specifying a stele purchased out of their own resources (NIKAIA **12** AND **14**; PRUSA **50**, **54**, and **82**; KYZIKOS **228**).

Occupation

Occupation, like age, does not appear to have been a high priority among most groups in the epigraphic record.[599] The most obvious 'occupation' from the record, and indeed the iconography, is gladiatorial, with six examples in the case-study evidence (BYZANTION **180**; KYZIKOS **221**, **228**; SARDIS **249**; ANKYRA **285-286**). Like gladiators, military figures are recognizable both from the epigraphic and iconographic record, including from Nikomedia (NIKOMEDIA **9**),[600] three instances from Byzantion (BYZANTION **114-116**), the *stolarches* from *Asia* (KYZIKOS **231**), the latter connected with the Roman naval base at Kyzikos, and Aurelius Neikias from Iaza (IAZA **275**). Other occupations recorded include estate-managers, particularly in the territory of Nikaia (NIKAIA **18**, **20**; PRUSA **44-45**), and a *saltuarius* (SAITTAI **264)**, as well as a woodcutter (PRUSA **55**), a *lachanopoles* (NIKAIA **12**), a tutor (NIKOMEDIA **5**) and a *grammatikos* (BYZANTION **190**). Some 'professional' levels thus feature among stele-buying groups, but the absence of consistent recording of occupation prohibits any broad-stroke association of figured stelai with these levels alone.[601]

Besides occupation, some stelai provide indications of non-professional associations, mainly religious affiliations. One stele identifies a priest of the cult of (Thea) Larmene (SAITTAI **255**). Two other stelai suggest cult positions held by the deceased, such as that for a priestess of Isis from Byzantion (BYZANTION **113**), and the stele set up by "fellow-initiates" from Kestal (KESTAL **85**). Affiliation with a particular cult or religion is specified on two stelai, one from

[598] For women as primary commemorators, see NIKOMEDIA **4**; NIKAIA **14**; PRUSA **27**, **31**, **33-35**, **50-51**, **55**, **60-62**; KESTAL **83**; PAMUKOVA/GEYVE **86**; BYZANTION **105**; KYZIKOS **226**; ANKYRA **286**; KINNA **287**; KERPIÇ **298-299**.
[599] Ahrens 2017 records that from the IK series, only 138 inscriptions for Asia Minor record occupation or status on funerary stelai, relief stelai, and relief slabs (Fig. 8.3 and 8.3).
[600] NIKAIA **17** records a soldier of the 4th Scythian Legion who set up the stele for his parents.
[601] Ahrens 2017.

Kinna identifying a deceased as a "servant of God," characteristic of Christian funerary epigraphy in the region, and the other from Prusa where the attribute "God-fearing" attached to one of the individuals suggests either Jewish origin[602] or a follower of Theos Hypsistos (PRUSA **54**), the cult-role emphasized by the figure making an offering in the banquet scene.[603]

The limited evidence for occupations from figured stelai as well as names preserved here suggests multiple levels of legal status, including free and freed-persons as well as slave. Other forms of citizenship, besides Roman citizenship, are represented, as on a stele from Byzantion identifying the *herkatostys* of the city of which the deceased was a member (BYZANTION **153**). Other figured stelai not included in the case-study sample indicate citizenship of a *polis*, or more than one in the case of one Apollinides, who was given funerary honours in both rural Zeleia, near Kyzikos, and by Smyrna.[604]

Another group represented among stelai whose legal status deserves comment are *threptoi* (PRUSA **27**, **42**, **45**; BYZANTION **105**; SAITTAI **254**, **270**). This group, encompassing any person, whether slave or freeborn, raised by someone other than their natural parents, until more recently has been largely obscure, with little understanding as to whether these persons were slaves, foster-children, or adopted children.[605] Studies of the legal and social status of *threptoi* in the documentary evidence by Ricl within focused geographic and chronological parameters have demonstrated the flexibility of this term, with different meanings and denoting either a slave or free person, dependent upon social and legal backgrounds as well as regional economic conditions.[606] Lydia and Phrygia in particular feature the highest numbers of Roman-period commemorative inscriptions involving *threptoi*, either as commemorated or commemorator.[607] Among the present case-studies are attestations of foster-parents (οἱ θρέψαντες) (SAITTAI **254**,

[602] Robert 1964 (Sardis); Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987 (Aphrodisias).
[603] Ameling 1999; Mitchell 1999.
[604] The early Imperial stele fragment was found in Zeleia, although acquired in Smryna from the Collection Spiegelthal. Now in the Pergamon-Museum (Berlin), inv. no. SK 835. Le Bas and Waddington 1870, No. 1534; PM 1305 Pl. 192; Schwertheim 1980, No. 47; Cremer 1991, KH 19.
[605] Ricl 2009, 94.
[606] Ricl 2005 [for Phrygia]; Ricl 2006 [for Lydia]; Ricl 2009.
[607] Ricl 2005 [for Phrygia with 167 inscriptions]; Ricl 2006 [for Lydia with 270 inscriptions]. Ricl has demonstrated that in Lydia *threptoi* represent among the largest groups, including *threptoi* raised in the same household (σύνθρεπτος).

270). Another stele (PRUSA **27**) notes the *threptos* was restored to freedom (ἀπελευθέρᾳ) – indicating the child had not been born free – while another inscription records the *threptos* as responsible for setting up the monument (PRUSA **42**), rare as monuments set up by *threptoi* are not as numerous in the epigraphic record as those commemorating *threptoi*.[608] A third stele, BYZANTION **105**, indicates the *threptos* was included on the family monument.

The recorded occupations among the case-study stelai – while few in number – are among those represented on inscribed funerary reliefs and figured stelai across the broader region compiled by Ahrens in his 2017 study.[609] The case-study sample diverges in that gladiators, the most frequently attested and depicted in Ahrens' study, do not predominate although more stelai from beyond the case-study sites are known.[610] Among the inscribed monuments – built tombs, sarcophagi, *bomoi*, bases, and stelai, relief and non-relief – considered by Ahrens, military figures and gladiators represent two of the more prominent recorded groups (**Figures 62-63**). Noteworthy from Ahrens study is the low number of epigraphic attestations of farming or landownership.[611] The surviving evidence indicates the use of figured stelai across a broad socio-economic spectrum, encompassing mid-range economic levels where identifiable.

Causes of death

Among those details more rarely included in the inscriptions is cause of death. Only two stelai among the 302 from the case-study sites list the cause of demise. One from Nikomedia specifies the three persons died when a building collapsed during an earthquake (NIKOMEDIA **5**). The other notes that the gladiator Callidromos died during combat in the stadium (ANKYRA **285**). This is the only stele for a gladiator among this group which identifies the cause of death, but other figured as well as non-relief stelai for gladiators from Anatolia record death in combat, such as a second-century AD figured stele found in Amisos which depicts and describes the death of the gladiator Diodoros in the arena after he refused to kill another gladiator (**Figure**

[608] Ricl 2009, 105.
[609] Ahrens 2017.
[610] Such as PM 1216, 1241 [Smyrna] and 1266 [Amisos]; Merkelbach and Stauber 1998-2004.
[611] *Oikonomoi* or *pragmateutes* occur eight times in the IK series among stele/relief stele/relief monuments, out of eighteen total for all known monuments with this occupation recorded (Ahrens 2017, Fig. 8.8). Merkelbach and Stauber 1998-2004 meanwhile include twelve epigrams recording farming.

18).[612] An inscription from a Prusa stele claims the young man "suffered the same fate as his sister" (PRUSA **49**), but whether this means the siblings died from the same un-recorded cause or simply that both were deceased is not clear.

Causes of death were not a priority in the inscribed record, but other inscriptions incorporate more emotive elements absent from the majority of the iconography. Some inscriptions reflect a more heightened emotional discourse, particularly in epigrams, such as references to cruel Fate and to Hades snatching away persons (PRUSA **63**; BYZANTION **170**; KYZIKOS **194**, **216**; SAITTAI **255**). Otherwise, death as a theme is not frequent in either the epigraphy or the iconography. Only one scene of *prothesis* appears among these case-study stelai (PRUSA **30**), with two others probably from Bithynia-Pontus.[613] Two other stelai not from the case-study sites feature representations connected with death or eschatological associations, one depicting Hermes as Psychopompos[614] (**Figure 46**) and the other a philosophical figure pointing towards a Yoric-like skull, the inscription lamenting the brevity of life (**Figure 47**).[615]

Epitaphs in many of the inscriptions highlight qualities of the deceased, such as their years alive being "blameless" (*ἄμεμπτος* in PRUSA **68**) or "well-ordered" (*κοσμίως*), the latter appearing regularly in the inscriptions from Bithynia-Pontus (NIKAIA **11**; PRUSA **31**, **37-39**, **42**, **45**, **47**, **51**, **59**, **64**, **69**, **75**; KESTAL **79-80**, **82-85**). The majority of inscriptions from the case-study body present a non-emotional record, in which naming the deceased is highest priority, followed by varying levels of personal details including the commemorator, and only in some cases overt expressions of grief.

A popular field of inquiry concerns questions of 'identity'. The caveats related to attempts to distinguish or attribute identity – particularly in relation to 'Romanization' – have been well-discussed in scholarship.[616] By nature, mortuary activities as well as commemoration

[612] Now in Brussels at the Musee du Cinquantenaire (inv. A 1562). Robert (1941), No. 79; PM 1266; Marek 2003, 102 Fig. 148.
[613] IK Prusa nos. 152 and 1030.
[614] Naiskos-stele with arch and akroteria, second century AD, found in Karacabey (Miletupolis). Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 223. PM 1636 Pl. 239.
[615] Obelisk form stele, first or second century AD, found in Smyrna. Archäologisches Institut der Universität (Utrecht), inv. no. Arch. 160. Peek 1955, GV I 1364; PM 847 Pl. 123; Petzl 1982, No. 558.
[616] Such as Pearce 2000, 2-5; Dignas 2002; Schuler 2012; Goldman 2017, 151.

are not direct reflections of the social, economic, or ethnic identity of the living individual, hindering efforts to derive conclusions about 'identity' from evidence such as stelai, particularly from areas of higher ethnic diversity such as Galatia. There is more limited evidence for social identity from inscriptions recording occupation or names representing legal status, but in terms of acting as venues of public as well as private self-display, stelai do offer evidence of an individual's 'social personae',[617] perhaps semantically less-charged than 'identity'. The question of cultural 'identity' or affiliation will be addressed below (9.2).

The demographic components examined indicate the selective inclusion of personal details in the epigraphic record on stelai, and the priorities when commemorating the deceased in text. Certain elements, such as age at death or occupation, appear to have been included out of choice, to highlight a desired attribute of the deceased, rather than as part of a set formula. Comparison of the regional demographics further illustrates the absence of clear delineations for those groups using this monument-type, highlighting the complexities of reconstructing this aspect of the human environment but simultaneously suggesting the use of figured stelai by no one socio-economic group or level exclusively.

9.1.2 Stele-use and settlement type

Discussion will now shift from demographics to stele-use in the settlement landscape. The pitfalls and vagaries of the surviving material – including absence of systematic excavation or survey both of settlements and necropoleis contexts – have been presented prior to this (Chapter 1), and individual case-study chapters have examined the limited specific evidence for the post-antiquity movement of stelai. Understanding and reconstructing the settlement patterns within these broad geographic areas is made more difficult by the dearth of surviving evidence, particularly the rural landscape for Lydia and Galatia. In spite of the extended list of necessary caveats and the acknowledged limitations of the existing data and the present sample, some tentative conclusions about stele-use among the selected settlement-types may be suggested.

The case-studies fall into two broad regions with distinctive patterns of settlement, namely the areas of Bithynia and *Asia*, and the central Anatolian plateau, including Lydia and

[617] I am grateful to Catherine Draycott for this term.

Galatia.[618] The Roman provinces of Bithynia-Pontus and (parts of) *Asia* were heavily urbanized regions with dense populations by the pre-Roman period, their landscapes made up of *poleis* of Greek or Hellenistic foundations featuring the defining characteristics of Greek culture and settlement, whose territories incorporated numerous types of rural settlements,[619] and estates. Lydia and Galatia stand in sharp contrast to this pattern. Whereas in Bithynia-Pontus and most of the administrative *provincia Asia* the landscape of urban centres, rural settlements, and estates changed relatively little between the Hellenistic and Roman periods, for Lydia and Galatia traditions of settlement in the region may be divided into two broad chronological periods, namely the Galatian tribes and the Hellenistic dynasts, and the Roman Imperial period (7.1 and 8.1). The shift in pattern occurs with the advent of direct Roman control, evidence suggesting a gradual process of urbanization imposed and reinforced by imperial policies from Augustus to Hadrian, including *colonia* and the re-foundation of pre-existing settlements. By the end of the Julio-Claudian period, the landscape had been transformed by a top-down urbanizing process which divided much of the central plateau into city territories (**Figure 58**).[620] The landscape was also marked by rural settlements – probably the most difficult element of the settlement pattern to reconstruct in these provinces – and estates.[621] The regional differences in settlement patterns are significant for a comparison of these patterns with stele-use, particularly when looking at sites from more densely populated provinces with an urbanized landscape, such as Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia*, in comparison with those with more rural emphasis, namely Lydia and Galatia. Cities and rural sites in these respective broad regions cannot necessarily be defined as the same types, and in some ways defy both strict categorization and straightforward comparison. This brief overview in conjunction with region-specific discussions in the case-study chapters illustrates the complexities and nuances of settlement patterns, beyond a distinct hierarchy of settlements encompassing provincial capitals, urban cities, towns, and villages.

[618] This reconstruction of the settlement patterns in the focus regions of Roman-period Anatolia is a general overview not intended to fully encapsulate all of the nuances across this broad region nor all of the diversity.
[619] Evidence from two regional surveys, in the territory of Sagalassos and the Türbingen Lycian project, demonstrate that villages represented conglomerations of smaller settlement units such as farms and hamlets. At Sagalassos, the evidence from survey suggests an increase in rural settlements in the Imperial period, with perhaps five or six per square kilometer (Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003, 241-244 and 336; see also Thomsen 1993, 39-51; Akyel 1993, 53-55; Thomsen 1995, 57-68; Thomsen 1996, 71-82; Sanli 1998, 55-69; Sanli 2000, 41-57; Sanli 2003, 45-65; Sanli-Erler 2006).
[620] Mitchell 1993, 51-57, 80-98.
[621] Mitchell 1993, 143-163, 165-189.

Although the nature of the regional settlement patterns hampers a comparison of sites across these regional boundaries, categories of sites both within and between these provinces may be examined vis-à-vis figured-stele use. The selected case-study sites represent a cross-section of settlement-types within the hierarchy of a province and their political-administrative placement therein. Some may not be the same type of site between different provinces, such as Saittai and Kinna in comparison with Prusa or Kyzikos, but within the respective provinces constitute an existing settlement-type most comparable in nature featuring figured stelai. The case-study sites will now be examined based upon the characteristics of the settlement, with focus on Roman versus Greek foundations, figured-stele distribution between urban and rural habitation types, and finally any significance attributable to coastal or inland location.

Greek vs Roman foundation

Greek and Roman foundations are not equally represented among the case-study sites. None of the case-study sites from Bithynia-Pontus or *Asia* is definitively a Roman foundation, the cities here representing older Greek and Hellenistic centres. Among the Lydian case-studies, Saittai may be a Roman foundation but the evidence is inconclusive. Ankyra was site of a Roman city (Sebasteni Tectosages Ancyrani) under Augustus, but Kinna is the only identifiably 'new' Roman foundation among these case-studies. Rural sites are more difficult to identify as Greek or Roman foundations in the absence of excavation or intensive survey.

Saittai, Ankyra, and Kinna feature sixteen, two, and six figured stelai respectively, numbers far fewer than for the Greek foundations from the provinces of Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia*, as well as Byzantion, but – with the exception of Ankyra – the higher concentrations of this particular monument-type in Lydia and Galatia. The comparison of Greek and Roman foundations in Lydia and Galatia is difficult given the relative dearth of pre-Roman urban centres. Furthermore, beyond the case-study sites, not all Roman foundations show evidence of figured-stele use. The Roman *colonia* of Germa in Galatia, for example, has only three known (non-relief) stelai, the evidence suggesting that other non-figured/non-relief monument-types were preferred.[622] For Galatia, the use of any permanent monument in some Roman-period necropoleis is scarce, as the necropoleis attached to the Roman auxiliary base established at the

[622] SEG 31.1076-1079; 60.1381-1383.

older centre of Gordion indicate, yielding only two (non-relief) stelai.[623] Limited evidence for figured-stele use from Roman foundations, and this from newly urbanized areas of the central Anatolian plateau, suggests stelai were not a prominent habit spread as part of specifically Roman urbanism or culture. The extent to which the phenomenon was connected to processes of regional urbanization in Lydia and Galatia during the Roman period and spurred on by imperial initiatives is the topic of the following section.

Urban vs rural settlements

Comparing urban and rural foundations constitutes a more fruitful juxtaposition. For the present discussion, the broad delineations 'urban' and 'rural' will continue to be employed, acknowledging the difficulties of using these terms for sites such as the large 'villages' in northern Lydia which fall in between. 'Urban' here is understood to refer to an organized settlement with the official offices and administration (such as a *boule*) as well as public infrastructure and monumentality commonly associated with a city or *polis*. 'Rural', on the other hand, refers to those site-types subordinate to a *polis* or estate, described by Mitchell as 'unorganized'.[624] Settlements in northern Lydia which are neither urban nor rural might be described as organized rural settlements, lacking certain criteria of urban sites such as Saittai but more organized than rural settlements such as Iaza. The terms used are understood to envelope the multi-faceted and often ambivalent typology of the many and diverse settlement forms.

Discussion above (4.1 and 6.1) has illustrated that Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia*[625] represent regions with long-standing urban landscapes compared with Lydia and Galatia where there is little to no pre-Roman urban landscape. In Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia*, the distribution of figured stelai in concentrations of four or more falls predominately among urban centres, with fewer occurrences of three or fewer finds.[626] Sites such as Byzantion, Prusa, and Kyzikos, show high concentrations of use.

[623] Goldman 2017, 169.
[624] Mitchell 1993, 182.
[625] Bithynia had twelve cities, and Pontus six. Asia as a province had some 282 cities in the early Imperial period, divided into thirteen *conventus* districts.
[626] These might indicate ancient use in a necropolis of a rural village or estate, but the movable nature of this monument type does not exclude these findspots being connected to medieval or modern movement of stones.

Of the 163 figured stelai with recorded find-spot in Bithynia-Pontus, 127 occur in concentrations of four or more finds, and these are in urban centres. Similarly, of the 153 stelai with recorded provenance from *Asia*, 113 are from urban sites, with the exception of Gönen, in groups of four or more (**Tables 3**, **10**). A correlation appears here between urban foundations and more intense use of figured-stele monuments. The distribution patterns in Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia* are very similar, although a comparison of the number of urban sites with stelai represented in each province indicates a slightly higher number for Bithynia-Pontus (nine) than *Asia* (six). These centres are not evenly dispersed. For example, in Bithynia-Pontus, of the nine urban centres, only two in Pontus have four or more stelai, Herakleia Pontike and Sinop, the former the metropolis of Pontus and the latter a city with a Roman colonia founded under Julius Caesar. Similarly, the evidence for stelai in *Asia* is concentrated in the north in Mysia, predominately around Kyzikos, Karacabey, and Miletupolis, with only Smyrna in the south.

In Lydia and Galatia, where the development of urban centres was largely a Roman-period phenomenon, the distribution patterns present a different picture. Of the at least one hundred-known figured stelai from settlements in Roman-period Lydia, older existing urban centres such as Magnesia ad Sipylum, Philadelphia, Sardis, and Thyateira, have few known stelai.[627] Within the *conventus* of Sardis, besides the highest concentration of twenty-two at Saittai and the thirteen from rural Iaza, only Maionia (eight), Silandos (five), and Kollyda (three) have three or more figured stelai. If only twenty-five of the at least one hundred provenanced figured stelai known from the region come from urban sites (Sardis and Saittai), then the distribution pattern in Lydia and particularly within the conventus of Sardis shows more figured stelai employed in rural settlements, organized and unorganized. This pattern holds for other stele monument-types, namely non-figured and door-stelai, although the centres of concentrated use vary from figured stelai in the case of door-stelai.

For Roman-period Galatia, the total number of surviving figured stelai with known provenance is forty-three, distributed between one to three finds per site, predominately from

[627] Only three Roman-period figured stelai know from Sardis (SARDIS **247**-**249**), ten from Philadelphia (SEG 46.1509 and 46.1502; Malay 1994, nos. 225, 230, 245, 250, 252, 256, 317, 328, 393, 395), one from Magnesia ad Sipylum (SEG 50.1185), and two from Thyateira (SEG 49.1713; Malay 1994, no. 392).

smaller settlements such as Kerpiç and Kinna about which little to no surviving evidence is known beyond funerary and votive inscriptions. The distribution is higher for non-figured and non-relief stelai, with eleven from Ankyra, eight from Pessinus, three from Tavium, the three from Germa, and two from Germia.[628] Thus, pre-Roman centres such as Ankyra, Pessinus, and Tavium do not present evidence of a figured stele-habit, even by the Roman period, nor do those sites with Roman *colonia* foundations such as Germa. Evidence indicates that in some cases other monument-types were favored in these sites, such as *bomoi* in Ankyra, and doorstones, although the use of any permanent monument – particularly outside of more urban areas – is limited compared to other regions, including nearby Phrygia.

The question of why certain sites feature higher numbers of figured stelai in their respective provinces presents difficulties. First, this distribution of stelai is artificial in that it is bound by the chance nature of finds, which may not reflect original patterns of use. Second, little is known about the status of some sites in the absence of excavation, as in the cases of Saittai, Kerpiç, and Kinna.

Looking at the provincial capitals among the case-study sites, namely Nikomedia and Nikaia, Ephesos, Sardis, and Ankyra, it is clear that these sites do not have higher numbers of figured stelai compared with other sites in the hierarchy. Only Nikomedia and Nikaia have concentrations of more than four finds, while the other three fall below this threshold, although their iconography indicates the same types as employed elsewhere in the respective province, the exception being Ankyra. Urban sites not the primary provincial administrative centre, particularly Byzantion and other sites in Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia*, as well as in Lydia, feature the highest numbers. Figured stelai occur in rural sites across the provinces, and in Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia* the number of these rural sites increases in the Roman period, but only in Galatia, and to a lesser extent in Lydia, do these sites feature more stelai per site than urban or organized settlements. This distribution, while by no means uniform or systematic, suggests figured stelai were a more urban habit but one not necessarily connected to Roman culture. Rather, the higher numbers of figured stelai in regions where older Greek urban centres are the most prolific reinforces the continued use of this monument-type being at least in part linked to

[628] These numbers are drawn from published epigraphic catalogues and the SEG.

traditions of use. Individual rural sites in Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia* do not present high numbers in relation to urban centres but the increase in their overall numbers between the first century BC and the fourth century AD is indicative of the use of figured stelai as a monument-type increasing in these non-urban sites and among a rural population.

In Lydia and Galatia, landscapes without both a pre-Roman urban landscape and tradition of figured-stele use, the emergence of this monument-type, albeit on a comparatively limited scale, requires further unpacking. For Saittai, a relatively recent urban centre compared to the older and larger centres at Sardis and Philadelphia, the development may lie in the socio-economic changes to the organized settlement and the broader region during the Imperial period. Saittai, with its various craft guilds and synergasia of linen workers, was an important centre of textile production from the first century AD, a market town which became an urban centre under Roman rule.[629] The city's economic prosperity coincides with the development of an urban infrastructure, control of a territory encompassing multiple rural villages and private estates, and a civic coinage.[630] Saittai exemplifies the economic prosperity apparent in the region during the Imperial period, with increased urbanization and improvement to urban infrastructures.

The picture is far less clear for the case-study sites in Galatia. Kinna was an urban centre with a civic territory by the reign of Antoninus Pius, a Roman foundation with no evidence as yet for a pre-Roman phase. Even less can be said about Kerpiç, which may have been one of the smaller rural towns connected to the Roman road system or one of the many villages which by their nature leave little trace in the archaeological record beyond epigraphic evidence from funerary and votive monuments. Given the site's location in the region south of Ankyra where multiple private or imperial estates are believed to have existed, this rural settlement may have been connected to just such as estate.

The growth of towns and more urban environments by the first and second centuries AD generated stronger ties between the provincial government and the rural hinterland. With

[629] Pleket 1988, 32.
[630] Such as RPC III nos. 2543-2544 (Hadrian), IV.2 nos. 1388-1393, 4806, 9562, 11560-11563 (Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius).

urbanization, we might envisage periods of economic growth and prosperity for some centres and settlements. Economic prosperity and urban expansion encouraged the rise of more mid-range socio-economic levels, some members of which would have had the financial capability to choose a more decorative form of funerary monument, of which figured stelai were an option.

Coastal vs inland settlements

The final settlement-characteristic is proximity to the coast. The highest concentration of sites with higher numbers of surviving known stelai are situated within easy access of the coast (**Figure 1**), Byzantion, Kyzikos, Nikomedia, and Nikaia all featuring ports, and Prusa located within easy distance of these. Coastal sites, however, are not universally centres of figured-stele use. Sites in southern *Asia* such as Ephesos or others not among the case-studies, including Miletus, do not feature high numbers of figured stelai. While some correlation may exist between coastal sites and higher instances of stele-use, or inland sites and more limited evidence, this pattern is related to other factors, namely Greek or Roman foundation, as well as traditions of urbanization and settlement-patterns, rather than location in relation to coastal areas.

Conclusion

Consideration of the distribution of figured stelai within the cosmos of patterns of settlement in Roman-period Anatolia demonstrates different trajectories of use between regions with distinctive settlement histories. The disproportionate distribution of stelai within the settlement hierarchy, the relationship between city and countryside, favoring those urban centres not foremost in the Roman administrative hierarchy, suggests that in those regions of highest concentration of figured stelai, this monument habit was connected with traditions of use pre-dating Roman rule. In Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia*, use spread among more rural sites after the first-century BC. Only in Lydia and Galatia where there is little evidence for a pre-Roman stele-habit and where use occurs only on a limited scale between the late first and third centuries AD might the development of this figured commemorative practice be tied to the spread of urbanism encouraged by Roman imperial initiatives. Clear regionalism is observable between those "Greek" areas more tied to Hellenistic traditions of use and those newly urbanized regions where use was tied not to local traditions but to motivations among the local population (9.2), as well as increased material availability and economic growth.

9.2 Culture of stelai: Shared themes and regional preferences

The regional distribution reveals patterns of use within the geo-political landscape which may be narrowed to consider regional patterns of image-use and epigraphic formulae, components indicating shared themes as well as regional preferences within the culture of stelai.

This section will build upon the relationship between stele-use and the settlement hierarchy. Based upon the fundamental function of stelai in funerary contexts (2.4), the particular iconographic and epigraphic choices employed during the Roman period will be examined within the context of potential associations with these in antiquity, and possible motivations behind such choices. Finally, consideration will turn to regional patterns and customs of commemoration, looking at tradition and cultural memory connected to figured stelai in some regions vis-à-vis the late development of a (limited) stele-habit in areas of Lydia and Galatia, and in particular at what circumstances might have played a role in these changing customs of commemoration.

9.2.1 Regional patterns and motivations

This initial section discusses regional uses of iconographic and epigraphic formula, briefly considering the meaning of primary imagery like banquets and standing figures, only as these relate to evidence of regionalism and motivations of use, these types having been examined in detail in other studies.[631] Discussion will focus on both geographic and chronological differences, including regionalism in iconography, form, and epigraphy, as well as those components more prevalent among Roman figured stelai distinguishing the Roman from the pre-Roman evidence.

The image-types employed on figured stelai carry multiple points of reference and levels of associations appropriate for or connected to a sepulchral context and use. In analyzing motivations of use, some distinction should be made between motivation for using this particular

[631] Cremer 1991/1992; Fabricius 1999; Draycott and Stamatopoulou 2016.

monument-type versus motivation for using a particular iconographic motif on the monument. These objects operate within systems of commemoration and ritual, both for the individual and for the civic, tied to use-contexts (Chapter 2), acting as Woolf has described as "scaffolding of ritual- and routinization."[632]

The case-study chapters illustrated regional preferences for image and inscription elements on figured stelai during the Roman period, condensed in **Table 18**. While the traditional banquet scene features the highest number of surviving instances among the motifs, its use is concentrated in the case-studies from Bithynia-Pontus, Byzantion, and *Asia*, not featuring once among those from the central plateau where standing and half-figure types dominate the surviving record. On Roman-period figured stelai, as on their Hellenistic predecessors, these two image-types predominate.

The banquet-type is ubiquitous in funerary imagery on multiple media across the eastern Mediterranean, and its origins[633] and potential meanings have been subject of numerous studies.[634] The banquet as it appears on Hellenistic-period stelai in urbanized *poleis* in the Hellenistic kingdoms became 'standardized', more schematic, and in many ways simplified by the first-century AD with a schema which continued in use until the decline of figured stelai by the fourth century. Some of the regional variations for the schema of banquet scenes represent significant alterations on the theme, as opposed to workshop variation (Chapter 3). In Kyzikos, for instance, the higher number of figures in many of the scenes suggests a preference for

[632] Woolf 2018.

[633] Two primary traditions, from the Greek mainland and from Asia Minor. The iconographic tradition of the banquet from the Greek mainland appears primarily in the standardized votive monuments of heroes in Athens from the fourth century BC (Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 13-22; Dentzer 1982, 301-347, 429-452; Fehr 1984, 339-340; Murray 1988, 245-247; Fabricius 1999, 21-27; Jones 2010, 20; Lawton 2016, 385-404). The tradition in Anatolia dates from the sixth and fifth centuries BC onwards, with the image of the banquet appearing on the so-called Greco-Persian stelai from satrapies in Lydia (Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 39-41; Dentzer 1982, 265-279 pls. 58, 60; Nollé 1992; Fabricius 1999, 33-38; Draycott 2016, 219-298), and on Lycian tomb paintings (Mellink 1970; Dentzer 1982, 224-230; Mellink *et al.* 1998, 24-25 pl. 12; Miller 2010, 318-329 figs. 7-9; Baughan 2016, 195-218; Draycott 2016, 219-298), as well as rock-cut friezes, sarcophagi and tombs, for example the Salas Monument in Kadyanda, the Heroon of Gjölbaschi-Trysa, and of course the cella frieze on the Nereid Monument at Xanthus (Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 37-39; Dentzer 1982, 394-421; Jacobs 1987; Bruns-Özgan 1987; Oberleitner 1994; Fabricius 1999, 30-33; Seyer 2003; Lockwood 2016, 299-327). Also, although unfortunately less well-known, is the sarcophagus from Mylasa-Milas discovered in 2010, probably belonging to a member of the Carian Hekatomnid dynasty (Rumscheid 2010; Amann 2016, n. 65; Baughan 2016, n. 42; Draycott 2016, nn. 126-127; Fabricius 2016, 36 n. 14).

[634] Most recent among these is the Draycott and Stamatopoulou 2016 edited volume.

depicting either larger families or groups of persons connected with the deceased. Furthermore, the epigraphic evidence from stelai in Kyzikos and its environs indicates more *ἥρως* designations which relate to Hellenistic-period stele evidence from Kyzikos identifying persons as heroes, heroization underscored here by an altar in the scene.[635] This element largely vanishes on Roman-period stelai. Provenanced evidence for figured stele-use in Kyzikos declines after the first century AD, part of a broader chronological trend in the region with the exception of Miletoupolis where patterns in the iconography on stelai, including multi-relief types, are the same as those from Kyzikos although tend to feature fewer reclining banqueters depicted in banquet scenes.[636]

For Bithynia-Pontus and Byzantion, in contrast, *ἥρως* designations are few, as are expanded 'family' scenes with higher numbers of figures. Couples instead predominate, both in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, often linked by gestures or the raised wreath.[637] The emphasis within the imagery here is on the ideal of marriage, the central component of the domestic sphere. Some connection may be drawn here with Roman-period views of marriage and conjugal love. The banquet scene as a motif depicts an idealized view of the private sphere and domestic life, encompassing marriage, children, and slaves, conveying with its flexible attributes, background, and characteristics values emphasized within the social structures and conventions of individual *poleis* or settlements.[638] The deceased appears in a schematic but semantically multi-layered image invested with meanings, associations, and values, as well as perhaps notions of cultural identity, claimed for the deceased, and perhaps their family by a personalizing inscription.

The second most prominent image-type after the banquet is frontal standing figures, a type which in the case-studies mirrors Hellenistic representations – in Bithynia-Pontus, Byzantion, and *Asia* – of this theme, with the same repetitious poses and stances, both male and

[635] Fabricius 1999, 325-343; Fabricius 2016, 55, 58.
[636] For example, Hasluck 1910, no. 56; PM 1118 Pl. 169, 1147 Pl. 173, 1614 Pl. 235, 1681 Pl. 246, 1874 Pl. 269; Schwertheim 1980 nos. 142 Pl. 12, 405 Pl. 30, 543 Pl. 41.
[637] For raised wreath feature: NIKAIA **11**; PRUSA **24**, **26-28**, **32-36**, **38-39**, **42-45**, **47-50**, **54-56**; KESTAL **76-84**; PAMUKOVA/GEYVE **86**; BYZANTION **91**, **93**, **95-98**, **102**, **104**, **125-126**, **128**, **130**, **132**, **134-136**, **138-139**, **143-148**, **154-156**, **158-161**, **164-167**.
[638] Fabricius 2016, 62.

female, echoing traditional honorific public statue types,[639] relating these stele depictions to the public and political arenas, elite domains accessible to wealthy non-elite, reinforced by depictions of children as small-adults in many scenes, particularly from Byzantion (BYZANTION **98**, **100-102**, **126**, **144**).[640] The formulaic poses and clothing, such as the arm-sling used in representations of both men and women with its connotations of *sophrosyne*, like banquet scenes represent an inheritance from the Hellenistic period, evoking the (idealized) urban and traditionally elite environment more than the private domain.[641] The resonance of these symbols in the social cosmos of the case-study sites is further supported by the prominence of these same types of images on other funerary monuments, such as on sarcophagi from Byzantion from this same period, and many of the door-stelai from Phrygia and elsewhere.[642] In addition, inclusions such as book-rolls, diptychs, and writing implements, emblems of an ability to read and to write, place emphasis upon learning and education, for both men and women, of increased value in a society where literacy, that is the ability to read, to write, or both, occurred across a trajectory of levels from illiterate, semi-literate, and fully literate.[643] These accessories as well as inscriptions on tombstones would be significant for the social prestige of a deceased, although the presence of text does not necessarily entail that the deceased or the family were fully literate.[644] Furthermore, two surviving figured stelai from Prusa and its environs feature *tabula ansata* in which the inscriptions appear (PRUSA **52**, **54**). The use of *tabula ansata* emphasizes this public political-civic role of individuals, as the *tabula* was a feature of the actual process in which civic honours were awarded.[645] Although these two are the only figured stelai in this corpus

[639] Fehr 1979; Zanker 1993, 216-217; Zanker 1995a; 1995b; Spathi 2012, 89-102; Masséglia 2015, 53-121. For female standing portrait types, Daehner 2007; Dillon 2010, 60-102; Spathi 2012, 95-99; Masséglia 2015, 122-156.
[640] Mitchell 1993, 203-204; Zanker 1993, 216-217; Bergemann 1997, 65-69; Smith (2008), 350-351, 390-391; Masséglia 2013, 102-104.
[641] Zanker 1995, chapter 2; Puddu 2011, 97-112; Masséglia 2013, 102-104; Masséglia 2015, 53-121. This is also apparent from other types of funerary monuments as shown by Bergemann's work on Attic grave reliefs where depicted activities depicted relate to the *polis*, namely for men their role in the public domain, for women in the domestic. No interest is apparent here in the private or otherwise personal sphere (Bergemann 1997, 180). As Zanker has shown for Smyrna, figured stelai from the second to first centuries BC sought to demonstrate to praiseworthy qualities of the deceased, again emphasizing the public as opposed to the private domain (Zanker 1993, 213-215).
[642] Lochman 2003; Kelp 2015.
[643] Harris 1989, 248-255; Zanker 1993, 213; Zanker 1995, 98; Bergemann 1997, 64-77; Masséglia 2013, 99-100.
[644] Harris 1989 argues that these spread among individuals "at the edge" of literacy, with stones inscribed by skilled persons who may have contributed to the formula (221-222).
[645] Smith 2008, 389.

employing this motif,[646] *tabulae* form part of the same visual repertoire, together with clothing and attitude, available to individuals for self-representation of valued status.

Variation in clothing in this frontal standing-type, mainly for men, represents an individualizing element related to status or profession, an element more frequent in some cases for the Roman period. Gladiator and military depictions are obvious examples,[647] but also the stele for the sons of Thrason Diogenos, depicted as small adults, and their tutor, Hermes, the figure shown wearing an ungirded *chiton* (NIKOMEDIA **5**). Other professions may also be depicted, as on two stelai from Saittai (SAITTAI **263**, **266**), one of which (**266**) depicts three fragmentary figures, two men and a woman. One of the men and the woman are depicted in traditional poses, while the second man wears a *chiton* and holds a hammer and a pair of tongs, suggesting his attire is linked to his profession or perhaps legal status, although this is not mentioned in the inscription. Individuals connected to a cult in some capacity may also be shown in distinctive attire, pose, and attributes (KESTAL **85**; BYZANTION **151**; SAITTAI **267**). The image on the stele for the head of a greengrocers' guild, on the other hand, shows a typical standing male figure in traditional pose and attire (NIKAIA **12**). Clothing of female figures varies less frequently, with an instance of a woman depicted as a priestess of Isis in Byzantion (BYZANTION **113**). Some stele-buyers preferred more individualization for the accompanying imagery in terms of profession or manner of death, but these do not appear as the majority.

Imagery on funerary stelai during the Roman period continued to emphasize the public role of the individual, male or female, expressed through scenes, attitudes, appearance, and attributes which have been described by Masséglia as "Graeco-Roman paraphernalia of the literate and leisured individual."[648] The conformity of the visual language employed from the Hellenistic through the Roman period underscores the importance of these invested associations.

[646] *Tabulae* also appear on non-figured stelai from Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia*, demonstrating wider use of this honorific component as a point of reference when relief figures were not used (IK Prusa no. 131).
[647] Gladiators: BYZANTION **180**; KYZIKOS **221**, **228**; SARDIS **249**; ANKYRA **285-286**. Military: NIKOMEDIA **9**; BYZANTION **114-116**; KYZIKOS **231**; IAZA **275**.
[648] Masséglia 2013, 99-100. See also Puddu 2011.

Related to the motif of standing figures is the half-figure type which appears in all of the case-study regions but most prevalently in *Asia*, Lydia, and Galatia. The poses and attire of these figures show conformity with the traditional forms apparent in other motifs including standing figures. The limited number of Hellenistic-period half-figures together with the marked increase in this type from the first century BC into the second and third centuries AD supports the Italian origins of this portrait-like form.[649] In technical terms, these depictions are not bust-forms, with the exception of the figures on a third-century stele from Nikomedia (NIKOMEDIA **7**) where the female bust is shown with what may be the nameplate (*tabula*), and on a stele showing a male bust between two half-figures (KYZIKOS **222**). This type is the only one used in Kinna and occurs together with standing-types in Kerpiç. Half-figures, as with standing figures, allude to the public sphere and values associated therewith, serving as a more personalizing element.

While banqueting and standing figures predominate, these are not the only relief-types surviving from the Roman period in the case-study evidence, and in numerous instances multiple motifs appear combined on a single stele. Some elements may also overlap image-types, for example the seated female figure in a variety of related pose types[650] is a standard component in banquet depictions but also appears in seated only (for example, PRUSA **70-73**; BYZANTION **118**; KYZIKOS **223**) or combined seated-standing depictions, with a seated woman and a standing figure, usually male (such as PRUSA **67** and **69**; BYZANTION **187**).

For single relief scenes, Roman-period stelai from the case-study sites and broader regions display obvious consistency with the Hellenistic-period material in types employed. Over the course of the Roman period the types of iconography employed narrow further, with more condensed scenes, and shifts in focus within these primary image-types. After the first century BC, scenes appear less iconographically detailed, including fewer auxiliary objects such as overt symposia elements or iconographic allusions to heroization of the deceased – snake-entwined trees for example – but more inclusions of *kalathoi*, mirrors, spindles/distaffs, and accoutrements of agricultural production, as well as more simplified backgrounds.

[649] Cremer 1991, 93-101. For the Italian bust forms, see Zanker 1975, 267-269; Frenz 1977; Kleiner 1977; Frenz 1986; Pflug 1989.
[650] See examples and discussion in Chapter 6, such as *Pudicitia* variants (Penelope-type, *Pudicitia* Philista, "Braccio Nuovo," and Proto-*Pudicitia*). Gauer 1990, 31-33; Stähler 1990, 5-7; Cremer 1991, 83-90.

Multi-register stelai

In the case-study sites, these image-types occur singly in preponderance but among the characteristics of Roman-period stelai is an increase in some regions in the number of multi-relief stelai where these primary scenes appear in combination or with other types/motifs. Although multi-register stelai are by no means unique to the Roman period for regions like Mysia, from the first century BC higher numbers of this type appear, with a total of forty-seven stelai from the case-studies with two (forty-two instances) or three (five) reliefs. In the case-study sample, the highest numbers of these occur in Bithynia-Pontus with twenty-five from the case-studies,[651] particularly around Prusa and Kestal, but with only eight from Kyzikos and Gönen,[652] and a further nine from Galatia.[653] **Table 19** shows that banquet scenes predominate as the primary or uppermost scene, and among the case-studies the most frequent combinations are banquets with scenes of farming/ploughs with eight from Bithynia-Pontus and two from Byzantion,[654] and banquets with collections of objects, with seven, all from Bithynia-Pontus.[655] Banquet scenes in combination with horse-rider figures occur six times, four for Bithynia-Pontus and three for *Asia*.[656] Standing scenes in combination with secondary reliefs of objects feature six times, five of which from Galatia.[657] Half-figures are the topmost scene on seven case-study stelai, five with objects as the auxiliary relief, all but one from Galatia.[658]

This distribution among the case-studies is echoed when compared with multi-relief stelai from the broader regions. At least eleven other multi-relief stelai are known from elsewhere in Bithynia-Pontus (Chapter 4), among which banquet scenes in combination with other motifs predominate. For *Asia*, at least thirty-nine other Roman-period multi-relief stelai occur in Mysia, outside of Kyzikos and Gönen (Chapter 6), indicating a fault in the sample for this monument-type. For the latter, banquets dominate – thirteen are known combined with a horse-rider motif

[651] PRUSA **21-23**, **28-32**, **40-44**, **53-55**, **63**, **68**; KESTAL **77-78**, **81-84**; PAMUKOVA/GEYVE **87**.
[652] KYZIKOS **214-216**, **222**, **238**, **240-241**; GÖNEN **245**.
[653] KINNA **287-289**, **292**; KERPIÇ **293**, **295-297**, AND **299**.
[654] PRUSA **43**, **53**, **68**; KESTAL **78**, **81-84**; BYZANTION **137**, **139**.
[655] PRUSA **31-32**, **42-44**, **54**; KESTAL **77**.
[656] PRUSA **23**, **28-29**, **41**; KYZIKOS **215**, **224**; GÖNEN **245**.
[657] PRUSA **63**; KERPIÇ **293**, **295-297**, **299**.
[658] PAMUKOVA/GEYVE **87**; KINNA **287-292**; KERPIÇ **302**. Other half-figure depictions include KYZIKOS **222** and **240**.

alone – but a higher number of half-figures appear as primary reliefs, particularly in combination with banquet depictions as secondary reliefs, with twelve known.

Regional preferences for relief combinations are clear, with banquet depictions in combination with scenes of agricultural activities or with objects dominating in Bithynia-Pontus, with high concentrations in the environs of Prusa. Agricultural motifs in general are much less frequent in *Asia*, where multi-relief combinations favor banquets with horse-rider pairs or half-figures with banquet scenes. The pattern in Mysia/*Asia* represents a continuation of a Hellenistic practice, both arguably deriving from the origins of the multi-relief stele-type in the region as well as the relative proximity of Daskyleion-Ergili.[659] The preference for banquets as primary scenes here also may derive in part from older Anatolian traditions, where the types appeared in combination with depictions of hunting and riders among others, as well as the association of the imagery with wealth and social prestige facilitating the continued appeal of such motifs and combinations into the Roman period.[660] In Bithynia-Pontus, a region in close proximity to Mysia and the old Persian satrapy capital, the Roman-period use of the multi-relief stele-type may stem from patron desire for an older monument-type but here the auxiliary iconography favored representations of the economic base for the region – agriculture and a landscape dotted with estates – as well as objects which represent both economic activities and domestic production as well as wealth, such as *kalathoi*, agricultural tools such as *falx arboraria*,[661] combs, and mirrors. The prominence of these objects, particularly as auxiliary reliefs, as with scenes of farming, feature more on Bithynia-Pontus and Galatian stelai,[662] and as motifs are associated with the

[659] Cremer 1991, 17-21, 26-27. For examples of Graeco-Persian stelai, see PM 2-6, 73-75, 1111, 1429; IK Kyzikos no. 51; Altheim-Stiehl, Metzler, and Schwertheim 1983, 1-3 Pl. 1; Cremer 1984, 87-89 Pl. 6; Fabricius 2009, Pl. 34b (from a private collection).

[660] Pre-Hellenistic Anatolian banquet depictions are often combined with other scene types, including among others depictions of hunting, war, and sacrifice, elements emphasizing the luxury, wealth, political authority, and social prestige of local dynasts and their families during this period, a tradition in Anatolia which facilitated the incorporation of the theme among the Greek *poleis* of the Hellenistic period (Dentzer 1982, 282-299, 559-566; Draycott 2011). These depictions show collective banquets with multiple banqueters (male) with women and children as well as numerous attendants, as on the Lycian depictions, and the Greco-Persian multi-register stelai also musicians and sumptuous furnishings, as on the Daskyleion stelai (Draycott 2011).

[661] For *falx arboraria*, see White 1967, 85-88.

[662] Some of the same objects also appear on Roman-period door-stelai (Lochman 2003; Kelp 2013; 2015).

Roman-period material, their popularity after the first century BC highlighted with the use of objects as the only relief on non-figured stelai from Bithynia-Pontus.[663]

Besides banquet scenes, depictions of standing, seated, or seated-standing figures also feature among those motifs on multi-relief stelai, either in primary or secondary capacities, but in far fewer numbers in the sample. Half-figures, as noted above, represent the second most prominent image-type after banquets as a primary relief, and never as an auxiliary scene. The personalizing nature of the depiction probably contributed to its appeal on multi-relief stelai, individualizing other scenes such as banquets or riders, and on multi-relief stelai from Galatia representing the only figured element when combined with depictions of objects.[664] In Galatia where standing figures represent the only other primary relief type on multi-relief monuments in addition to half-figures, these types serve both to personalize a stele and arguably to present the deceased in a perceived or desired public persona.

Regional trends in terms of combinations of image-types are apparent, representative of both traditions of use as well as desired emphasis which may be tied to economic factors, particularly in agriculture/animal husbandry-intense regions such as Bithynia-Pontus and Galatia. Those stelai from Prusa and Kestal with auxiliary fields of objects suggest contemporaneous work, their number pointing to characteristics of the Prusa and Kestal workshops as well as patron demand.[665] In some instances, additional imagery on multi-relief stelai has been interpreted as the individualizing image – selected specifically by the patron – to personalize otherwise generic imagery by depicting profession, interests, or cult affiliation among others.[666] The lower level of relief of secondary scenes on some stelai, or those instances where the secondary relief is incised, may support these assertions (PRUSA **31**; BYZANTION **105**, **139**; KYZIKOS **214**, **230**; KINNA **287**, **288**, **289**, **292**; KERPIÇ **293**, **295**). The extension of this argument to suggest prefabricated stelai limits the role of patron in selecting both the primary and the secondary image-types (3.3.2), and it is unnecessary to visualize the combination of auxiliary

[663] IK Nikaia nos. 200 Pl. 8, 202 Pl. 19; IK Prusa nos. 117 (Kestal), 131, 146-147, 155, 166, and 168; Akyürek Şahin and Onur 2010, nos. 7 and 9.
[664] KINNA **287-292**; KERPIÇ **302.**
[665] Cremer 1992.
[666] Cremer 1991, 27-70; Corsten 1993, 307-309.

imagery, such as objects or farming, as well as primary depictions such as banquets as not a deliberate choice for the patron. The inclusion of not only objects but also of agricultural production-themed scenes during the Roman period – motifs unique to the first century BC to the fourth century AD – represents a visual expression of (desired) wealth, prosperity, or possibly profession for some individuals, although the latter again is not necessary (4.5).

Regional epigraphic elements

As with the iconographic components, some elements of the epigraphic record on these monuments vary between regions, and in some cases between the Hellenistic- and Roman-period evidence. Use of an inscription is consistent across the case-studies, although variation occurs within these areas in terms of length, form, detail (9.1.1), and carving quality of the inscription.

Some components of the surviving epigraphic record from these figured stelai suggest regional use-patterns,[667] for example, those inscriptions from *Asia* identifying the type of monument or tomb marked by the stele (that is, *ὑπόμνημα*). Age of the deceased is provided in many of the inscriptions in other regions, as in the case-study sites from Bithynia-Pontus as well as Byzantion. Similarly, the use of a dating formula for the day, month, and year the stele was put up only occurs on those stelai from case-studies in Lydia.

The motivations for the regional epigraphic preferences on stelai, as with iconographic preferences, may be tied to tradition, such as elements which were already employed in the pre-Roman period, or perhaps appear during the Roman period as part of a wider epigraphic choice (such as Roman-period Greek inscriptions displaying age). For the use of dating formula in Lydia, comparison with other monument-types such as votive stelai and door-stelai indicates that this practice was not restricted to funerary monuments.[668]

Components of the epigraphic record present in all regions but not universally within regions probably stem from individual choice. These include the form of the inscription, namely non-verse or epigram, and the use of a curse formula or injunction. The epigrams from this body

[667] These have been discussed in the respective case-study chapters.
[668] Such as Petzl 1978; Malay 1994; Petzl 2005, no. 1; Malay 2006, no. 1; Herrmann and Malay 2007; Ricl 2011.

of evidence tend to represent more emotional expressions of grief or loss, and are the only expression of sentiment from the bereaved. Epigrams also contain references to death, less-often to the cause of death (9.1.1) but rather a description of how the deceased was snatched away, for which Hades or the Fates are held responsible.[669] A negative tinge is palpable in the verse inscriptions, the Underworld when referenced hardly depicted in positive terms and accompanied by references to the grief of those left behind. The epigrams in this corpus are introduced by prose text identifying the deceased in a more formulaic fashion.

Curse formulae, grave imprecations, and fines for any unlawful disturbance, including burying an unauthorized person or a stranger in the grave, or damage appear in all regions of Roman-period Anatolia[670] but only three occur in the present case-study corpus (KYZIKOS **230**, **231**; GÖNEN **246**), pointing to a flaw in the sample. Imposed fines are between 1,000 and 2,500 *denarii* or *drachmae*, paid to the fiscus and/or to the sacred treasury. Not all such inscriptions impose fines, instead promising punishment for the offense and resigning the fate of the offender to the gods (KYZIKOS **230**; SAITTAI **250**, **252**, **258**, **263**; KINNA **289**; KERPIÇ **293**).

The selective use of epigrams and curse formulae suggest these components were a matter of individual preference, based upon personal choice and perhaps cost if the composition of the epigram in addition to the carving of the inscription was completed by a third party. The use of curses and other funerary imprecations may derive from regional factors, particularly in Lydia and Galatia with their geographic proximity to Lycia and Phrygia where curse formulae occur more frequently and where concern for the security of a grave against intruders or other vandals represented a more present threat.[671] The epigraphy, like the iconography, from figured stelai indicates scope for variety and individual choice as well as broader regional preferences.

[669] The initial lines of an inscription from Prusias ad Hypium identify a *daimon* responsible for carrying the deceased to Hades: ὠκυμόρου τά/φον ἀνδρὸς ὁρᾷς, ξέ/νε, καὶ με δάκρυσον | / ὅτι ῥᾶ οἳ θνῆσκον / οὐδὲ λάλησα φί/λοις, | οὐδ’ ἄλοχον προ/σεεῖπα φίλην, οὐ / παισὶ προσεῖπον· | / ἀλ<λ>ά <μ>έ τις δαίμων / ἥρπασεν εἰς Ἀΐδην. …
You see, stranger, the tomb of a man dead suddenly; cry for my fate as, alas, death, I have not discussed with my friends nor spoken with my dear wife, nor my children. No, a daimon carried me to Hades. ....
[670] Kubińska 1968, 9-49; Nock 1972, 527-533; Robert and Robert 1978, 241-289; Strubbe 1983, 248-274; Mitchell 1993, 2:127-128, 148.
[671] McLean 2011, 271.

Motivations of use

The continuity of iconographic traditions among those case-study sites with pre-Roman figured stele traditions as well as those sites with only Roman-period stele evidence indicates the deliberate choice among stele-patrons for a limited selection from an otherwise extensive iconographic spectrum. The choice to use only particular image-types on stelai suggests both intention and adherence to tradition. For figured stelai, some choices are tied at least in part to the meanings associated with these image-types, a preference for types associating the deceased with the values of the public or idealized private domains.[672]

Linked with these associated points of reference are other possible motivations for using particular imagery, part of the human-object interaction process. These include aides to the formation and maintenance of memory (commemoration), post-burial ritual, and self-representation, coupled with the display of perceived social, economic, and cultural standing.

The first relates to the broad function of these stelai as monuments of commemoration, namely the formation and maintenance of memory (Ulpian *Dig*. 11.7.2.6), and to images and inscriptions as instruments of memory (2.4).[673] The role of the iconographic component in the process of memory must be approached with a wariness of placing too much emphasis on image as memory-aid given the limited evidence of personalization. The exceptions are a number of stelai on which the layout of the inscription indicates an effort to associate persons named with figures depicted (as on NIKAIA **11**; BYZANTION **127**; KYZIKOS **200** and **203**). There are no obvious surviving portrait features on stelai, for example, and only divergences in pose or attire indicate a deliberate choice to show a direct association with the deceased, particularly for military and gladiatorial figures, as well as other professions – tutor, smiths – and cult participation (NIKOMEDIA **5**, **9**, **10**; KESTAL **85**; BYZANTION **113-116**, and **151**). The relationship between image and text on these monuments is such that the iconography represents a 'standardized' image carrying multiple levels of meaning and values – chosen for/by an individual – which the inscription and possibly secondary imagery personalized to particular

[672] As known from the inscription on the Hellenistic-period stele of Menophilia from Sardis (PM 418 Pl. 69), which makes clear connections between the objects depicted on the shelf behind the female figure and their meaning in relation to the deceased.
[673] Hope 2001, 88-95; Hope and Huskinson 2011, xi-xix.

individuals and families. The role of image in relation to memory and commemoration of specific individuals serves as an enhancement of the epigraphic record. When no inscription was originally present (distinct from those fragmentary stelai where none survives), the association of image meaning with the deceased might be automatically made in the mind of the viewer.

This relationship between image and inscription also may be suggested for post-burial ritual. These monuments would have been viewed during the multitude of annual visits to graves after the initial burial, including for subsequent interments suggested by some of the epigraphic evidence (PRUSA **24**; KESTAL **80**). A better example not included in this case-study material is a first-century AD *naiskos* stele from Apollonia am Rhyndakos, on which a secondary relief and inscription were probably added at a date subsequent to the first but by the same woman, the first for her husband and the second for her father.[674] Inscriptions, and by extension the iconography of the monuments, were intended for viewing by visitors during post-burial rituals at the grave (2.3), encouraging the formation and maintenance of memory.[675]

These funerary monuments also serve as a venue for self-representation, display of perceived social standing, as well as of economic capital. Employing motifs or combinations of scenes with acknowledged connotations of the public and honorific arenas suggests a desire among individuals and families to be seen as associated with this domain on their funerary stelai, whether or not part of it in reality. Stelai recording the profession of the deceased serve as examples here, including gladiators (BYZANTION **180**; KYZIKOS **221**, **228**; SARDIS **249**; ANKYRA **285-286**), soldiers (NIKOMEDIA **9**; BYZANTION **114-116**; KYZIKOS **231**; IAZA **275**), estate-managers and freed slaves (NIKAIA **18**, **20**; PRUSA **26-27**, **44-45**, **78**; SAITTAI **264**), the greengrocer (NIKAIA **12**), and the woodcutter (PRUSA **55**).

The use of these types of imagery on stelai also should be considered as cultural capital. The long-standing use of such imagery, from the third century BC to the late fourth century AD, illustrates not only continuity but also tradition of using these arguably more Greek iconographic types. In those areas of northwest Anatolia where older urban settlements and environs represent

[674] Istanbul Archaeology Museum inv. no. 491(?). Found in Apollonia am Rhyndakos. PM 1707.
[675] Morris 1992, 128; Hope 2001, 92-93; Hope and Huskinson 2011, xv.

strongly Greek cultural areas, continued use of this monument-type in the Roman period suggests cultural memory, particularly given the predominately Greek nomenclature from the epigraphic record. In contrast, those case-study areas in Lydia and Galatia where little pre-Roman tradition for figured stelai is apparent in the surviving evidence, these monuments arguably carried expressions of cultural capital. For buyers and patrons, stelai bearing traditionally Greek motifs expressed cultural affiliation, which like social standing may have been perceived or desired and may have constituted a further form of capital.

Some patrons may have been members of the elite but the relative silence of the epigraphic record on most stelai as well as the absence of specific context – such as other monuments or tomb-types used by the same family in conjunction with a figured stele – makes distinguishing between this group of wealthier non-elite virtually impossible. Discussion (3.3.2) has presented the variables affecting cost of these monuments, and the fluidity of this across different regions and different periods. Some evidence suggests that although figured stelai were not a cheap monument, the cost of production in the Roman period probably decreased with the opening of additional stone quarries to meet demand for architectural elements needed for construction works for locally and further afield, stone for decorative statuary, and funerary monuments. For those wanting a figured stele – 'professional' occupations, freed-persons and *oikonomoi*, successful private farmers, and free citizens – besides social and cultural capital, these monuments might display economic capital in the ability to afford a permanent funerary monument with relief. The distribution of figured stelai in Saittai, namely among family groups, compared with the use of non-figured stelai among the guilds of linen- and wool-workers, reinforces this. Furthermore, the use of a relief-decorated stele versus a non-figured stele within the same family may be predicated on the placement of the deceased within the family hierarchy, suggested again by evidence from Saittai where a non-figured stele was used for a *threptos* in a family, and three years later a figured stele was set up to commemorate the paterfamilias (SAITTAI **261**). The selective use of figured stelai within a family, however, probably relates firstly to the socio-economic condition of the family and secondly to the family hierarchy.

Some iconographic elements on stelai, in addition, carry connotations of wealth and prosperity. For example, elaborate furnishings and accoutrements in banquet or seated scenes,[676] as well as the numbers of slaves included in scenes point to the display of a desired economic recourse on the part of the stele-owner/deceased. Other motifs similarly evoke connotations of wealth and standing, particularly depictions of horses, traditionally only affordable by the wealthy elite.[677] Representations of farming, viewed in some scholarship as 'symbols' of wealth used by a landowning elite who may or may not have worked their own land,[678] may also have been employed by non-elite tenants or private farmers possessing sufficient economic means to work their own land, perhaps in the territory of the *polis*. The epigraphic record is comparatively silent in recording private farmers,[679] so that the iconographic motif of a ploughing *chiton*-clad figure may well represent a personal depiction, but may also be employed by individuals whose land was worked by others. Estate-owners are attested among stelai – particularly from Bithynia-Pontus (NIKAIA **18**, **20**; PRUSA **44**, **45**; SAITTAI **264**) – but they do not appear in the sample as stele-patrons themselves. Rather, those persons who work the land for them – *oikonomoi* and a *saltuarius* – set up this figured monument-type, and noteworthy in the iconography of some of these examples is the absence of overt farming imagery. Only one stele (NIKAIA **18**) shows a *chiton*-clad figure at a plough, while on three others there are no ploughs but themes of wealth and prosperity conveyed with depictions of horses and objects such as caskets or hand-mirrors (PRUSA **44**, **45**). The inclusion of agricultural tools – such as *falx arboraria* – on many stelai may visually represent an individual's profession, although as with the plough motif the connection need not be a necessary one. Representations of horses and cattle, compared to farming depictions, serve as visual allusions to a prosperous life, emblems of economic as well as social standing, real or claimed by the deceased.

Integral to the consideration of motivations and meanings of image-types above is use-context and sensoria (Chapter 2) in which memory and tradition connected to these locations and activities there contribute to their continuous or long-term use. The discussion of meanings and

[676] Levels of detail on furnishings, etc., in these scenes may indicate less patron choice than workshop.
[677] Marek 2016, 462.
[678] As in Cremer 1991; 1992.
[679] A limited number of epigrams for Asia Minor record farming as an occupation (Merkelbach and Stauber 1998-2004). In comparison, funerary monuments from Asia Minor depicting farming – as well as hunting and fishing – occur with more frequency that those inscriptions specifying these as occupations (PM).

motivations for use has focused on how individuals employed stelai, as objects of commemoration and as displays for their actual or desired/perceived social, economic, and cultural standing. Human agency within this "consumption revolution"[680] is pivotal for understanding the use, function, and motivation for these figured monuments, particularly as it relates to desire and intention in use.

A further component for these considerations, however, is object agency, here defined as the unintended effects objects may have, particularly when employed over extended periods of time.[681] While commemoration and aides to memory, including the use of iconography, may be viewed as intended effects, expressions of social, economic, and cultural capital connected to image-use may represent to some extent unintentional associations. The difference here between effective objects and acquired meanings is a fine one, and incredibly difficult to distinguish in antiquity. The two need not be mutually exclusive. Unintentional associations are connotations, linked to social standing, wealth, and cultural affiliation, which are not necessarily the primary function of these funerary monuments but represent associations which these objects, over time, acquire as unintended effects.[682] Operating within systems of memory and ritual over extended periods of time, with imagery carrying (over time) inherent and multi-level associations and connotations, these objects acted as drivers in the formation of 'taste' and 'identity' as well as society and culture more broadly, both in regions of long-standing use and those where figured stelai represented a 'new', limited, and short-lived custom of commemoration.

9.2.2 Customs of commemoration

In Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia*, as well as Byzantion, customs of commemoration related to figured stele-use date back to the Hellenistic period, and noteworthy in these areas is the continuity of form, types, and the general iconographic-types through from the third-century BC to the fourth-century AD. Changes in the patterns of commemoration here are subtler, relating to a simultaneous standardization of the imagery and forms by the first and second centuries AD, and a more widespread appearance of figured stelai in small village and rural sites attached to urban

[680] Woolf 2018.
[681] Latour 2005, 39; Jervis 2013, 220-221.
[682] Gregson and Rose 2000, 441; Latour 2005, 65; Knappett and Malefouris 2008, xi; Jervis 2013, 220-221.

centres, as well as private estates. The evidence of increased use among these smaller sites in the Roman period suggests a wider socio-economic spectrum – encompassing private but successful farmers as well as *oikonomoi* – choosing this monument-type. In these regions, stele-use and image-types appear strongly tied to tradition and cultural memory by the Roman period in addition to those meanings, messages, and associations with individual types, carrying with them connotations of the 'old' and venerable culture of the Greek past. These associations might in some ways be not dissimilar to the associations with Greek heroes on civic coinage[683] for many *poleis* and aristocratic families, although part of a different process.

The clearest case-study example for figured stele-use as cultural memory is Byzantion where the continued use of the necropoleis for some seven centuries and the continuity of stele-forms and imagery over that period highlights the value carried by and associated with these objects as well as the physical context of use. The incorporation of these on sarcophagi in the third century AD, around the same time as the evidence for figured stelai peters out, further underscores this point. For Byzantion as well as the other case-study sites in Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia*, the most obvious change in the customs of commemoration related to stelai is the gradual end of the tradition by the late fourth century AD.

The use of other relief monuments – as well as non-relief – within the same case-study use-contexts allows for comparison with figured stelai and broader regional customs of commemoration. Non-figured relief stelai sharing the same characteristics as their figured counterparts – form and architectural framing – as well as motifs such as wreaths and objects are most obvious in examples from Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia*,[684] and the use-patterns for these non-figured types are the same as those for figured stelai, although the type with collections of objects – *kalathoi*, spindle-and-distaff, mirrors, combs, caskets, and agricultural tools – appear as the sole iconographic element on non-figured monuments only in Roman period, suggesting greater appeal of this iconography in some quarters, perhaps in more rural locations but distribution patterns for these are less clear given the dearth of known findspots. These objects

[683] Dalaison 2014.
[684] Such as IK Nikaia nos. 200 Pl. 8, 202 Pl. 19; IK Prusa nos. 117 (Kestal), 131, 146-147, 155, 166, and 168; Akyürek Şahin and Onur 2010, nos. 7 and 9.

may be in relief or, as in examples from Bithynia-Pontus, incised within niche fields, perhaps made more visible in antiquity with applied paint.[685]

Other monuments bearing relief within these necropoleis include funerary *bomoi*, but few examples with figured relief survive. In Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia, bomoi* more frequently display garlands, wreaths, paterae, *gorgoneion*, and bucrania than figures. The altar-with-architrave tomb-type such as that from the territory of Prusa could also feature figured elements, such as half-figures or busts, in addition to objects such as diptychs or book-rolls.[686] Some relief panels with banquet scenes from Kyzikos probably did not come from stelai given their size and width but the overlap of this prominent motif with other monument-types further supports its regional popularity.

These relief monument-types – non-figured stelai and *bomoi* – operating in the same necropoleis as figured stelai in Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia* help to fill out the picture of these contexts during the Roman period. The evidence – particularly for grave *bomoi* – is too limited to present a fuller distribution for comparison of numbers involved, but it does indicate similar chronological patterns for all three monument-types, and suggests a decline for all three in the third and fourth centuries AD. Door-stelai have only limited overlap with figured stelai in Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia*, typically along border-zone areas close to Phrygia where this type predominates. Kadoi is an example here, but also in the rural area around Pamukova and Taraklı where a cluster of door-stelai may point to a Phrygian population resident here.[687] In terms of chronology, door-façade monuments appear concentrated between the second and third centuries AD, compared to their main production sites in Phrygia, Lydia, and Galatia where early evidence indicates first-century AD use.[688]

The picture for customs of commemoration in Lydia and Galatia is starker and more difficult given the dearth of pre-Roman evidence as well as the vagaries of the Roman-period

[685] Such as IK Nikaia no. 218 Pl. 20; IK Prusa no. 100; Adak and Akyürek Şahin 2005, nos. 6, 8, 9, and 12; Akyürek Şahin and Onur 2010, nos. 1 and 2 (figs.).
[686] Akyürek Şahin and Onur 2010, no. 8 (fig.).
[687] Adak and Akyürek Şahin 2005, nos. 14-19, 21-22, 33-34 (figs.).
[688] Waelkens 1986; Lochman 1991, 11-24; Lochman 2003; Kelp 2015.

material. The earliest evidence for figured stelai dates from the late first century AD in Lydia, the chronology in Galatia less clear given the surviving evidence but still probably not beginning until the first century AD. In these areas, the most obvious change in customs of commemoration is the participation in a figured-stele habit, albeit limited, in the Roman period, particularly in some rural settlements or 'new' foundations such as Saittai and Kinna.

Among the causes or impetus for the development of this type of commemoration in the region at a later stage may in part be the urbanization of the central plateau under imperial rule. The use of figured stelai, here a Roman-period phenomenon, enjoyed only limited appeal in the region compared to the Greek *poleis* of northwest Asia Minor. Urban settlements of Greek foundation in Bithynia-Pontus and *Asia* predominate in figured-stele use, while in Lydia and Galatia where the level of urbanization is comparatively low the distribution favors more rural settlements. The growth of some settlements into urban or at least organized centres, and, perhaps more significantly, greater connectivity between these areas and older Greek centres such as Smyrna where figured stelai had been a prominent Hellenistic practice visible on the urban landscape, inspired some individuals and families in growing urban sites such as Saittai and Kinna to choose this monument-form. The spread of urbanism in the first and second centuries AD in Lydia and Galatia, and of some monument traditions like figured stelai, also impacted rural and 'unorganized' settlements such that some of these sites, such as Kerpiç, rival the numbers of stelai from regional urban sites.

A second possible factor in the emergence of this monument-type in the Roman period may be tied to economic expansion, particularly among mid-range socio-economic levels. Providing evidence of these groups, however, is more difficult given the relative silence on figured stelai regarding occupation and other socio-economic indicators. Objects such as tools or livestock depicted may suggest farmers or craftsmen, but the epigraphic record rarely provides confirmation of this. Furthermore, some of these objects and agricultural motifs are used extensively across Anatolia, including in urban centres, and while these may indicate an occupation, the connection is not a necessary one.

In terms of changing customs of commemoration in Lydia and Galatia, other funerary monuments may be examined for comparison. Funerary *bomoi* do not survive in high numbers in Lydia,[689] particularly in comparison with non-figured stelai on which wreaths constitute the most frequent motif as well as objects, most of the latter used for commemorations of women.[690] The evidence from Galatia shows the cessation of more prominent pre-Roman monuments, such as tumuli, and more localized use of more permanent grave monuments.[691] Non-figured stelai appear in the same areas as figured stelai, while relief funerary *bomoi* appear in limited numbers from Kinna, with two, and none from Kerpiç, while in Ankyra of the some forty-five *bomoi* surviving, mainly from the second century AD, only a small number are relief or figured.[692] Some *bomoi* – figured and non-figured – were used as part of larger tomb assemblages carrying *ostothekai* or *kaustra*, in some cases within burial spaces for elite families.[693] Epigraphic evidence from Ankyra demonstrates a wide spectrum of socio-economic levels using *bomoi* (8.5), which far outnumber the provenanced stelai from the site, although the relief iconography on these monument-types favor military or gladiatorial figures (ANKYRA **268**, **269**).[694] The picture of figured monument-use in Galatia presented by the case-study evidence – as diverse as it is – is only a section of the funerary record of the broader region, in which some rural cemeteries as at Gordion have little to no surviving evidence of permanent grave markers.[695]

The development of a limited funerary stele-habit in Lydia and Galatia between the first and fourth centuries AD coincides with that of door-façade stelai in central, and predominately rural, Anatolia, which share some iconographic features with non-door-façade stelai. These include book-rolls, wool-baskets, mirrors, caskets and boxes, varieties of vessels, and tools.[696] Many doorstones also feature standing figures in the same traditional poses, and like figured stelai raise the question of the 'accuracy' of the picture presented by these motifs in terms of

[689] Bakir-Barthel and Müller 1979, 191-193 no. 49; Malay and Ricl 2006, no. 23; SEG 45.1652.
[690] Naour 1981, 11-16; Malay 1982, 112-118 nos. 1-3, 5-13; Petzl 2005, nos. 2-9; Malay 2006, nos. 5-6, 8-12; Malay and Ricl 2006, nos. 2, 7, 10, 20, 27, 30, 33-35.
[691] Goldman 2017, 150-151.
[692] Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 131, 161, 169, 217, 256, 268, and 277.
[693] Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 217, 223, 224, 243, 256, 270, 275, 277, and 297 [examples of bomoi used with *ostothekai*]. For designated funerary spaces, Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 19, 224, 284, 285, and 299.
[694] Mitchell and French 2012, nos. 161, 169, and 268 [figured *bomoi*].
[695] Goldman 2017, 167.
[696] Waelkens 1986; Lochmann 2003; Kelp 2008; Kelp 2013.

levels of literacy and 'urbanized' lifestyle asserted among rural populations.[697] As with their non-door-motif cousins, these monuments reveal a rural population which by the end of the first-century AD was aware of the values and mores of urban centres and sought to use similar representations for self-display, or as Kelp has put it, a "world of peasants and craftsmen" with the "self-awareness of citizens."[698] The latter may have been more self-conception and ambition than reality for the deceased and their families, but demonstrates engagement with urban culture. Studies have shown that the production of doorstones intensified in the second and third centuries AD, spurred by spreading urbanization, economic prosperity and expanding social levels, and the intensification of quarry production across the region.[699]

The comparison of figured and door-façade stelai from central Anatolia illustrates that by the late first and early second centuries AD, customs of commemoration in some rural areas were undergoing change, resulting in part from the spread of urbanism, the growth of mid-range socio-economic levels, and material availability (Chapter 3). What other internal factors, however, may have played into these changing commemoration patterns?

Surviving evidence for the placement of some Roman-period burials and necropoleis in Galatia points to some elements of cultural memory operating among rural populations. While not a causal factor in changes to commemoration customs, in many cases Roman-period graves were deliberately placed in proximity to or even on older pre-Roman monuments and features.[700] As Goldman has argued, this trend is more than mere geographic coincidence but indicates a rural population showing preference for these locations, the reuse of these older use-contexts suggestive of desired encounters with older memory and even manipulation of cultural memory. Burials placed in these locations may be of particular appeal for those of the population unable to afford permanent markers or commemorations of the dead, instead using the older cultural

[697] Kelp 2013, 79-81.
[698] Kelp 2013, 80-81.
[699] Kelp 2013, 83-84; Masséglia 2013, 95.
[700] Goldman 2017, 172, for Roman-period burial activity in relation to pre-Roman burial areas, and for Roman-period residents of rural Galatia returning to older sites with prominent pre-existing burial monuments (such as Phrygian tumuli) as well as non-funerary structures such as in proximity to older Phrygian fortifications, a phenomenon visible beyond Gordion in other rural necropoleis in the *provincia*.

landscape to fulfill this function.[701] As with the long-standing necropoleis in Byzantion, these spaces remained active as points of encounter with cultural memory in the landscape.

In considering the question of changes in customs of commemoration in Lydia and Galatia, another monument-type, not funerary in function, may be considered, that is the propitiatory inscriptions which survive from the rural area in and around the Hermas Valley.[702] These 'confession' inscriptions,[703] rare in other provinces and distinct from votive inscriptions, appear only between the first and third centuries AD and represent a search for good health, protection, and security in rural religion.[704] The central ritual components of these texts are the confession of guilt and praise of the angered deity, the aim of both being expiation of the offense and reconciliation with the deity. The relationship between text and relief-image on these unique monuments has been examined elsewhere,[705] and for the present purposes it should be noted that the imagery employed in conjunction with the inscriptions shares some characteristics with the image repertoire of funerary stelai, including standing frontal figures, but includes elements and components more 'religious' in function, namely altars, as well as figures drawn from the broader cult iconography of Anatolia.[706] The inscriptions on these monuments, as well as the reliefs, suggest not merely individual choice but consultation and perhaps collaboration with the priests of the sanctuary context, what Rüpke has termed "cult pragmatic individuality," a process in which clients chose the invocations of specific deities appropriate for their immediate need,

[701] Goldman 2017, 173.
[702] Only very few of these monuments have been attributed to urban contexts, while the findspots and context of the vast majority suggest these inscriptions were a phenomenon of rural epigraphy (Petzl 1994, VII; Petzl 1995, 41; Schuler 2012, 81).
[703] The terminology for these stelai has varied greatly, from 'confession' or 'expiation' inscriptions (*Hellenica VI*, 107-108 no. 43), to stelai of expiation or of propitiation (Chaniotis 1997), or of reconciliation (Rostad 2002). Belayche 2006a/b prefers aretalogies.
[704] Mitchell 1993, 509-525; Petzl 1994; Chaniotis 1997; Drew Bear 1999; Belayche 2006a/b; Herrmann and Malay 2007; Belayche 2008. Petzl 1994 originally published 123 such inscriptions, while as of 2008 more than 150 'confession' inscriptions had been published.
[705] Belayche 2006a/b; Belayche 2008. The interplay between image and text on these 'confession' stelai, like other religious dedications and votives from western Asia Minor, suggests these are not merely illustrations of the text but are autonomous to a degree, the figurative language carrying its own semiotics. Belayche 2008, 182-183, has outlined four identifiable classifications for the degrees of autonomy between text and image: first, the image evokes a single element of the text, such as the deity honored or the part(s) of the human body suffering from divine punishment; second, the image completes the text by showing "une étape de l'expérience qui n'est pas verbalisée dans le texte gravé," such as the affected part of the body; third, the image intensifies the text; and fourth, text and image complement each other in urging mutual support and faithfulness for the desired goal.
[706] These include figures of the 'Mother goddess' and Men among others (Belayche 2006a/b; Belayche 2008).

including any number of possible 'crises,' some of which could be recurring.[707] These individual rituals and "religious functions" have been analyzed in studies of individuality,[708] particularly in relation to the practice of individual choices distinct from social or ritual 'norms'.

How then does individuality as an analytical concept relate to the relatively late development of a limited stele-habit in Lydia and Galatia? Commemorative and religious rituals are by no means the same, but theories of individuality may be applied in a commemorative context, permitting analysis where a different mode of commemoration appears on a limited scale for a temporary period. Both traditional and non-traditional behavior may represent conscious choices on the part of an individual,[709] impacted by personal discretion but also by other elements, including older objects handed down or in the case of funerary stelai, visible within necropoleis.[710] Individual selection may also be affected by the choices of others, visible in the use-context. Individuality, together with considerations such as expressions or enhancement of perceived socio-economic or cultural standing, sheds light upon the picture of figured-stele distribution in Lydia and Galatia. Evidence of individuality may also be linked with urban expansion[711] and the increase in numbers of social circles as well as interactions and contact within and between settlements.[712] Individual choice and social pressures are not mutually exclusive factors, such that monuments are a product of both in varying ways or on varying levels.

The patterns of both figured-stele use and customs of commemoration across the case-study areas point to conditions in the life and society in the provinces from the tail-end of the Hellenistic period to the fourth century AD. The evidence presents a picture of continuity with

[707] Rüpke 2016, 21. Examples of potential recurring "crises" suggested by Rüpke include illness, health, childbirth, crop or livestock health or failure, among others.
[708] Rüpke 2016. Rüpke examines the distinctions between the individual and society, and individual behavior versus social norms, both in person versus person and person versus society interactions (Rüpke 2016, 13-15).
[709] Rüpke 2016, 17.
[710] Rüpke 2016, 19-20.
[711] Simmel 1917.
[712] Rüpke (Rüpke 2016, 16) hypothesizes that individuality occurs with greater frequency within urban environments compared to smaller ("face-to-face") communities, where individual deviation from the 'norm' is more obvious and repercussions potentially more intense. While this may be the case for some religious rituals, but not all as in the case of the propitiatory inscriptions, the evidence of changes in commemoration in parts of Lydia and Galatia suggests individual choice clearly occurred in smaller settlement types as well.

tradition in some areas and the implementation of figured stelai as a new custom of commemoration – if with limited scope – in other areas, as well as simultaneous expansion of the socio-economic levels employing this monument-type. This expansion, tied to spreading urbanization and economic growth, may also be considered as part and parcel of the broader so-called "Roman economic revolution," marked by a quantitative increase in production together with an increase in the standardization of products and goods.[713] The resulting "consumption revolution" was a driving force in taste, a process inseparable from human and object agency.

9.2.3 The decline of figured stelai

Numbers of figured stelai gradually start to decline from the third century AD, with few identifiable instances for the fourth century (KINNA **289**), a pattern also observable in Macedonia and Aegean Thrace.[714] Multiple explanations for this decline may be proposed. In some cases, as in Bithynia-Pontus, Byzantion, and *Asia*, there is evidence that other monument types, such as sarcophagi, became more prominent, as well as continued use of non-figured or non-relief stelai.

Some of the latter depict cross motifs alone in relief (Chapter 8).[715] Only one figured stele among the case-study sample commemorates a definitively Christian individual (KINNA **288**).[716] It is possible that traditional stele types and imagery were employed by Christians who did not record this, so that these persons are archaeologically invisible. The absence of more identifiably Christian figured monuments, however, may also suggest that the traditional imagery employed on stelai may not have been as desirable among adherents to Christianity in comparison with the more overt, prominent, and immediately recognizable display of religious affiliation presented in the relief cross. Continued use of the flat-face stele form but with a distinct change in relief decoration is clear in Byzantion/Constantinople where stelai bearing crosses or in the shape of crosses as burial markers survive from the fifth to seventh centuries AD.[717] A sixth-century cruciform stele with a nimbed female figure shown with a calix and

[713] Woolf 2018. This theory encompasses a wide array of products, including ceramic wares.
[714] Şahin 1981, no. 767 Pl. V; Kalaitzi 2016; Adrianou 2017.
[715] RECAM II.385; MAMA XI.229, 240, 244.
[716] RECAM II.428, 430, 435, 436, 438, 441, 443, 444, 448, 450, 453, 455, 462, 465, 467, 468, 470, 474, 477, 479, 480, 482, 483, 490, 492, 494, 496, 499.
[717] Mango and Ševčenko 1978, 1-27.

patera represents an exception,[718] the figure identified in the inscription as Christian, and other monument-types continued to bear figured relief decoration.[719]

At Byzantion, the foundation of the new imperial capital and expansion of the city – bringing about the leveling of the old necropoleis – highlights a further component of use of funerary monuments after the fourth century, namely shifts in use-contexts, either due to space requirements or changing use-contexts for Christian burials, in particular burial near churches or other holy sites, drawn by relics and the liminal nature of such spaces. For example, at Nikaia, some of the Roman-period necropoleis continued to be used in the Late Antique period.[720] At Ephesos, Roman-period necropoleis were largely abandoned by the fifth and sixth centuries AD, and new burial spaces laid out near churches, such as the Seven Sleepers Cemetery and the Church of Mary, which remained in use until the fourteenth century.[721] There are limited remains for the Roman-period necropoleis at Ankyra, and the evidence for the Late Antique burials here may have occupied older spaces or been placed in proximity to attested churches.[722] The abandonment of older use-contexts by the Late Antique and Early Byzantine periods – whether practical or connected to changing burial needs or strategies of commemoration related to religious belief, or both – did not necessarily translate to the abandonment of some older monument forms, with the continued if expanded use of built tombs and sarcophagi, as well as stelai. The decline of figured stelai in favor of non-figured types with cross motifs probably represents more a shift in the appeal of image-types and the needs these visual forms fulfilled. More traditional iconography – namely banquets and standing figures – which had served as visual emblems of either an idealized private sphere or the civic honorific arena translated into funerary contexts of self-representation, may no longer have served the needs of an increasingly Christian population for whom 'simple' expressions of faith – in the form of the cross – were more desirable.

[718] Feissel 1976, 156-168 no. 1 (ph.).
[719] For example, a figured fourth-century sarcophagus also from Constantinople (SEG 56.823), a fifth-century fragment probably from a sarcophagus (SEG 55.735), and a fifth or sixth-century section of marble pediment with a snake (SEG 56.822).
[720] Peschlow 2017, 208.
[721] Ladstätter 2017, 244-246.
[722] Peschlow 2017, 352-353.

Conclusion

These physical and more (semi-)permanent monuments to the deceased, as simultaneously private and public commemorative monuments, offer multi-faceted means of self-representation and articulation of desired or perceived social, economic, and cultural standing for individuals and families. Distinct trajectories apparent in regional and chronological patterns of use of figured-stelai mark the culture of stelai in Roman-period Anatolia. Evidence of shared themes and regional preferences illustrates regional change and continuity in stele-use and wider customs of commemoration, processes in which over time stelai as objects also act as mediators and participants in conjunction with human agency, individual choice, and cultural memory. Figured stelai, as a method of forming, maintaining, and preserving memory in antiquity, provide a window – albeit idealized – into Roman-period social attitudes, and as objects both drive and display responses to wider socio-economic and political-historical currents.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSIONS

Figured stelai in Roman-period Anatolia represent a prominent commemorative form in the sepulchral monument landscape, in some areas one used virtually uninterrupted from the fourth century BC into the third and fourth centuries AD. Patterns of use for this monument-type presented by the sample of stelai from the selected case-studies indicate simultaneous homogeneity and regionalism in form, iconography, and epigraphy, as well as chronology and settlement-type.

In parts of Anatolia – Bithynia-Pontus, Byzantion, and *Asia* – local and regional use of this monument over eight centuries and the limited changes to the primary iconographic types or epigraphic formula highlight the traditional nature of this form of self-representation within a funerary sphere as well as the long-standing appeal of some of the values or attitudes carried by banquet and standing scenes, enhanced in the Roman period with additional iconography representative of specific interests or priorities of the deceased, such as agricultural motifs and half-figures. The extended chronological use of figured stelai in these regions – not without gradual region-specific shifts in use or iconographic emphasis in the Roman period – stands in juxtaposition to Lydia and Galatia, regions without a prominent pre-Roman tradition of stele-use in which figured-stelai gained a more limited foothold beginning in the first century AD, reaching a height in the second and third centuries. Traditions of use and customs of commemoration offer some explanation for this broad 'regionalism', but also settlement-types and geo-political history, the more urban coastal regions with more long-standing histories of "Greek" influence maintaining this monument tradition longer, in comparison with less urbanized areas of central Anatolia. The continuity of image motifs from the Hellenistic through the Roman periods in Anatolia stands in contrast to the patterns in neighboring Aegean Thrace where only in the first century AD do prominent iconographic themes such as the banquet or the rider – in addition to gladiators, half-figures, and wreaths – appear in a "sudden burst" among the repertoire on stelai.[723]

[723] Slawisch 2007; Slawisch 2016, 591-628; Adrianou 2017, 163-169.

During the Roman period, rural settlements in these broader regions of Anatolia feature figured stelai, in part suggesting expansion of the socio-economic groups using figured stelai to include not only freed-persons and professional groups or occupations but also successful farmers, either tenant or private landholders. As shown in the case-study chapters, the vast majority of inscriptions from these stelai offer little to no personal details beyond name for the life of the deceased, limiting conclusions about patrons of this monument-type. These groups include mid-range-socio-economic levels, encompassing those who may not have been able to afford a larger monument to those choosing a figured stele as part of a larger assemblage or as an addition to a larger family burial-space such as known from Byzantion and Ankyra, although monument choice cannot be equated to financial standing directly. In considering cost of these monuments and the multitudinous variables impacting this, it may be argued that figured stelai in the Roman period were not necessarily prohibitively expensive and could be within the financial scope of those groups or occupations – such as smaller-scale tenant farmers – prepared to save for the expense if necessary. The identifiable socio-economic groups represented among the figured stelai in the sample are broad – military, gladiators, *negotiatores* in Byzantion, freed-persons, *oikonomoi*, and *threptoi* – while identifiable members of the indigenous populations are largely absent. Those present are detectable in onomastics but less frequently in formula employed or iconographic components, although other funerary objects such as door-stelai or figured stelai produced within the border-zones with Phrygia – such as Kadoi – represent an exception beyond the case-study sample. There is no evidence for stele-use, or specific iconographic motifs, being attached to a particular category or group, for example, third-century AD franchised citizens,[724] or only the poorer groups unable to afford a sarcophagus.[725]

The funerary repertoire of Roman-period Anatolia included an extensive range of relief-bearing stone monuments. Figured stelai, and non-figured relief types, acted in the same use-contexts as *bomoi*, relief bases, *ostothekai* and sarcophagi, in some cases in the same assemblages, as well as door-stelai. Use-patterns for these other relief monuments indicate commonalities in terms of chronology such as for *bomoi*, and iconography as on sarcophagi,

[724] As is the case for sarcophagi in Aphrodisias (Öğüş Uzun 2010).
[725] As opposed to Ahrens 2017.

particularly in Byzantion. These monuments, like non-figured stelai, continue in use after the fourth century AD, although with more selective iconography.

Figured stelai, as "public profiles"[726] in the funerary landscape, present imagery of self-representation – particularly banquet motifs and standing figures – traditional for the monument-type across the eastern Mediterranean, motifs which became more crystallized and schematic – 'standardized' – during the Roman period. Poses and attire on Hellenistic figured stelai were retained on Roman-period examples, as well as basic compositional *schemata*, but some scenes appear less ornate or detailed, with shifting emphases, such as a gradual decline in heroizing imagery and in those sympotic emblems enhancing and contextualizing banquet scenes. This is not to say that such traditional image-types with multiple embedded layers of meanings and associations did not continue to carry heroizing or symposia associations for a deceased or a viewer, only that the overt iconographic themes fell into disuse, in some cases in favor of other arrays of objects including agricultural tools and domestic items, motifs carrying more resonance for Roman-period consumers. The general themes and image-types familiar from the Greek and Hellenistic funerary repertoire remained in use into the fourth century, with relatively few distinctly 'Roman' components beyond those depictions following or echoing Roman-style portraiture and coiffeur fashion. In terms of self-characterization, the idealized images of men, women, and children – depicted most often as small adults – allude to the public arena and the traditional realm of citizens, particularly in standing representations, and an idealized view of the private domain in banquet scenes. Occupational depictions – military, gladiators, smiths, and perhaps farming – as well as cult associations represent more direct associations with the deceased and a divergence from Hellenistic traditions.

As objects of commemoration functioning at their fundamental level as grave-markers, figured stelai display both shared themes and regional preferences or priorities. Patterns of use for forms, relief adornment, and inscriptions on these monuments represent acts of human agency – individual desires as well as socio-cultural priorities and values – as these objects were no less susceptible to consumer demand, but also the agency of stelai themselves in driving their use as a monument and the types of iconographic motifs employed.

[726] Kalaitzi 2018.

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D. Electronic resources

http://www.ajaonline.org/submissions/abbreviations (4/8/2019): abbreviations of journals and standard works of reference.

http://oxrep.classics.ox.ac.uk/databases/stone_quarries_database/ (2/24/2019): for database on Roman-period quarries in Anatolia.

https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/ (2017-2019): for database of coinage from provincial cities.

http://sardisexpedition.org/en/essays/latw-baughan-lydian-burial-customs (27/10/2018): pictures, photographs, and plans of burial/tomb evidence for Sardis.

1. TABLES

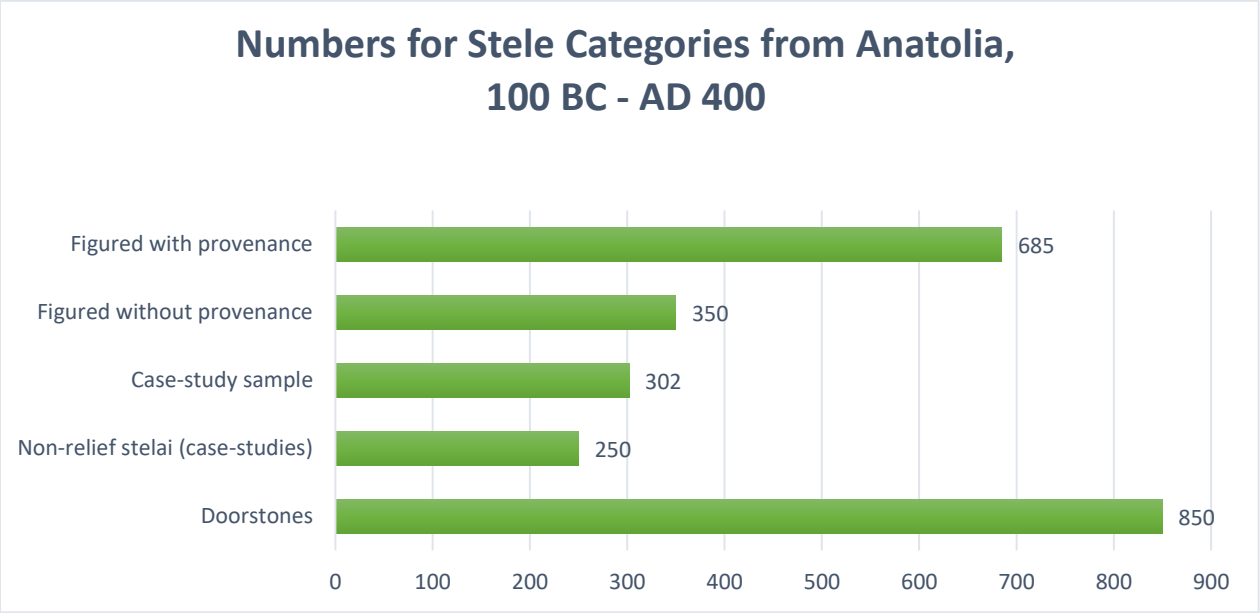


Table 1 Chart with the numbers of known Roman-period stelai from Anatolia.

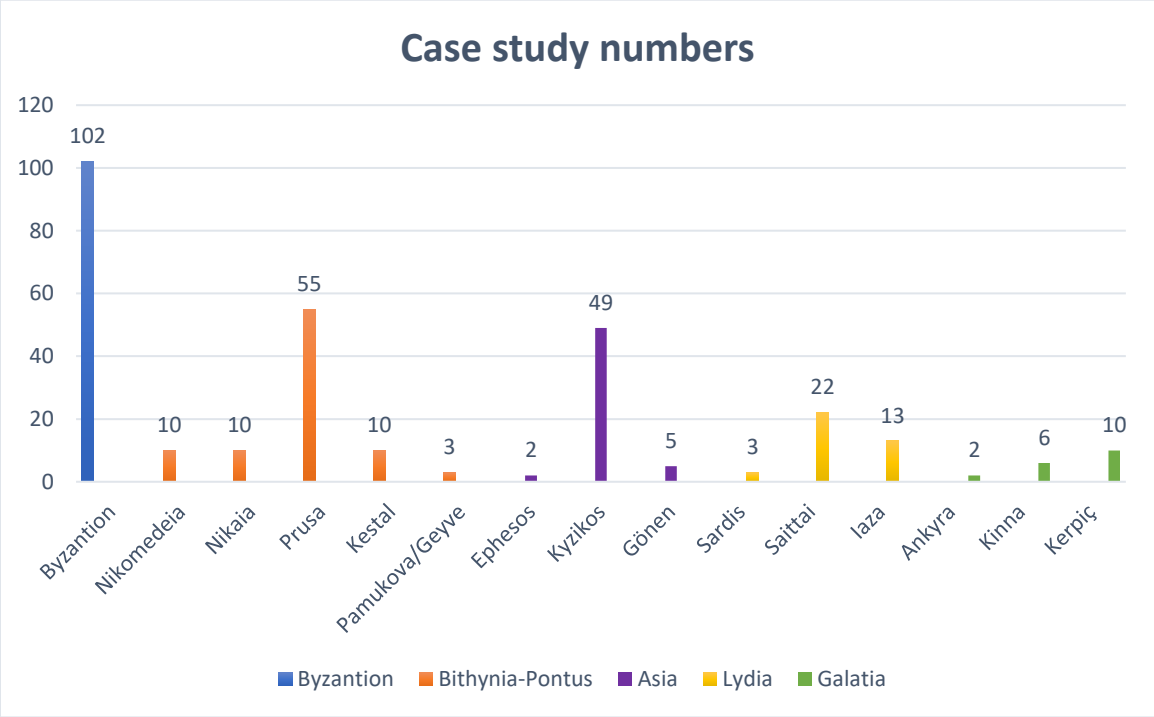


Table 2 The fifteen case-study sites and associated numbers of figured-stele finds (302 total).

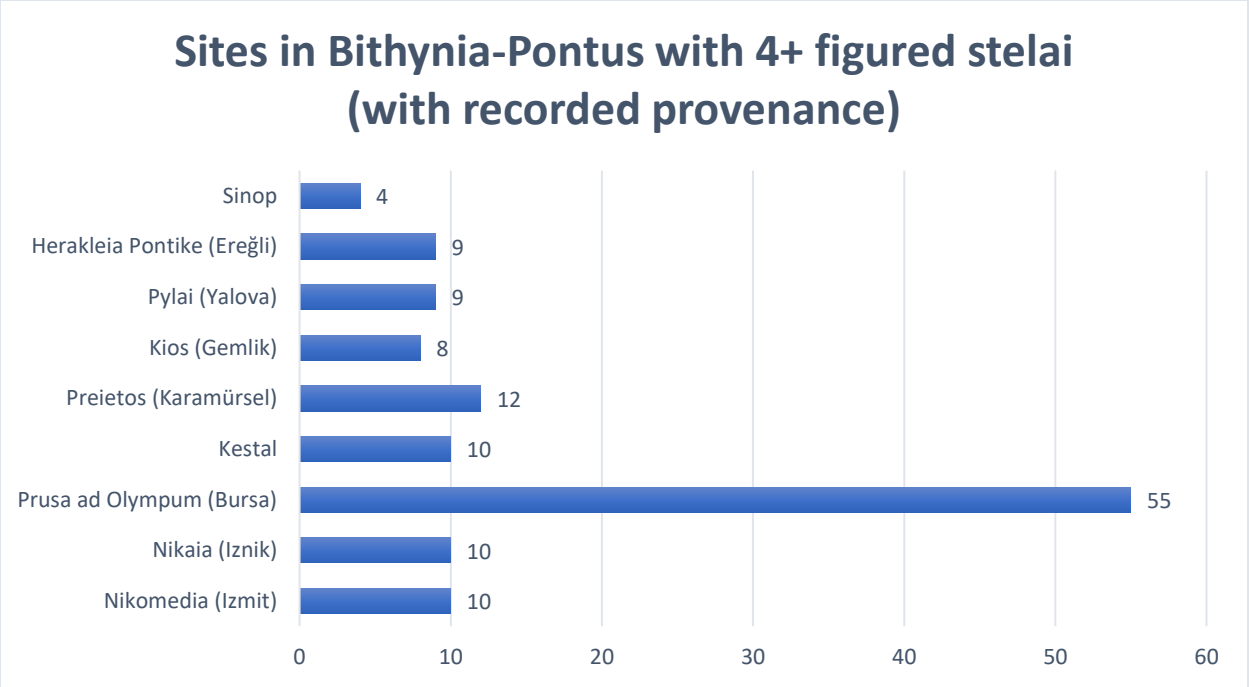


Table 3 Sites in Bithynia-Pontus with four or more figured-stele finds, 100 BC-AD 400.

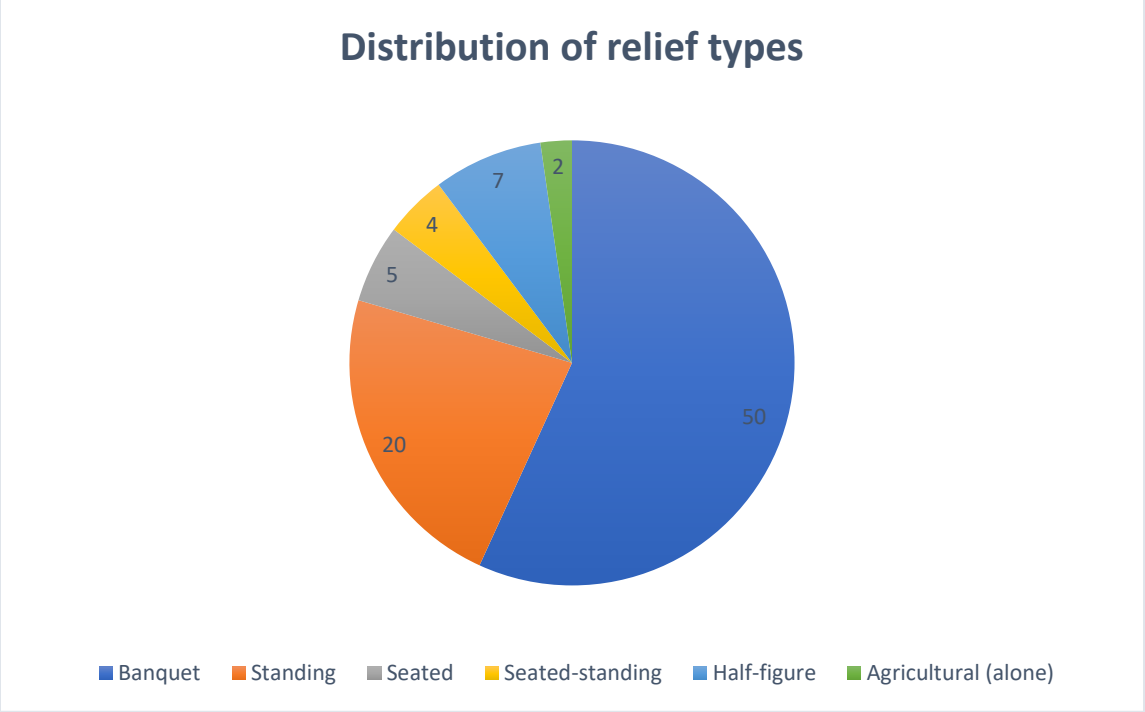


Table 4 Distribution of relief-types on stelai from the case-study sites of Bithynia-Pontus.

Age range	Male	Female	Total
0-17	7	2	9
18-40	15	8	23
41+	14	11	25
Total	36	21	57

Table 5 Distribution of recorded age-at-death for the case-study sites from Bithynia-Pontus.

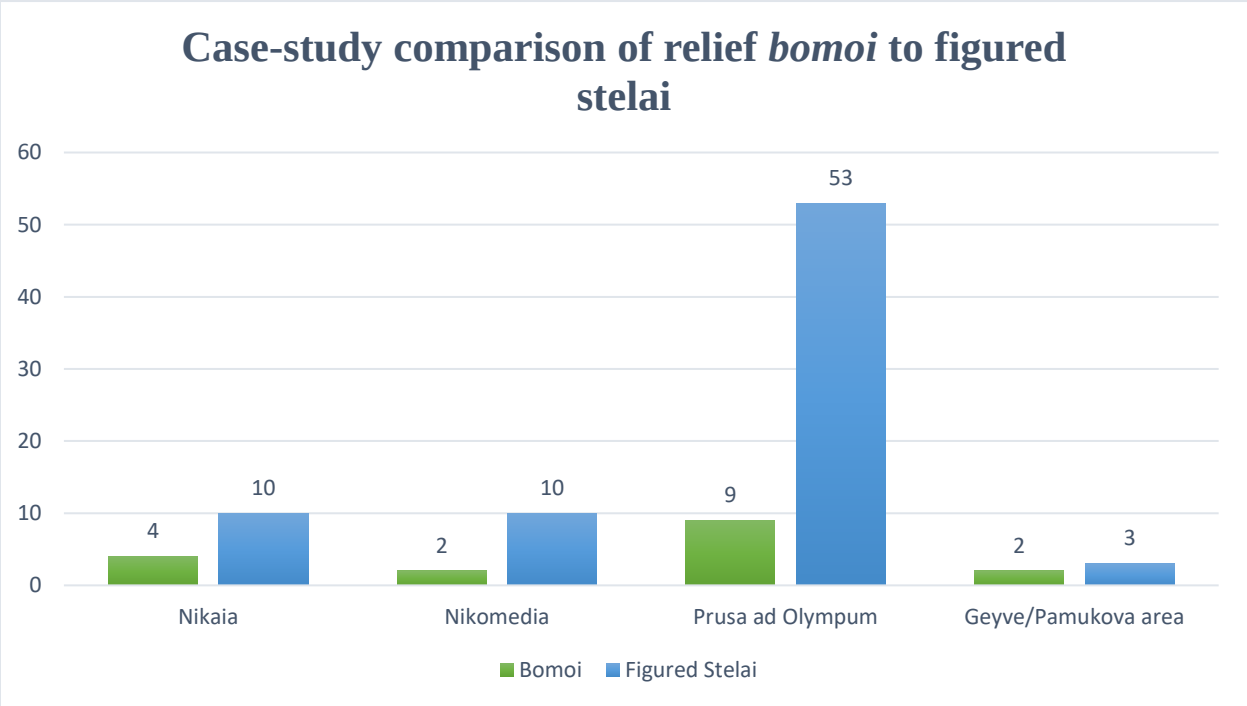


Table 6 Comparison of numbers of known and surviving relief *bomoi* with figured stelai from the case-study sites for Bithynia-Pontus.

Case study	1st c. BC	1st c. AD	2nd c. AD	3rd c. AD	Roman Imperial	Total
Nikomedia	2	1	4	1	2	10
Nikaia	0	2	3	1	4	10
Prusa ad Olympum	2	11	25	16	1	55
Kestal	0	0	3	7	0	10
Pamukova/Geyve	0	0	1	2	0	3
Total	4	14	36	27	7	88

Table 7 Chronological distribution of figured stelai from the case-study sites in Bithynia-Pontus.

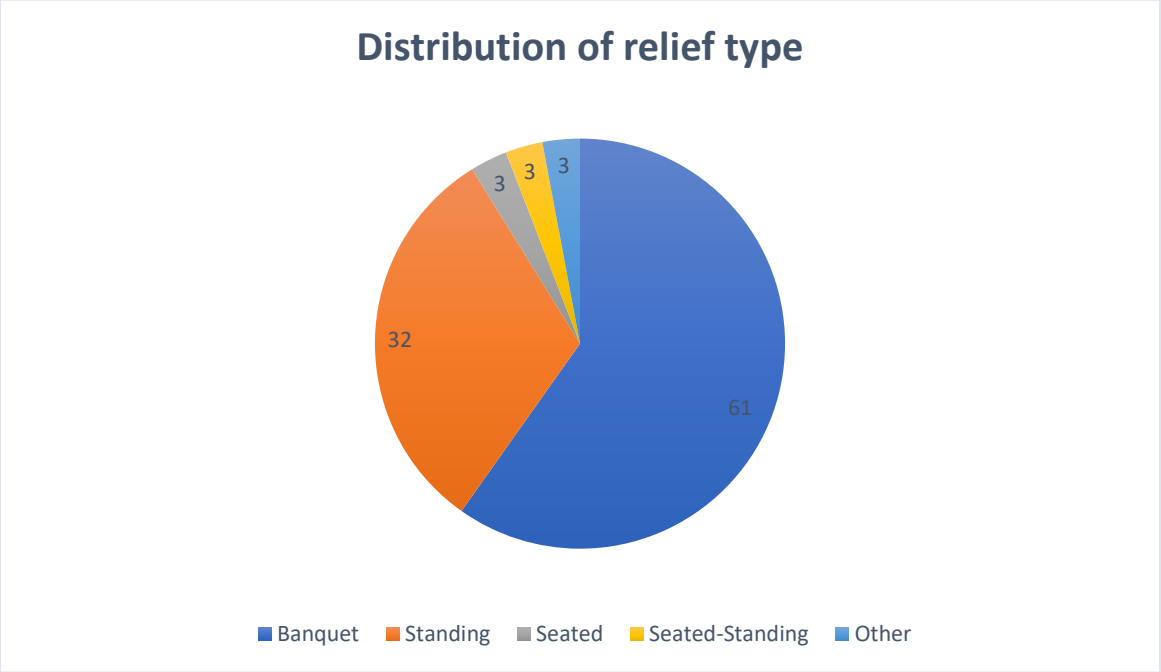


Table 8 Distribution of relief-types from Byzantion, 100 BC-AD 400.

Century	Banquet	Standing	Seated	Seated-Standing	Other	Total
1st c. BC	12	9	1	1	0	23
1st c. BC/1st c. AD	11	1	0	1	1	14
1st c. AD	14	4	1	1	0	20
2nd c. AD	13	3	1	0	1	18
3rd c. AD	0	5	0	0	0	5
Roman Imp. Period	11	8	0	1	1	22

Table 9 Chronological distribution of relief-types on stelai for Byzantion.

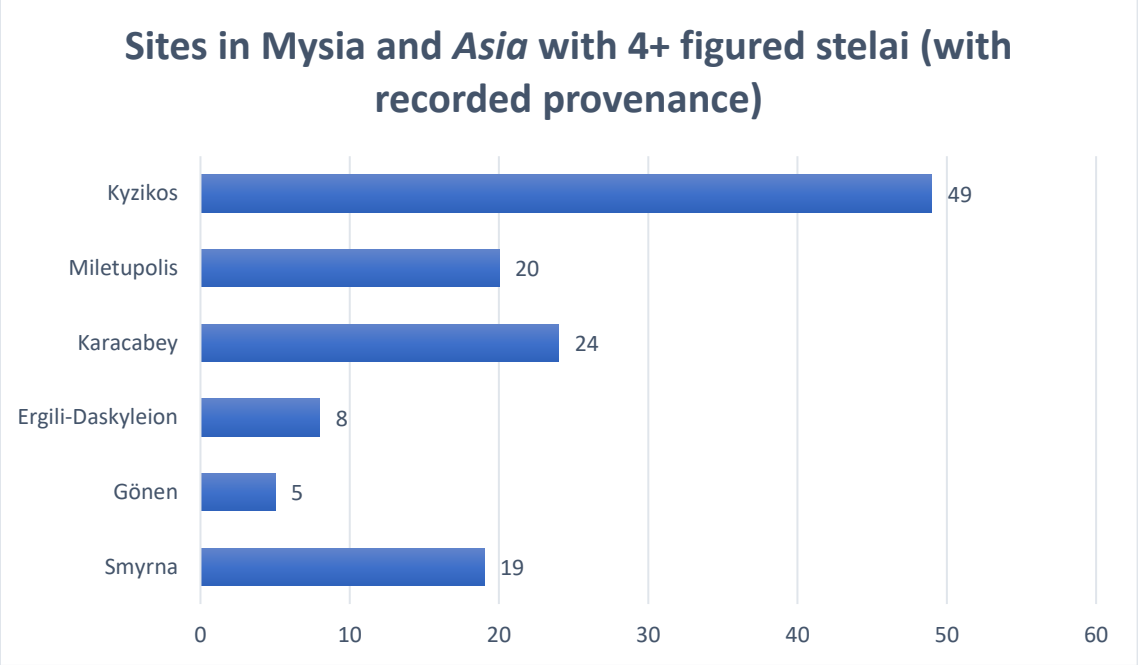


Table 10 Sites in Mysia and the province of *Asia* with four or more figured-stele finds, 100 BC-AD 400.

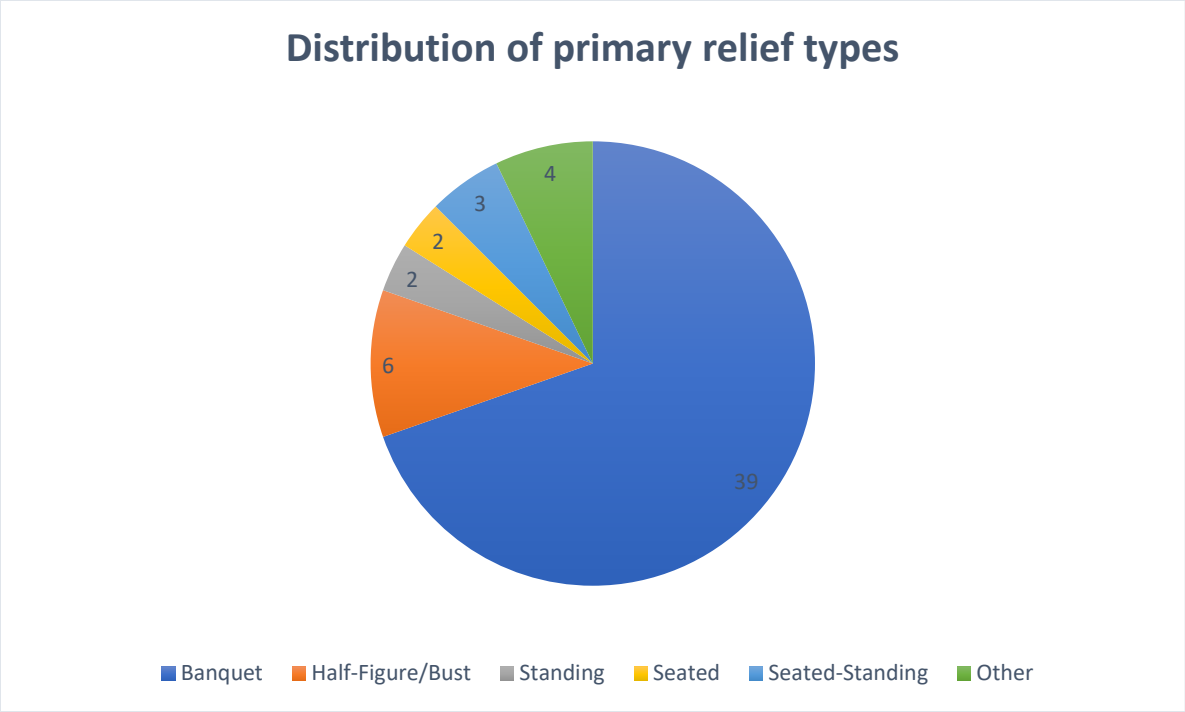


Table 11 Distribution of relief-types on stelai from the case-study sites from Mysia and *Asia*.

Case study	1st c. BC	1st c. AD	2nd c. AD	3rd c. AD	Roman Imperial	Total
Ephesos	2	0	0	0	0	2
Kyzikos	27	9	10	2	1	49
Gönen	1	1	0	1	2	5
Total	30	10	10	3	3	56

Table 12 Chronological distribution of figured stelai from the case-study sites in *Asia*.

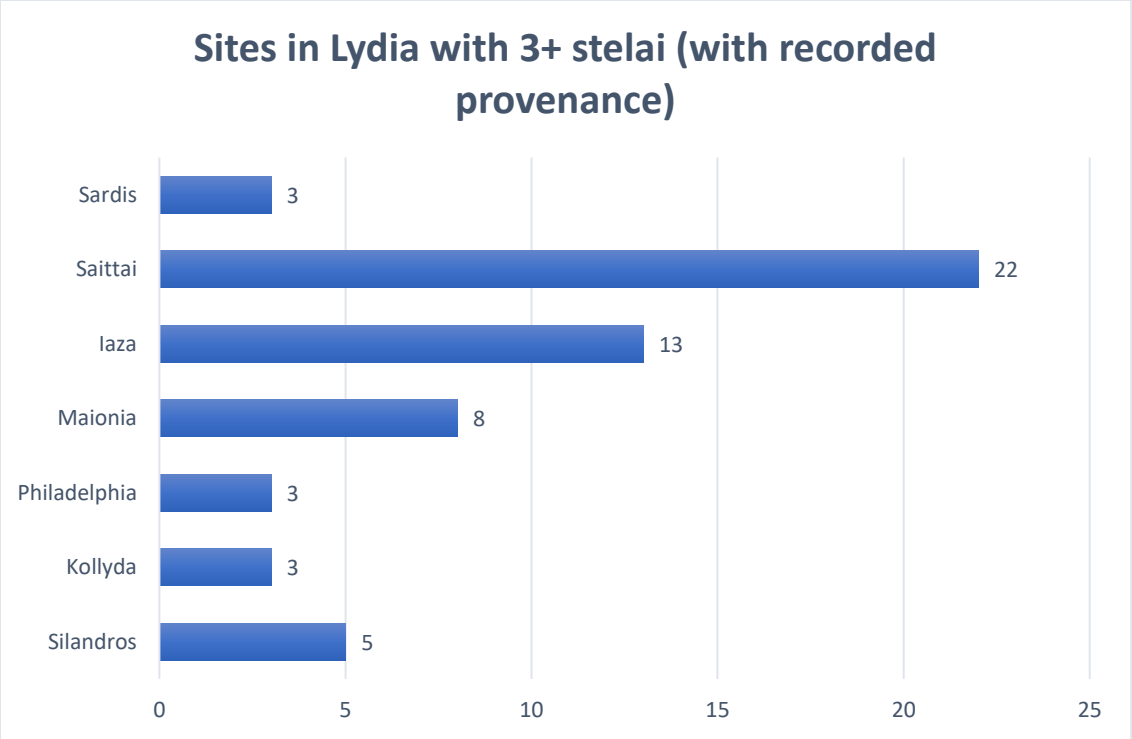


Table 13 Sites in the province of Lydia with three or more figured-stele finds, 100 BC-AD 400.

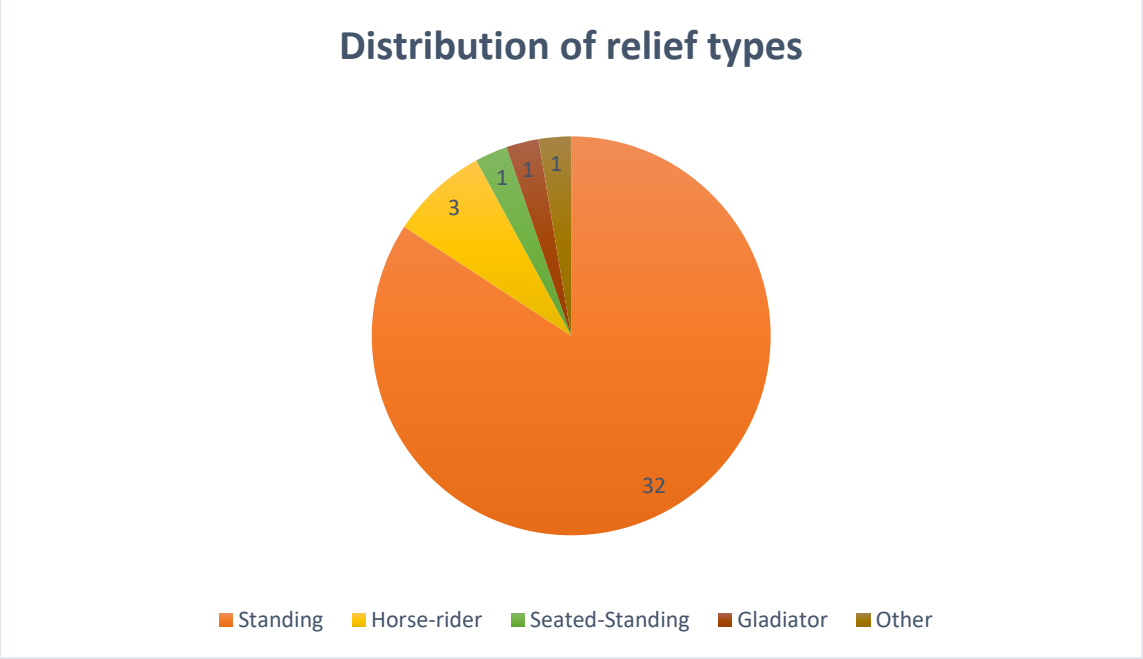


Table 14 Distribution of relief-types on stelai from the case-study sites of Lydia.

Case-Study	1st c. AD	2nd c. AD	3rd c. AD	Roman Imperial period	Total
Sardis	0	0	0	1	1
Saittai	1	7	8	0	16
Iaza	0	0	3	1	4
Total	1	7	11	2	21

Table 15 Chronological distribution of figured stelai from the case-study sites in Lydia.

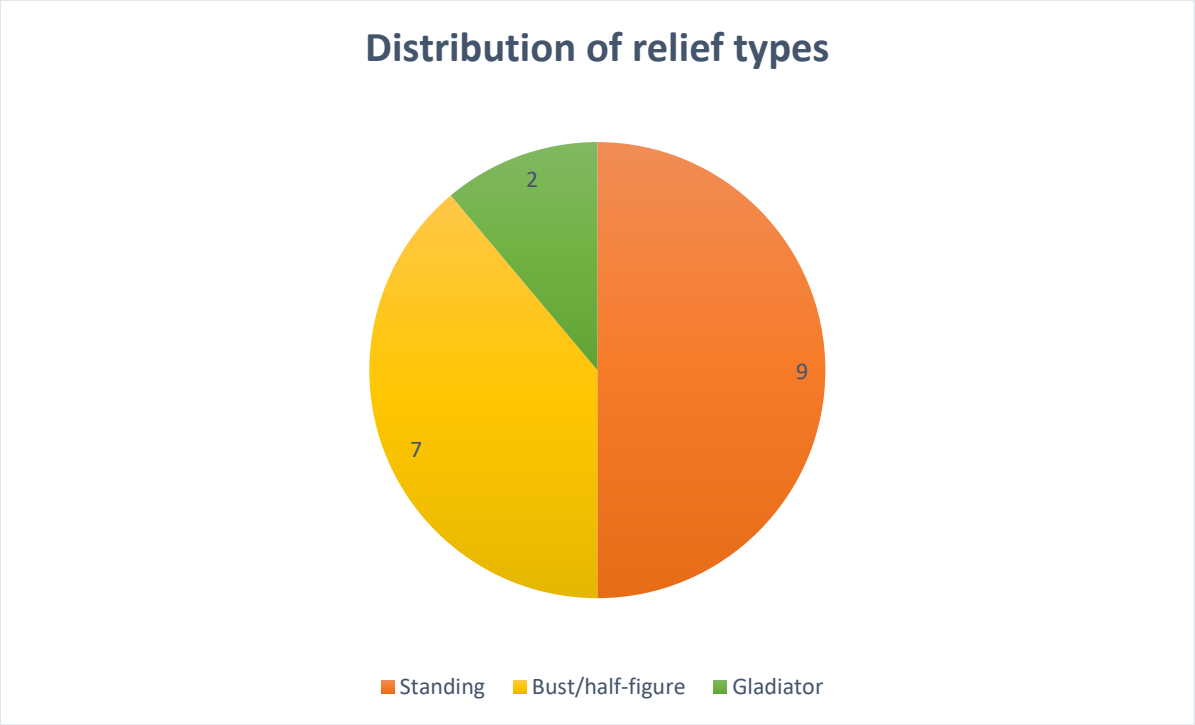
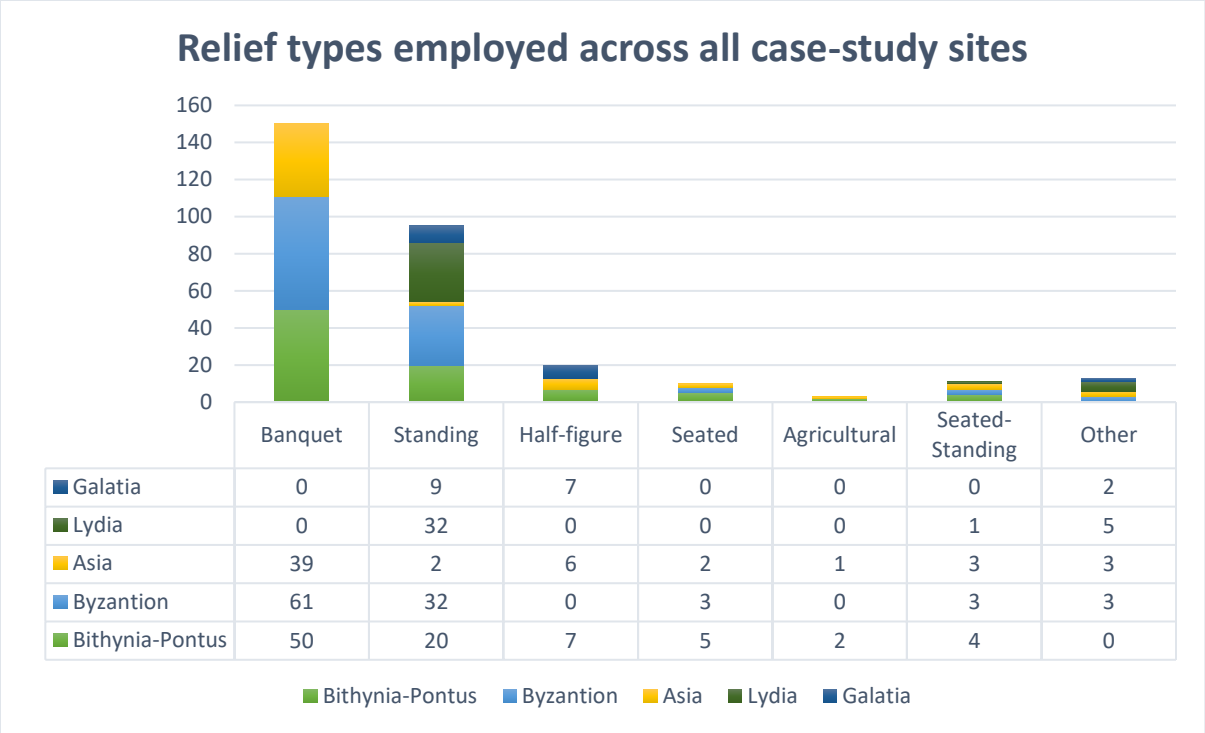


Table 16 Distribution of the relief-types on stelai from the case-study sites in Galatia.

Case-study	2nd c. AD	3rd c. AD	4th c. AD	Roman Imperial
Ankyra	2	0	0	0
Kinna	0	1	1	4
Kerpiç	0	2	0	8
Total	2	3	1	12

Table 17 Chronological distribution of figured stelai from the case-study sites in Galatia.



	Banquet	Standing	Half-figure	Seated	Agricultural	Seated-Standing	Other
Galatia	0	9	7	0	0	0	2
Lydia	0	32	0	0	0	1	5
Asia	39	2	6	2	1	3	3
Byzantion	61	32	0	3	0	3	3
Bithynia-Pontus	50	20	7	5	2	4	0

Table 18 Table showing the numbers of particular relief-types from all of the case-studies.

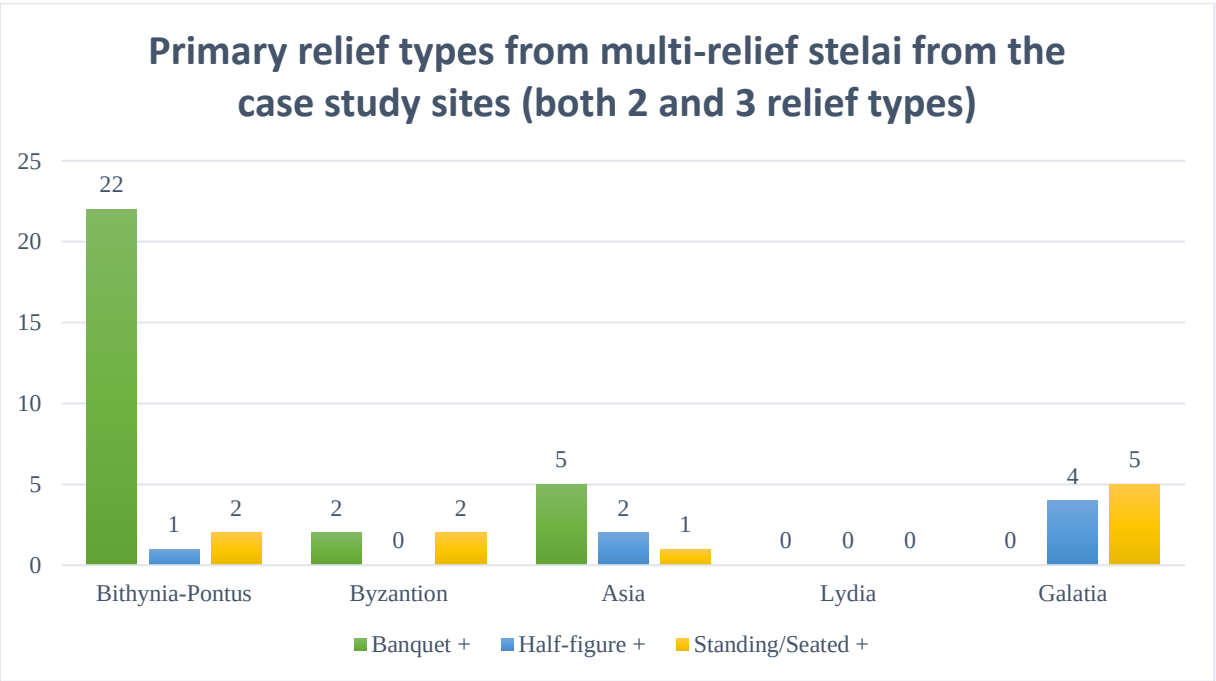


Table 19 Table showing the three relief types occurring most often as the uppermost scenes on multi-relief stelai.

2. FIGURES

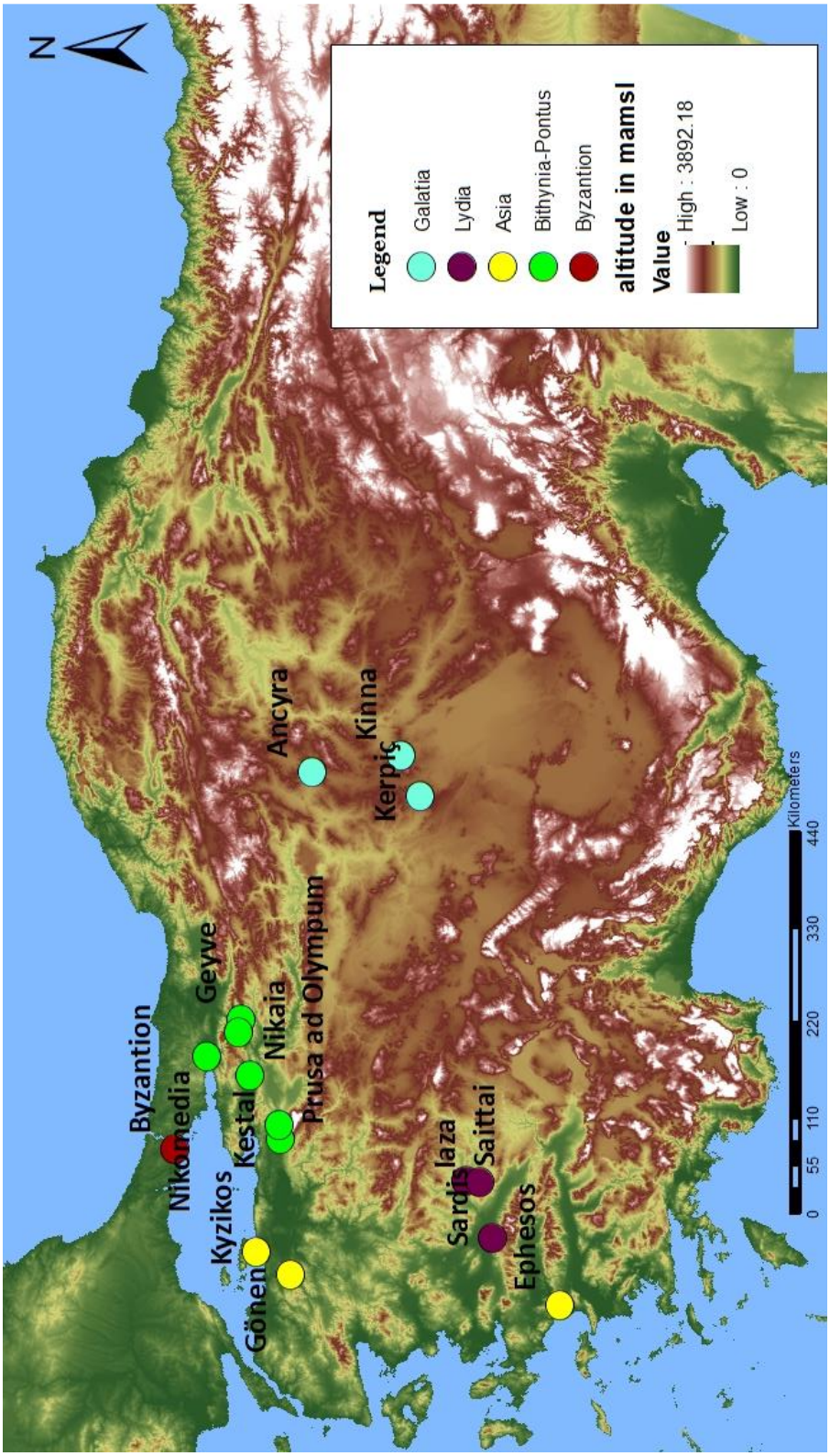


Figure 1 Map of Anatolia showing fifteen case-study sites.

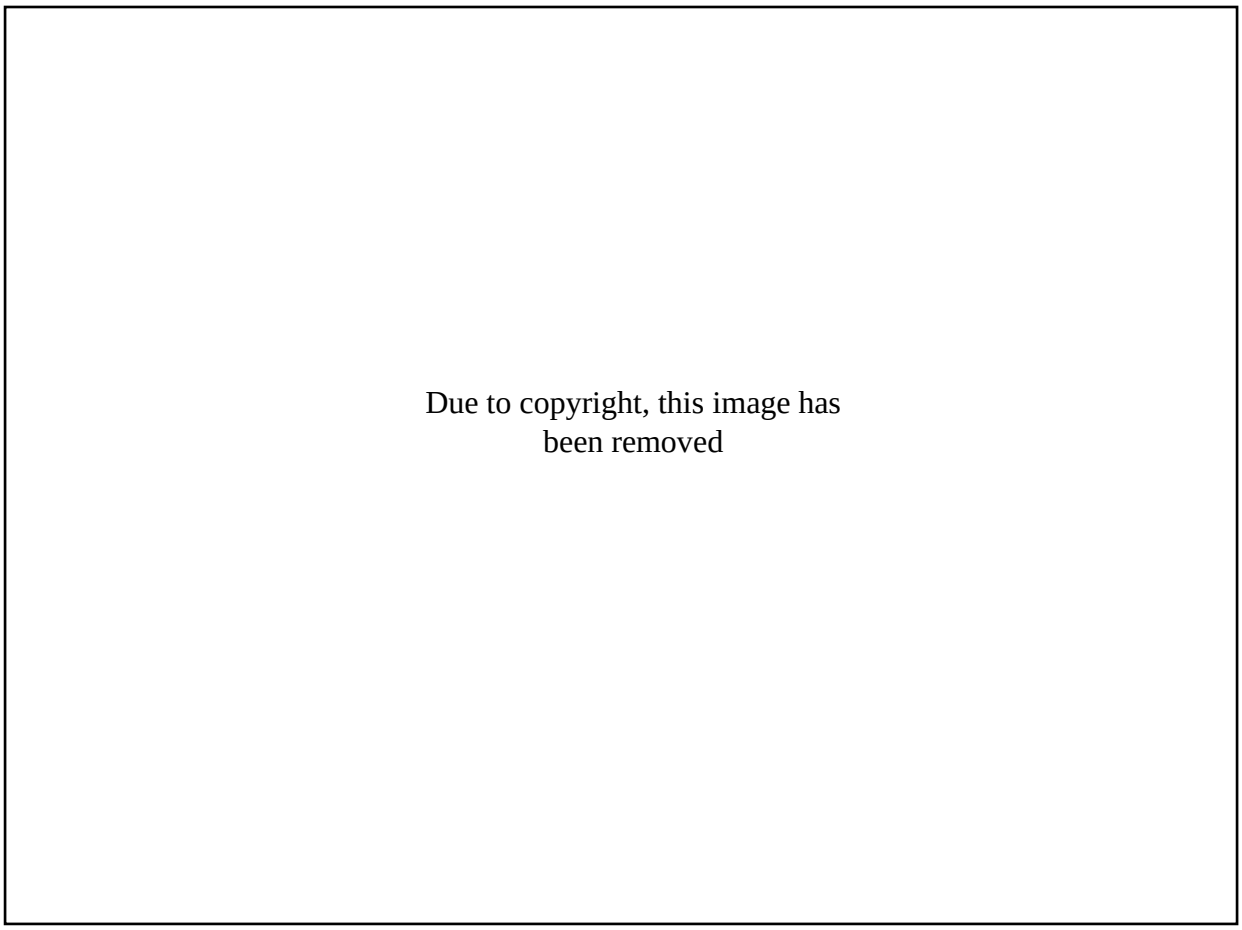


Figure 2 Satellite image showing the area of the modern village of Küçükdereköy (Hierapolis territory). The ancient settlement is highlighted, the hypothetic roads added, and the groupings of tombs and burials marked (A-L) (Scardozzi 2017, 23 Fig. 2.5).

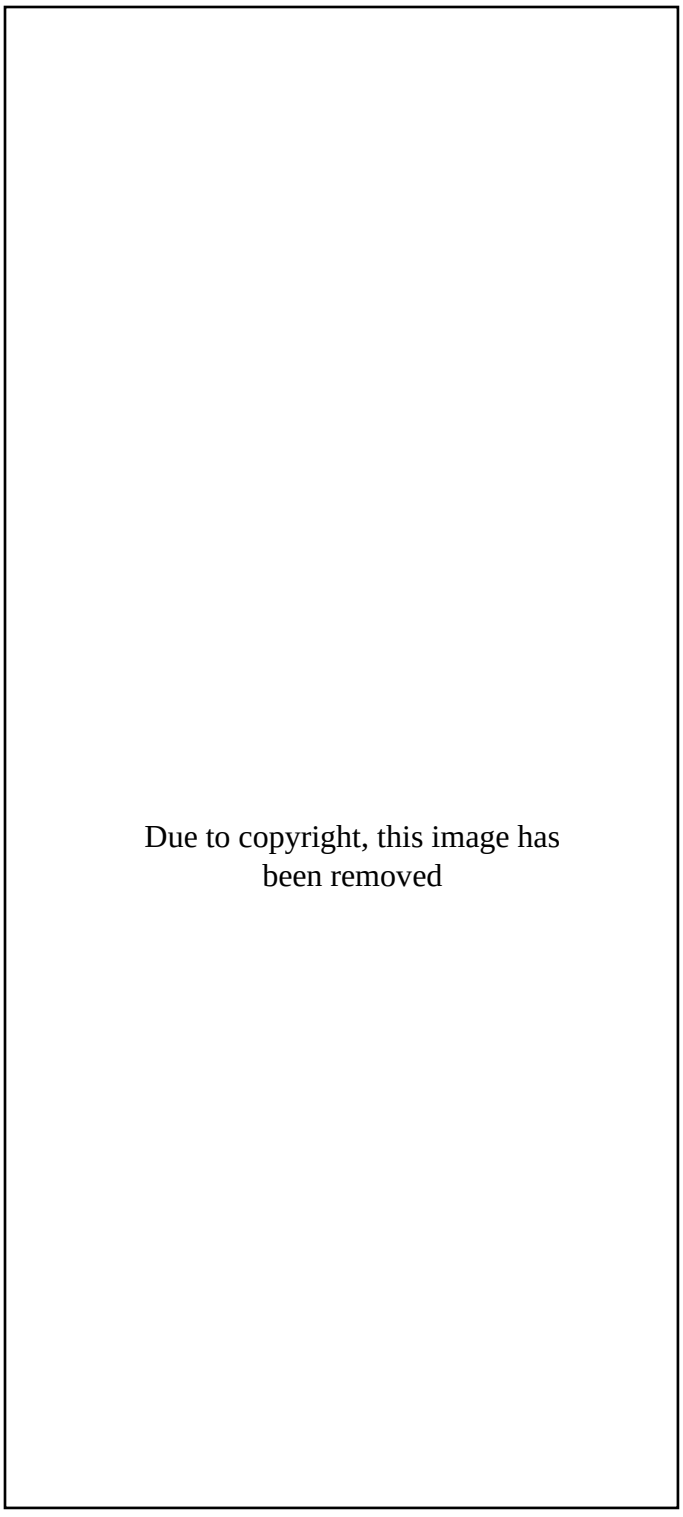


Figure 3 Altar-*naiskos*-form stele, 2nd century AD, from the *thermae* at Yalova, Istanbul Archaeology Museum (inv. no. 4458). Photo by author (2017).

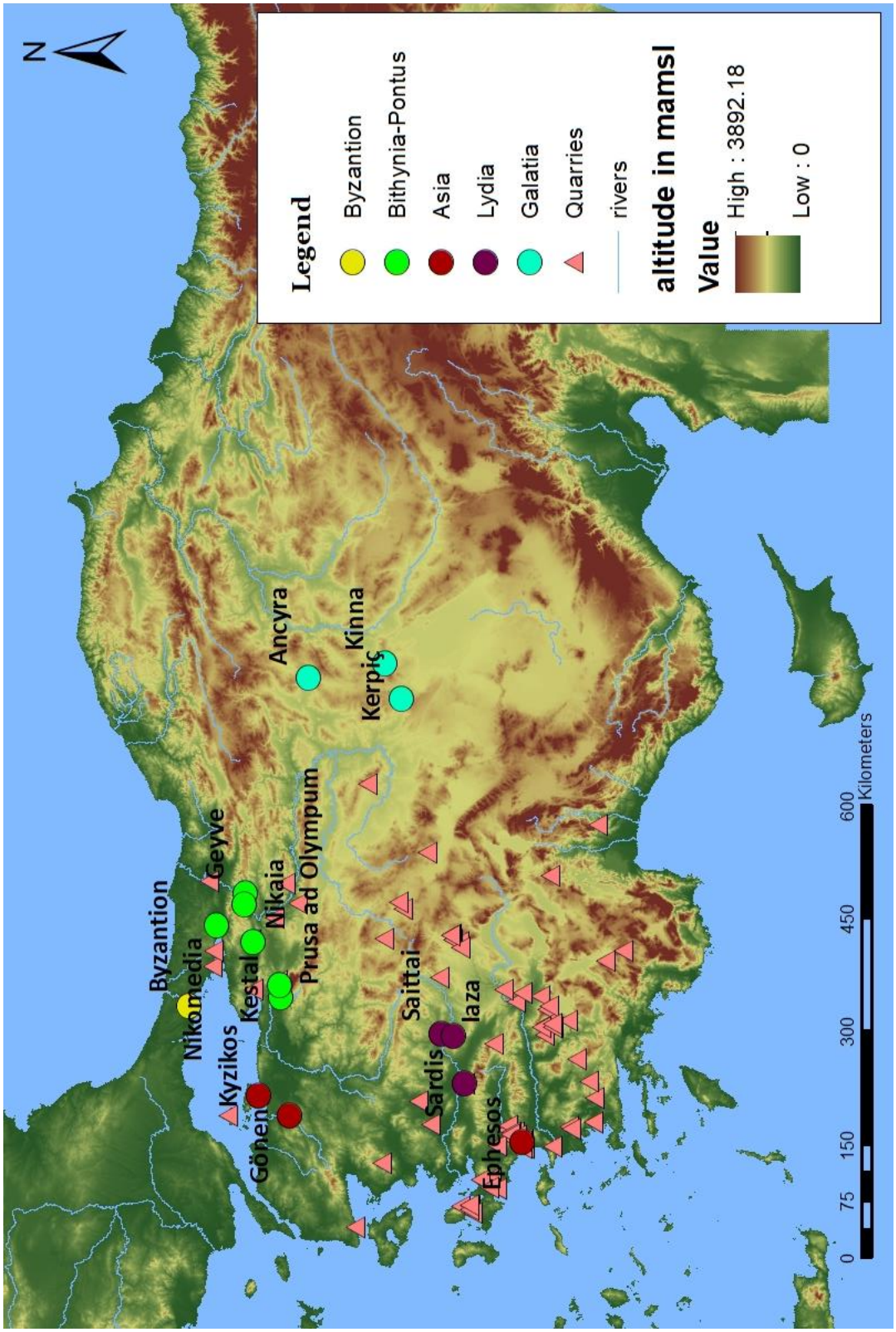


Figure 4 Map showing known quarries active in the Roman period in Anatolia and figured-stele case-studies.

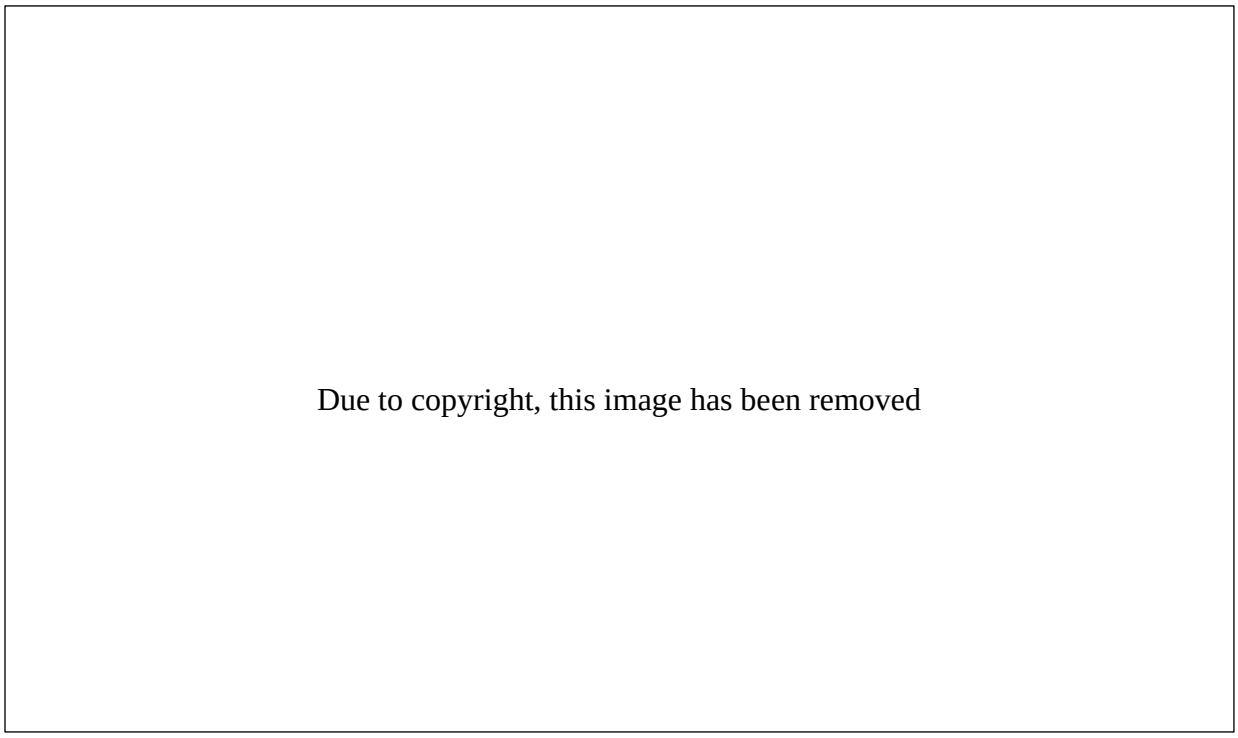


Figure 5 Map of Anatolia showing the main roads in the Roman Imperial period (Marek 2016, 373 Map 20).

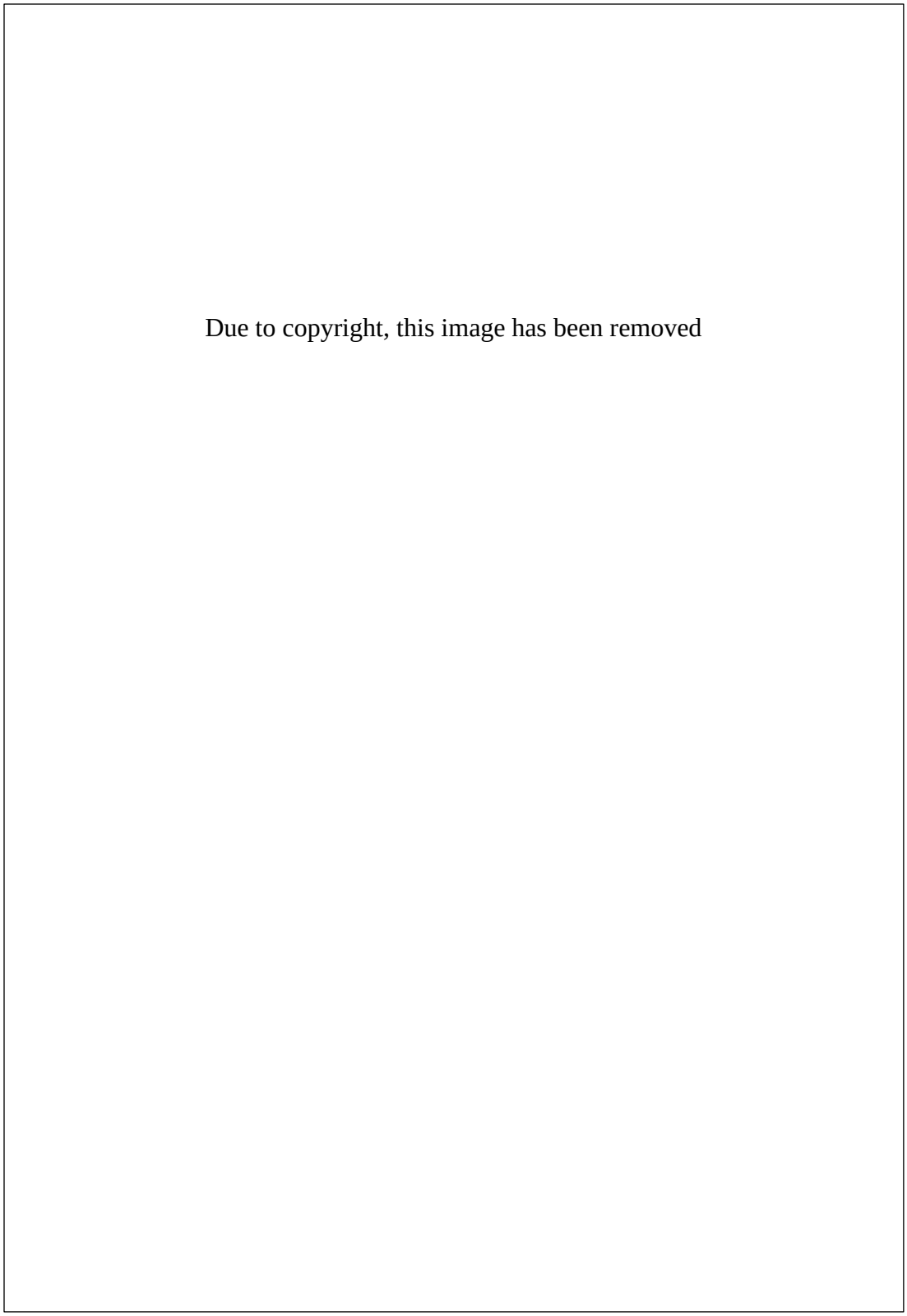


Figure 6 Funerary altar-with-architrave found in Hasanpaşa Köyü, now in the Bursa Archaeology Museum garden (inv. no. 10075). Photo by author (2017).

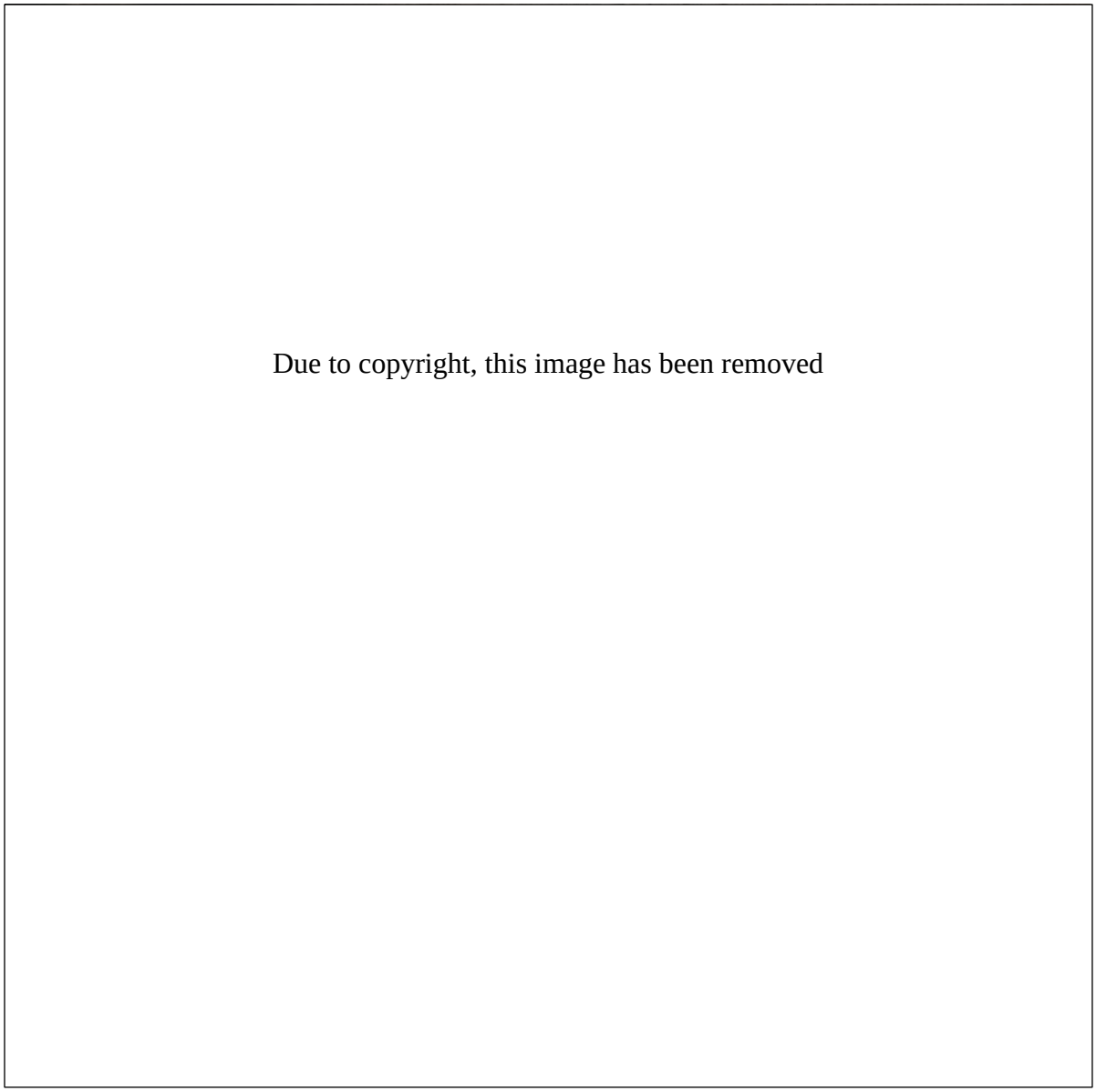


Figure 7 Detail of funerary altar-with-architrave found in Hasanpaşa Köyü, now in the Bursa Archaeology Museum garden (inv. no. 10075). Photo by author (2017).

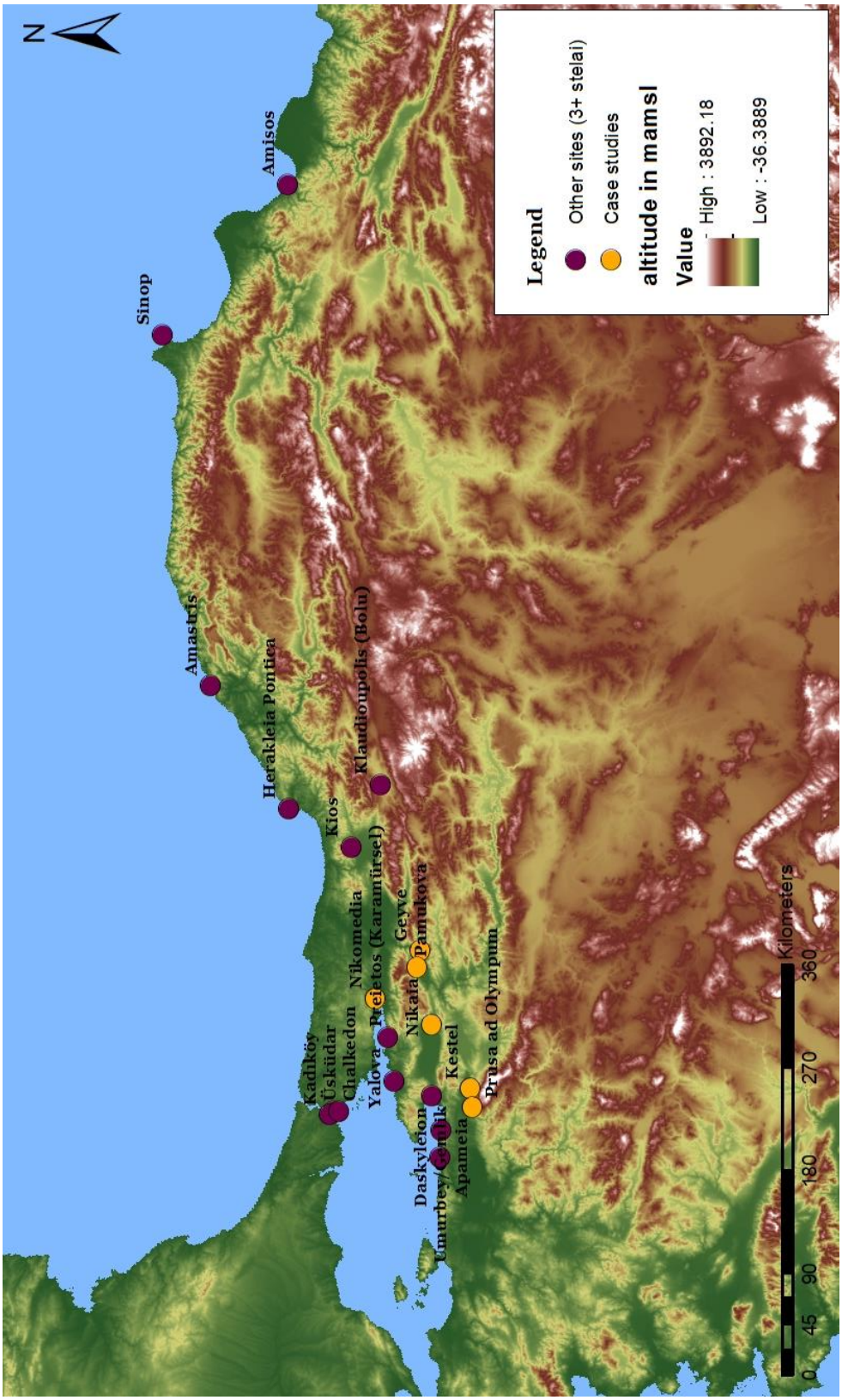


Figure 8 Map showing Bithynia-Pontus case-studies and other sites with three or more figured-stele finds.

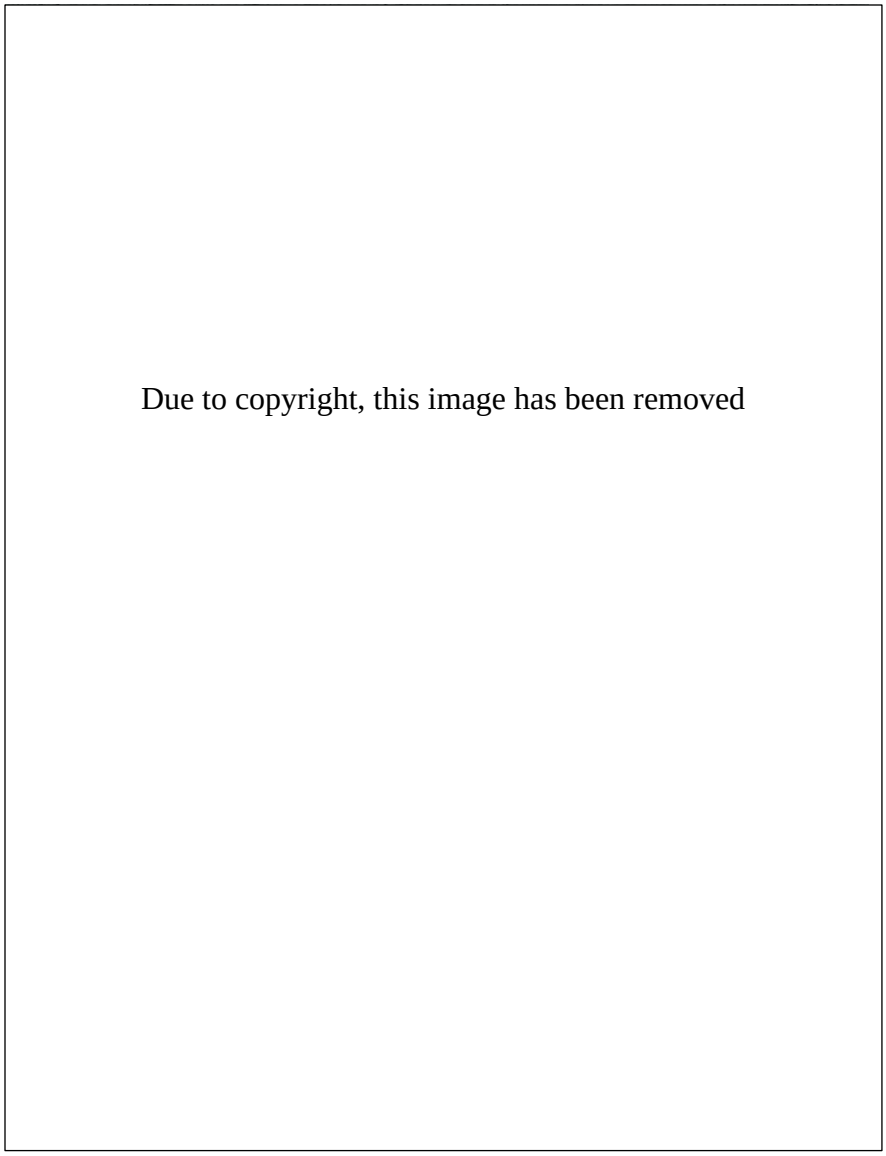


Figure 9 Lower relief of a white marble stele showing a prothesis scene, findspot unknown, now in the Bursa Archaeology Museum garden (inv. no. 3211). Photo by author (2017).

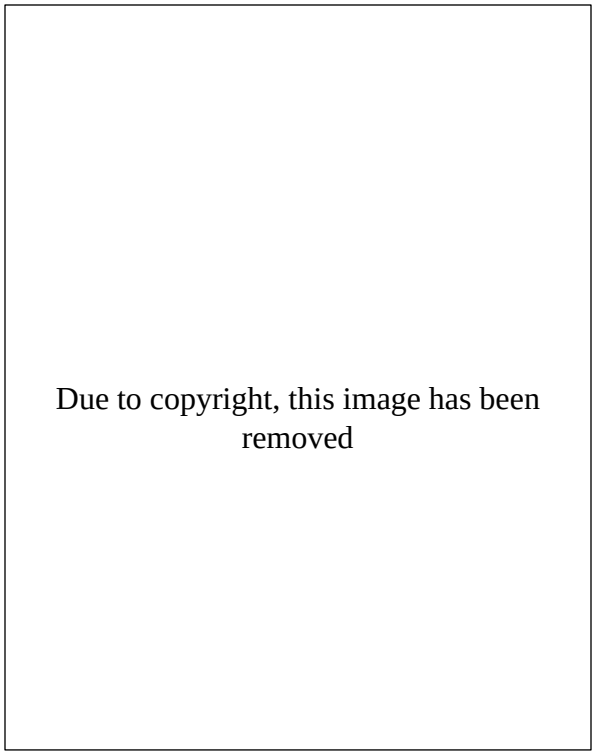


Figure 10 *Naiskos*-stele, late 2nd century BC, found in Bursa, in 1930 in the Antikensammlung Berlin, inv. no. 1838 (IK Prusa no. 140 with Fig.).



Figure 11 Pediment-stele, ca. 2nd c. BC, found in Karaçalılık Köyü, now in Adapazarı Museum, inv. no. 90/5 (Adak and Akyürek Şahin 2005, no. 4 with figure).

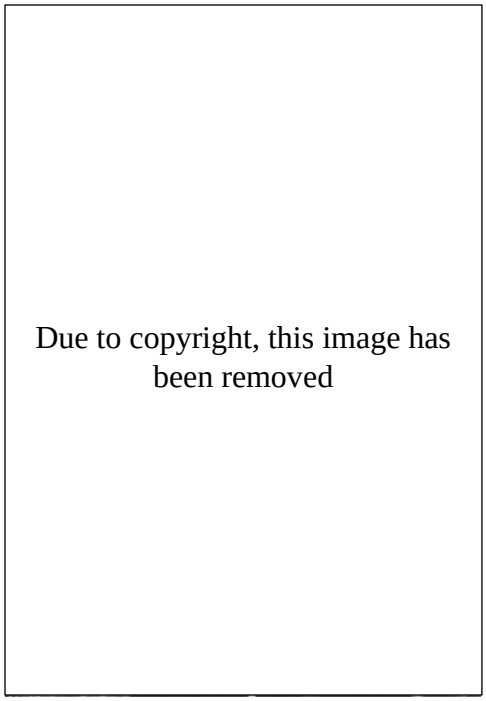


Figure 12 Stele with ‘empty’ niche, 2nd c. AD, from Inegöl, now in the Bursa Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 8552 (IK Prusa no. 100 with figure).

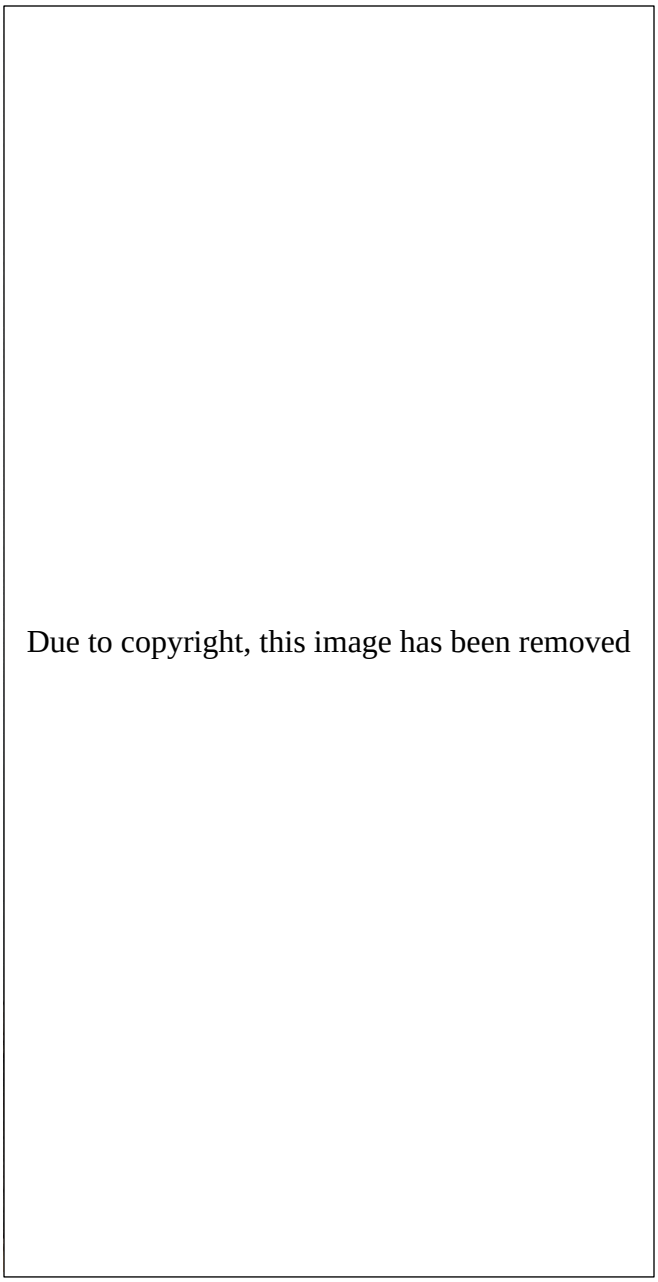


Figure 13 Limestone stele found in Akbıyık Köyü near Yenişehir, now in the Bursa Archaeology Museum garden (inv. no. 9128). Photo by author (2017).

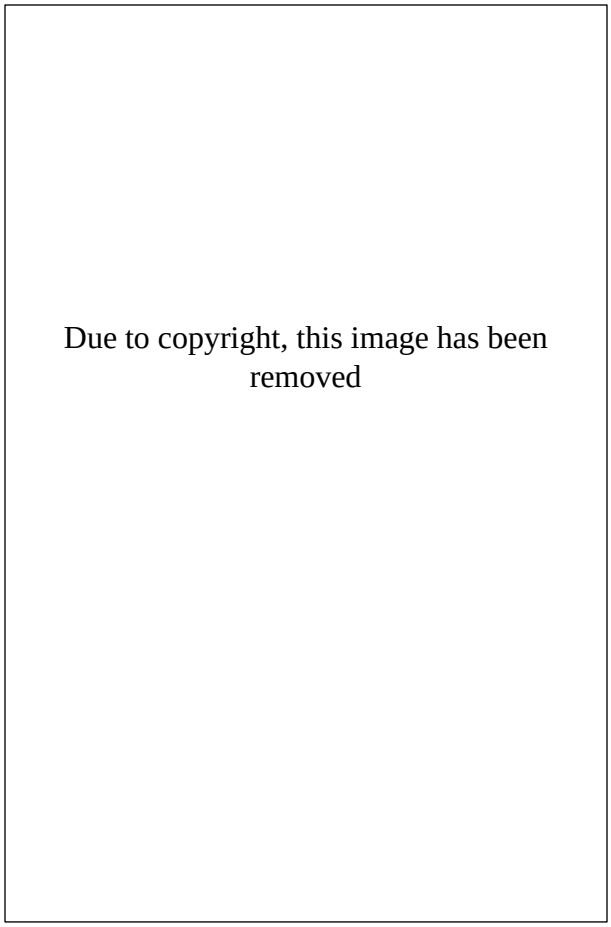


Figure 14 Marble stele from Akbıyık Köyü near Yenişehir, now in the Bursa Archaeology Museum garden (inv. no. 9130). Photo by author (2017).

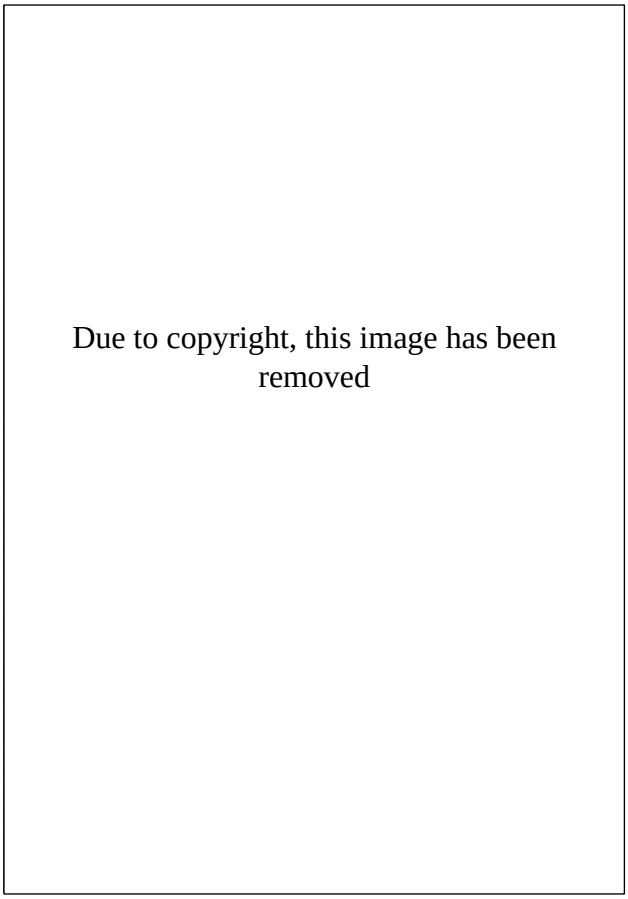


Figure 15 *Naiskos*-stele with objects, 2nd c. AD, from Bursa, now in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 767 (IK Prusa no. 147 with figure).



Figure 16 Door-stele, limestone, Roman Imperial period, from the area of Geyve or Taraklı, now in the Adapazarı Museum, inv. no. 95/4 (Adak and Akyürek Şahin 2005, no. 16 with figure).

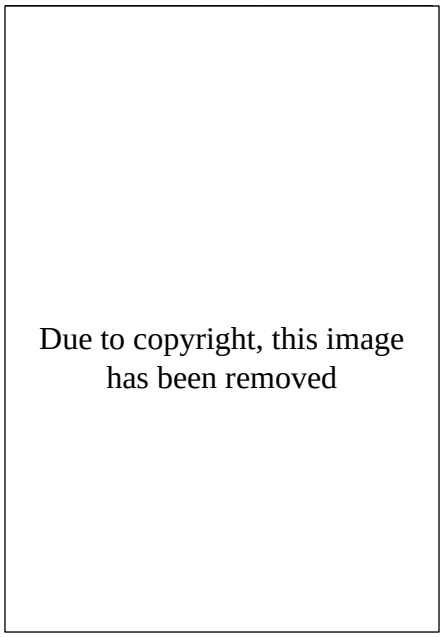


Figure 17 *Naiskos*-stele, 2nd c. AD, from Herakleia Pontike, now in the Amastris Museum, inv. no. 115 (PM 2024 Pl. 292).

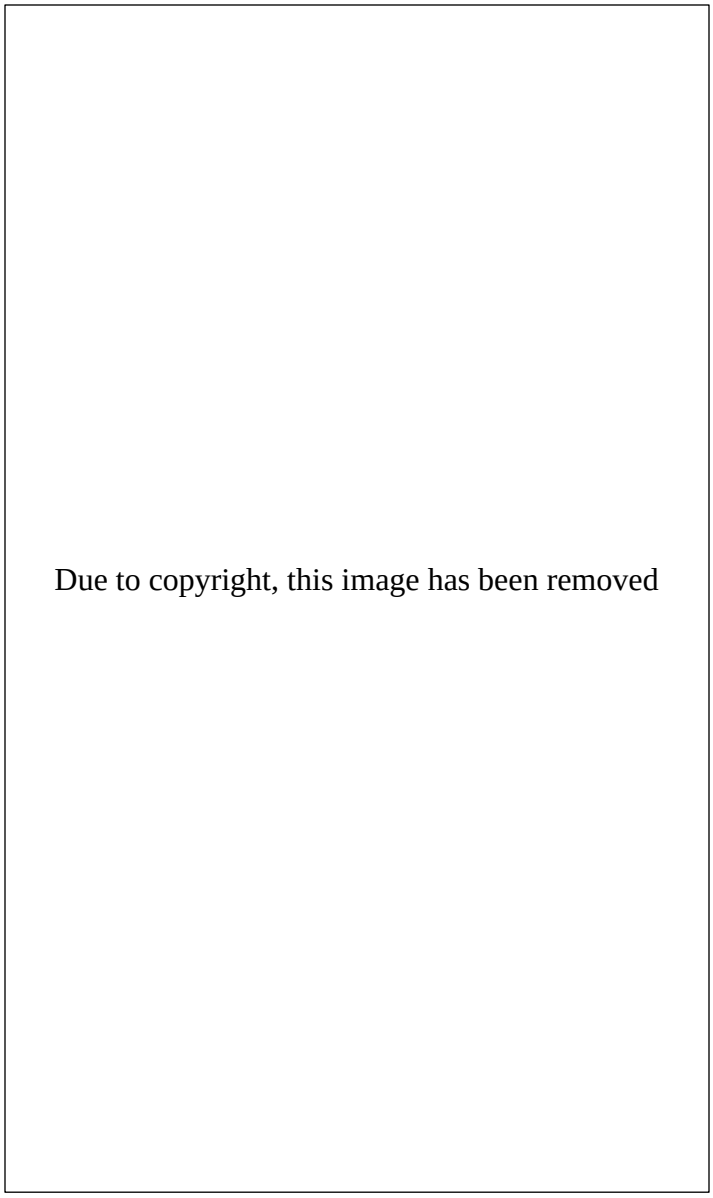


Figure 18 Stele of the gladiator Diodoros, 2nd c. AD, from Amisos, now in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, inv. no. A1562 (Marek 2003, 102 fig. 148).

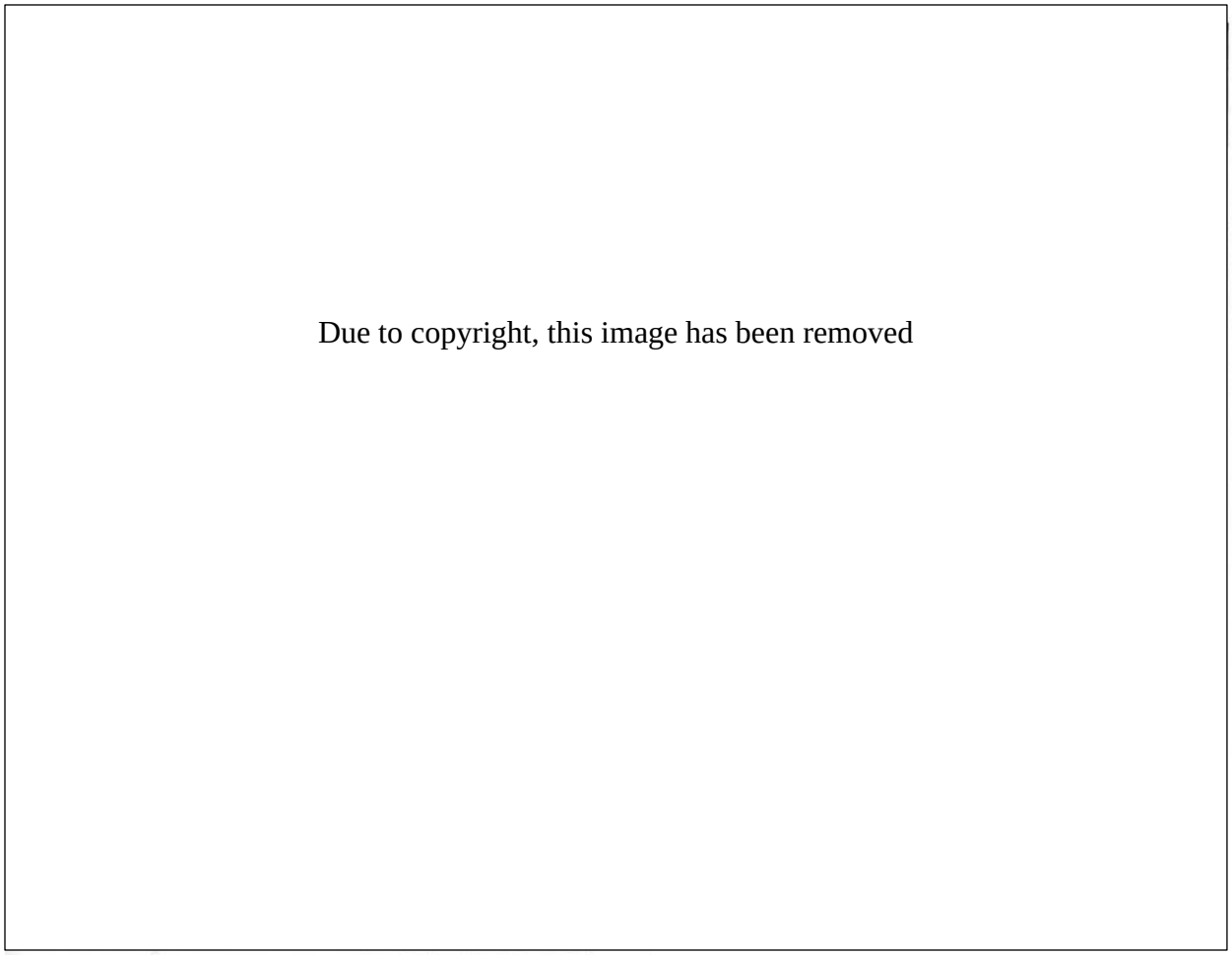


Figure 19 Known necropoleis areas of Hellenistic Byzantion (Fıratlı 1977, Fig. 250).

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Figure 20 Findspots of Hellenistic grave reliefs in the territory around Byzantion (Fıratlı-Robert 1964, Pl. 74).



Figure 21 Map showing Byzantion as well as environs with other sites featuring figured stelai.

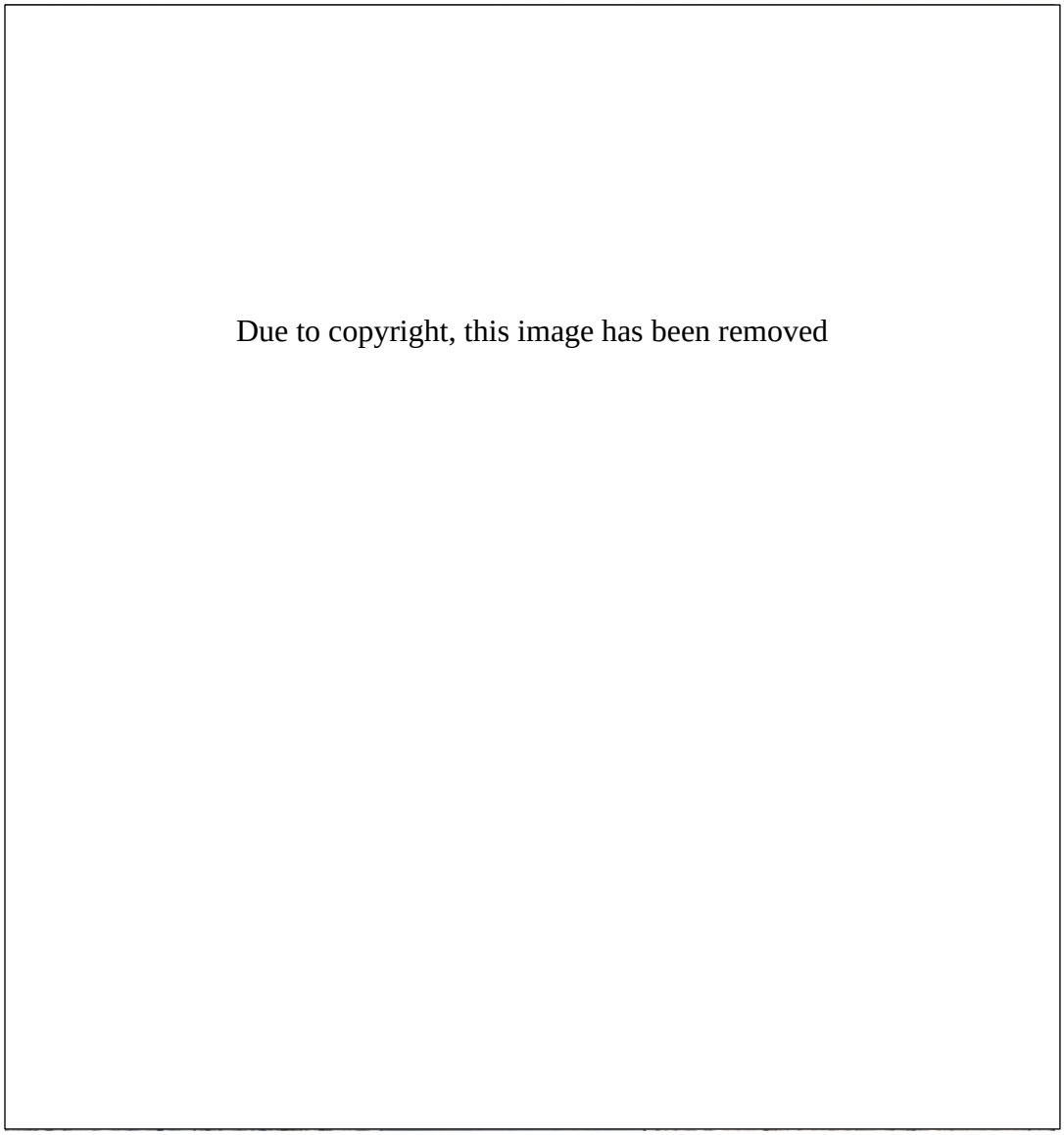


Figure 22 Marble *naiskos*-stele for Tertia Octavia, 2nd century BC, from Süleymaniye (Istanbul), now in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum (inv. no. 5341). Photo by author (2017).

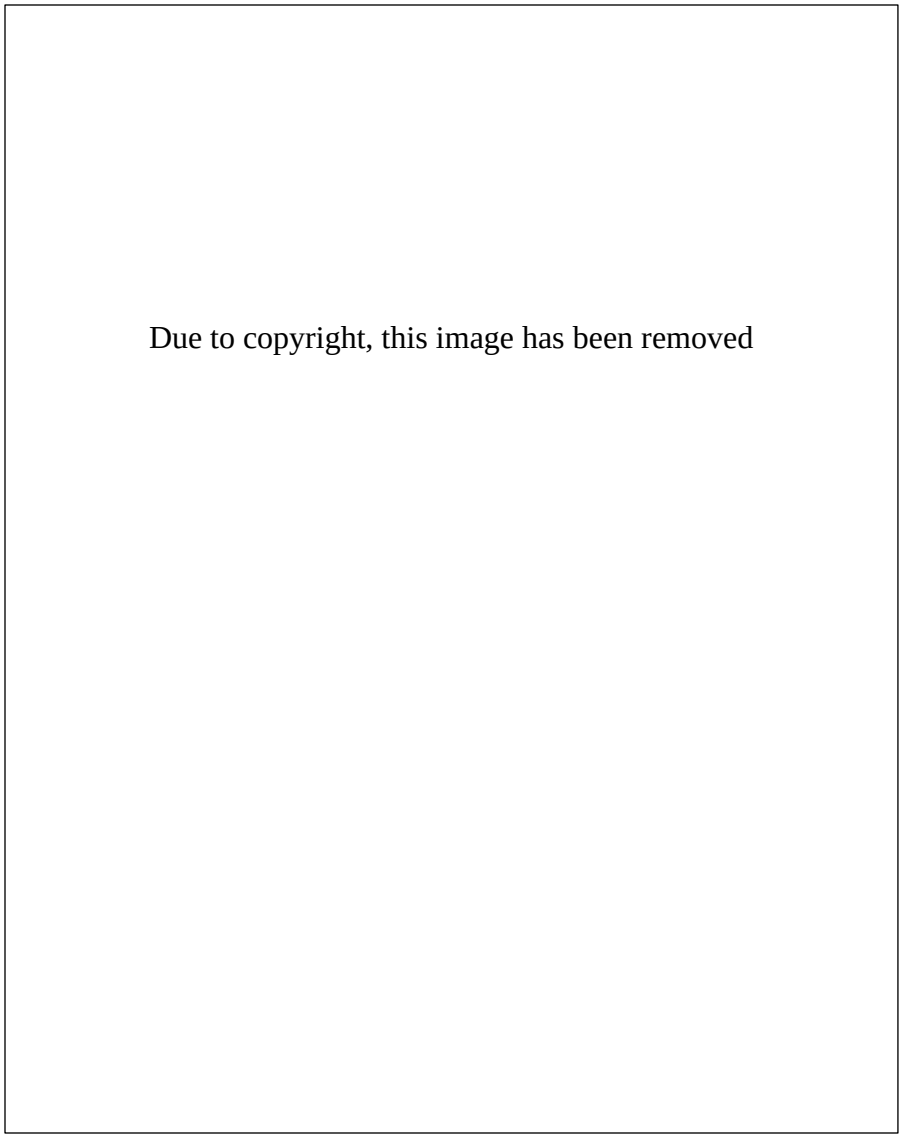


Figure 23 Marble *naiskos*-stele for Lollia Salvia, late 2nd century BC, from Unkapanı (Istanbul), now in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum (inv. no. 5557). Photo by author (2017).

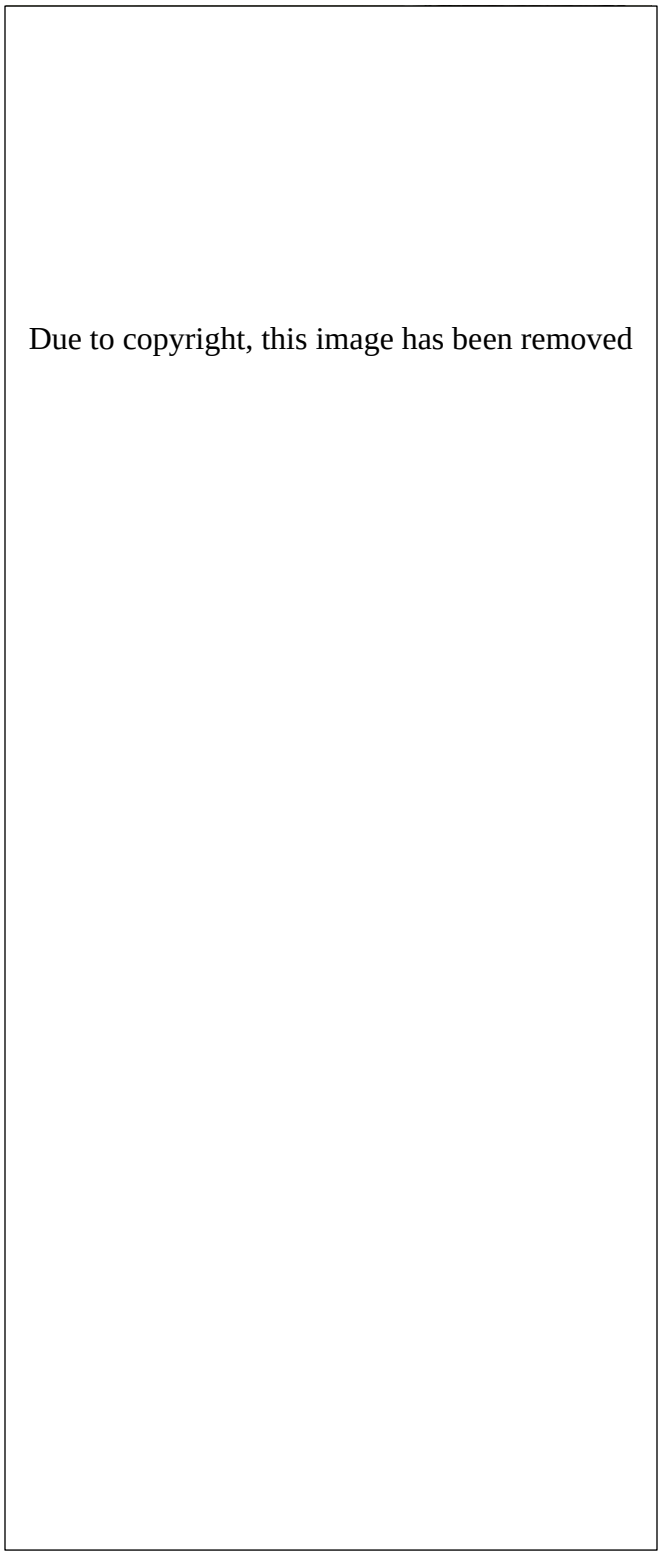


Figure 24 Sarcophagus front face with six relief fields and inscribed *tabula ansata*, 1st-3rd centuries AD, from Çemberlitaş (Istanbul), now in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum (inv. no. 4252T). Photo by author (2017).

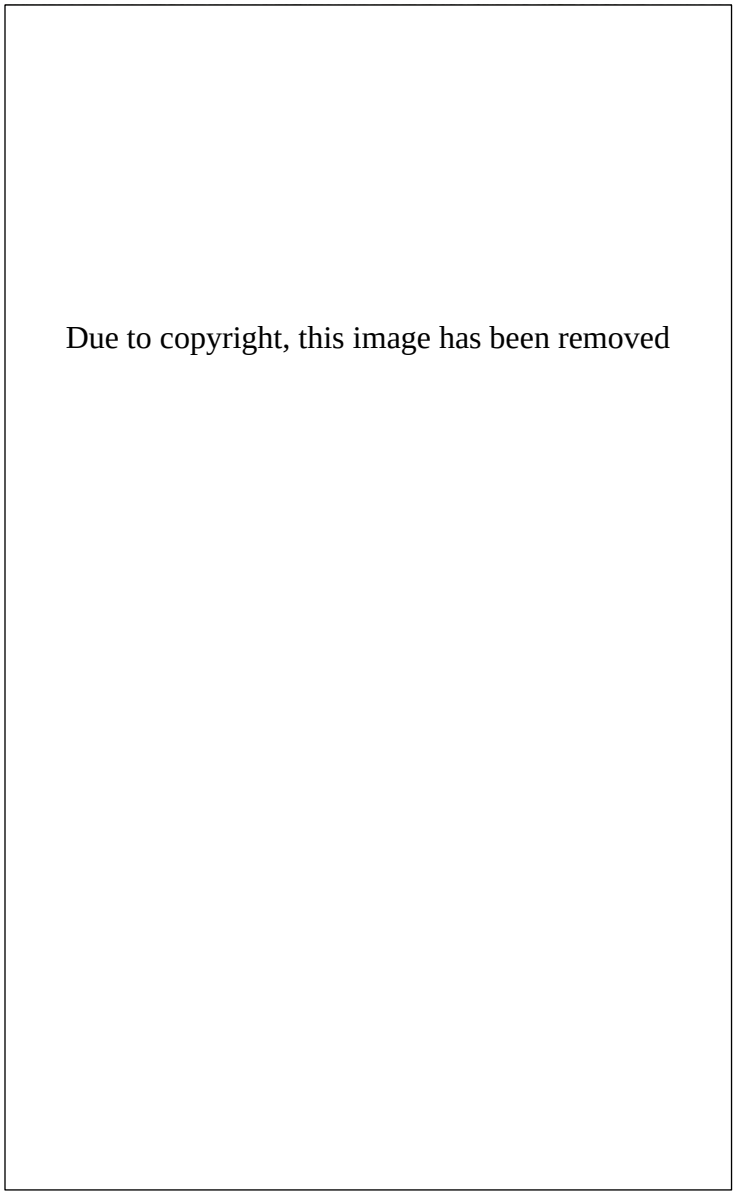


Figure 25 Detail of left end relief of a rider with inscribed *tabula ansata* from sarcophagus front (**Figure 24**), 1st-3rd centuries AD, from Çemberlitaş (Istanbul), now in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum (inv. no. 4252). Photo by author (2017).

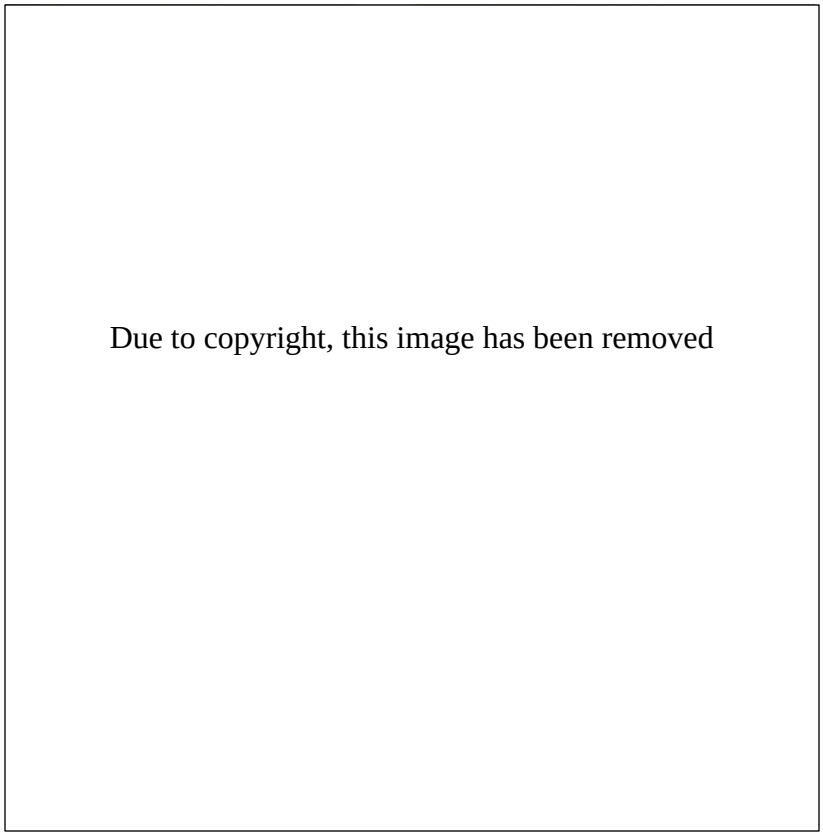


Figure 26 Detail from sarcophagus front (**Figure 24**) with banquet scene in *tabula ansata*, 1st-3rd centuries AD, from Çemberlitaş (Istanbul), now in Istanbul Archaeology Museum (inv. no. 4252). Photo by author (2017).

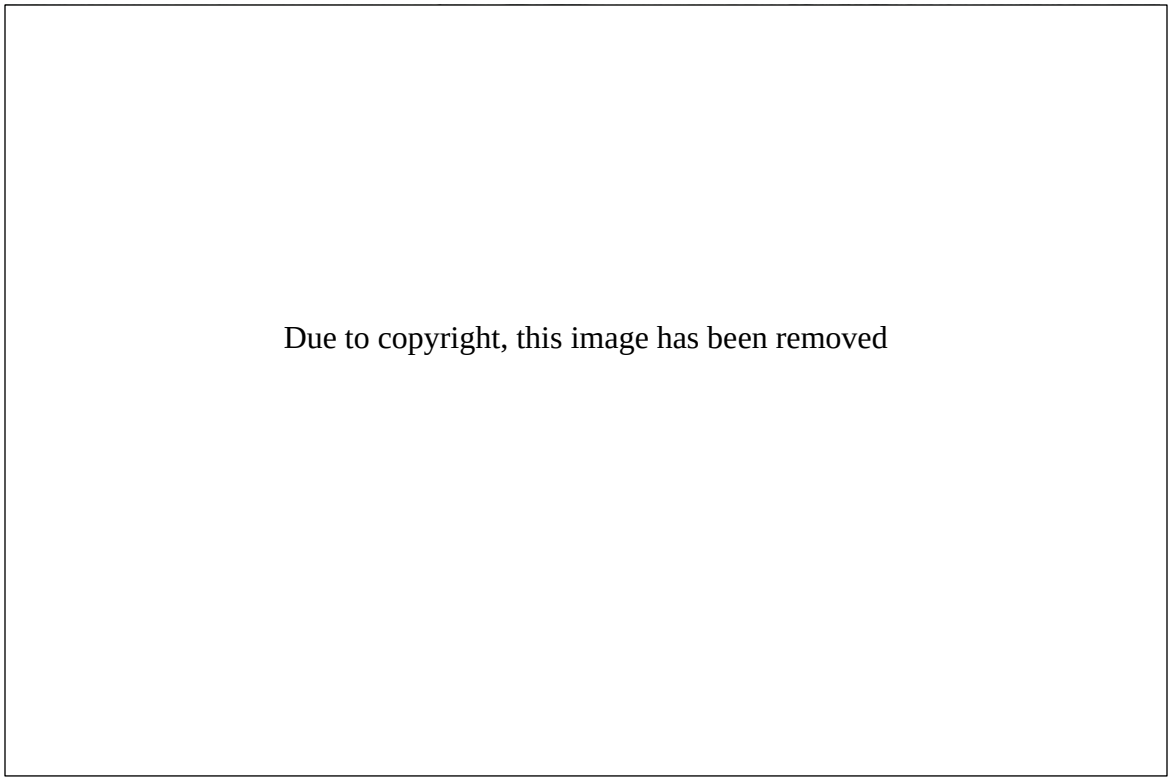


Figure 27 Detail from right edge of sarcophagus front (**Figure 24**), with two relief fields with standing figures, 1st-3rd centuries AD, from Çemberlitaş (Istanbul), now in Istanbul Archaeology Museum (inv. no. 4252). Photo by author (2017).

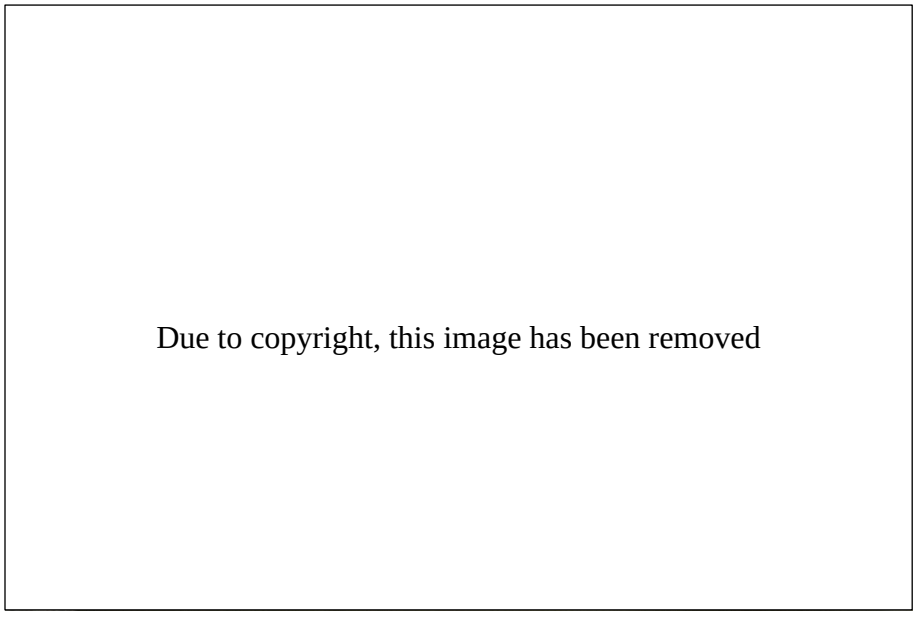


Figure 28 Detail from lower right corner of sarcophagus front (**Figure 24**) larger of two ships in flat relief, 1st-3rd centuries AD, from Çemberlitaş (Istanbul), now in Istanbul Archaeology Museum (inv. no. 4252). Photo by author (2017).

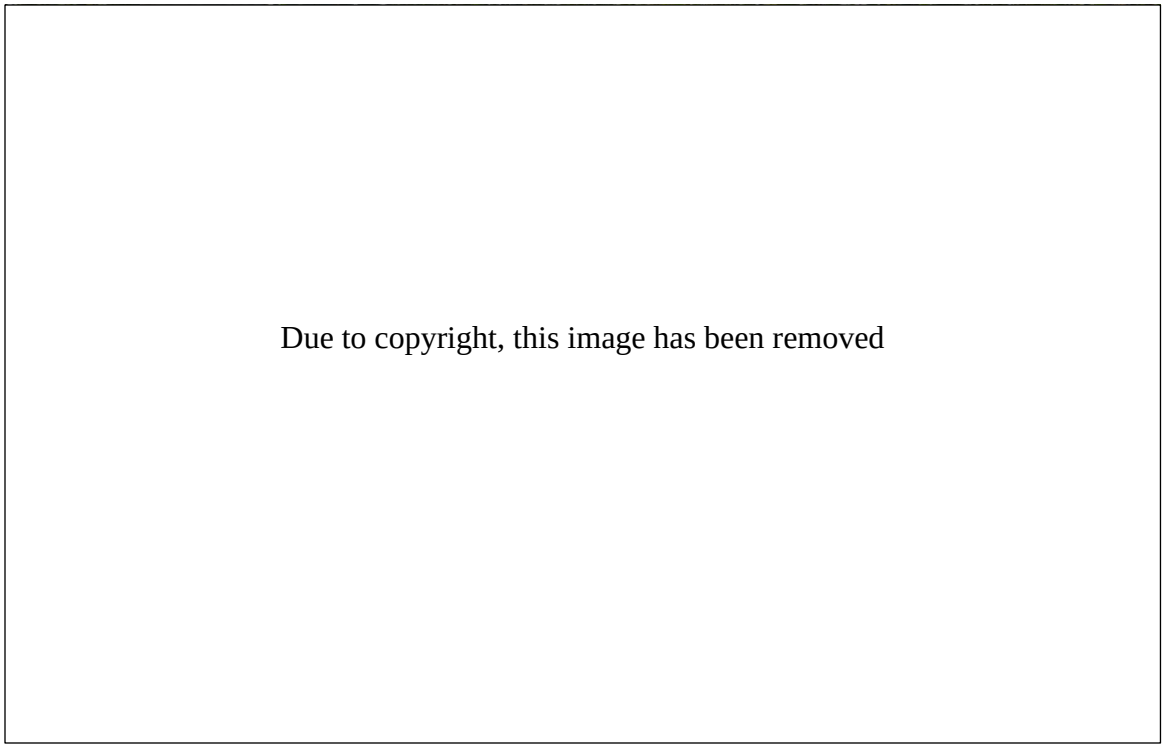


Figure 29 Sarcophagus with four individual relief fields on front face, Istanbul Archaeology Museum garden (inv. no. 4474). Photo by author (2017).

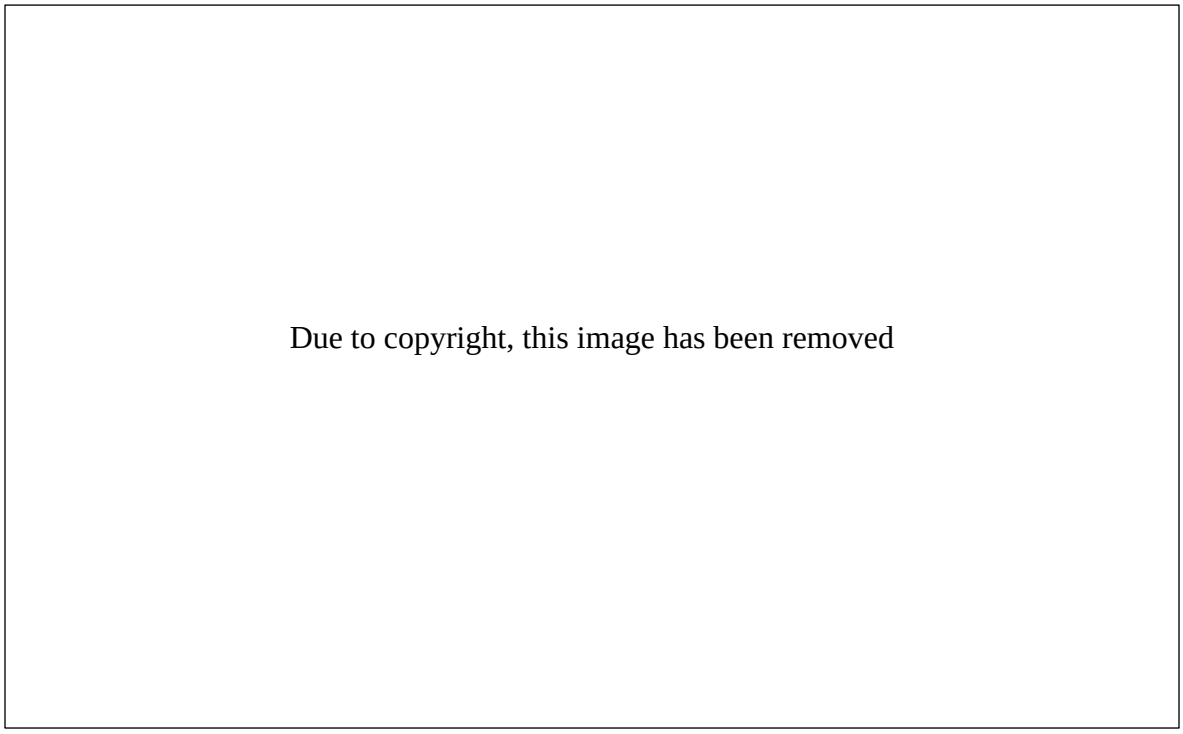


Figure 30 Sarcophagus showing two inscribed *tabula ansata* flanking a relief field with banquet scene, both surrounded by objects in relief, 3rd century AD, Istanbul Archaeology Museum garden (inv. no. 71.88). Photo by author (2017).

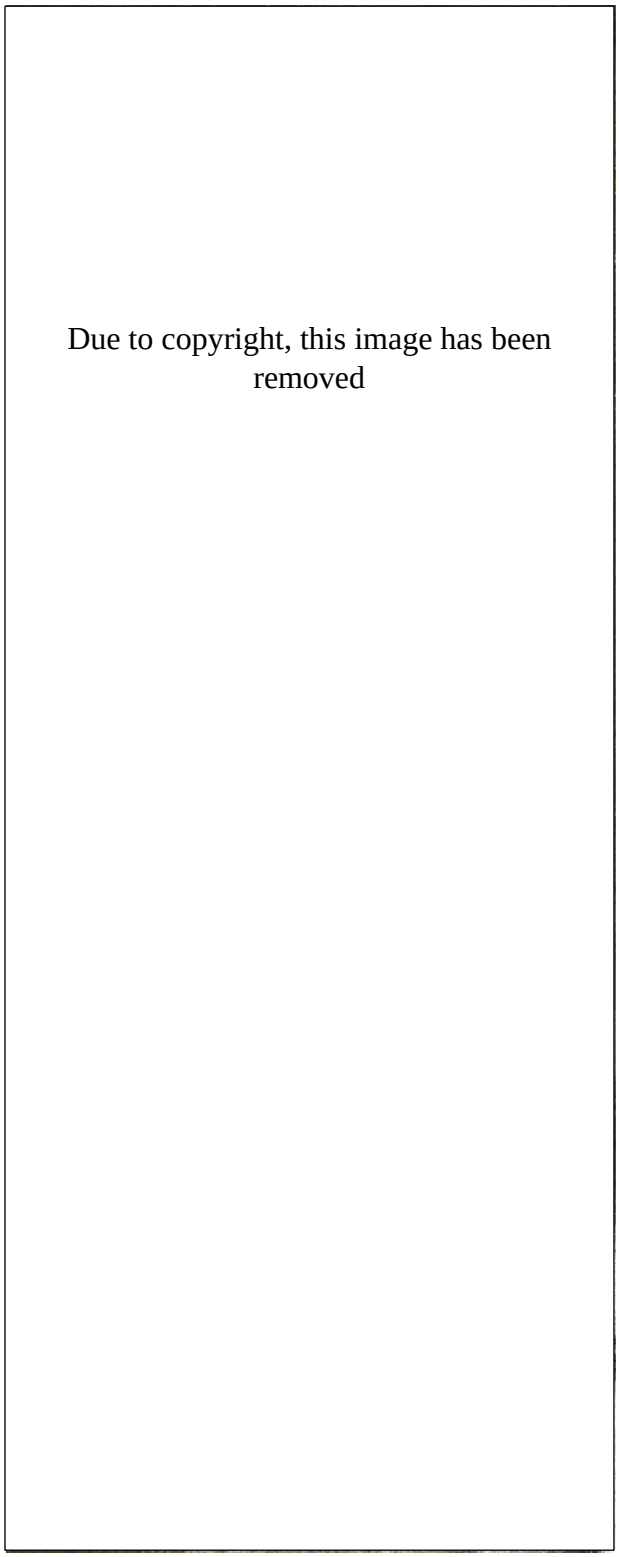


Figure 31 Detail of sarcophagus front (**Figure 30**), with one of inscribed *tabula ansata*, relief objects, and banquet relief, 3rd century AD, Istanbul Archaeology Museum garden (inv. no. 71.88). Photo by author (2017).

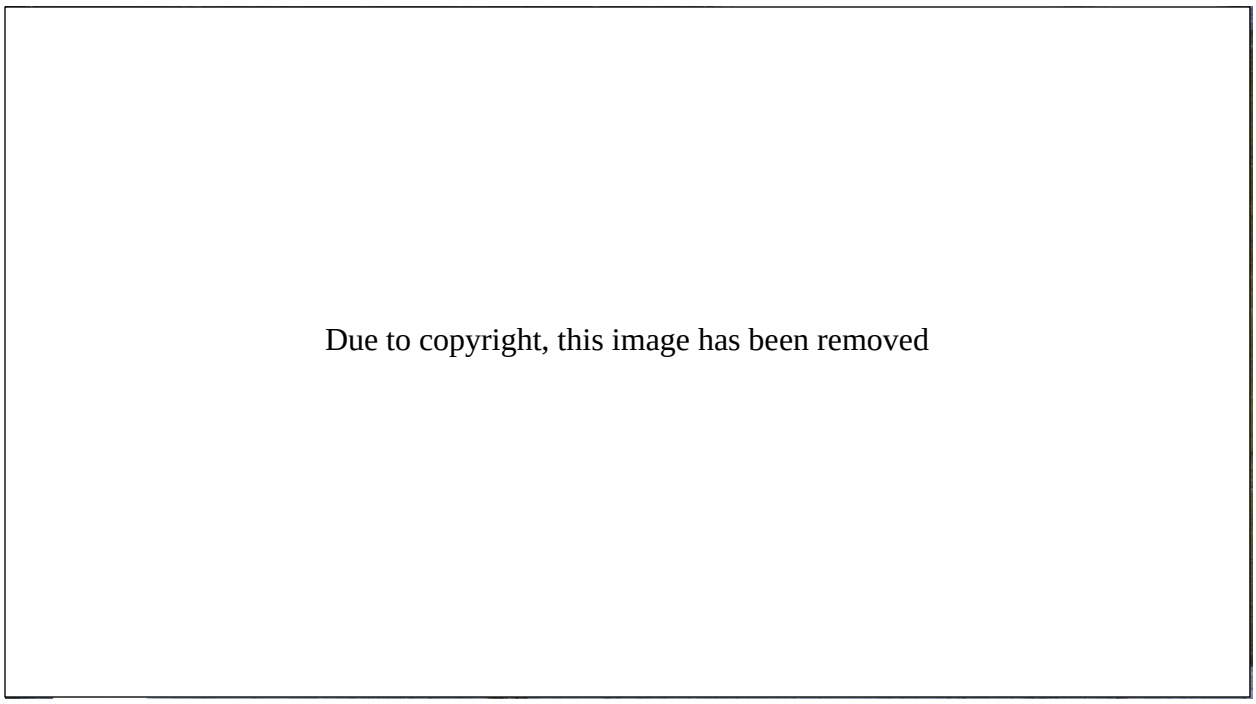


Figure 32 Detail of sarcophagus front (**Figure 30**), with second inscribed *tabula ansata*, relief objects, and banquet relief, 3rd century AD, Istanbul Archaeology Museum garden (inv. no. 71.88). Photo by author (2017).



Figure 33 Stele for Marcus Kinkos Nigeinos, Trajanic period, from Silivri (Selymbria)/Pivados, now in the British Embassy in Istanbul (Fıratlı 1966, no. 260 Pl. 54).

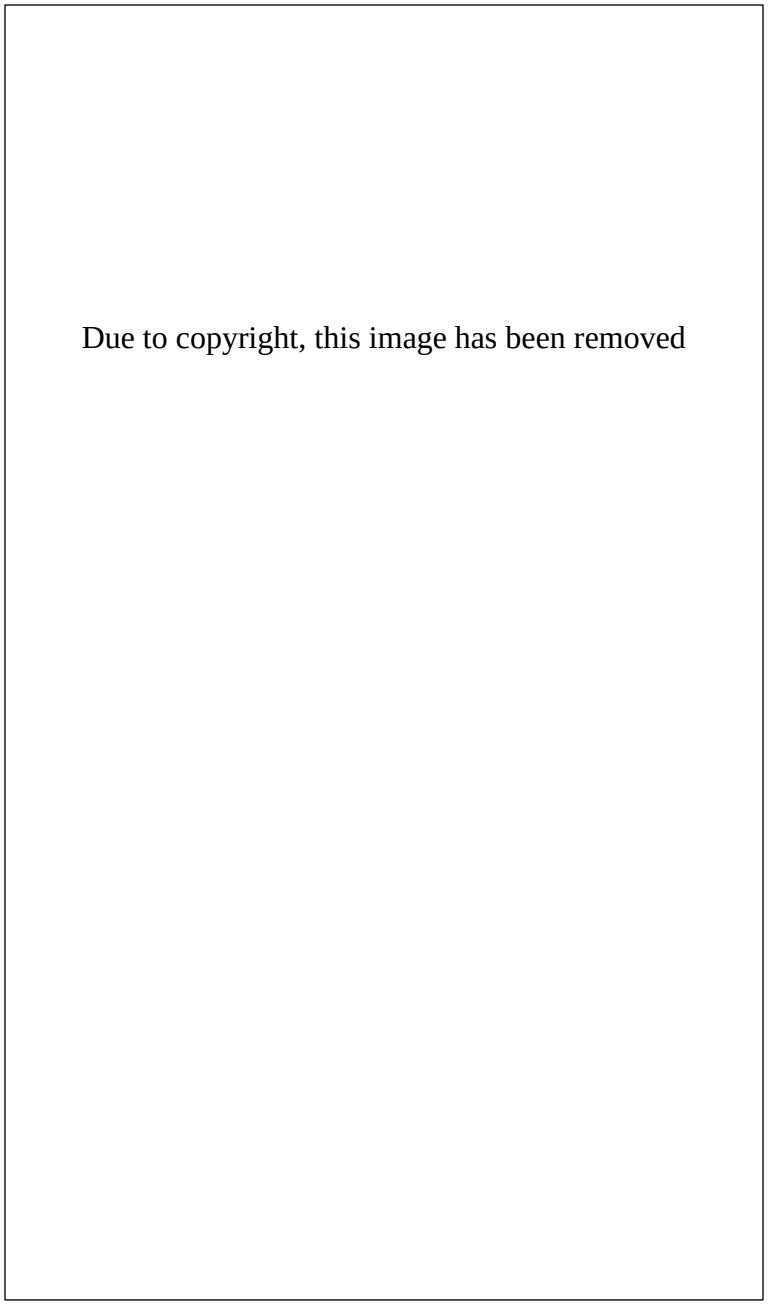


Figure 34 Map showing the provinces during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (Marek 2016, 348 Map 19).

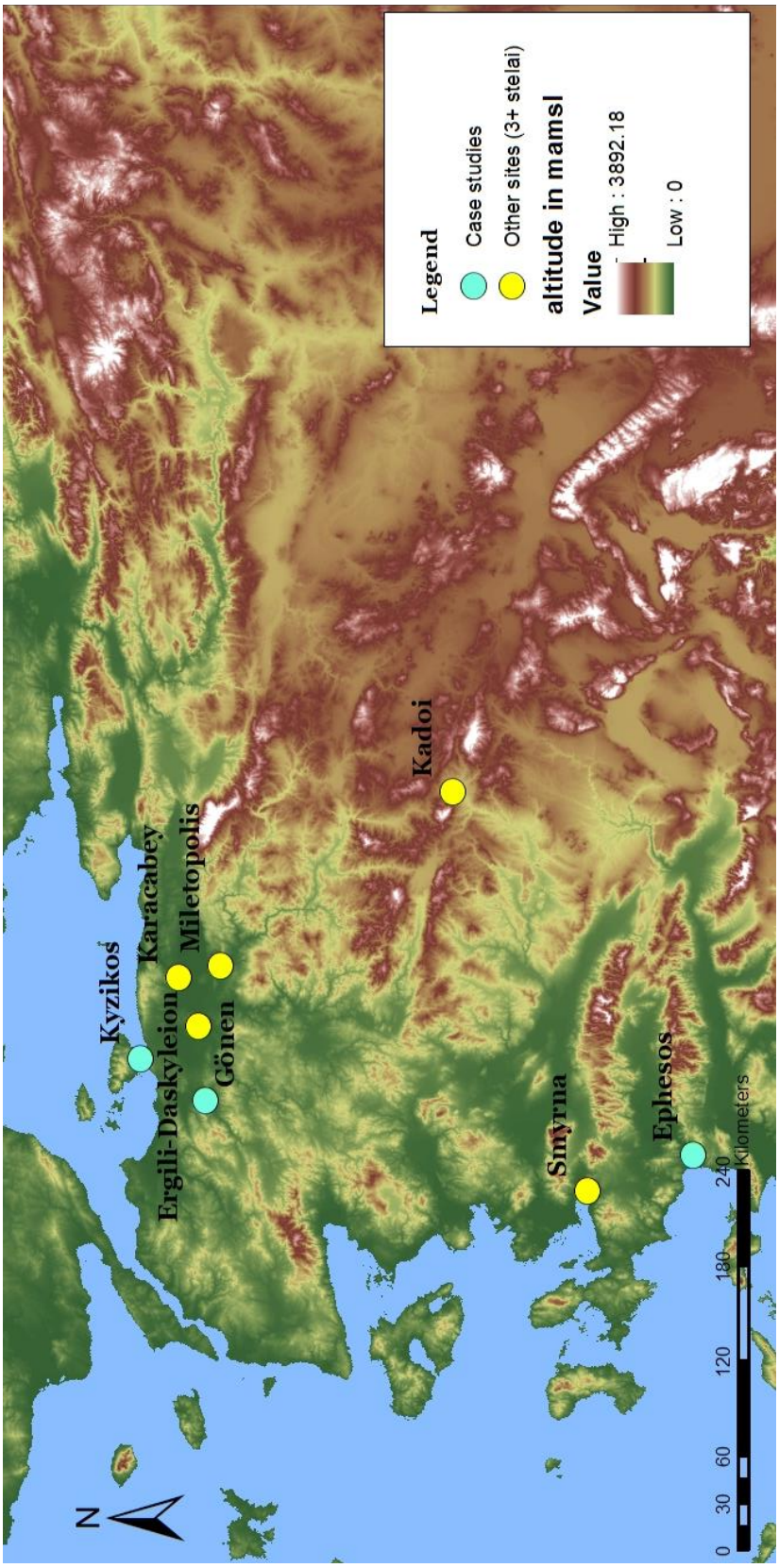


Figure 35 Map showing the distribution of sites in *Asia* with three or more figured-stele finds.

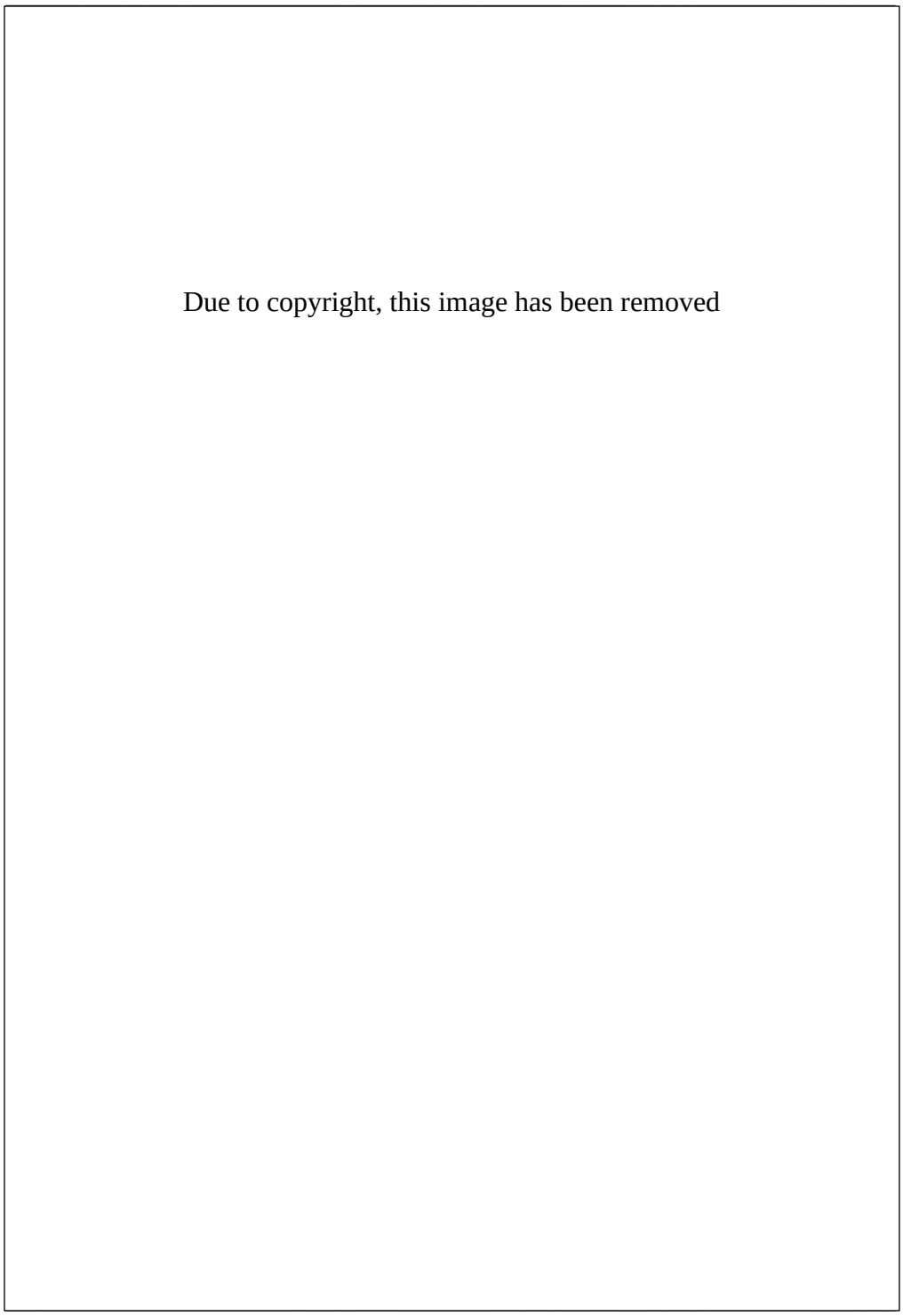


Figure 36 Map of Ephesos showing the concentrated extra-urban burial spaces (Steskal 2017, 177 Fig. 10.1).

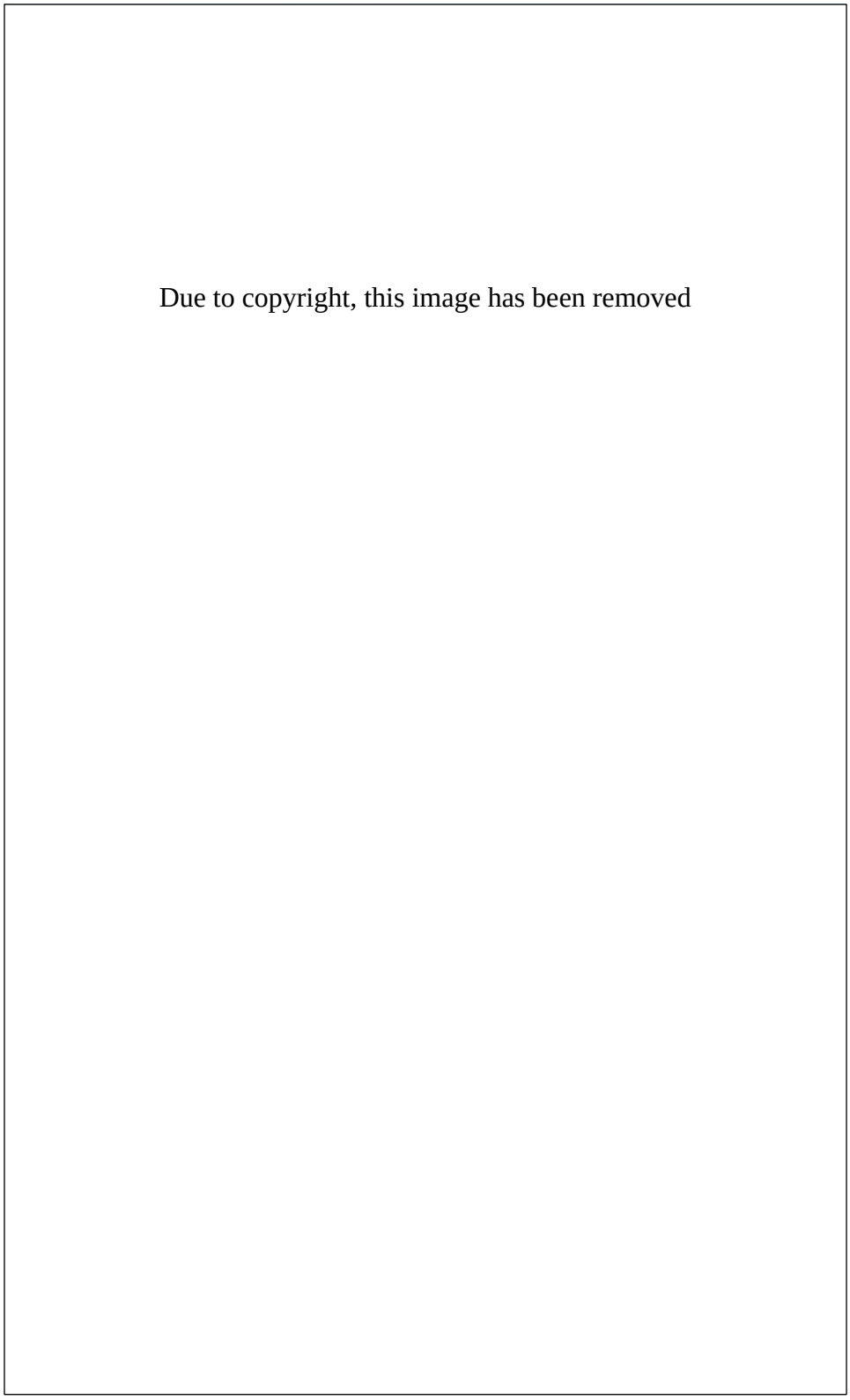


Figure 37 Marble *naiskos*-stele, findspot unknown, now in the Bandırma Archaeology Museum garden (inv. no. 2017/1775). Photo by author (2018).

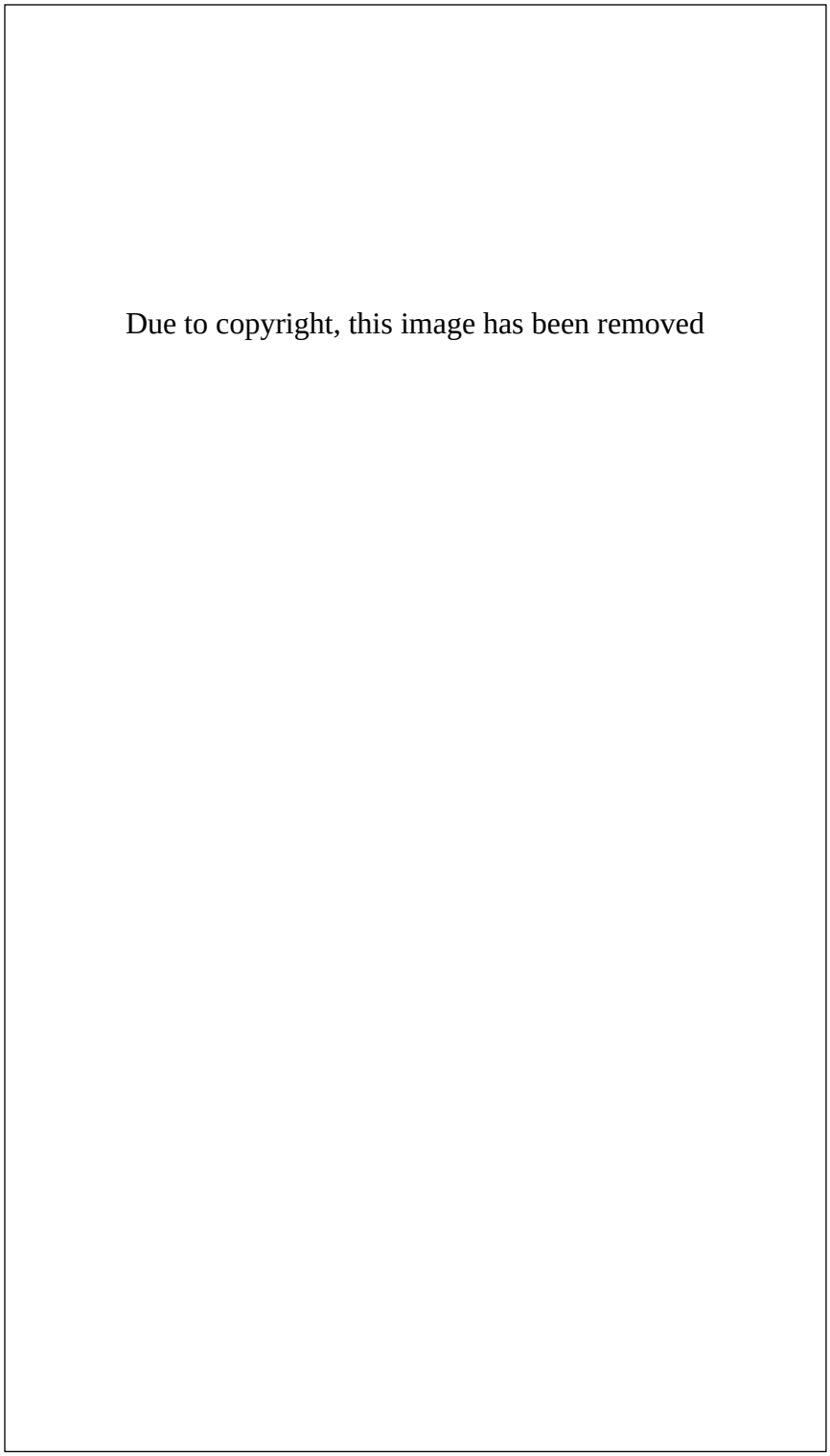


Figure 38 Marble *naiskos*-stele, Hellenistic period, Bandırma Archaeology Museum garden. Photo by author (2018).

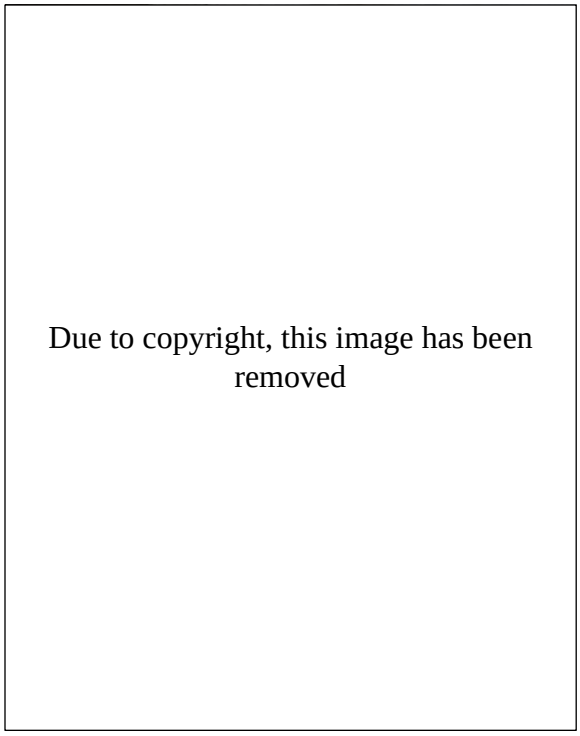


Figure 39 Marble relief fragment, probably Hellenistic period, Bandırma Archaeology Museum garden. Photo by author (2018).

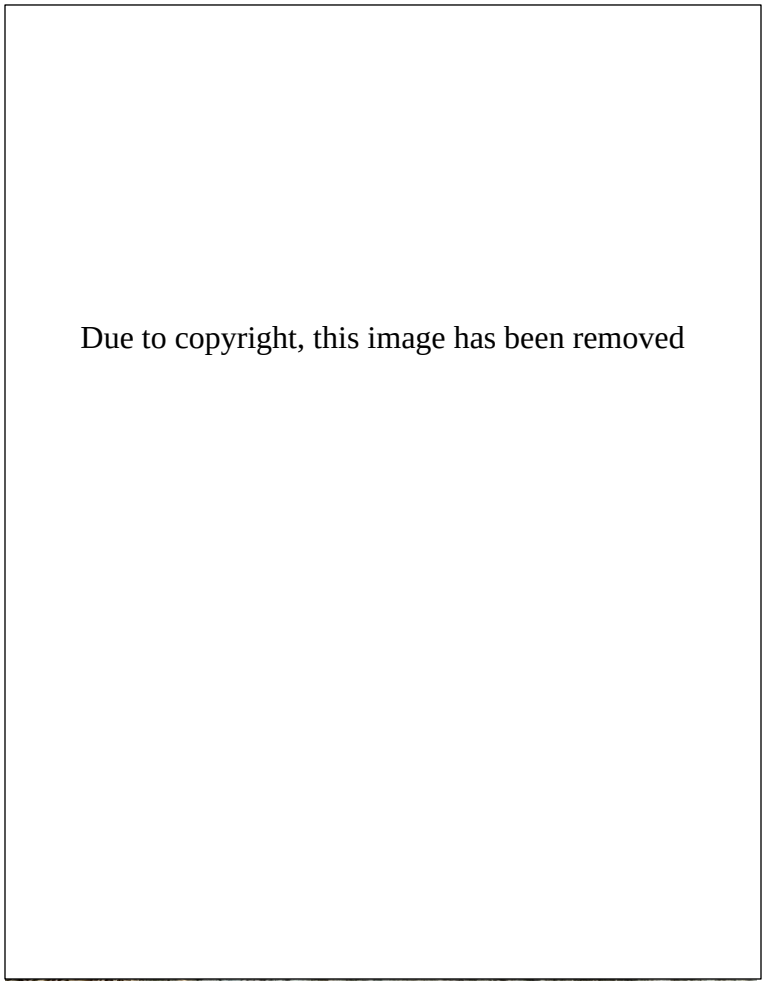


Figure 40 Marble *naiskos*-stele, Hellenistic period, Bandırma Archaeology Museum garden. Photo by author (2018).

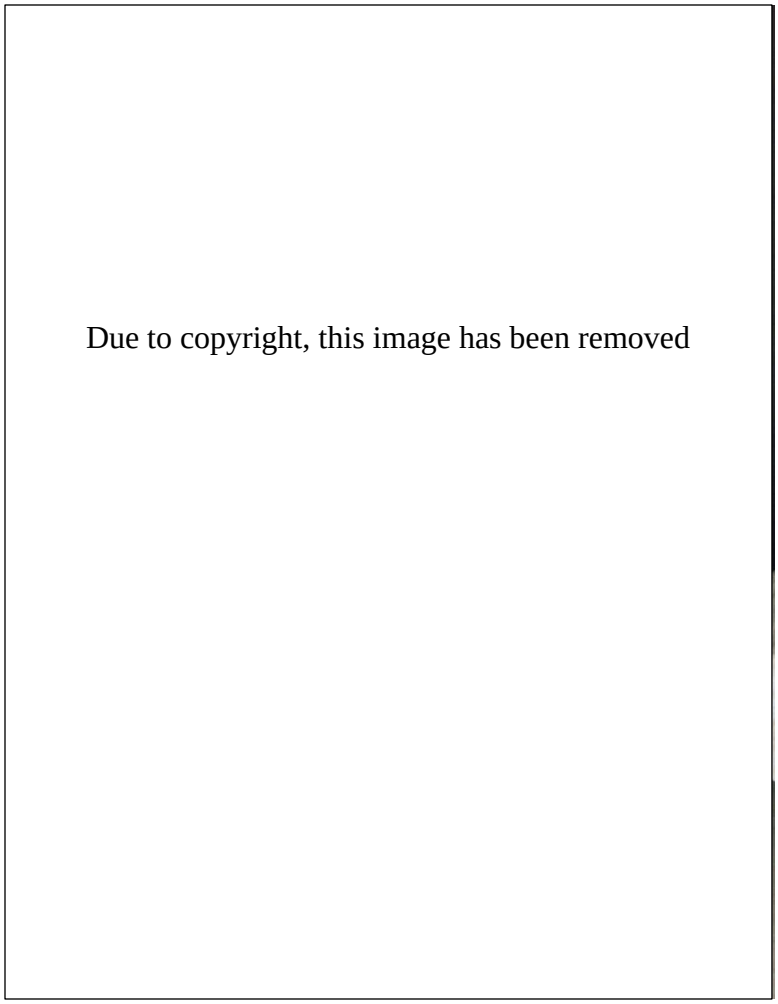


Figure 41 Marble stele fragment, probably Hellenistic period, Bandırma Archaeology Museum. Photo by author (2018).

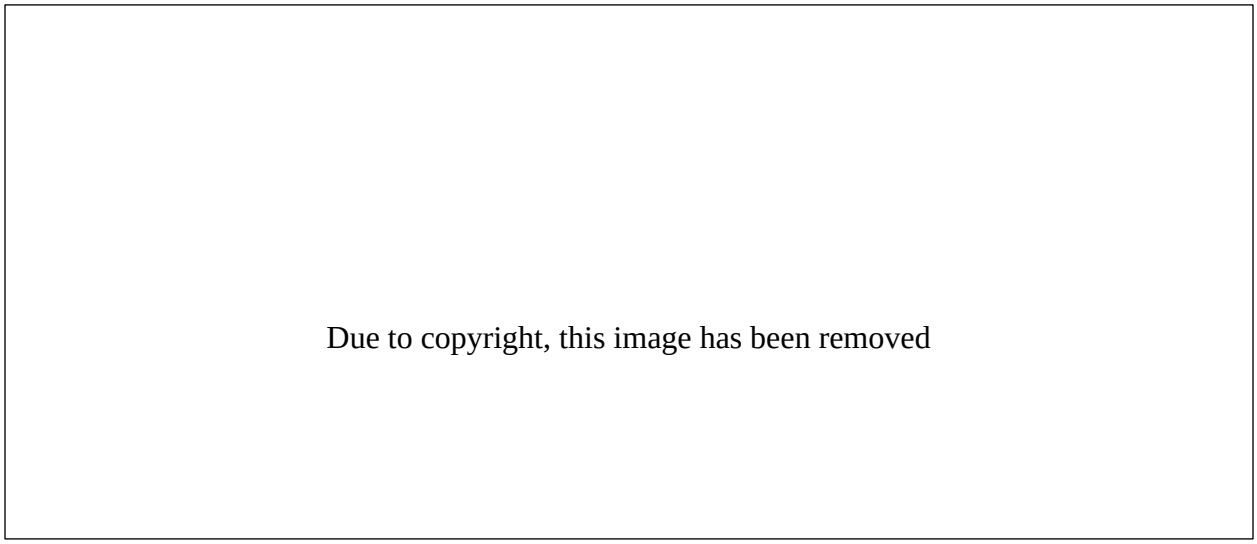


Figure 42 Marble relief panel, Bandırma Archaeology Museum garden. Photo by author (2018).

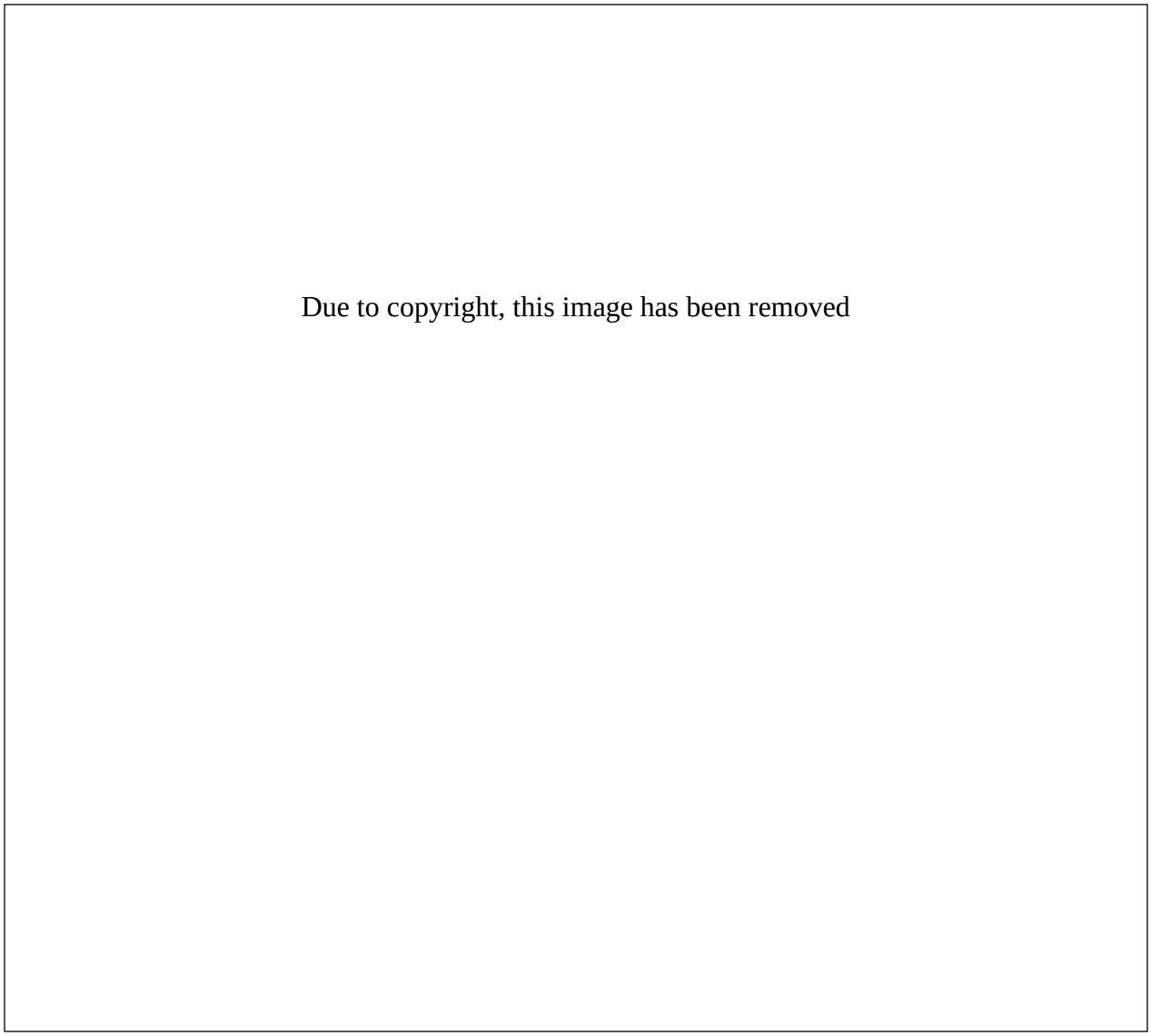


Figure 43 Marble relief fragment (prothesis), Bandırma Archaeology Museum garden. Photo by author (2018).

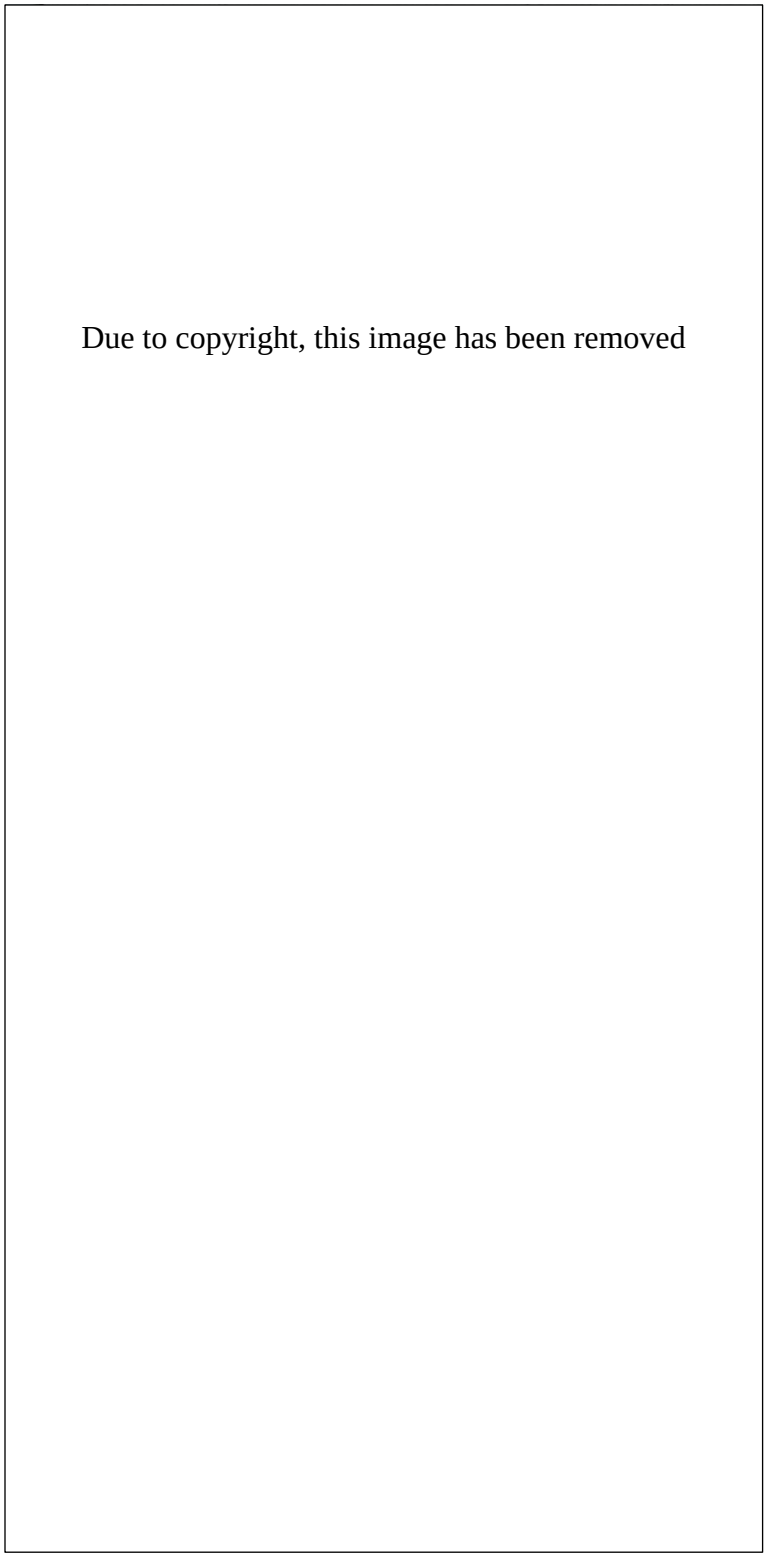


Figure 44 Marble multi-relief stele, Roman Imperial period, Bursa Archaeology Museum garden. Photo by author (2017).

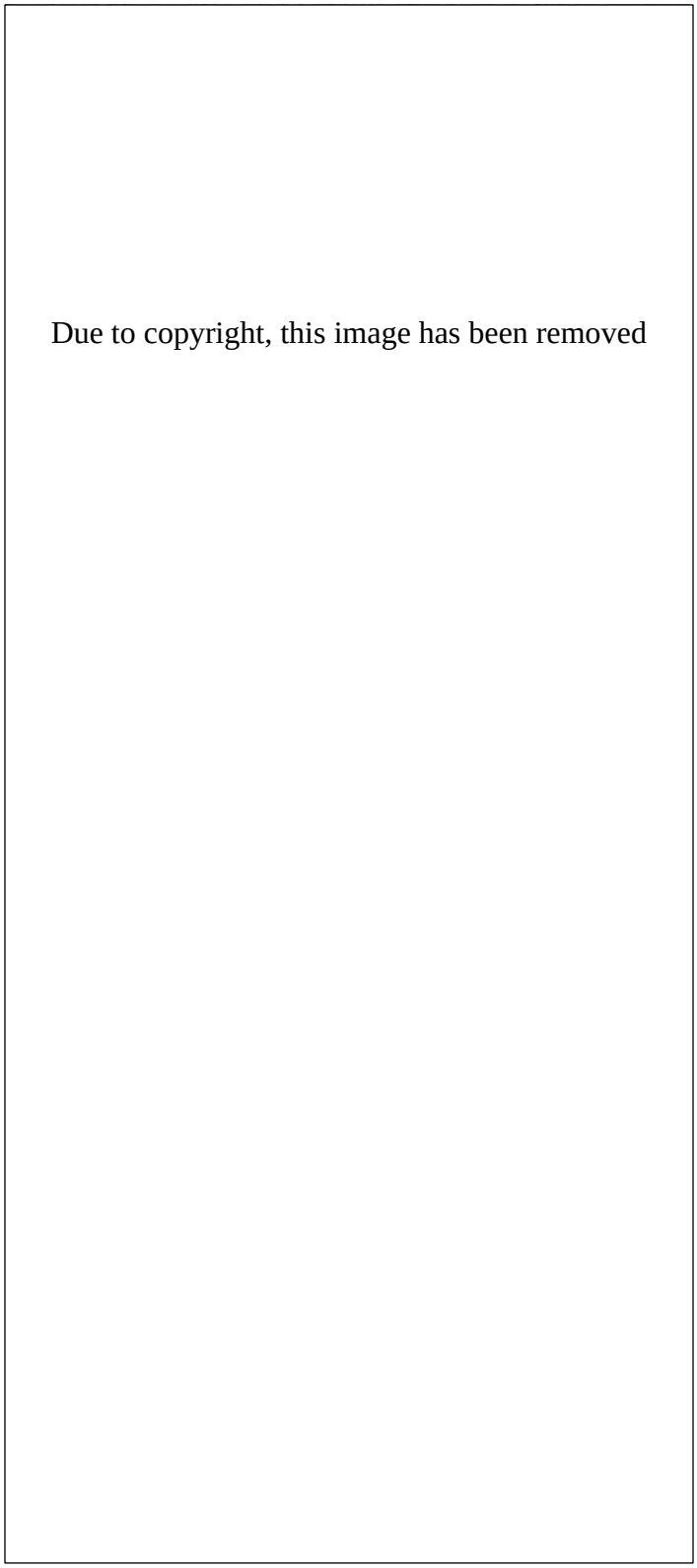


Figure 45 Marble *naiskos*-stele, 3rd century AD, Bursa Archaeology Museum garden (inv. no. 1666). Photo by author (2017).

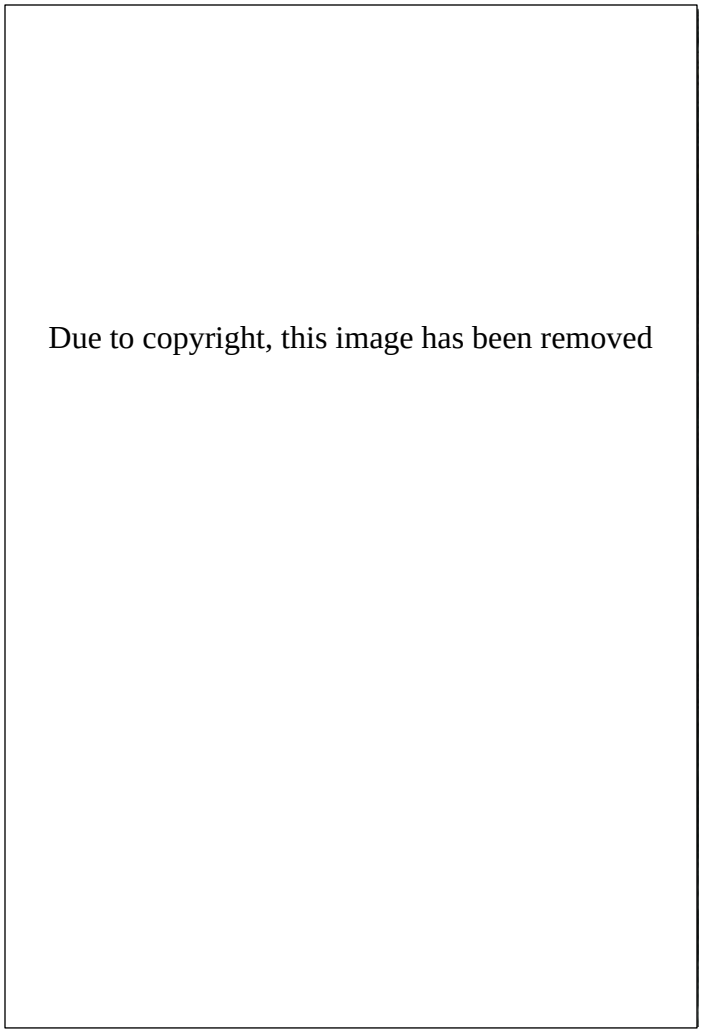


Figure 46 *Naiskos*-stele, 2nd century AD, from Karacabey, Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 223 (PM 1636 Pl. 239).

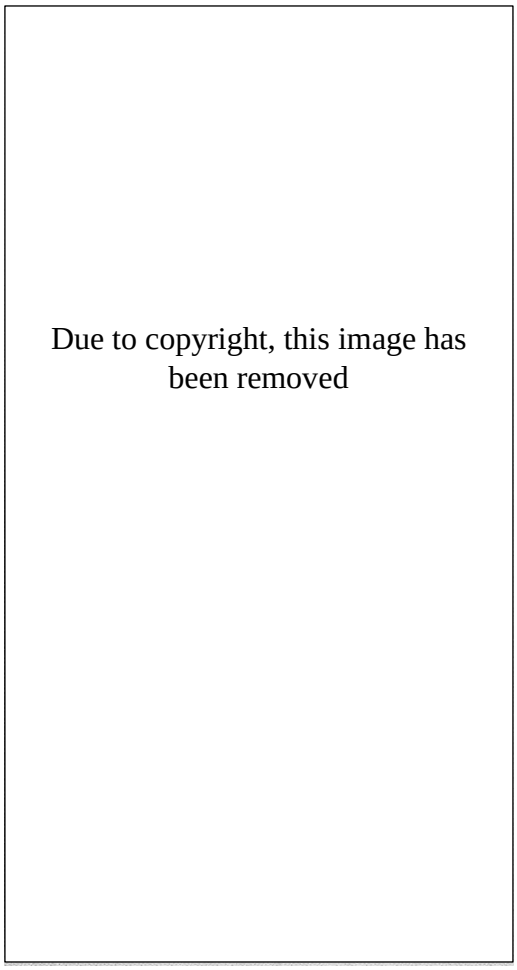


Figure 47 Obelisk-stele, 1st or 2nd c. AD, from Smyrna, Archäologisches Institut der Universität (Utrecht), inv. no. Arch. 160 (PM 847 Pl. 123).

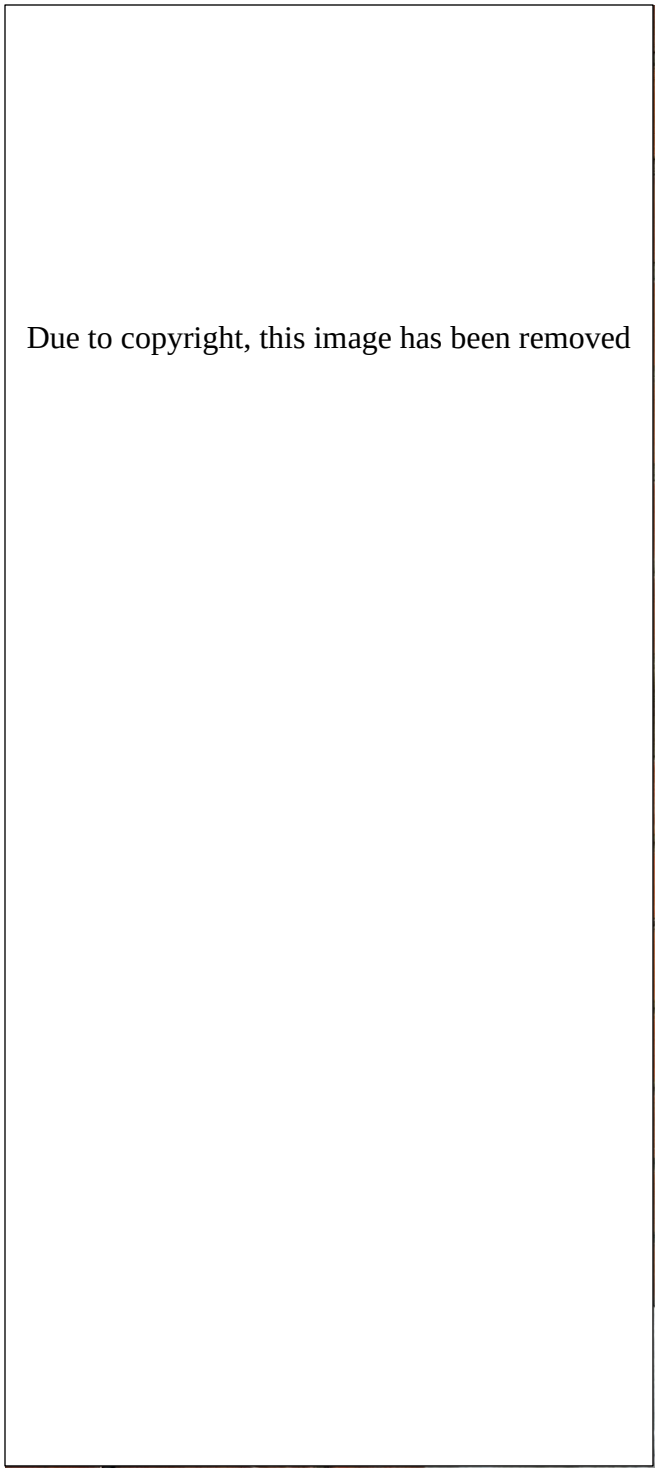


Figure 48 Marble *naiskos* multi-relief stele, 2nd century AD, from Mustafakemalpaşa, now in the Bursa Archaeology Museum garden (inv. no. 2570). Photo by author (2017).

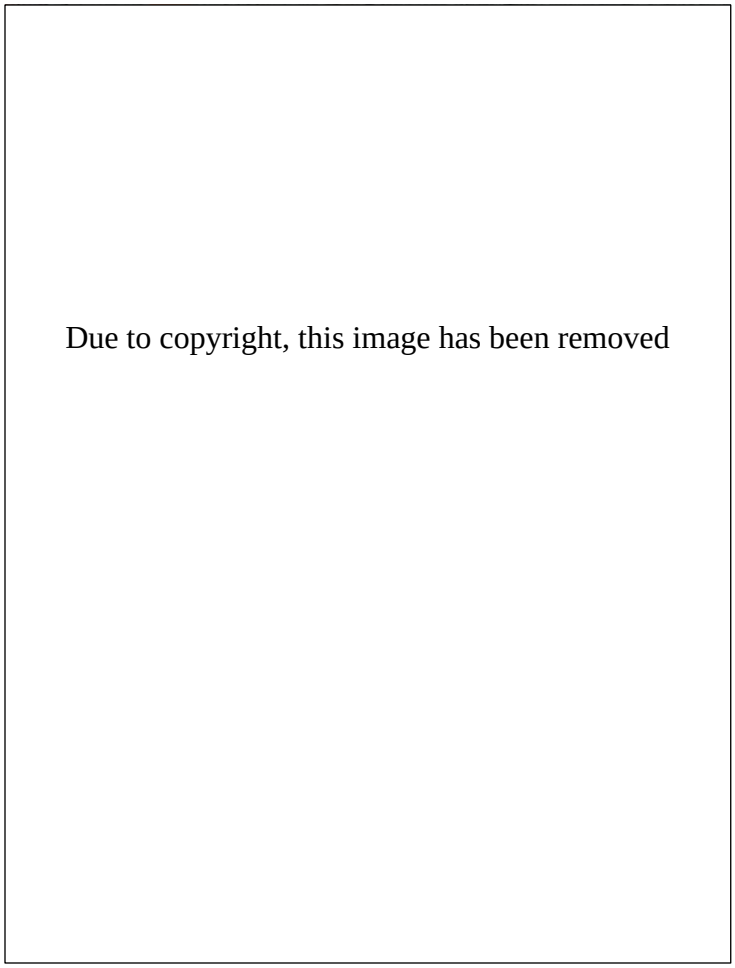


Figure 49 Marble *naiskos*-stele, 1st century BC, from Eski Manyas-Soğuksu, now in the Bandırma Archaeology Museum garden. Photo by author (2018).

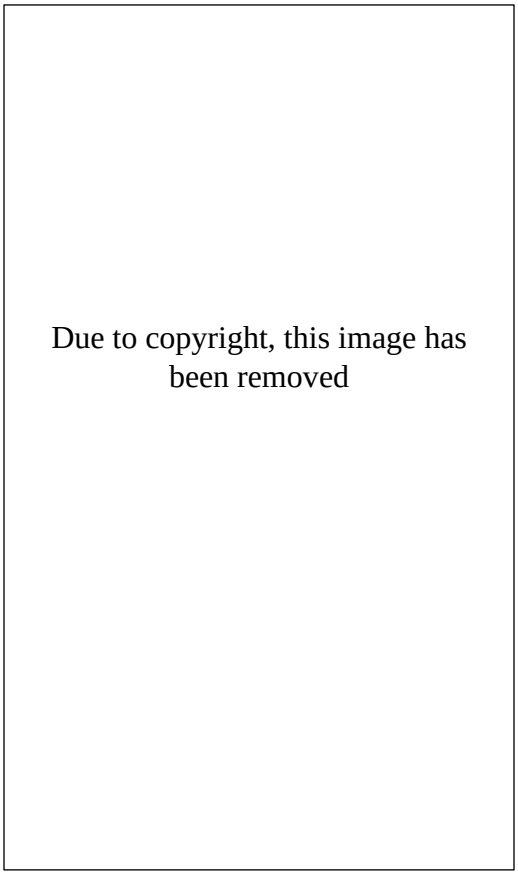


Figure 50 Stele, 1st c. BC, from Yenice, Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5366 (IK Kyzikos no. 232 Pl. 16).

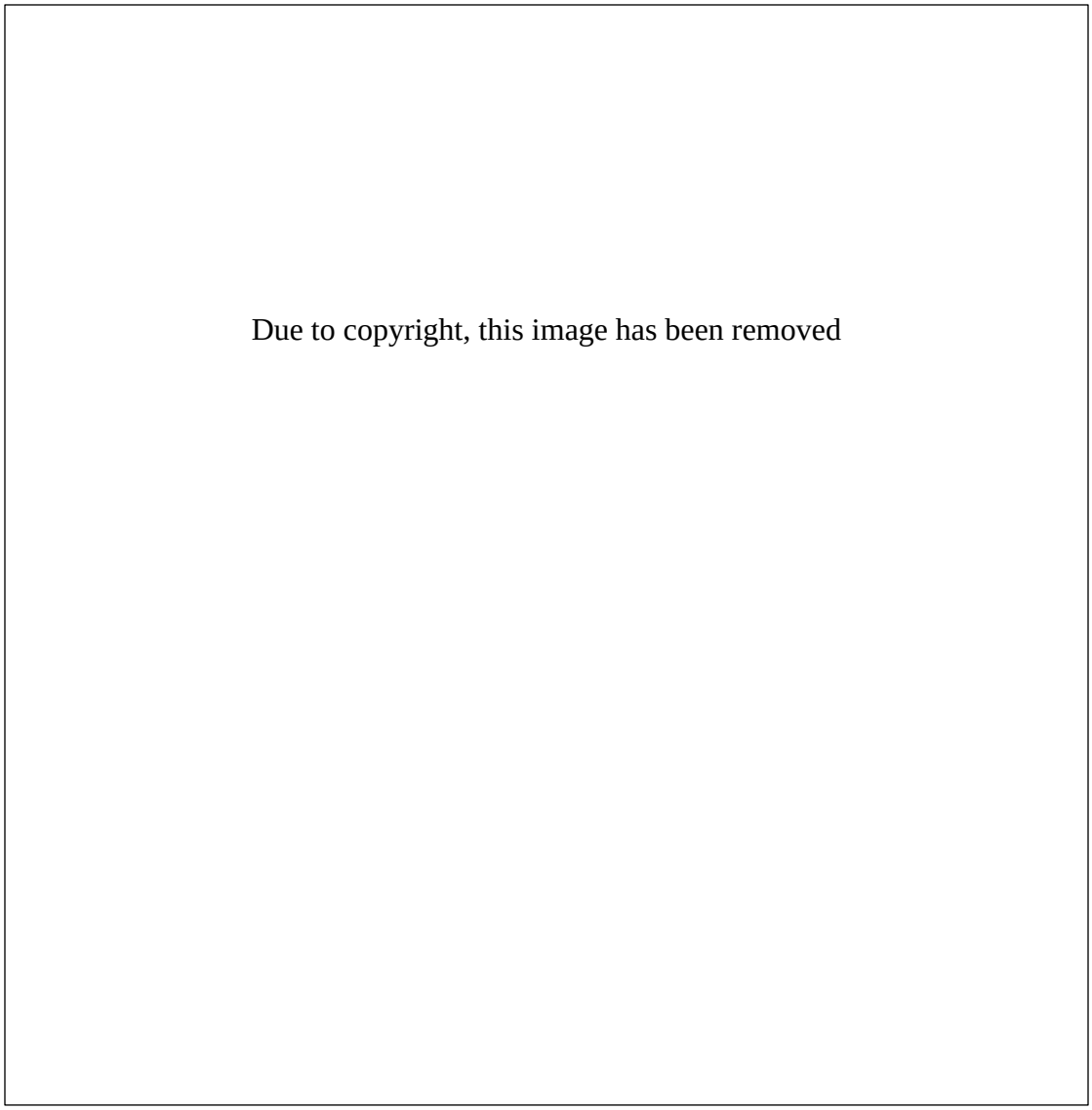


Figure 51 Map showing the diocese and provinces after the reorganization under Diocletian (Marek 2016, 394 Map 23).

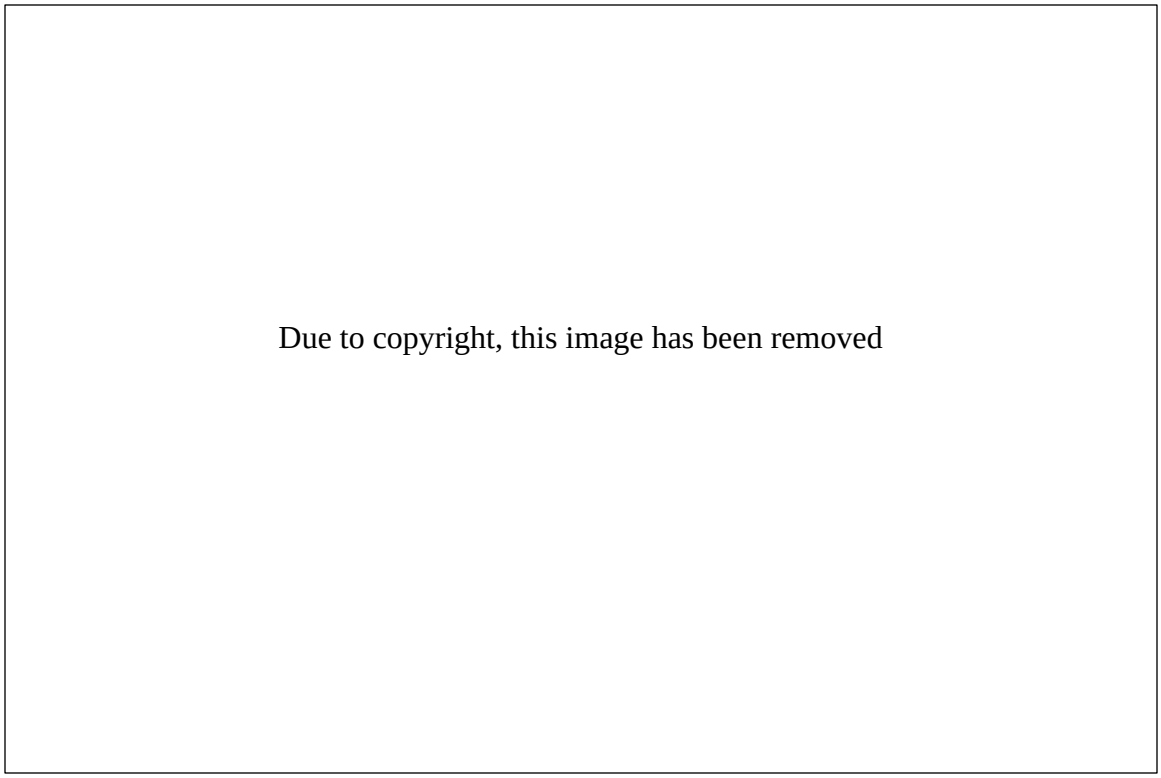


Figure 52 North end of the stadium at Saittai (Sidaskale). Photo by author (2018).

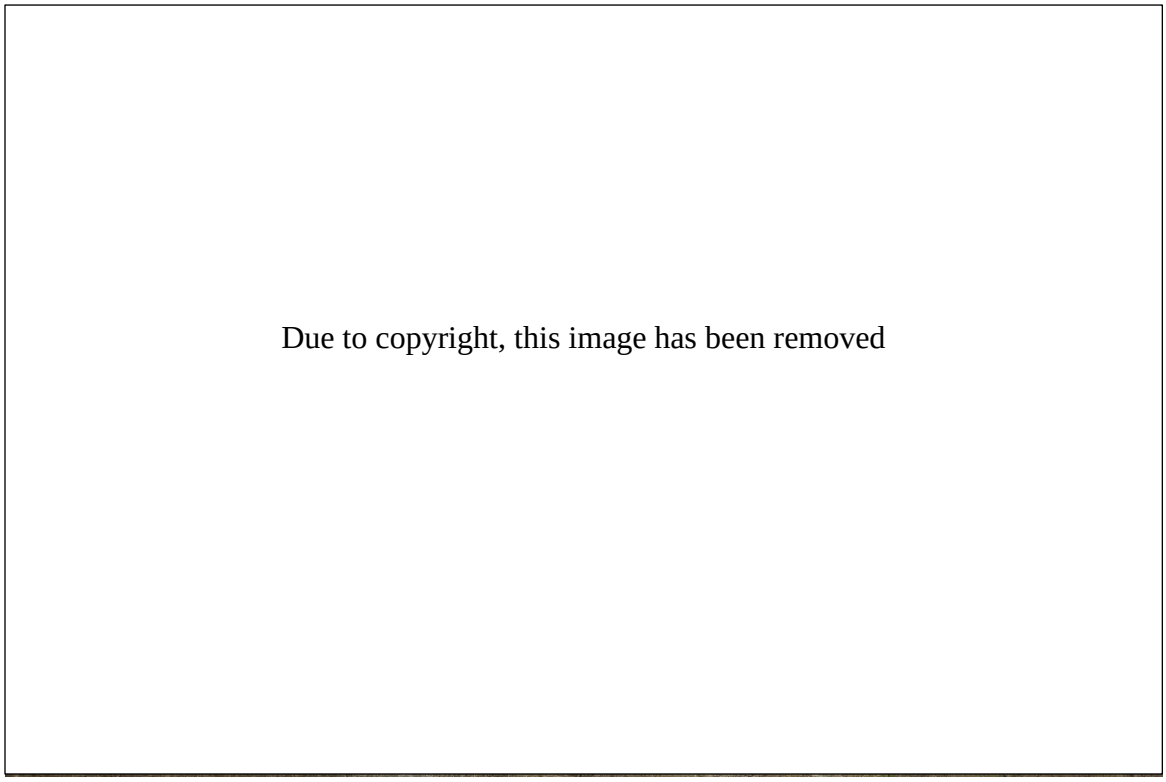


Figure 53 South end of the stadium at Saittai (Sidaskale). Photo by author (2018).

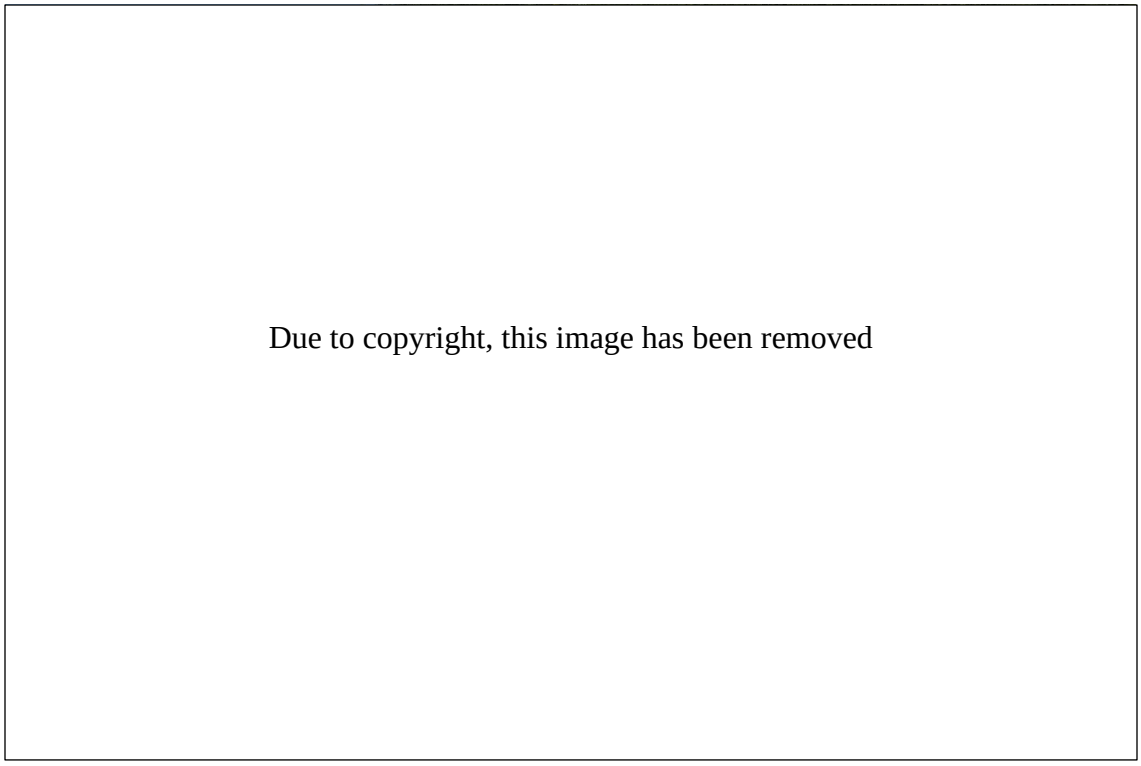


Figure 54 Surviving stadium seats, Saittai (Sidaskale). Photo by author (2018).

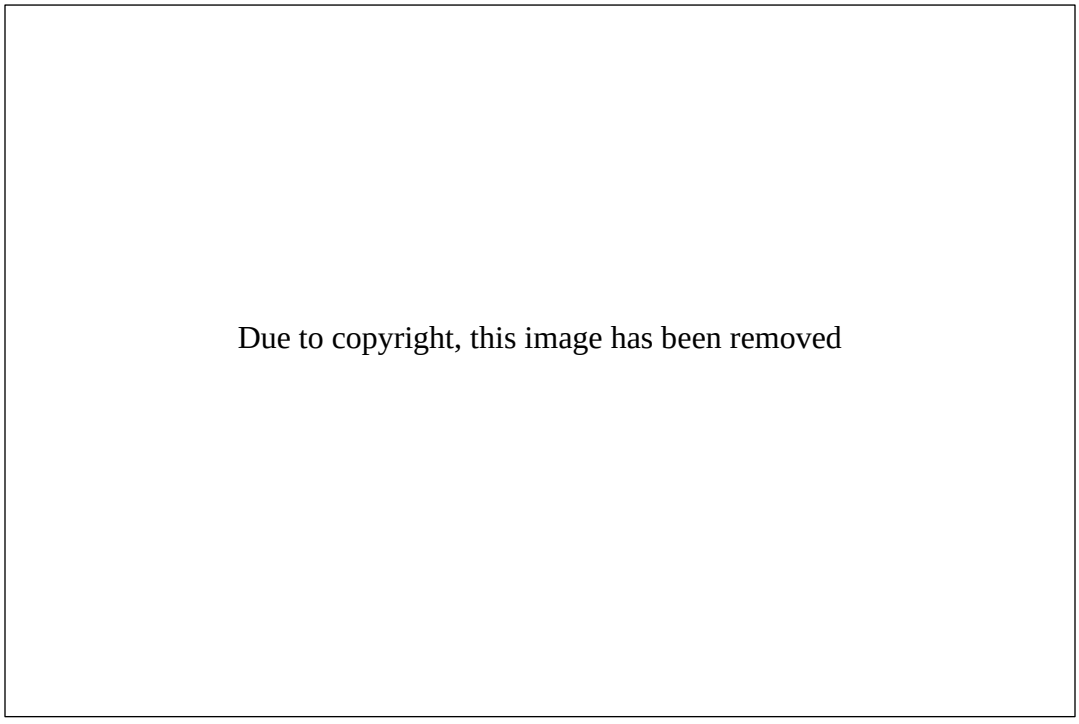


Figure 55 Dromos entrance with stelai, Tomb 813, Sardis (http://sardisexpedition.org/en/essays/latw-baughan-lydian-burial-customs, Fig. 31).

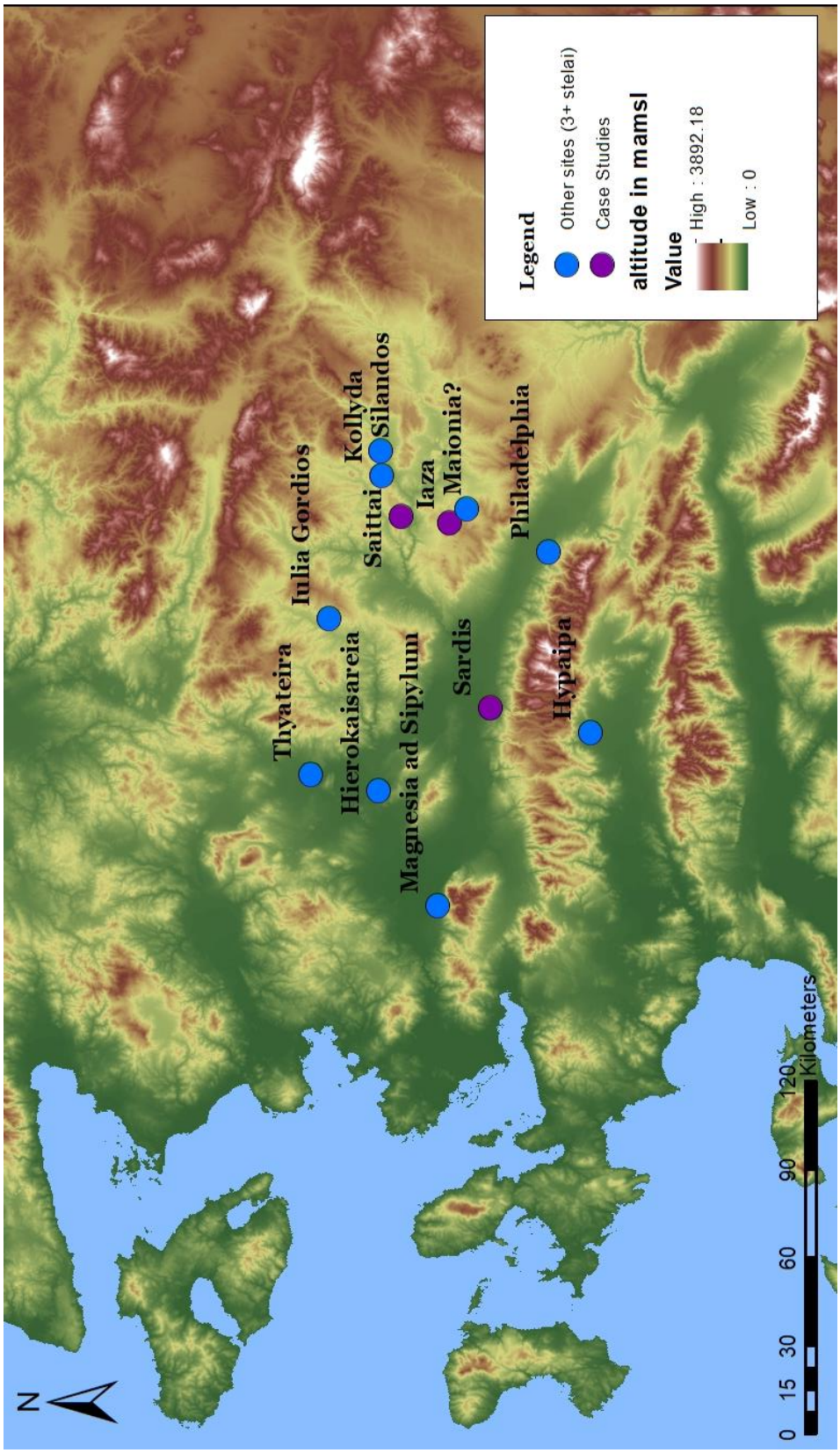


Figure 56 Map showing the distribution of sites in Lydia with three or more figured-stele finds.

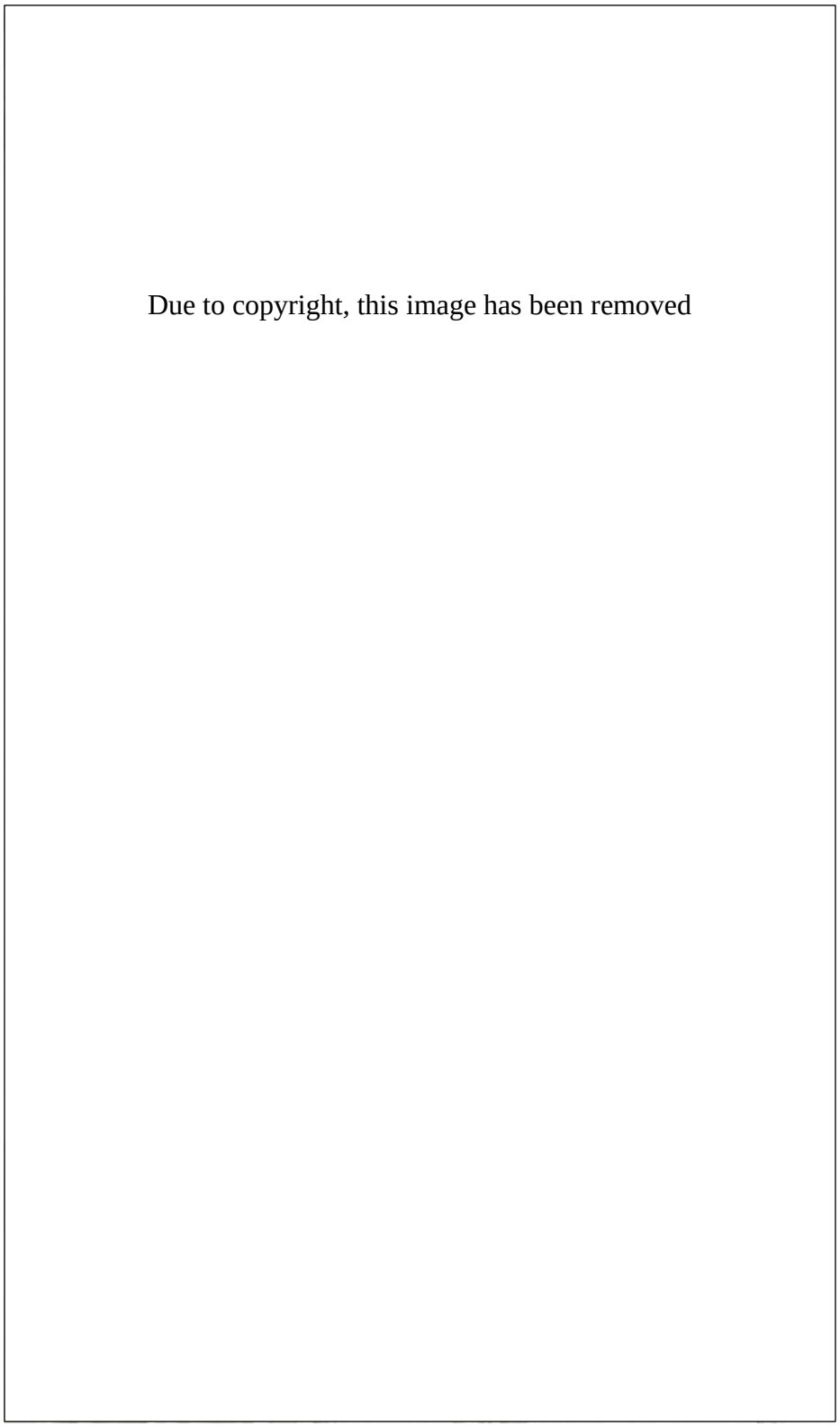


Figure 57 Map showing Galatia between 25-6 BC (Marek 2016, 321 Map 14).

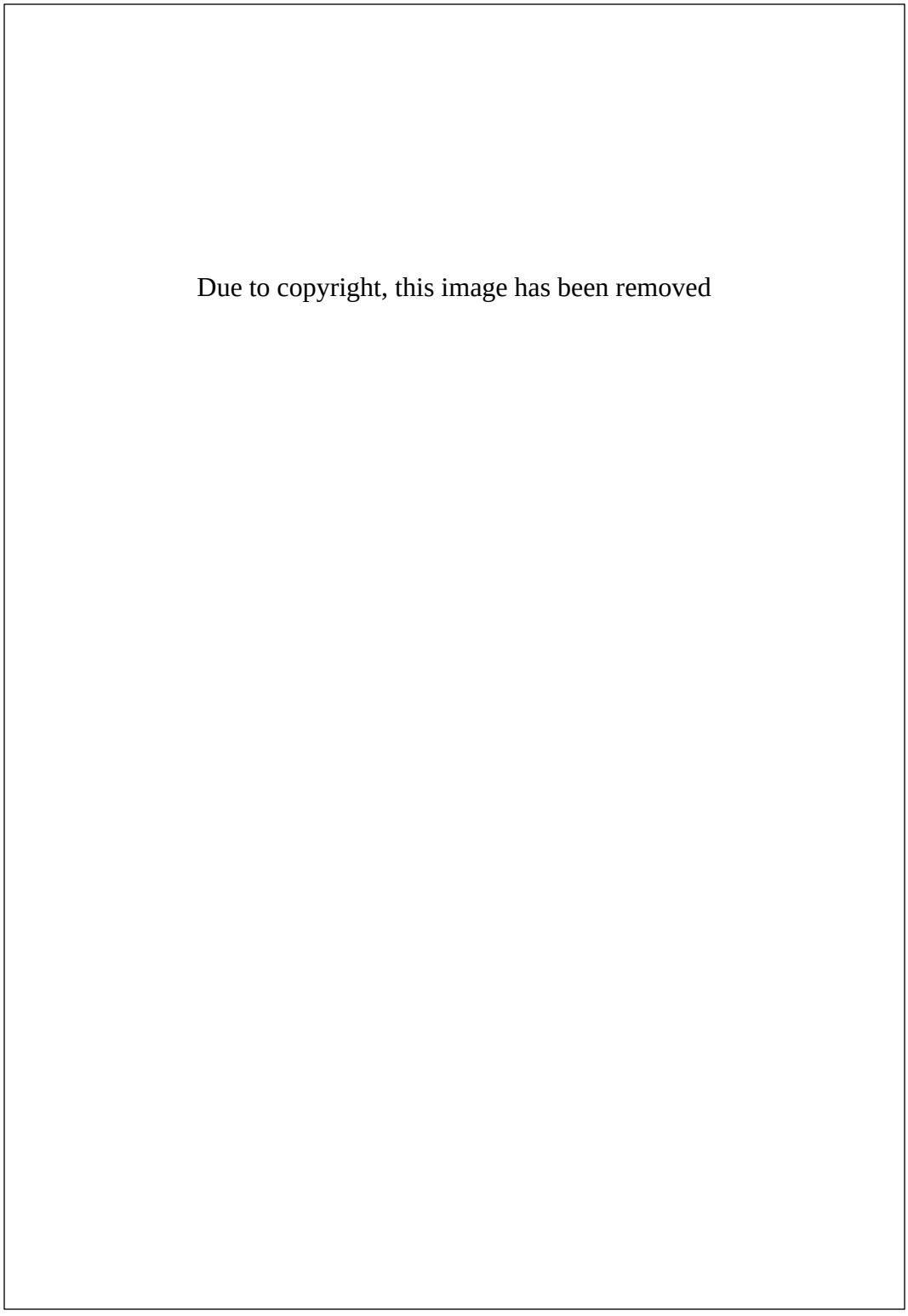


Figure 58 Cities of central Anatolia during the period from Augustus to Hadrian (Mitchell 1993, Map 6).

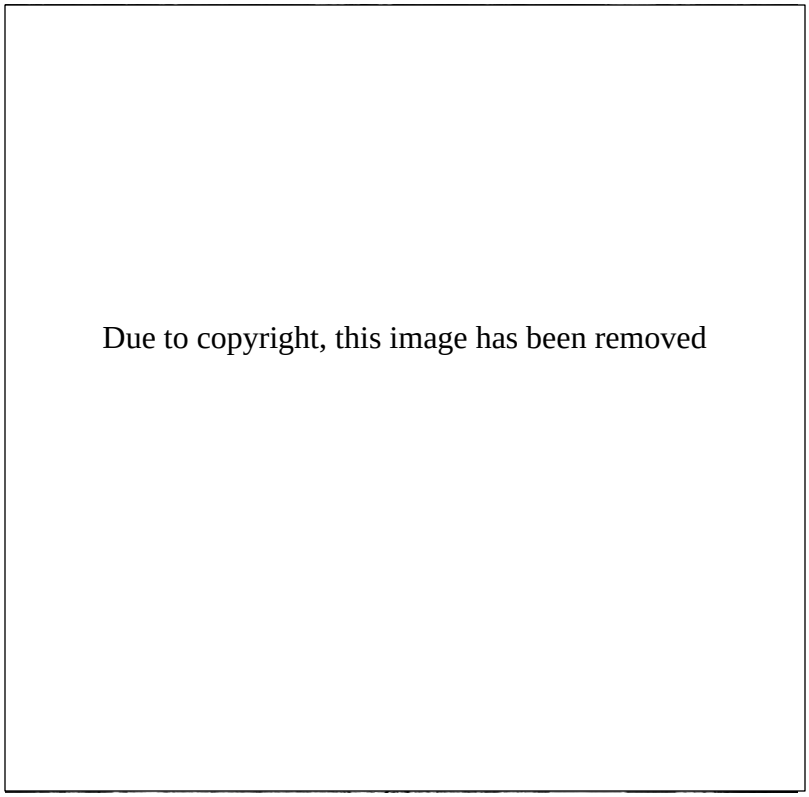


Figure 59 Non-figured funerary stele showing a collection of objects, grey limestone, Roman Imperial period (Kinna) (MAMA XI.250 with photo).

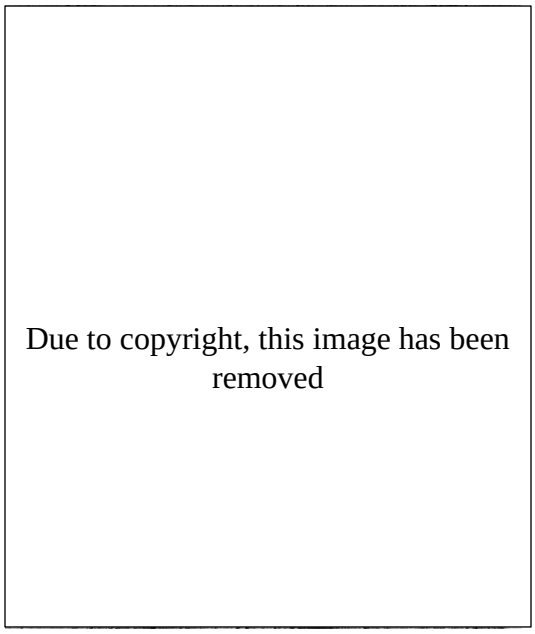


Figure 60 Non-figured funerary stele with inscription and architectural frame, grey limestone, Roman Imperial period (Kinna) (MAMA XI.246 with photo).

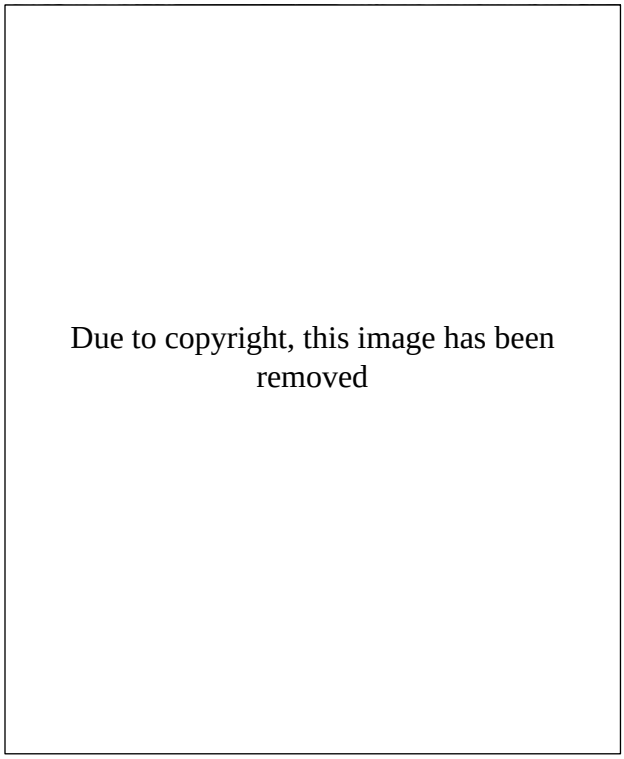


Figure 61 Non-figured funerary stele with incised Maltese cross in field above inscription, trachyte, third or fourth century AD (Kinna) (MAMA XI.229 with photo).

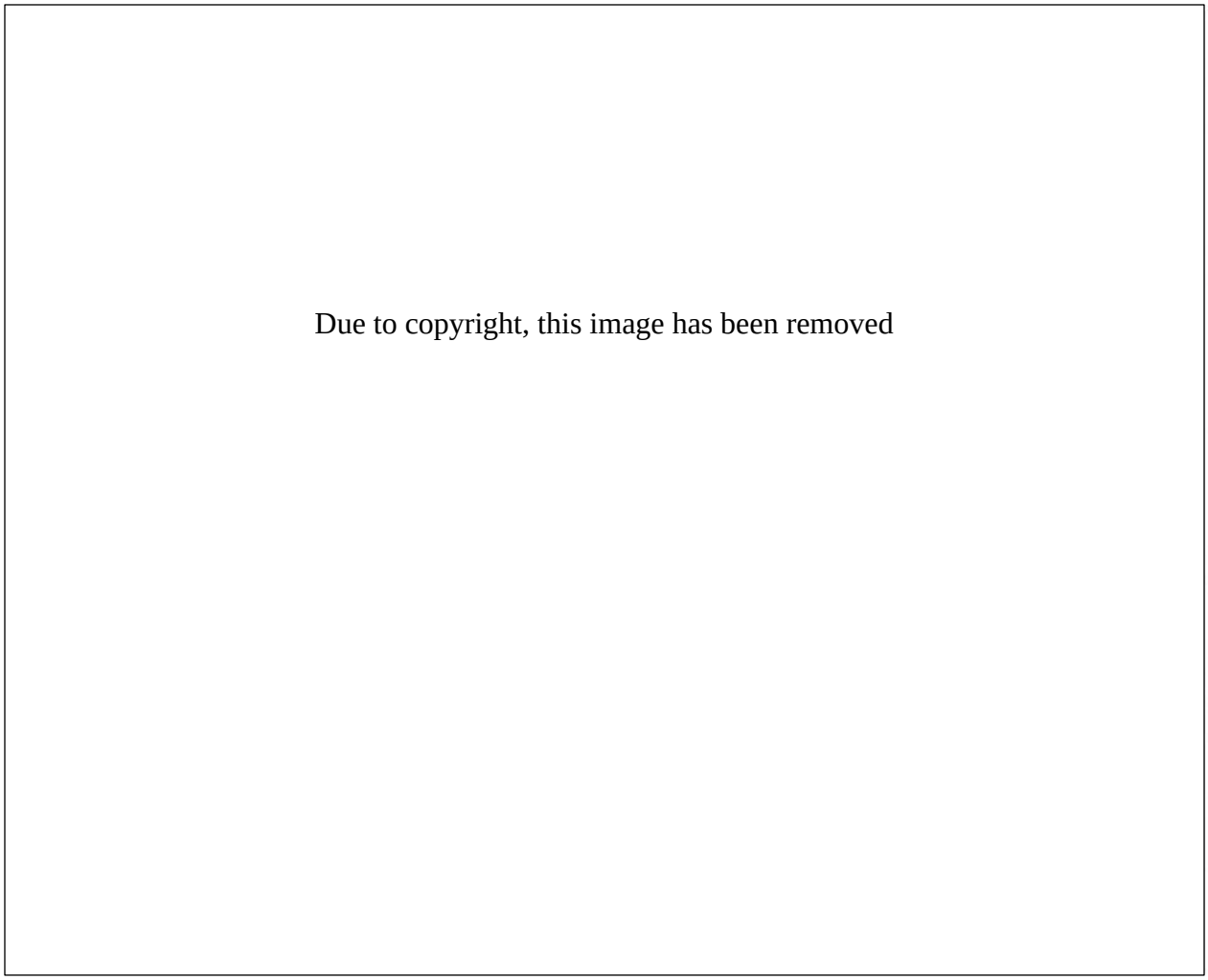


Figure 62 Map of Asia Minor showing the geographic distribution of funerary monuments inscribed with occupation or titles from the IK series (Ahrens 2017, Fig. 8.3).

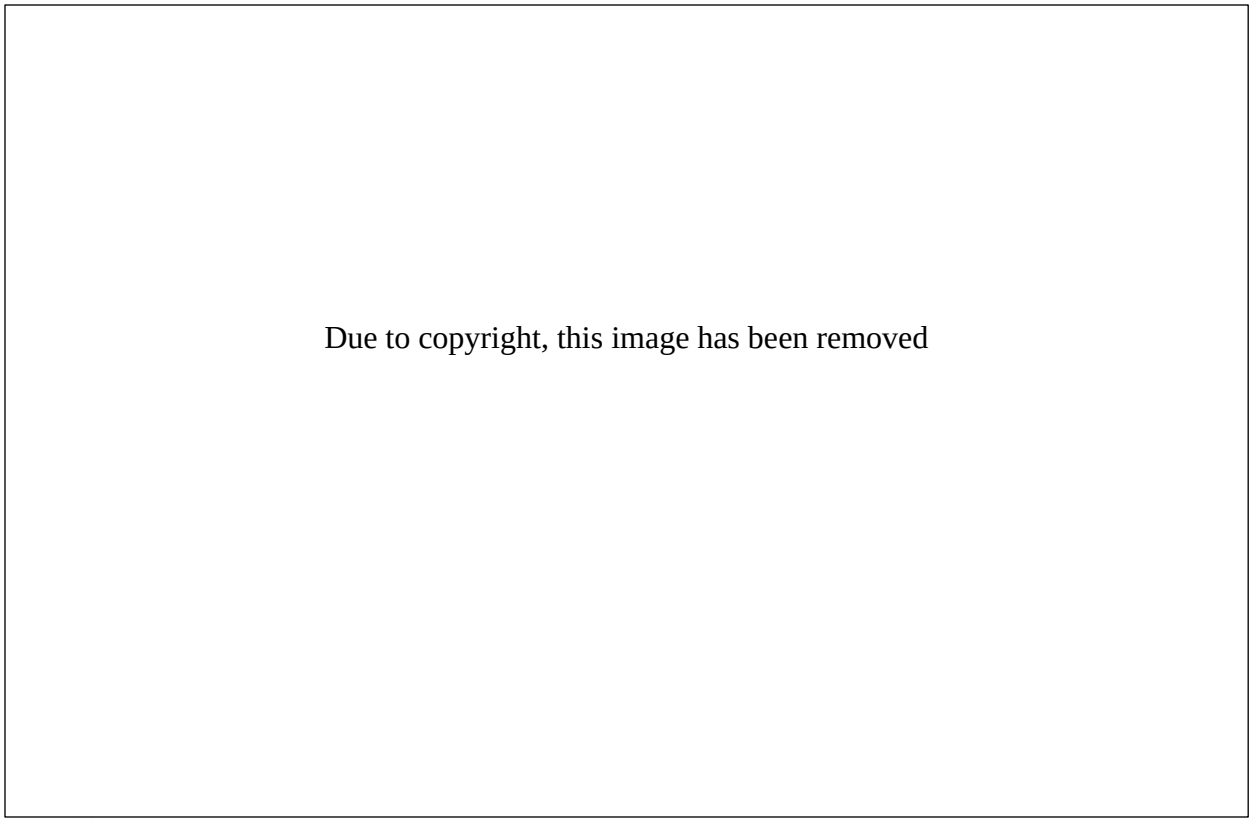


Figure 63 Graphs showing funerary stelai, relief stelai, and reliefs compared to other funerary monuments with occupation inscriptions from Asia Minor (Ahrens 2017, Fig. 8.8).

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

FIGURED FUNERARY STELAI FROM ROMAN-PERIOD ANATOLIA, 100 BC TO AD 400: REGIONAL CONSIDERATIONS OF CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC EXPRESSIONS IN FUNERARY CONTEXTS

VOLUME II: CATALOGUE

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

SYDNEY CAROL TAYLOR

LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD

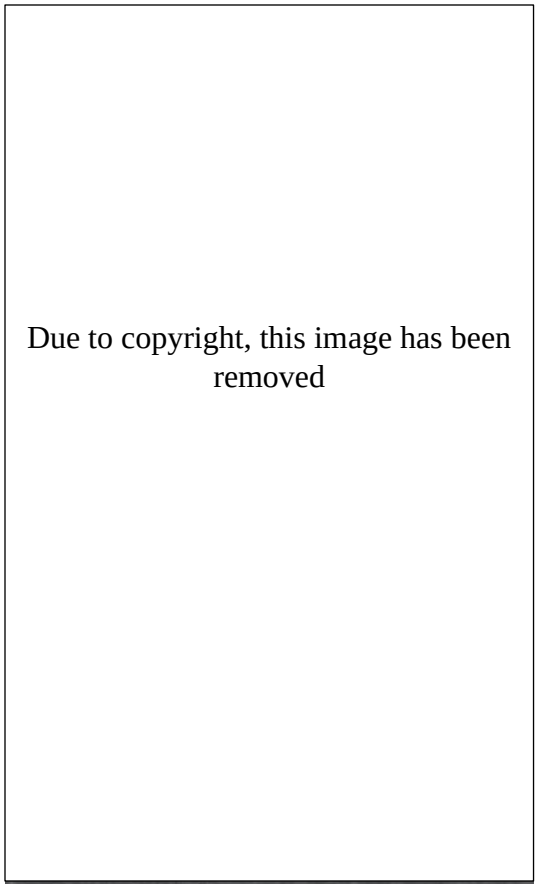
TRINITY TERM 2019

A. Bithynia-Pontus

NIKOMEDIA

1. Stele of M. Gavillius Rufus. 2nd century AD

Izmit Museum inv. no. 5. Found in the west necropolis in Izmit. Marble. H: 116, W: 58, D: 21cm.
Literature: Şahin 1974, No. 20 (Fig.); Robert 1978, 423; *TAM* IV.120; Cremer 1992, NK 12.



Relief field: Below the pediment and between the column-like frames with Ionic capitals appears, above, a male figure in a *himation* reclining on a *kline* with ornate legs, his chin resting on his left hand. In front of the couch stands a tripod table. Beneath this is a ship.

Inscription:

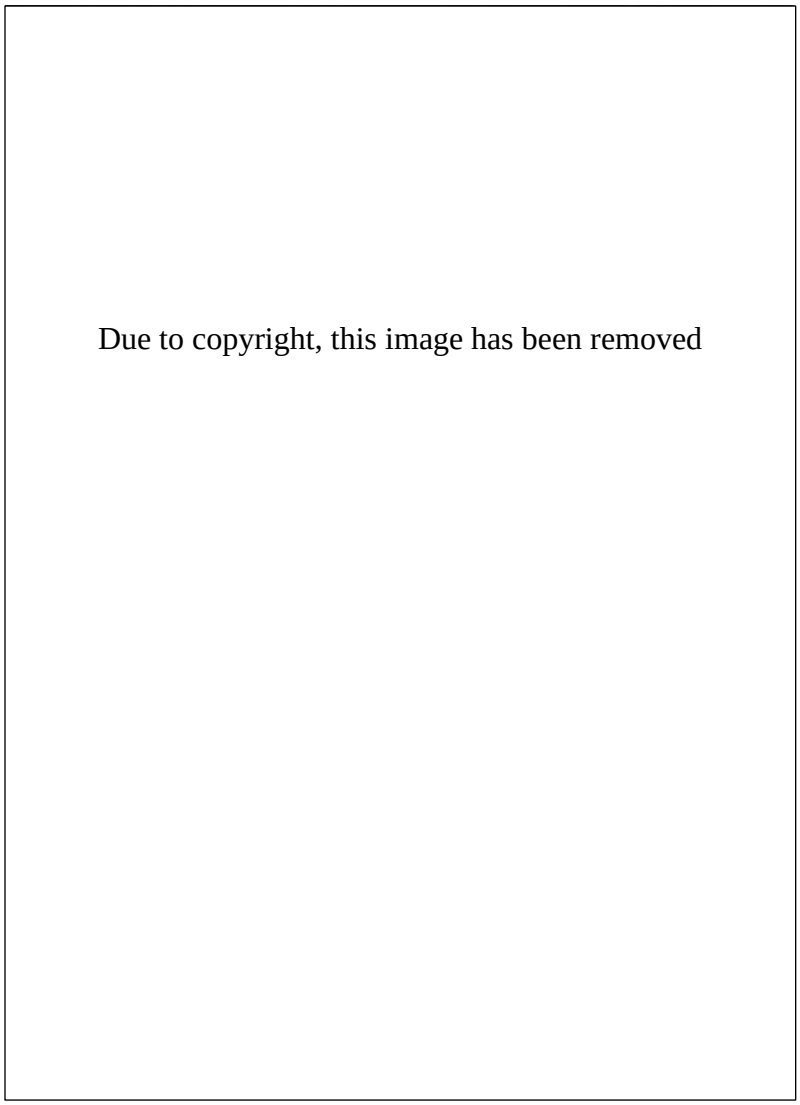
Μ. Γαβίλλιος Ῥοῦφος ζῶν ἑ[αυτῷ].

M. Gavillius Rufus while living (made this) for himself.

Date based upon relief and script (Cremer).

2. Stele with arch of/for Menekrates. Late 1st century BC.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum inv. no. 678. Found in the environs of Izmit. Broken at top and bottom. White large-grain marble. H: 32, W: 19, D: 6cm.
Literature: PM 212 Pl. 42.



Relief field: A male figure stands in a typical pose. At far right a small male servant stands in a pose of mourning (one hand lifted to face, other crossing body).

Inscription:

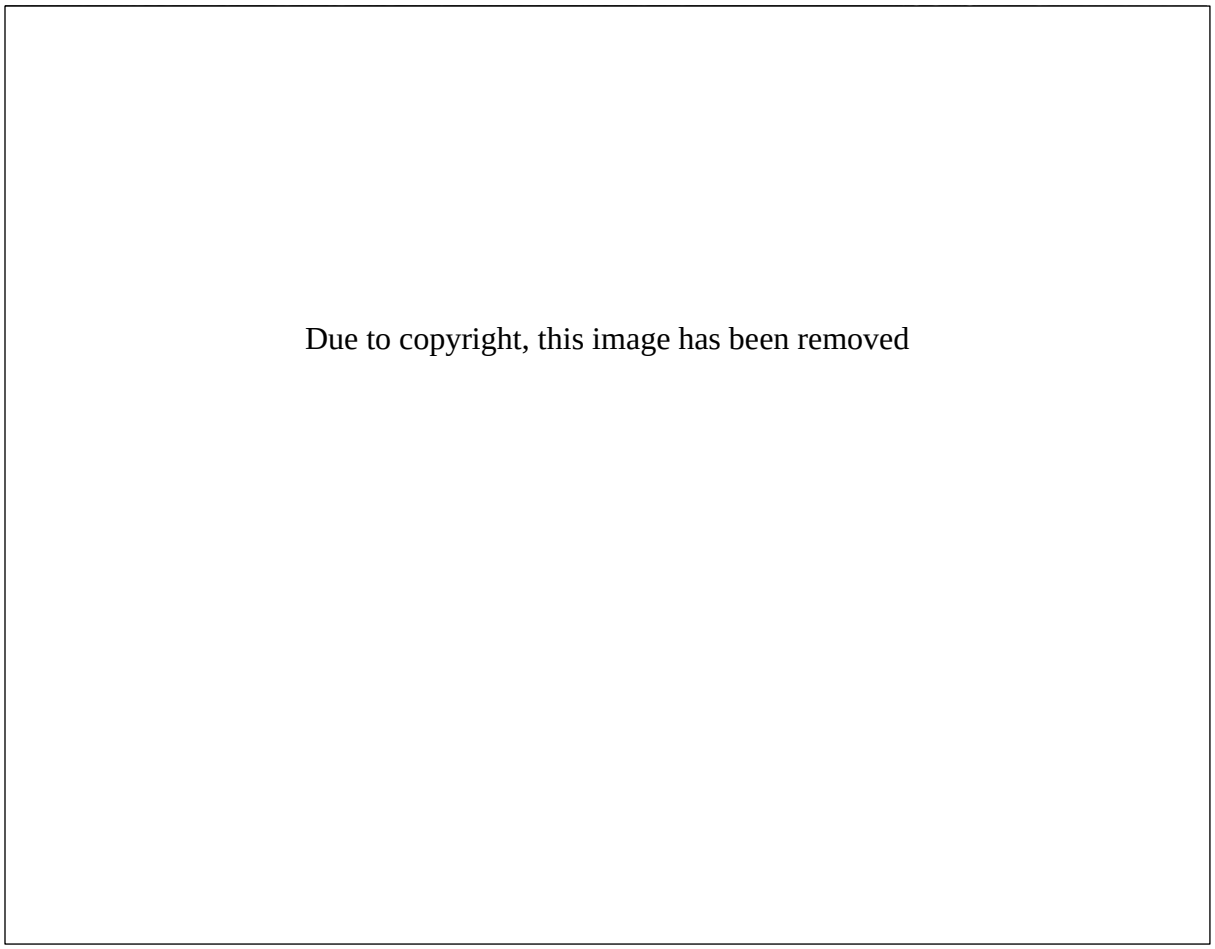
Μενεκράτης Ἡρα/κλεί ------ δου.

Menekrates Heraklei---

Date based upon relief and script (PM).

3. Stele. Late 1st century BC.

Unknown (once in Istanbul, in the German Hospital). Found in Nikomedia (Izmit). Broken off on all sides around relief panel. White marble. H: 112, W: 135, D: 16cm.
Literature: PM 674 Pl. 101; Cremer 1992, NKP 10.

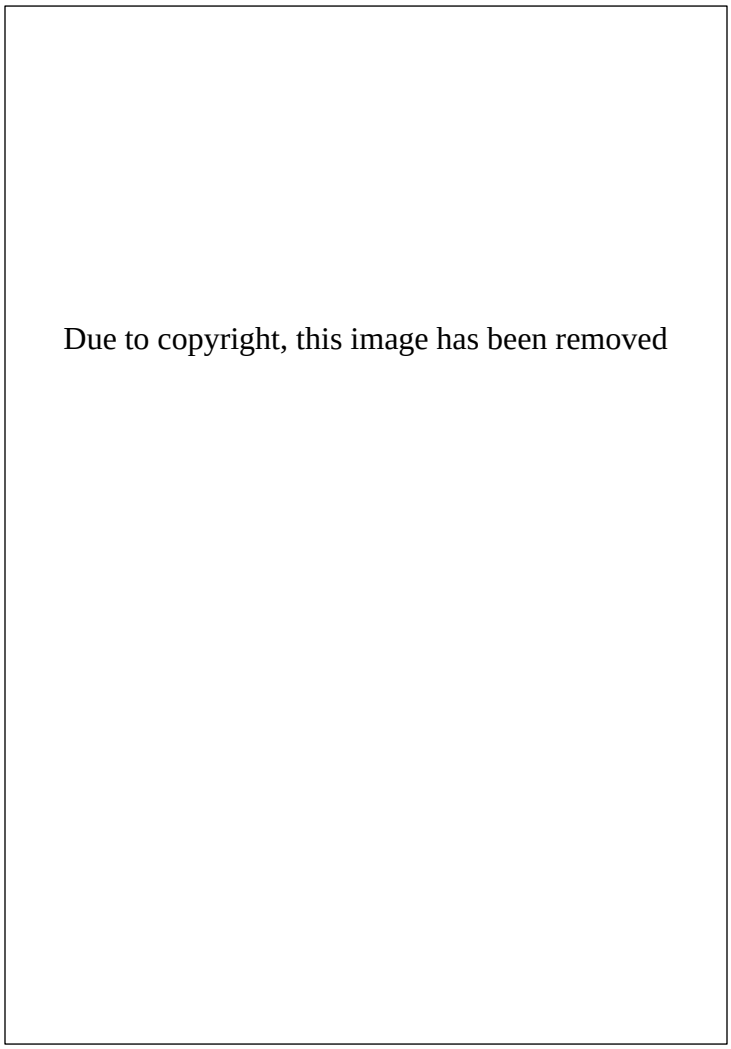


Relief field: The surviving panel shows four frontal figures. Two men stand at right in typical poses, and at left stand two veiled women. The woman at viewer's right is a *Pudicitia*-type, while the one at left is a Herculanean-type. These four figures are flanked by two small servants at the far edges, one female (left) and one male (right).

No surviving inscription.

Date based upon relief (PM; Cremer).

4. Naiskos stele for Artemisia, Aquila, and Iulios Tryphon. 1st century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum inv. no. 190. Found in environs of Izmit. Upper right corner broken off.
White large-grain marble. H: 140, W: 92, D: 11cm.
Literature: PM 675 Pl. 102; Öğüt-Polat and Şahin 1985, No. 36; *TAM* IV.214; Cremer 1992, P 2.



Relief field: Four figures stand frontal. At centre, two men stand in a typical pose, flanked by a *Pudicitia*-type woman (left) and a Herculanean-type (right). At far right stands a small-scale female attendant.

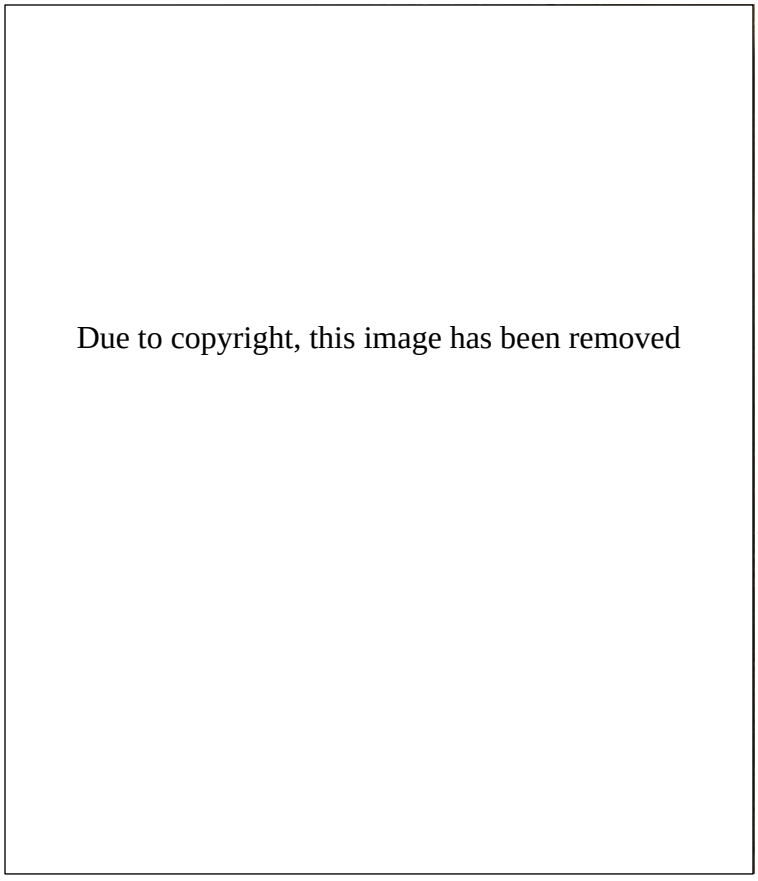
Inscription:

Ὑγεία τῇ μητρὶ Ἀρτεμεισία καὶ Ἀκύλᾳ καὶ Ἰουλίῳ Τρύφω[νι . . .] / χαίρετ[ε].

Eugeia for her mother Artemisia and Aquila and Iulios Tryphon, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (PM; Cremer).

5. Naiskos stele for Dexiphanos, Thrason, and Hermes. Antonine period.
Louvre Museum. Found in Nikomedia (Izmit). Horizontal break along topmost section of pediment. White marble. H: 45, W: 40, D: 5cm.
Literature: PM 152 Pl. 34; Robert 1978, 395-398; *TAM* IV.134; Cremer 1992, NKP 9; Marek 2003, 126 Fig. 183.



Relief field: A frontal male with an Antonine-period beard in an ungirded *chiton* stands flanked by two small boys depicted as adults in *himatia*.

Inscription:

> Θράσων Διογένους τήνδε ἀνέστησεν στυλ/λεῖδαν υἱῶν Β- Δεξιφάνους ἐτῶν ε΄ Θράσωνος / ἐτῶν δ΄Ἑρμῆ θρέψαντος αὐτῶη ἐτῶν κε΄ ἐν τῇ συνπτώσε[ι] / τοῦ σεισ/μοῦ οὕ/τως αὐ/τὰ περιει/λήψεις.
>
> *Thrason Diogenos raised up this small stele for his sons – Dexiphanos aged 5 years, Thrason aged 4 years, and Hermes their tutor aged 25 years, in the collapse during the earthquake he held them in this way.*

Few of the inscriptions from the present case-study group record the cause of death.

Date based upon hairstyle of the central male figure (PM; Marek).

6. Naiskos stele of Apollas. Roman Imperial period.
Izmit Museum (?). Found in Nikomedia (Izmit). Marble. No measurements.
Literature: PM 1044.

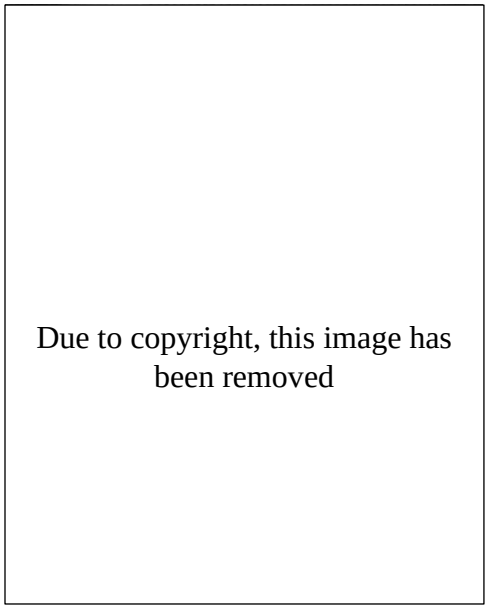
Relief field: A man standing, holding a wreath above a seated woman.

Inscription:

Ἀπόλλας Σουσάννη Τροφίδης.

Date based upon relief and script (PM)

7. Naiskos stele. 3rd century AD.
Izmit Museum inv. no. 603. Found in Izmit. Diagonal break (with modern restoration?) across bottom. Marble. H: 69, W: 57, D: 10cm.
Literature: Şahin 1974, No. 22; *TAM* IV.161; Cremer 1992, NKP 3 (Figure).



Relief field: Two busts, a female at the left and a male at the right. The surviving rounded lower section of the female figure indicates a technical bust form, reinforced by a *tabula* at the base. The corresponding section of the male half-figure has broken off.

Inscription:

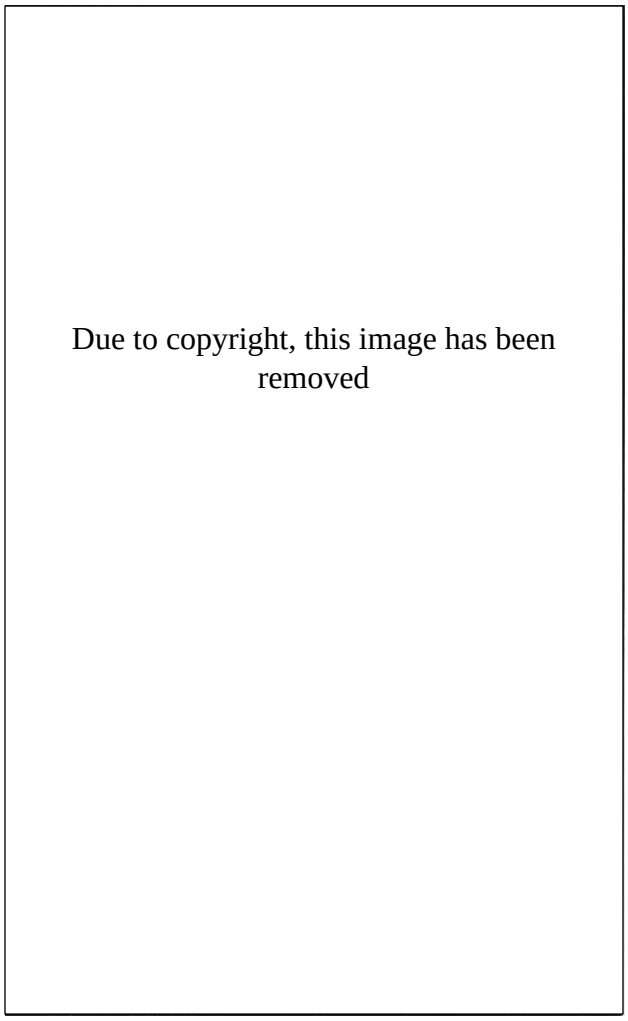
ἡδὺ βίωσαν μοίρας, τύχης ἔθανον

They lived pleasantly with the Fates, with good fortune they died.

Date based upon relief and hairstyles (Cremer).

8. Stele of Dionysios and Eia. 2nd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum inv. no. 208. Found in Izmit (?). Lower right portion of stele broken off. White large-grain marble. H: 160, W: 88, D: 20cm.
Literature: PM 576 Pl. 91; Corsten 1991, No. 106; Cremer 1992, P 9.



Relief field: Two figures stand frontal. The man is rendered in the normal pose with a Trajanic hairstyle, and the veiled woman is a Herculanean-type, her right arm partly crossing her body, head turned slightly to the right. At the left stands a small female servant holding a vessel.

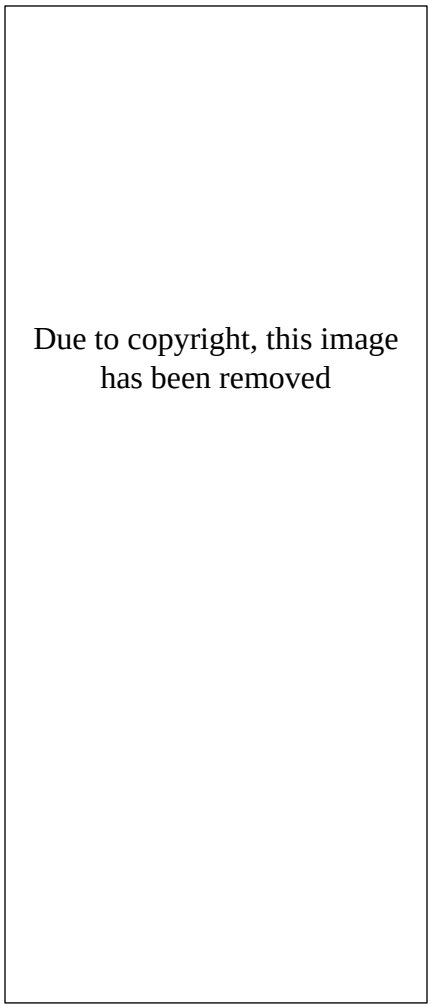
Inscription:

> Διονύσιος Διονυσίου ζῶν / ἑαυτῷ τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν / καὶ Εἴᾳ τῇ γυναικί. χαῖρε
>
> *Dionysios son of Dionysios had this tomb made while living for himself and his wife Eia. Farewell.*

Date based upon relief and script (PM; Corsten; Cremer).

9. Stele for Servandinus Avitus. 2nd century AD.

Izmit Museum (garden), no inv. no. Found in 1976 in the district of Zeytinlik Mahallesi (Izmit), in an area of the western necropolis. The right edge of the stele is broken off and missing. Limestone. H: 1.16, W: 45, D: 9cm.
Literature: Schwertheim, Şahin, and Schwertheim 1977, No. 8 Pl. 7.c.



Relief field: A male figure in *chiton* and chlamys stands frontal bearing a lance and small round shield.

Inscription: Fragmentary.

D(is) M(anibus) / Servandin[o] / Avito mil[iti] / leg(ionis) XXX U(lpiae) v(ictricis) st[ip(endiorum)] / XX, vixit an[n(is)] / XX [X --] Se[rvandinus] [ ]

To the spirits of the dead. For Servandinus Avitus soldier of the 30th Legion Ulpius Victrix. He served for 20 years, he lived for 30[?] years. . .

The U(lpiae) v(ictricis) is a later insertion, the unit known from another inscription in Bursa (Dörner 1941, no. 132) but with the honours *pia fidelis Antoniniana*, acquired probably after AD 196 (RE 23, 1314). This stele pre-dates this, perhaps to the Parthian campaigns of Trajan between AD 114-117 (Şahin and Schwertheim 1977). Also is unlikely that Servandinus Avitus enrolled at age ten, so we may assume he was older than thirty, where the stele breaks off.

10. Stele of Ti. Claudius Oclatius Dionysios. Imperial period.
"Ebenda, Friedhof, verbaut als Eckstein an Treppenwange" (Cremer 1992, NKP 6). Found in Izmit. Marble. H: 105, W: 36cm.
Literature: Dörner 1952, No. 101; Cremer 1992, NKP 6.

Relief field: A male figure seated on a *diphros* in a 'philosophical pose,' with his left hand under his chin, across from a female figure, a scroll on a table.

Inscription:

Τι. Κλ. Ὀκλάτιος / Διονύσιος μα/θηματικὸς ζ[ή-]/σας ἔτη μ΄. Χ[αι-]́ρετε.

Ti. Claudius Oclatius Dionysios, fond of learning, aged 40 years. Farewell.

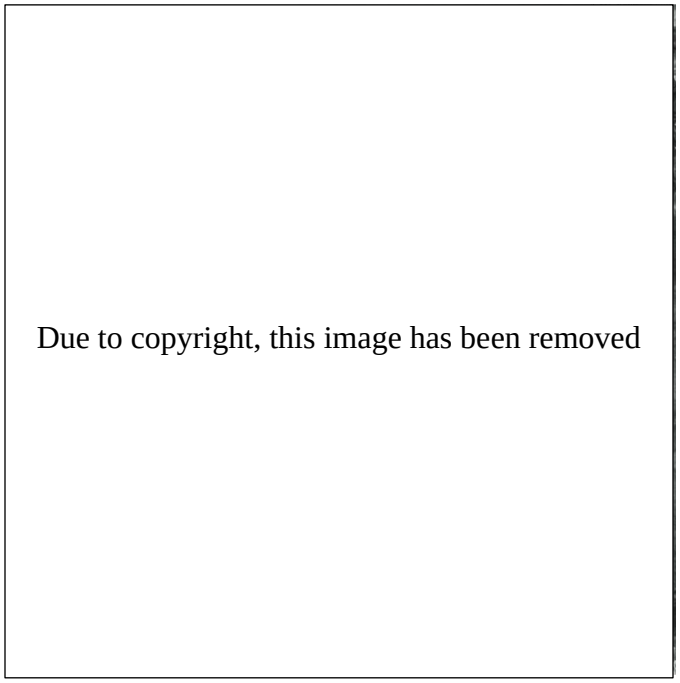
Date based upon relief and name of the individual (Cremer).

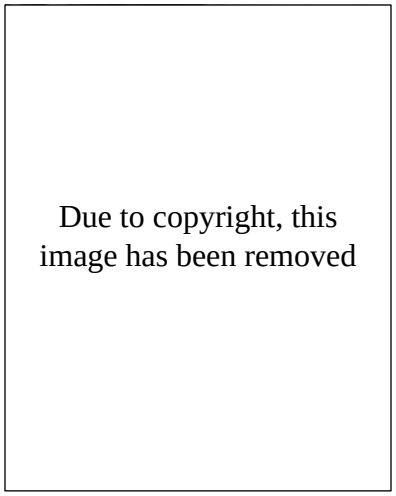
NIKAIA

11. Rectangular naiskos stele for Fausta and Aza. 1st century AD?

Iznik Museum, inv. no. 1974. Found in the area of Inikli, northwest of Iznik. Upper right corner broken off. White marble. H: 108, W: 95, D: 19cm.

Literature: PM 1656 Pl. 242; Şahin 1979, No. 224 Pl. 22; SEG 29.1289.





Relief field: A banquet scene framed by columns with Ionic capitals, with a male figure reclining on a *kline* with elaborately moulded legs, raising a wreath in his right hand, behind the head of a female figure at the left, and holding a vessel in his left. A veiled female figure sits on the end of the *kline*, frontal, her right arm crossing her chest to her mantle, her left resting in her lap. Her feet rest on an elongated raised step in front of the *kline*. At the left a small-scale female servant lifts up a casket towards the woman. At the right end of the *kline*, a smaller-scale female figure (veiled?) sits frontally on a chair, in the same *Pudicitia* pose as the larger-scale woman, and at the far right a second servant, male, stands frontal in a short *chiton*. A curtain hangs from three pillars in the background.

Inscription: Two separate inscriptions below the relief, under each female figure.

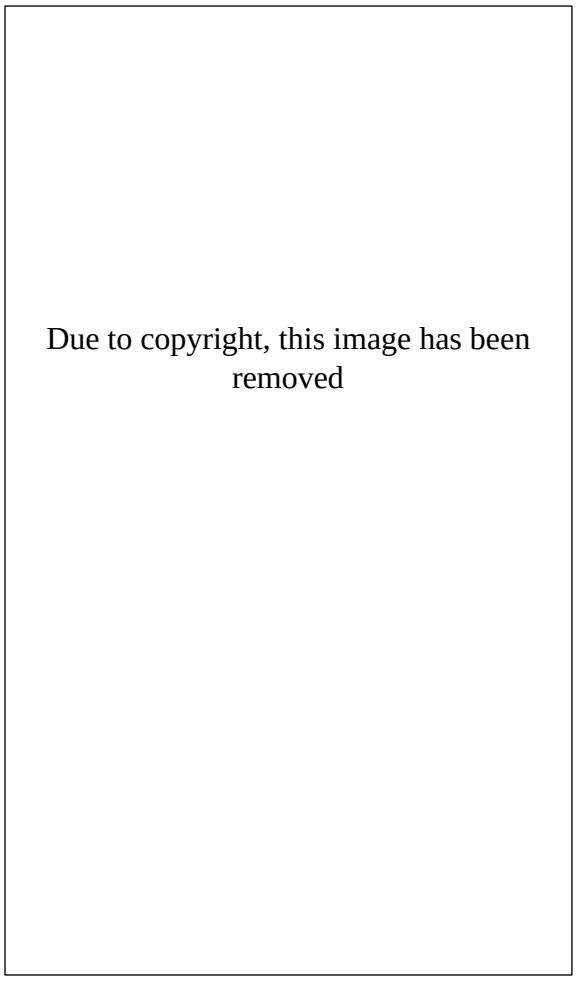
Φαῦστα Ἀγρύπνου, γυνὴ / δὲ Ἀπολλωνίδου / ζήσασα κοσμίως.

Ἄζα Ἀπολλωνίδου / - - - - ἐτῶν η΄

Fausta, daughter of Agrupn(i)os, wife of Apollonidos, having lived a well-ordered life. Aza, daughter of Apollonidos, . . . aged 8.

Date proposed based upon relief and script (PM).

12. Pediment stele with akroteria of Alexandros. 1st century AD.
Iznik Museum, without inv. no. Found 1.5km southwest of Gürmüzlü, near Iznik, in a field. Marble. H: 130, W: 66, D: 20cm.
Literature: Şahin 1979, No. 197 Pl. 18; SEG 29.1297.



Relief field: A frontal standing male figure, in a typical pose.

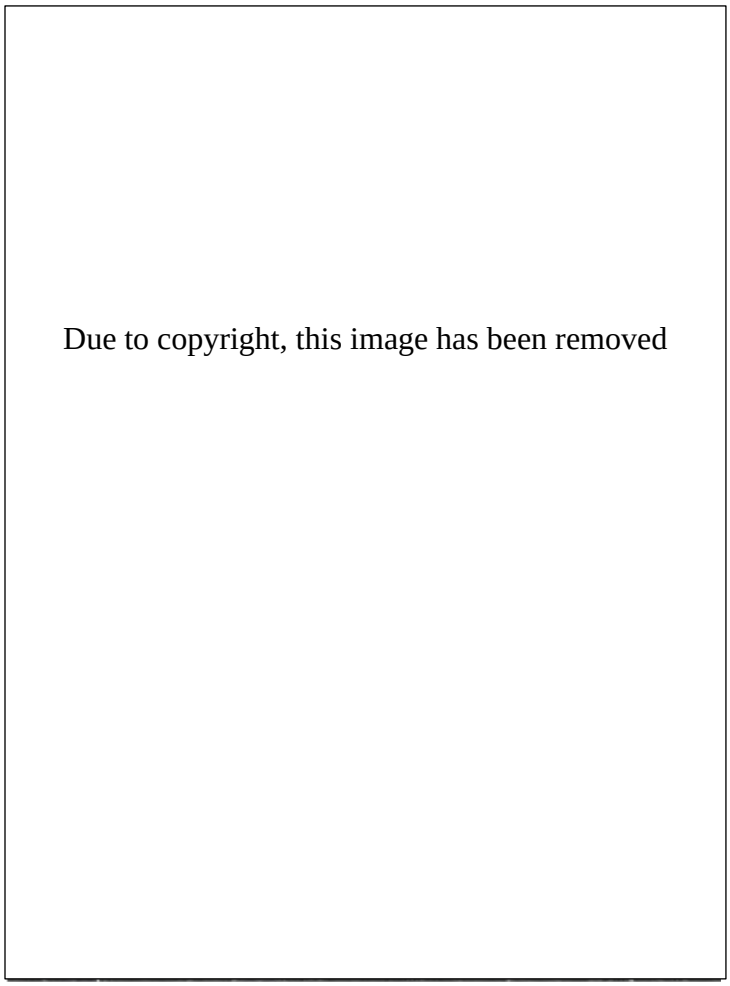
Inscription:

> Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀσσ(κ)λη/πειοδότου λαχανοπώ/λης ἄρξας τῆς τέχνης / τὸ μνημεῖον ἐκ τῶν εἰδί/ων ζήσας ἔτη λε΄
>
> *Alexandros, son of Assklepeiodotos,* lachanopoles *first in skill, (set up) the memorial from his own means, aged 35 years.*

The deceased here was probably head of a local greengrocer's association.

Date based upon relief and script (Şahin).

13. Naiskos stele for Poplios and Kaikilia. 2nd/3rd century AD.
Iznik Museum, inv. no. 2211. Found in Boyalıca near Iznik. Marble. H: 112, W: 65, D: 13cm.
Literature: Şahin 1979, No. 201 Pl. 19; Cremer 1992, NK 1.



Relief field: Banquet scene with a reclining male figure raising a wreath.

Inscription: Three fields, first inside pediment, second under the pediment border, and third on the upper frame.

Πόπλις Ἀχαικοῦ ζήσας ἔτη νε΄
[καὶ γυνὴ] Καικιλ[ία]
χαῖρε

Popli(o)s son of Axaikos, age 55, and his wife Kaikilia, farewell.

Date proposed based upon relief (Cremer).

14. Stele for Skorpos. Roman Imperial period.
Unknown. Found in Nikaia. Marble. No measurements recorded
Literature: PM 300.

Relief field: A standing male figure.

Inscription:

> Στρ[ατ]ονίκη Σκόρπῳ ἰδίῳ / ἀνδρὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μνήμης / [χ]άριν
>
> *Stratonike for Skorpos her own husband out of her own (resources), in memory.*

Date suggested based upon relief (PM).

15. Naiskos stele for Telesphoros. 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2569 (old 324). Found in Iznik. Surface of relief field damaged. White marble. H: 101, W: 47, D: 14cm.
Literature: PM 784 Pl. 115; Şahin 1979, No. 194; Cremer 1992, NKP 1.

Relief field: A frontal male figure stands on a statue base holding a *diptychon*.

Inscription:

> Τελεσφόρος καὶ / Εἰρήνη τ[έκνῳ] ἰδίῳ / Τελεσφ[όρῳ μ]νεί/ας χάριν [ζήσα]ντι / ἔτη ζ΄. χαῖρε.
>
> *Telesphoros and Eirene for their own son Telesphoros in memory, aged 7. Farewell.*

Dated based upon relief (PM; Cremer).

16. Stele of Andron. 2nd century AD.
Iznik Museum, inv. no. 796. Found in the environs of Iznik. Marble. H: 68, W: 70, D: 13cm.
Literature: Şahin 1979, No. 280; Cremer II 1992, NKP 2.

Relief field: A man stands in a typical pose with a *diptychon*.

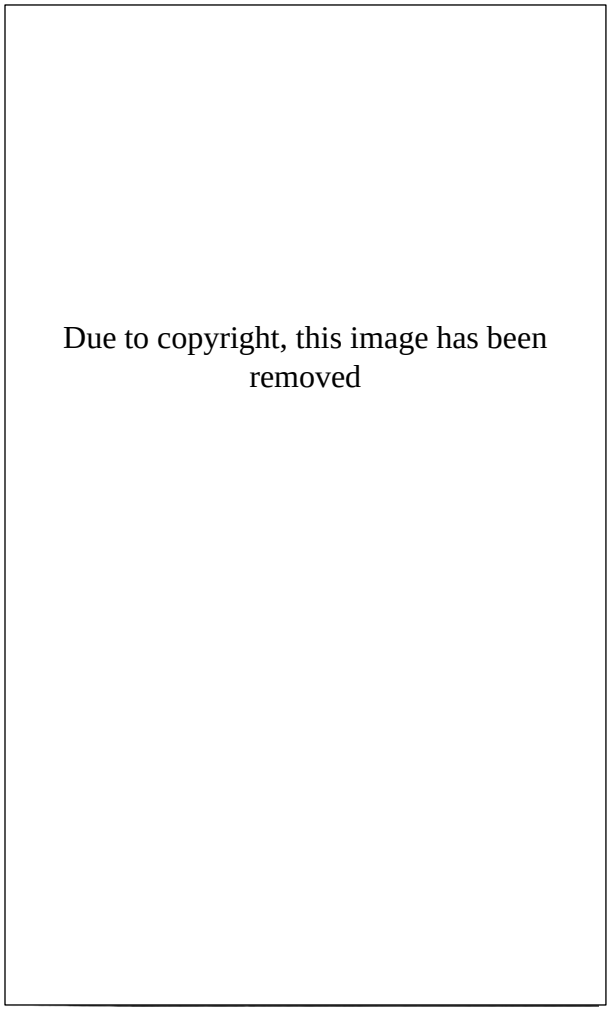
Inscription:

Ἀνδρων Ζωίλου / ζήσας ἔτη κη΄

Andron (son) of Zoilos having lived 28 years.

Date based upon relief (Cremer).

17. Stele for Markos and Prima. 3rd century AD.
At the school in Söğüt (?). Found during construction of the school. Marble. H: 111, W: 62, D: 20cm.
Literature: Şahin 1982, No. 1382 Pl. 19.



Relief field: A standing male figure, holding a round shield, and in his left a short sword. To the upper left of the figure's head is what may be a mask, helmet, or parade helmet.

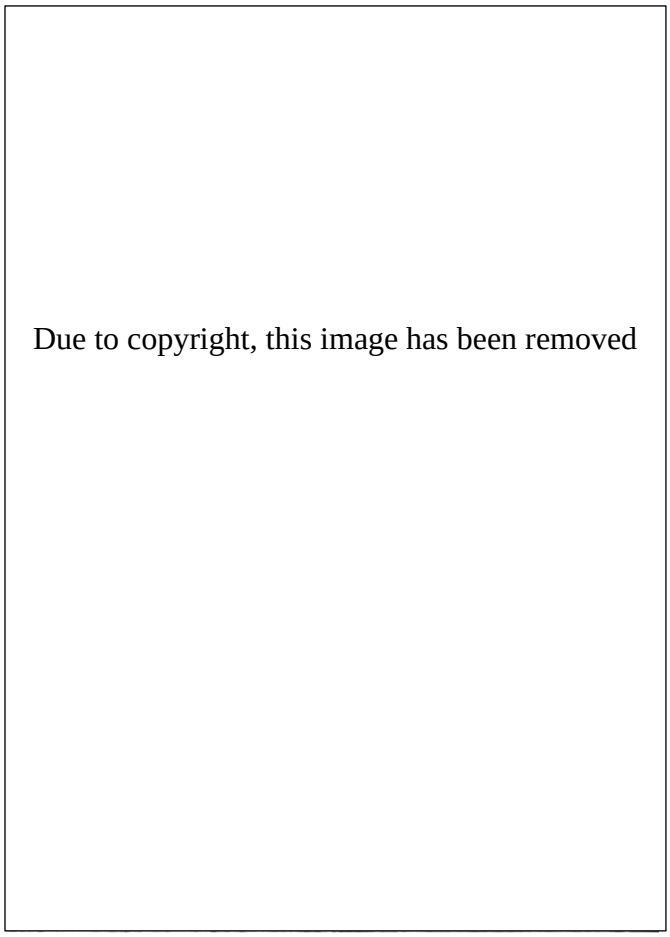
Inscription:

Αὐρήλιος Ἀν/τίπατρος στρα/τιώτης λεγιῶνος / δ' Σκυθικῆς Μάρ/κῳ καὶ Πρείμῃ γονεῦ/σι γλυκυτάτοις / μνήμης χάριν τὴν στήλ/λην ἀνέστησα. / Ἀυρηλία Σα[---

Aurelios Antipater, soldier of the (4th) Scythian legion, for Markos and Prima his sweetest parents raised this stele in memory. Aurelia . . .

Date based upon Aurelii names.

18. Pediment stele with *akroteria* of Philon. Roman Imperial period.
Iznik Museum, inv. no. 804. Found in Iznik? Marble. H: 85, W: 58, D: 11cm.
Literature: Şahin 1979, No. 196 Pl. 18; SEG 28.1034.



Relief field: Within a recessed field, below an inscription, is an incised male figure in a *chiton* at a plough pulled by two oxen. At right appears a sickle/pruning knife and hoe (?).

Inscription:

Φίλων, Κλαυδίας / Γαλλίτης οικονόμος / ζήσας ἔτη ξα΄

Philon, estate manager of Claudia Gallitta, having lived 61 years.

This is one of two stelai commemorating estate-managers from the territory of Roman-period Nikaia (together with **20**).

Date based upon relief and script (Şahin).

19. Stele of Olympias. Roman Imperial period.
Iznik Museum. Found in the environs of Iznik. Marble. H: 48, W: 37, D: 6.5cm.
Literature: Şahin 1979, No. 225; Corsten 1987, No. 108; Cremer 1992, NKP 8.

Relief field: A veiled woman is shown seated on a backless chair, her left hand resting in her lap. Her features are portrait-like in the deep lines etched in her face, and the prominent nose.

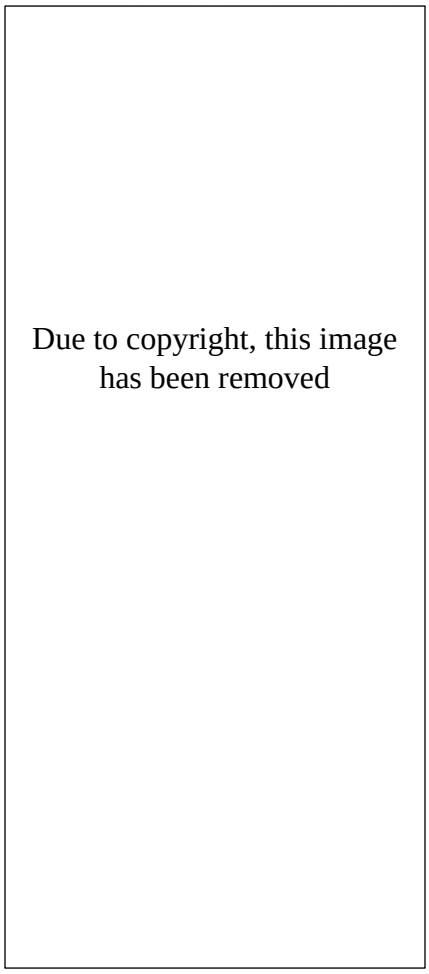
Inscription:

Ὀλυμπιάς, Διονυσίου / γυνὰ, ἐτῶν οε΄ . χαῖρε

Olympias, wife of Dionysios, age 75. Farewell.

Date based upon relief (Cremer).

20. Naiskos stele with large *akroteria* for Claudius Thallos. Roman Imperial period.
Iznik Museum (garden), without inventory number. Found on the north side of the Sea of Iznik, in the area of Boyalica. Damage to right upper corner. Marble. H: 121, W: 55, D: 15cm.
Literature: Şahin 1979, No. 205 Pl. 20; SEG 29.1306.



Relief field: Within the pediment field, a male half-figure. Below the inscription, a second field, an arch niche between pilasters, was carved out but shows no figures.

Inscription:

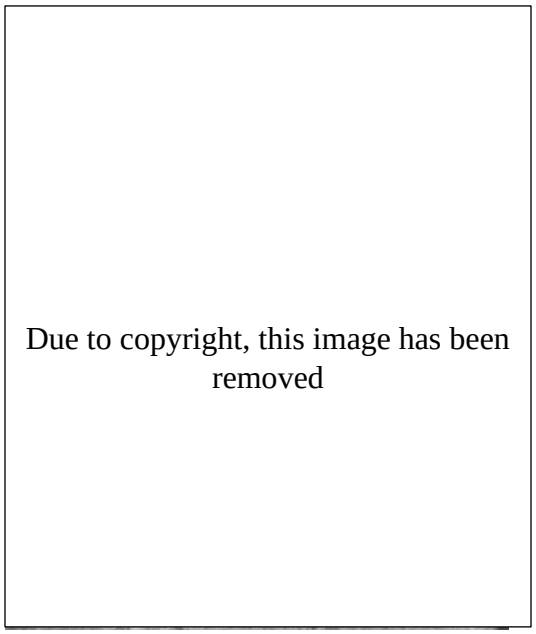
Κλαύδιος Θάλλος, / Γ. Κλαυδίου / Καλπορνια/νοῦ οἰκονόμ/ος, ζήσας / ἔτη ν΄ / Χαῖρε

Claudius Thallos, estate-manager of C. Claudius Calpurnianus, aged 50. Farewell!

Date based upon relief and Latin names (Cremer).

PRUSA AD OLYMPUM

21. Rectangular naiskos stele of Artemo, Timetheos, and Lais. 1st century BC.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 768. Found in Bursa. Marble. H: 72, W: 46.5, D: 14-16cm.
Literature: Mendel 1909, 248; PM 948 Pl. 143; SEG 27.834; Corsten 1991, No. 81.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A banquet scene, with two veiled female figures, seated, flanking a central *kline* with a reclining man, his right hand resting on his raised knee, tripod table standing in front of the *kline*. Three small-scale servants appear, a male standing to the right of the tripod table, and two female figures standing beside each seated woman, the one at left holding a casket, the one at right holding a *kalathos*.
Lower relief: Square field, smaller in size, located below the upper inscription at the left edge of the stele. A veiled woman sits on a low stool, looking right.

Inscription: Two, the first below the upper relief, the second below the lower relief.

Ἀρτ[εμ]ὼ | Τειμοθ[έου]. / Τειμ[ό]θεος | Μήνιδος.

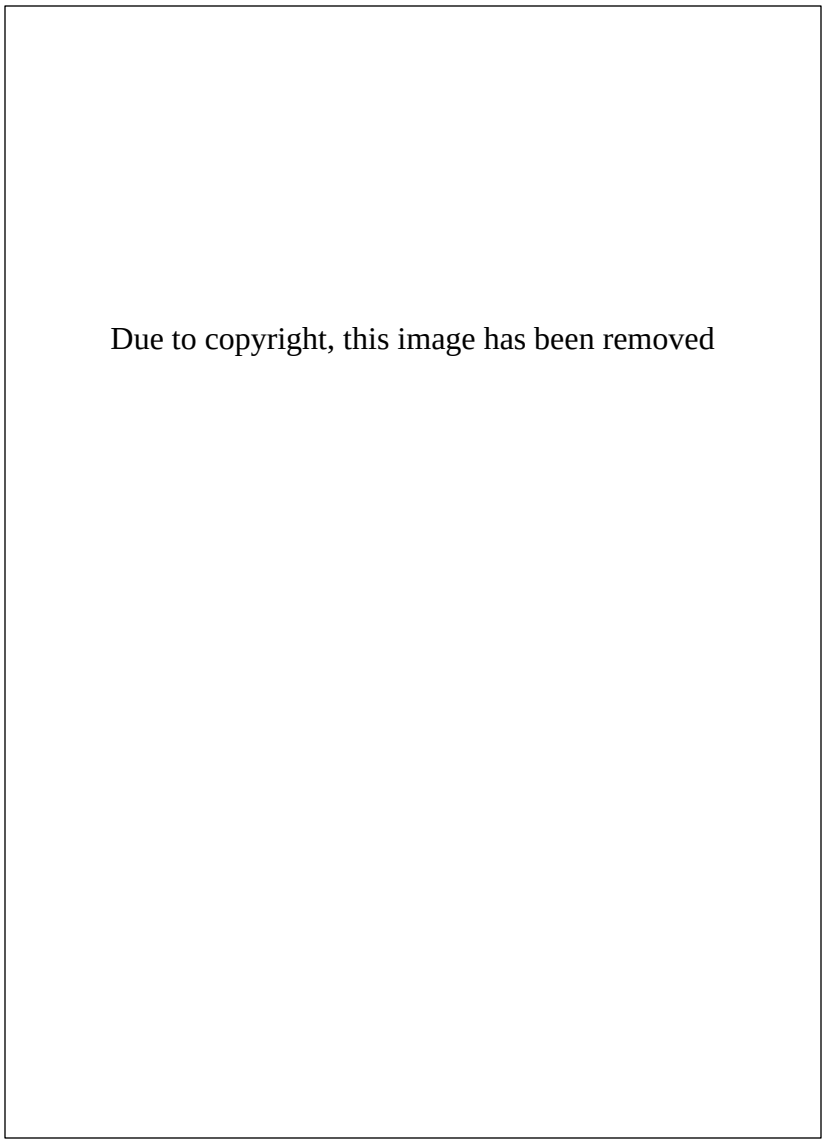
Λαΐ́ς.

Artemo, daughter of Timotheos. Timotheos, son of Menis. Lais.

The connection of Lais, the last name added to the commemoration, to the other two is unclear. In the reconstruction of the family ties proposed by Corsten, Lais may be the wife of Timotheos, mother of Artemo.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

22. Rectangular naiskos stele of the family of Menekrates. 1st century BC.
Bursa Museum (garden), inv. no. 3189. Found in Bursa. Marble. H: 92, W: 59, D: 15cm.
Literature: PM 345 and 345b Pl. 288; SEG 27.1221; SEG 29.1681; Corsten 1991, No. 139.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Banquet scene, with three male figures reclining on a *kline*, the one at the left with his right hand on the shoulder of the central man. The central figure grasps the edge of the couch with his right hand. The left hands of all three male figures hold objects from the two-legged bench-like table standing in front of the *kline*. To the left of the couch sits a veiled female figure on an ornate stool, left hand raised to her mantle, right resting in her lap. Two smaller-scale figures stand in attendance, a male to the right of the table holding a vessel, and a slightly smaller female standing beside the stool at the left.
Lower relief: Two standing frontal male figures in *himatia*, the figure at the left slightly shorter, clasping the right hand of the other figure.

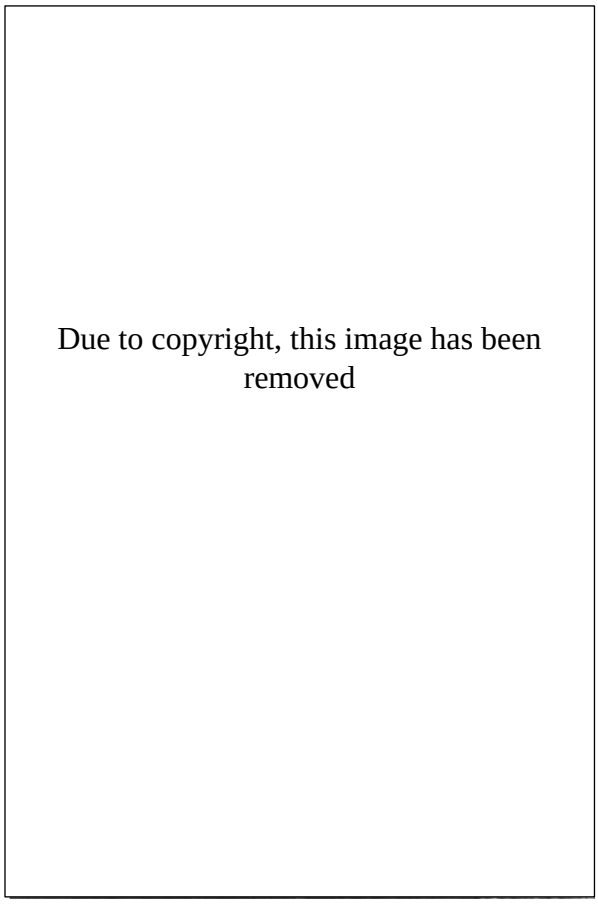
Inscription:

> Μενεκράτηι καὶ Ἄφφη καὶ Μενεκράτηι / Μενεκράτους, χαίρετε. / Μενεκρά/της Ἀσκλη/πιωδώρο / ἐτῶν ἓξ / ν καὶ / Ἄπφους ἐ/τῶν τριῶν.
>
> *Menekrates and Aphphe and Menekrates, the son of Menekrates, farewell. Menekrates, the son of Asklepiodoros, aged 6 years, and Apphus, aged 3 years.*

The stele commemorates a family unit, although the exact ties are not entirely clear.

Date based upon relief and inscription (Corsten).

23. Naiskos stele of Apollothemis. 1st century BC/1st century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2648 (old 5723). Found in İnegöl. Marble. H: 97, W: 64, D: 10cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 76 (Figure).



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Typical banquet scene, with two reclining male figures, flanked by two veiled women seated on back-less chairs. A small female servant stands in front of the woman at the right, holding a cup-like vessel, while a larger male servant or a boy stands in front of the woman at the left.
Lower relief: Smaller than the field above, this shows a horse and rider, looking right.

Inscription:

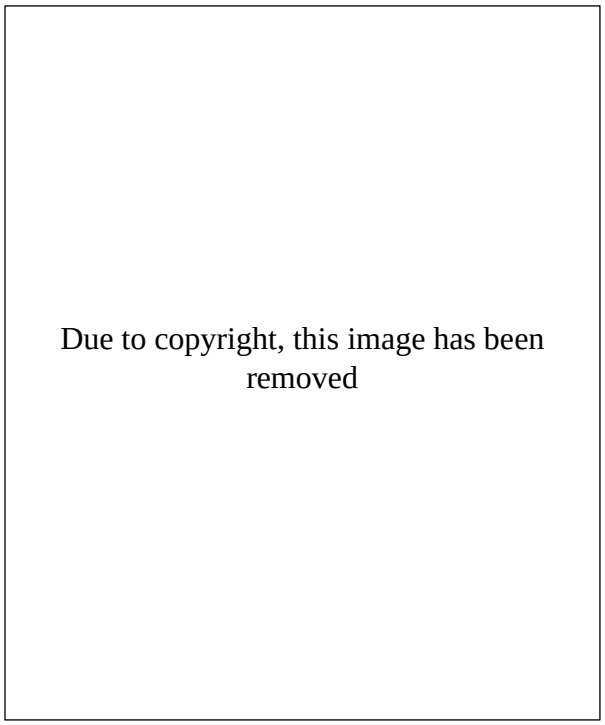
Ἀπολλόθεμι / Μειδίου / ἥρως, χαῖρε. / καὶ σύ, ὦ πα/ροδεῖτα.

Apollothemis, son of Meidias, Heros, farewell! – And you, O passerby.

The inscription includes dialogue between the deceased and passersby.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

24. Rectangular stele of Apphe and Meniskos. 1st century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 9021. Found in Hasanağa Köyü (near Bursa). Marble. H: 63, W: 50, D: 9.5cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 78 (Figure).



Relief field: A typical banquet scene. There is no back on the woman's seat, and two small scale servants accompany the scene.

Inscription: Two lines separated by the relief field.

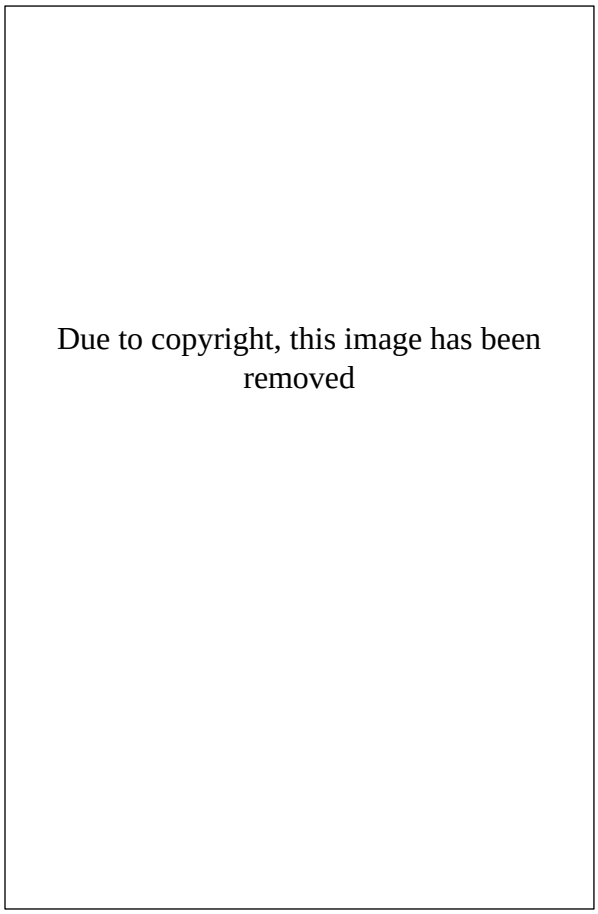
Ἄπφη, Μενίσκου γυνή, χαῖρε.
Μενίσκος Μενίσκ[ου].

Apphe, wife of Meniskos, farewell.
Meniskos, son of Meniskos.

The second line of inscription may represent a secondary interment.

Date based upon the relief and script (Corsten).

25. Stele of Laches. 1st century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2610 (old 3233). Found in Bursa. Broken off above the relief field. Marble. H: 57, W: 32, D: 10cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 129 (Figure).



Relief field: A banquet scene, with a central male reclining figure, and a veiled female figure seated at the left. Three small-scale servants also appear in the scene, a male and female servant each flanking the central *kline*, and another male servant standing in front of the woman. The male servant at the far right stands with a krator on the ground in front of him.

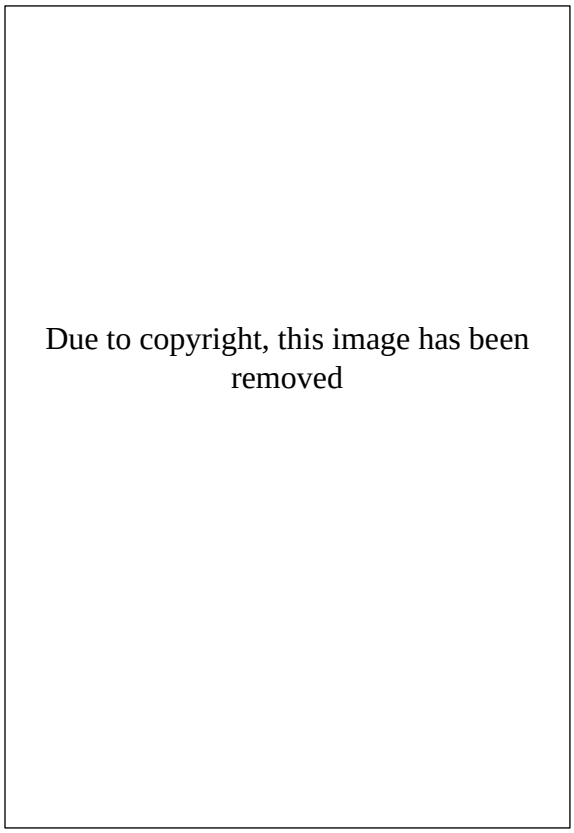
Inscription:

Λάχη, χαῖρε.

Laches, farewell!

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

26. Stele with pediment for Prima Opetreia and Publius Opetreius. 1st century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2615 (old 4640). Found in Bursa. Marble. H: 58, W: 37, D: 5cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 157 (Figure).



Relief field: Typical banquet scene, with a male figure reclining on a *kline* while holding a wreath aloft. The veiled woman at the far left sits on a chair without back or foot rest, her left hand raised to her mantle. Two small-scale servants flank the scene, a female standing beside the woman's seat, and a male opposite in front of the *kline*.

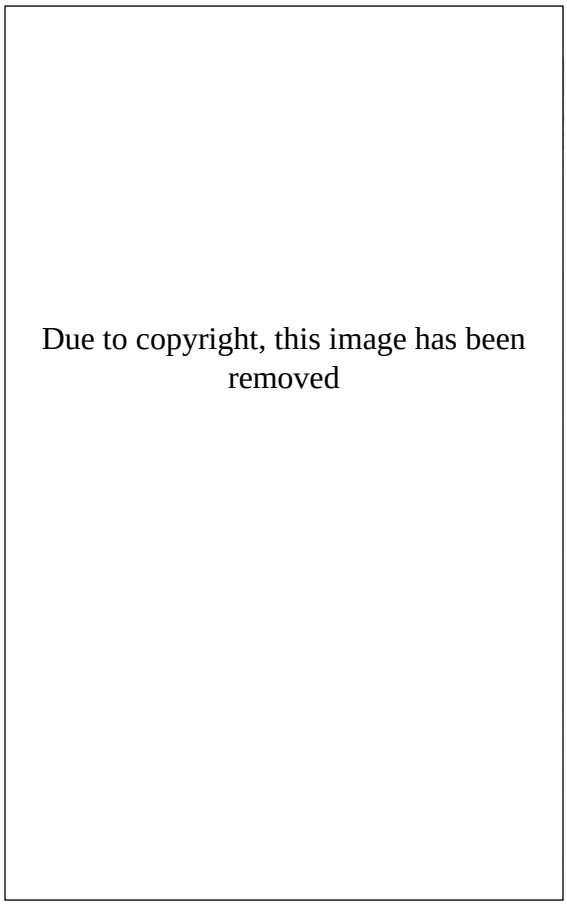
Inscription:

> Πρεῖμα Ὀπετρήια, Πόπλιος Ὀπετρήιος / vacant
> Ἑρμῆς.
>
> *Prima Opetreia and Publius Opetreius. Hermes.*

The stele is different in rendering and other characteristics from others of the Prusa body, and has more aspects, such as the type of chair for the woman and the unadorned pediment, in common with those stelai from Preietos. The couple commemorated are probably freedpersons.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

27. Stele for Tertia Crassicia. 1st century AD.
Louvre (Paris), inv. MA 2863 (old MNC 868). Found in Bursa. Broken off above the architrave. Marble. H: 63, W: 40, D: 11cm.
Literature: PM 1870; Corsten 1991, No. 101 (Figure).



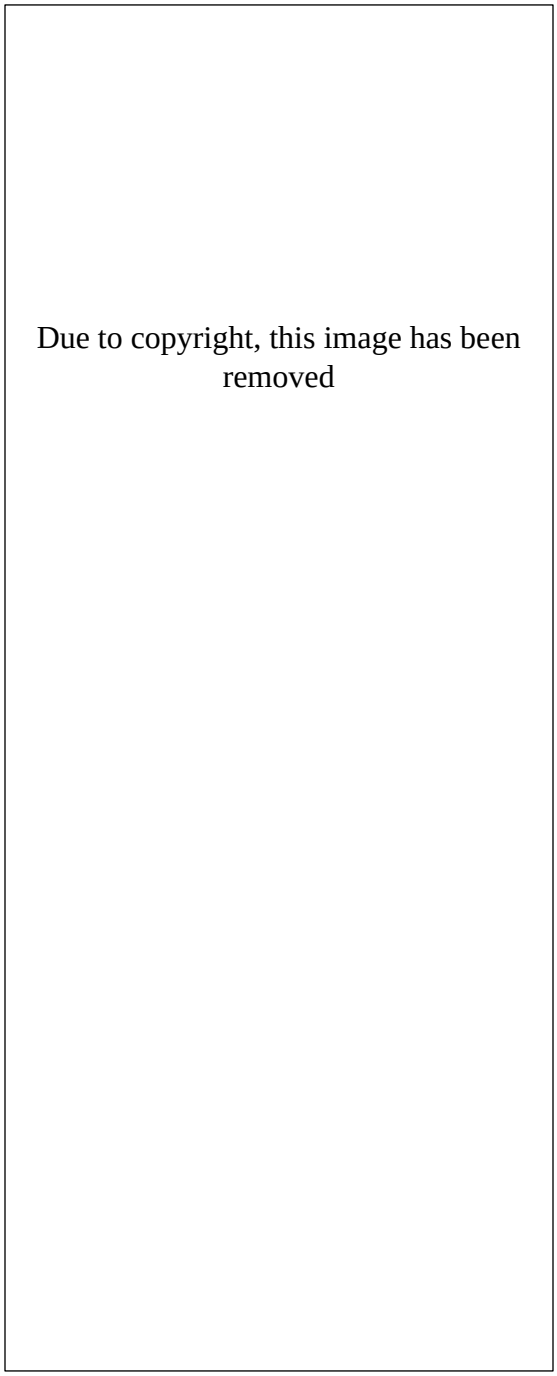
Relief field: Banquet scene, with the male figure reclining, holding a wreath aloft. Two seated veiled female figures flank the *kline*, one at the right looking towards centre, while the other at the foot of the *kline* sits frontal, looking out at the viewer. At the far left of the scene is a female servant holding a small wool basket.

Inscription:

> Κρίσπα Κρασσικία Τερτία Κρασσικία / τῆ ἑαυτῆς θρεπτῆ καὶ ἀπελευθ[έ]/[ρ]α, μνήμης χάριν.
>
> *Crispa Crassicia for Tertia Crassicia her* θρεπτός *and restored to freedom, in memory.*

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

28. Pediment stele for the family of Aristos. 1st century AD.
İnegöl, in the garden of the city library. Found in Hamzabey Köyü (near Bursa). Marble. H: 130, W: 55, D: 8cm.
Literature: Corsten 1990, 264-266; Corsten 1991, No. 80 (Figure); Brixhe-Panayotou 1991, No. 576.



Three relief fields:
Pediment relief: This space shows an eagle battling a snake.
Upper relief: A typical banquet scene, but the woman is seated on the foot of the kline, turning to look towards the reclining man. A small female servant stands behind her, holding a vessel. At the far right stands a raised, square objects with vertical support struts, probably a serving table.
Lower relief: At the centre, a horse and rider move right, while a small-scale servant stands behind.

Inscription: Two lines between the banquet and rider relief fields, and two lines (in a different hand?) below the rider relief.

Ἄρισ̣τος Ἀγρίου καὶ γυνὴ / αὐτοῦ Διντιζιλα.

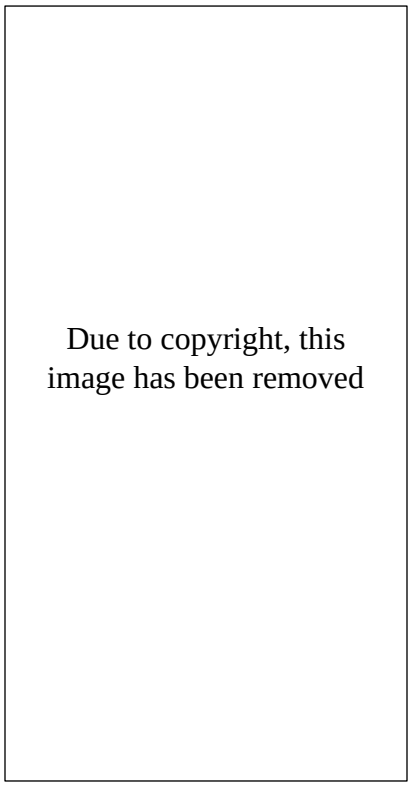
καὶ υἱοὶ Ἀγρίας καὶ / Σωκράτης. χαίρετε.

Aristos, son of Agrias, and his wife Dintizila – and their sons Agrias and Sokrates. Farewell!

Agrias is a rare name and probably of Greek origin, while Dintizila is a Thracian name (Corsten 1991). The proposed date for this stele in Corsten (first or second century AD) is based upon the relief and inscription lettering. The snake-and-eagle motif is more typical of Hellenistic-period stelai, and the layout of the banquet scene, with its side table, is also more like some late-Hellenistic (second-first century BC) examples (Corsten 1991, no. 62), but also appears on a second Prusa stele (**30**).

29. Pediment stele of Menandros. 1st/2nd century AD.

Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 3207 (old 5725). Found in Bursa. Marble. In two parts, broken diagonally across the lower relief field. H: 98, W: 43, D: 8cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 179 (Figure).



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Standard banquet scene with a reclining male figure and a veiled woman seated at the left. To the right of the *kline* and tripod table stands a smaller-scale male servant next to a large krater.
Lower relief: A male figure appears on horseback, looking right. Behind, at the left, stands a male figure in a short *chiton*, perhaps holding a lance.

Inscription: Below each relief. Only the second inscription survives.

[]ρ̣τισ̣ι[—] / πο[—]

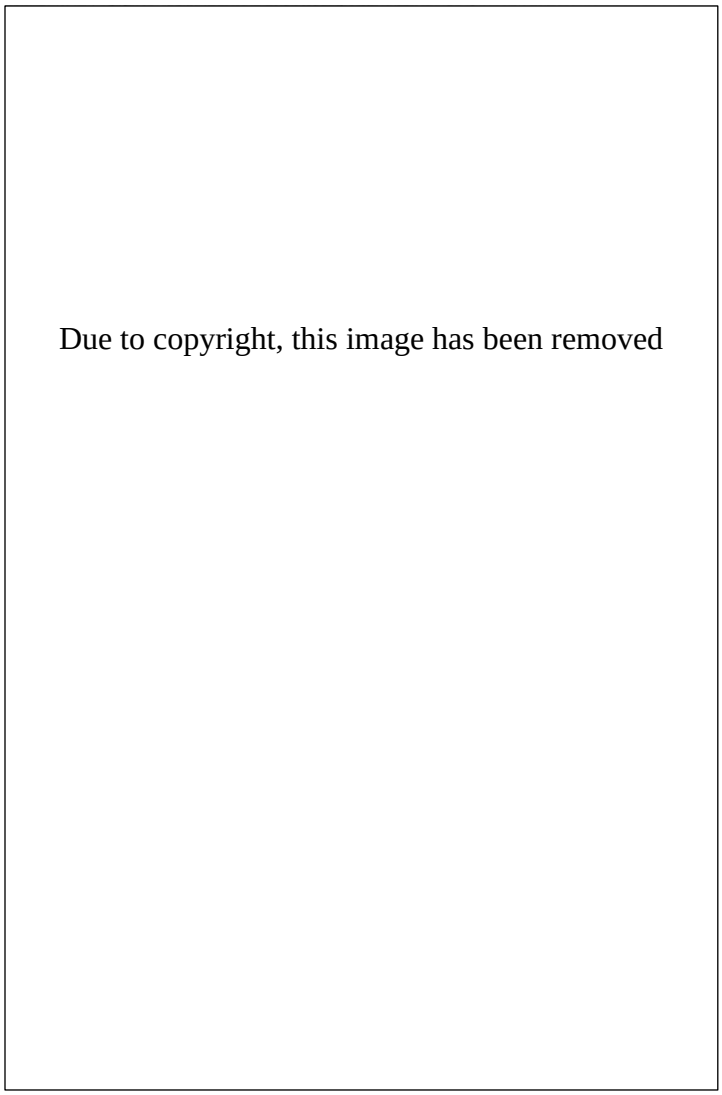
Μένανδρος / Θεοδώρου.

Menandros, son of Theodoros.

The first name may have been a woman's, but the upper inscription is too fragmentary to reconstruct.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

30. Rectangular tapered stele for the family of Menas. 1st/2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum inv. no. 1633? Found in Tepecik (near Bursa). White marble. H: 87, W: 53, D: 11cm.
Literature: PM 686 Pl. 103; Corsten 1991, No. 164 (Figure).



Three relief fields:
Upper relief: Two men lie propped on their left arms on a *kline* with slightly contoured legs. The figure at left rests his right hand on his bent knee, while the other reaches with his right hand for the empty table shown in front of the *kline*. To the right is a side table-type with vertical struts between the legs/frame (PRUSA **28)**, and behind this is the torso of a frontal (nude?) figure, looking left, while at far left stands a figure in mourning.
Middle relief: In the centre stand two men in a typical pose, flanked by two women, their right arms at slightly different angles. At far right, a small girl looks up to the left, while at far left a slightly larger girl looks right.
Lower relief: A scene of *prothesis*.

Inscription:

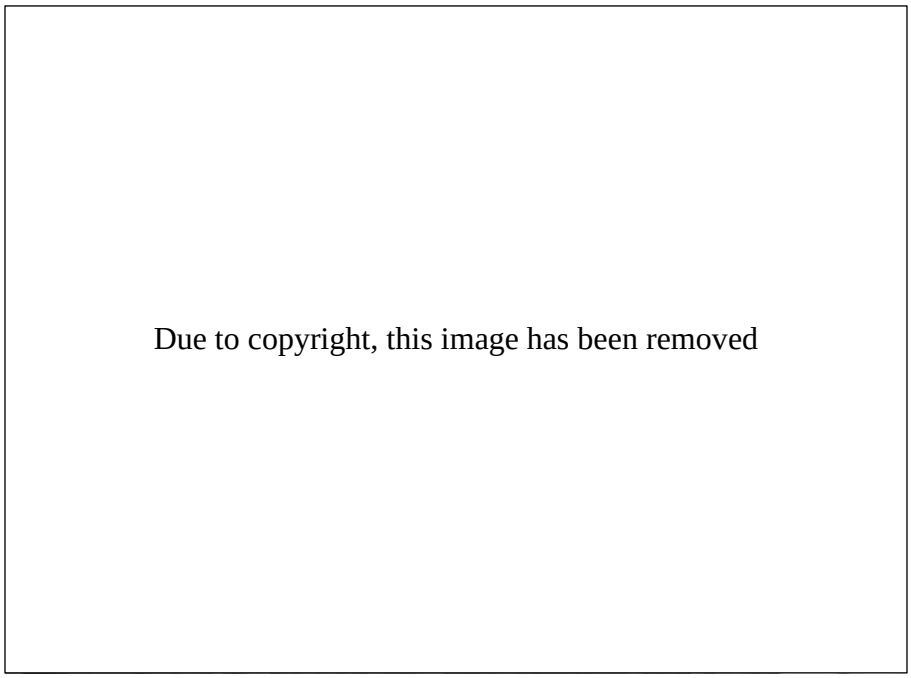
Σωσθένη Μηνᾶ καὶ Μένανδρε / Μηνᾶ καὶ Μηνᾶ Μηνᾶ χαίρετε / καὶ Γλυκῆα Μηνᾶ

Sosthenos son of Menas and Menadros son of Menas and Menas son of Menas farewell, and Glykea daughter of Menas.

The *prothesis* scene here is a more unusual iconographic type, particularly for the Roman period.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

31. Stele for Chrestos and [ ]nyrinos. 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 9083. Found in Bursa. Marble. H: 68, W: 42.5, D: 6cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 94 (Figure).



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A standard banquet scene.
Lower relief: In flat relief, a collection of objects including, from left to right, a wool-basket, distaff-and-spindle, a comb, and a long-handle mirror.

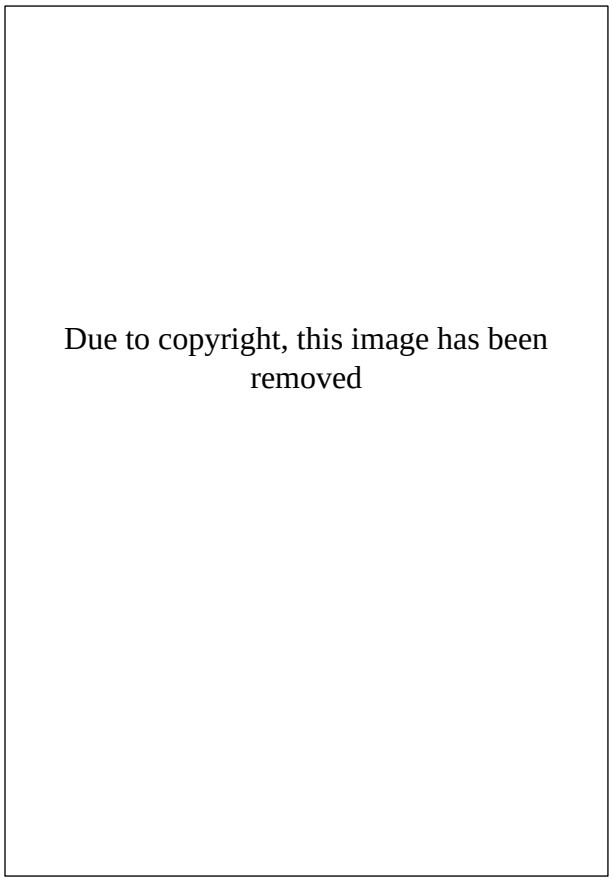
Inscription:

> Σωζομένη Ἀσκληπιάδου μ/νῆς χάριν Χρήστῳ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ [—]/ν̣υρίνῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ζήσαντι / κοσμίως ἔτη κε΄.
>
> *Sozomene, daughter of Asklepiades, in memory for her son Chrestos and her husband [ ]nyrinos, having lived 25 well-ordered years.*

The name of the husband, father of Chrestos, may have been a Roman or Latinized name.

Date based upon the script (Corsten).

32. Naiskos stele with arch and unformed *akroteria* for Chrysion. 2nd/3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum (garden), inv. no. 3177 (old 5736). Found in Bursa. Some damage to the surface of the stele. Marble. H: 72, W: 48, D: 6cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 96 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 15 Pl. 22.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A man in *chiton* and *himation* reclines on a *kline* with high sides, and detailed legs, holding a cup in his left hand, raising a wreath with his right. A tripod table stands in front of the *kline*. At the foot of the *kline*, is a veiled woman grasping her mantle with her left hand, her right resting on her leg, seated on a chair with a curved back and footrest. A female servant stands just behind, holding a box.
Lower relief: Five objects depicted in a row, from right to left, a handle-mirror, a comb, a wool basket, a distaff-and-spindle.

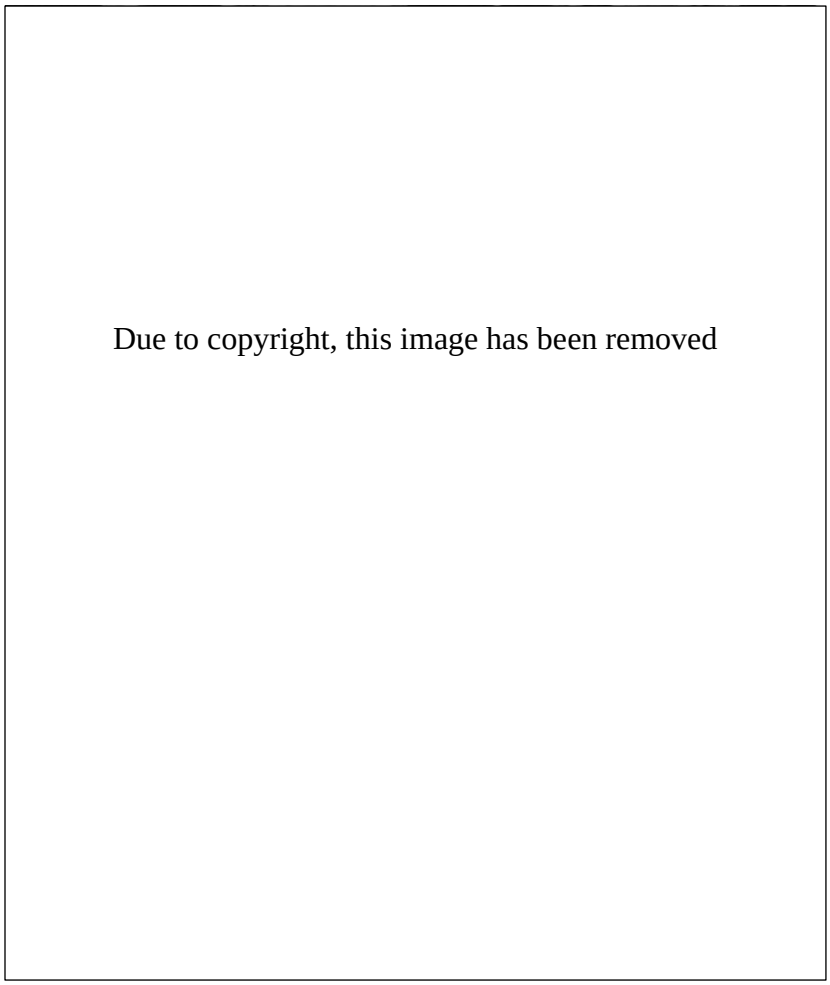
Inscription:

Χρύσιον Μιθρῆδος, γυνὴδὲ Βάσου ζήσασα ν΄ ἔτη.

Chrysion, daughter of Mithres, wife of Bassos, having lived 50 years.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

33. Naiskos stele Mennes and Menothea. 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2564. Found in the environs of Bursa. White marble. H: 75, W: 57, D: 9cm.
Literature: PM 1698 Pl. 248; SEG 29.1689; Cremer 1992, O 3.



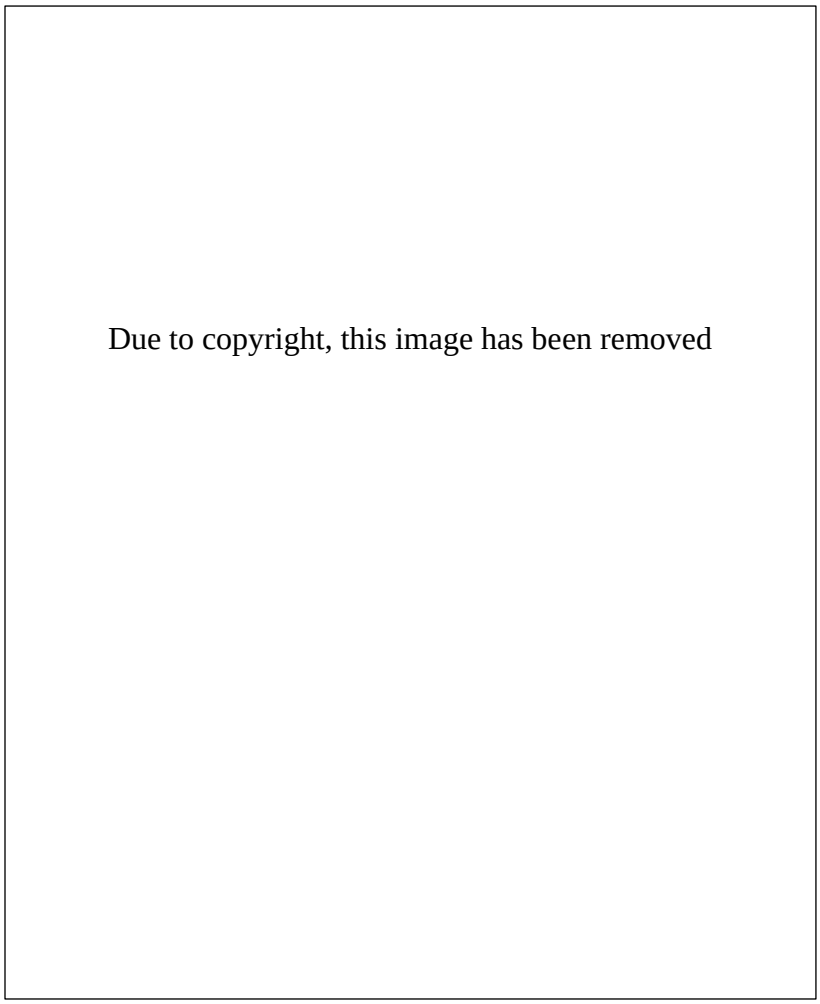
Relief field: Banquet scene showing man reclining on a *kline*, with wreath. A veiled woman sits at left in a high-back chair. In front of the *kline* stand a tripod table and at left a wool-basket. The scene is flanked by two servants, a male at right and a female at left. On the pilaster framing the right edge of the scene appears a spear with a broad tip, below which sits a small dog. On the left pilaster appears a long shield.

Inscription: Large script

> Μέννης Μηνοφάνους ἐτῶν ν΄ · / Μηνοθέα Τειμοθέου ἑαυτῇ καὶ τῷ / ἀνδρὶ Μέννῃ μνήμης χάριν
>
> *Mennes son of Menophanes (aged) 50 years. Menothea daughter of Teimotheos for herself and her husband Mennes in memory.*

Date based upon the relief (PM; Cremer).

34. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria* for Paparion and Tyrphera. 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 9019. Found in Bursa. Lower left corner broken off. Marble. H: 49, W: 39, D: 6.5cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 150 (Figure).



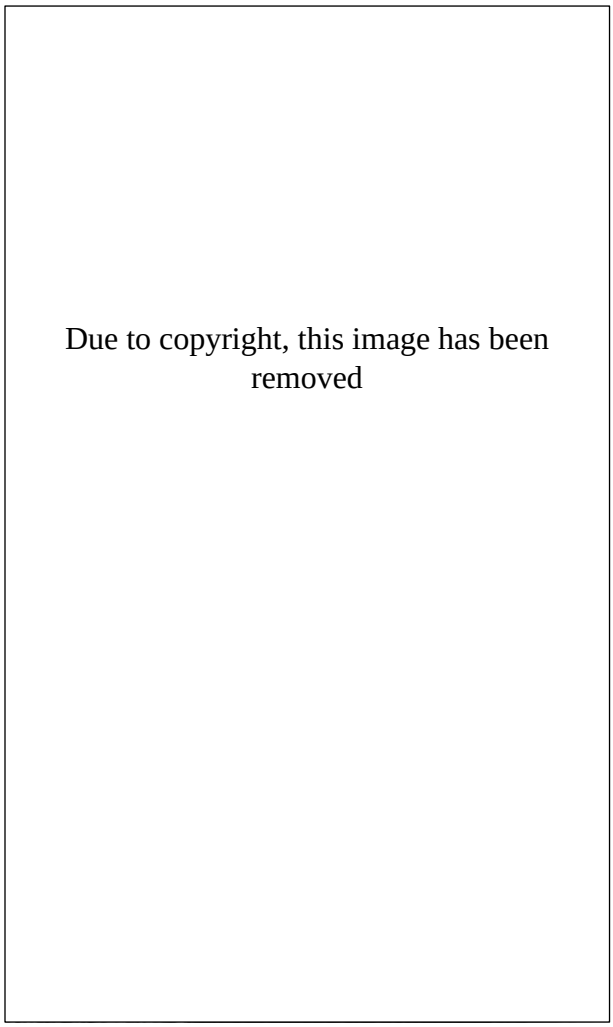
Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with a reclining male figure on a *kline* with delicate legs. The table in front of the *kline* is barely rendered. The veiled woman seated at the end of the kline turns in the curved, high-back chair to face the viewer, her left hand grasping her mantle.

Inscription:

> Διώνη τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρὶ / Παπαρίωνι καὶ τῇ μη/τρὶ Τρυφέρᾳ μνήμης / *vacant* χάριν. *vacant*
>
> *Dione for her own father Paparion and her mother Tryphera, in memory*.

Date based upon the relief and script (Corsten).

35. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria* for Askles. 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 3237. Found in Hasanköy (near Bursa). Left side damaged, and lower right corner broken off below inscription field. Marble. H: 66, W: 42, D: 6cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 84 (Figure).



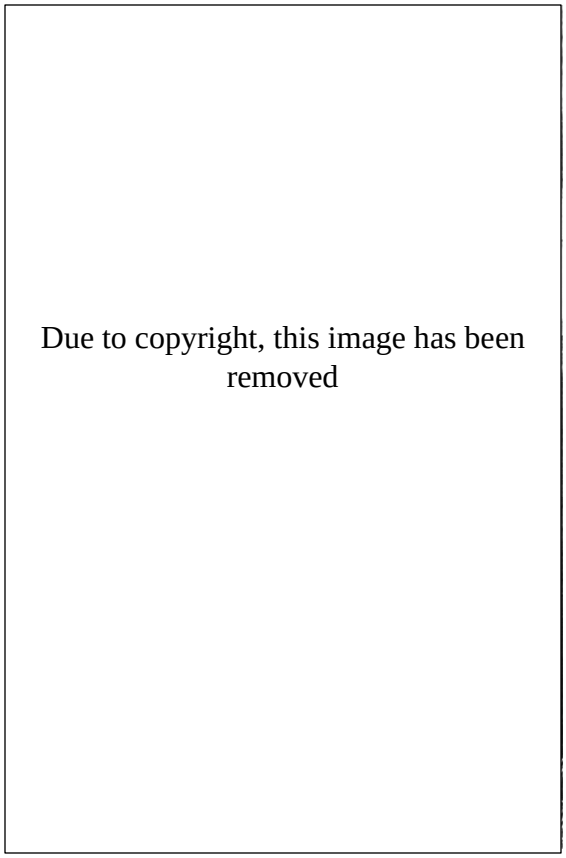
Relief field: A typical banquet scene, but above the figures two floating hands, palms out.

Inscription:

> Προσοδία μετὰ τῶν / τέκνων τῷ γλυκυ/τάτῳ ἀνδρὶ Ἀσκλῇ / ζήσαντι ἔτη λε΄ / μνήμης χάριν.
>
> *Prosodia with her children for her own sweetest husband Askles having lived 35 years, in memory.*

Date based upon relief and script, and the hairstyle and features of the male figure suggest second half of the second century (Corsten).

36. Naiskos stele with tenon for Avidius Earinus. Second half of the 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 8359. Found in the environs of Bursa. Marble. H: 102, W: 62, D: 11cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 89 (Figure); Cremer 1992, O 11 Pl. 17.



Relief field: Banquet scene with a man relining on a *kline* raising a wreath in his right hand, holding an ill-defined object in his left. Two veiled women flank the *kline*, seated on chairs with high, curved backs. The one at left raised her left hand to draw her mantle forward, holding an item in her right, while her counterpart at right rests both hands in her lap. A tripod table stands between them.

Inscription:

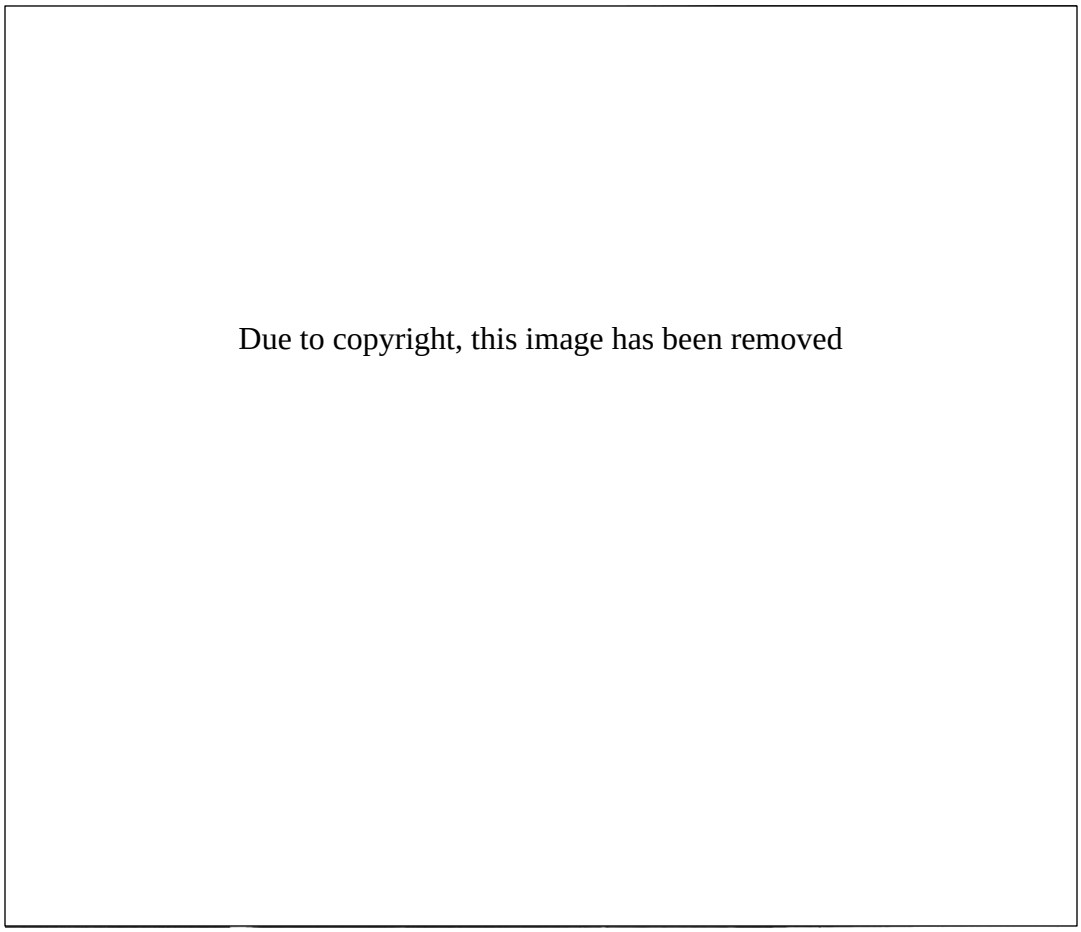
Ἀβίδιος Ἐάρινος / ζήσας ἔτη κδ΄.

Avidius Earinus (aged) 24 years.

Ἀβίδιος the Greek form of the Latin name Avidius. Ἐάρινος also known from Nikomedia (TAM IV 1.260) and in Cassius Dio (67.2.3). The form Ἐαρίνη appears in Smyrna (IK Smyrna no. 304).

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

37. Naiskos stele for Askles and Tryphaina. 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2578 (old 3284). Found in Altıparmak (near Bursa). Broken off at the bottom, below inscription field. Marble. H: 50, W: 55, D: 5cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 85 (Figure).



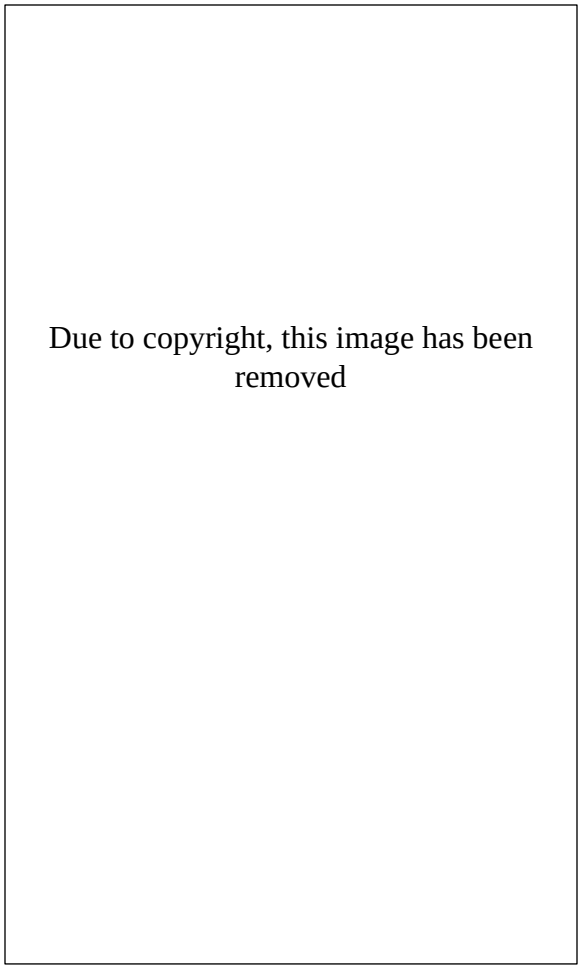
Relief field: A banquet scene, showing the man reclining on a *kline* with curved rests. A veiled woman sits frontal on the foot of the *kline*, a foot rest below. In the space at the left floats a spindle, below, and above a mirror.

Inscription:

> Ἀσκλῆς Ἀσκληπιάδου ζήσας κοσ/μίως ἔτη ϡ νε΄ ϡ καὶ Τρύφαινα ἡ γυ/νὴ αὐτοῦ ζήσασα ϡ ἔτη ϡ π΄.
>
> *Askles, the son of Asklepiades, having lived 55 well-ordered years, and Tryphaina, his wife, having lived 80 years.*

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

38. Naiskos stele with arch and tenon for Chrysogone. 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 3120 (old 5437). Found in Bursa. Marble. H: 67, W: 36, D: 6cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 97 (Figure).



Relief field: Typical banquet scene. The seated woman turns frontal, and the legs of the table are stylized.

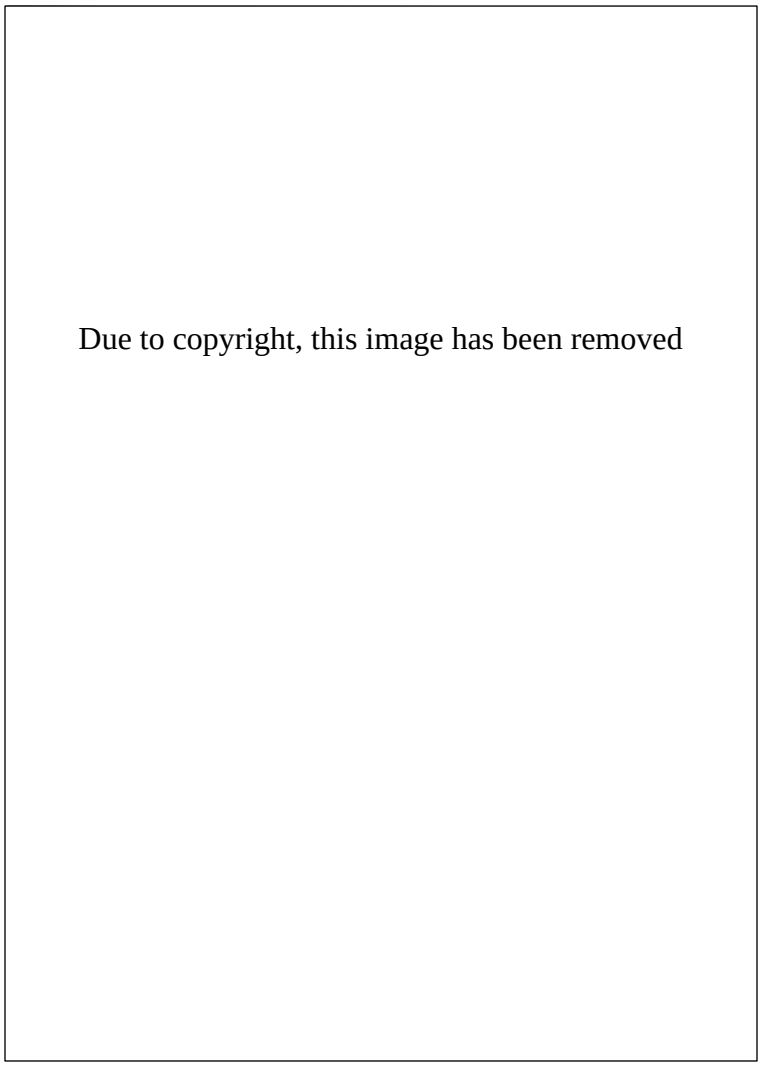
Inscription:

Γάιος τῇ γυναικὶ / Χρυσογόνῃ ζησά/σῃ κοσμίως ἔτη νε΄ / μνήμης χάριν.

Gaius for his wife Chrysogone, having lived 55 well-ordered years, in memory.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

39. Stele with arch and *akroteria* for Athanasia. 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2577. Found in Bursa. Side *akroteria* broken off, and some surface damage to the relief scene. Marble. H: 60, W: 42, D: 6cm.
Literature: Corsten 1990a, 105-106 No. 9; Corsten 1991, No. 87 (Figure).



Relief field: Typical banquet scene.

Inscription:

Εὐφημᾶς Ἀθανασίᾳ τῇ συμ/βίῳ ζησάσῃ κοσμίως ἔτη κγ΄.

Euphemas for his wife Athanasia, having lived 23 well-ordered years.

Probably a product of the Kestal workshop (Cremer), although discovered (perhaps originally used) in Bursa.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

40. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria* for Bassos. 2nd century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 84.196. Found in Bursa-Arabayatağı. Lower right corner broken off.
Marble. H: 70, W: 70, D: 4cm.
Literature: Kalkan 1992, No. 2 Pl. 11; Corsten 1993, Add. No. 227; SEG 42.1122.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A typical banquet scene.
Lower relief: A pair of oxen at a plough, and a sickle.

Inscription field:

Κέλ̣σος Βάσσῳ τῷ πα/τρὶ μνήμης χάριν ζή/σαντι ἔτη ξ΄

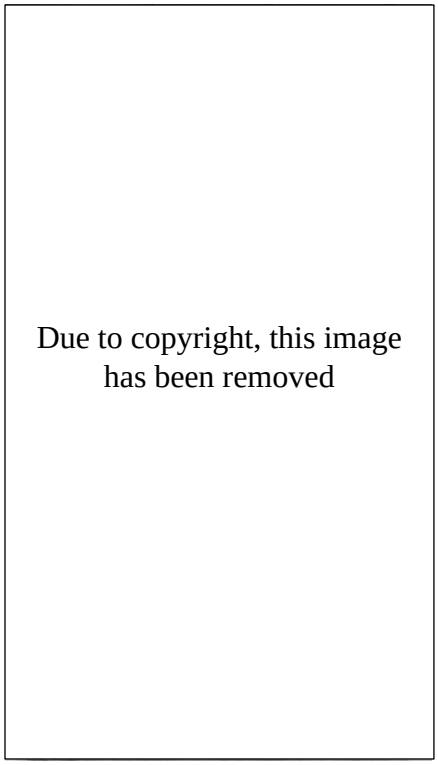
Kelsos for Bassos his father, in memory, having lived 60 years.

Again, this stele (as with **39**) was discovered in Bursa rather than Kestal, although its was probably produced in the workshop associated with the latter.

Date based upon relief and script (Kalkan; Corsten).

41. Stele. Mid-2nd century AD.

Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2636 (old 3660). Found in Bursa. Upper portion of stele broken off, including upper section of topmost relief field. Marble. H: 136, W: 70, D: 16.5cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 196 (Figure); Peek 1955, II.570.



Three relief fields:
Upper relief: Fragmentary, a banquet scene with two figures reclining on the *kline*, flanked by two seated women, and one female servant at the far right.
Middle relief: A banquet scene, apparently identical to the scene above, showing a second servant, male, at the far left, and the mid-second-century style heads of the male figures.
Bottom relief: Two facing horse-and-rider figures, flanked by two standing servants.

Inscription: Very fragmentary.

τ̣ὶ̣ς̣ ἂν τῷ̣ν ἐνθάδε γεγλυμμένων ἀφανίσῃ ἢ τ̣ύ̣μβου / ἀ̣π̣ο̣[ ]ν̣η ἢ λίθον ἄρῃ, ἐξώλη εἴ̈η κεῖνος κείνου / τε π̣α̣ῖδες καὶ δόμος αὐτοῦ. · εἰ δὲ τ̣ὶ̣ς̣ [ ]NE / [ἀν]α̣θ̣εῖναι(?) συνγένεα τύμβο̣ν [ ]IN / [ ]τ̣ῳ̣ν δὲ καταρθέστω [—]IIO̤[—]AY / [ ]IIO̤CCΛB̤O̤Ω̣[

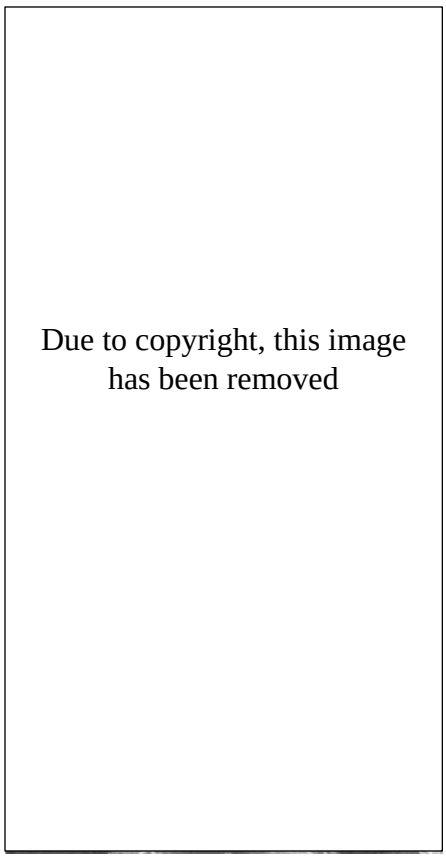
> *Whoever makes something invisible of the writing or the relief or the tomb, . . . or against the stone, may he be cursed, himself, his children, and his house (?); but if any . . .*

Peek subsequently published the inscription (II.570; Corsten 1993, Add. No. 126) reconstructed as:

> τίς ἂν τῶν ἐνθάδε γεγλυμμένων ἀφανίσῃ ἢ τ̣ύμβου / ἀπολέσας ἢ πᾶν ἢ λίθον ἄρῃ, ἐξώλης ἴ̈η κεῖνος κείνου / τε παῖδες καὶ δόμος αὐτοῦ. εἰ δὲ τίσις, μῆ φῆτε / ὡρ̣α̣ίο̣υ̣(?) εἵνεκα θεῖναι ἔριν <π>ενίᾳ τύμβον, ἵνα συλῆι / τις, ἐγὼ μὴ δ̣ε̣[ι]νὰ τῶνδε καταρῶ, ἔστω πιθήσωνται. / Λ̣ασίου Σαίου.

Date based upon relief, particularly the head of the male figure, and script (Corsten).

42. Naiskos stele with tenon for Prima. Early 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 9079. Found in Bursa. Marble. H: 107, W: 44, D: 7cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 156 (Figure).



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A typical banquet scene. The male figure is bearded, suggesting the date, and the woman holds a spindle in her right hand. Two servants accompany the scene, a small female at the far left holding a chest, and a male opposite, standing next to the leg of the *kline*.
Lower relief: Five objects appear here in a row, namely a wool-basket, spindle-and-distaff, a long-handled mirror, and a comb.

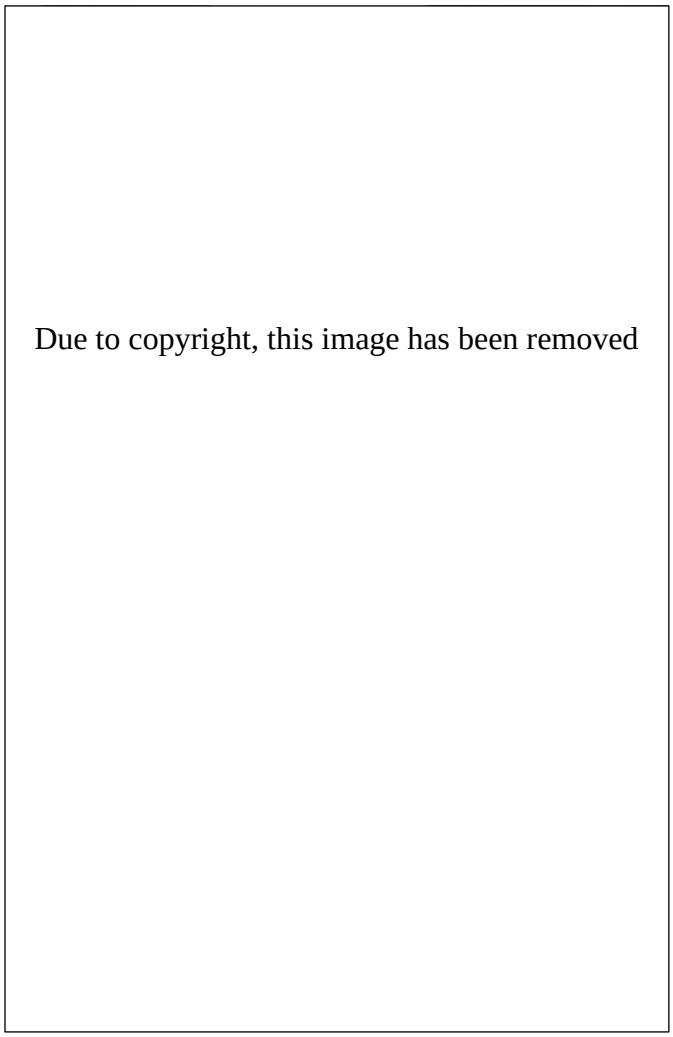
Inscription:

> Πρῖμα · Ἀπολλοδότου, γυνὴ / Μενεσθέως, ζήσασα κοσμίως / [κ]αὶ ἀλύπως ἔτη ϡ ν΄· ϡ τὴν δὲ στήλ/[λ]ην ἐποίησεν αὐτῇ ὁ θρεπτὸς / *vacant* Ἑρμῆς μνήμης χάριν.
>
> *Prima, daughter of Apollodotos, wife of Menestheus, having lived 50 years well-ordered and without pain. The* θρεπτὸς *Hermes made this stele for her, in memory.*

A more rare record of a *threptos* setting up a monument for a nurturer (Ricle 2009, 105).

Date based upon relief, particularly the beard type of the man, and script (Corsten).

43. Stele with arch for the parents of Dionysios. 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 3220. Found in Bursa. Upper section of stele, including part of upper relief field, broken off. Marble. H: 83, W: 52, D: 5cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 107 (Figure).



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Typical banquet scene, although the *kline* and table are squat in their rendering, with short legs.
Lower relief: A line of objects, from left to right, a wood-carving knife, a hammer, a kind of planer, a chisel, a spindle, and another object, perhaps a saw.

Inscription:

Διονύσιος Διονυσίου / τῇ μητρὶ κ ⟦.⟧ αὶ {καὶ} τῷ / πατρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

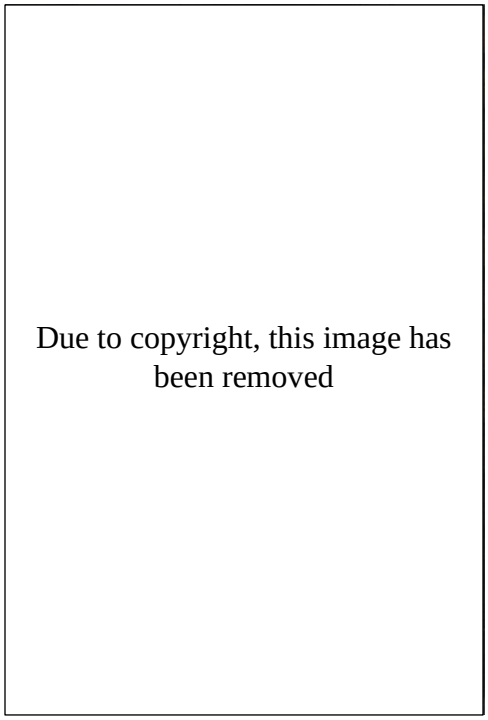
Dionysios, son of Dionysios, for his mother and father, in memory.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

44. Naiskos stele for Soteris. 2nd century AD.

Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2575 (old 3481). Found in Erdoğan (previously Dimboz, near Bursa). Marble. H: 109, W: 67, D: 10cm.

Literature: Şahin 1978, No. 61; SEG 28.1045; PM 1142; Şahin 1979, No. 1062; Corsten 1991, No. 165; Cremer 1992, O 1 Pl. 16.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Beneath pediment with a Gorgon head and six-point flowers is a typical banquet scene, expanded to include other objects. To the left of the seated female figure stands a female servant holding a mirror, and at the far left a decorated chest. Floating above this is a comb and two four-point flowers.
Lower scene: A figure in a *chiton* and mantle leads a horse from the left, while at the right appear other objects, including a full wool-basket, a spindle-and-distaff, and a shell-shaped jewelry case.

Inscription:

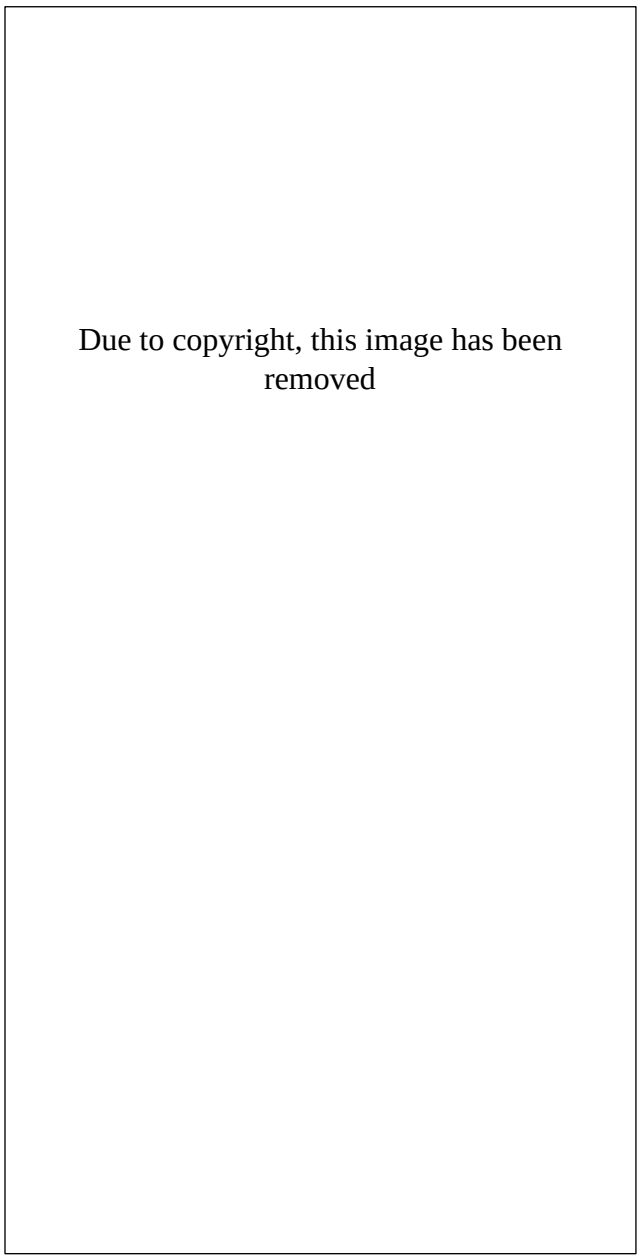
> Ἕσπερος Ἑσπέρου υἱός, Τιβερίου δὲ / Κλαυδίου Πωλίωνος Φαίτρου οἰ/κονόμος, Σωτηρίδι τῇ ἑαυτοῦ συν/βίῳ συνζησάσῃ αὐτῷ ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ / ἀπολιπούσῃ αὐτῷ τέκνα τρία μνή/[μ]ης χάριν· τελευτήσασα ἐτῶν εἴκοσι· χαῖρε.
>
> *Hesperos, son of Hesperos, steward* (οἰκονόμος) *of Tiberius Claudius Pollion Phaedrus, for his own wife Soteris, having lived with him for seven years and having born him three children, in memory. She lived 20 years. Farewell!*

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

45. Pediment stele with *akroteria* with tenon for Hesperos. 2nd century AD.

Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 9215. Found in Erdoğan Köyü/Yenişehir/Bursa (purchased by the Museum from a farmer in 1989). Marble. H: 163, W: 70-72, D: 11cm.

Literature: Uzunoğlu and Taşdelen 2014, No. 3 Fig. 2.



Relief field: Below the pediment field with *gorgoneion* head appears at the right a typical banquet scene with a reclining man raising a wreath, a veiled woman (*Pudicitia*-type) seated in a block-like chair with high back at the left, looking out at the viewer, and a tripod table in front of the couch. To the left appear three floating objects, from top to bottom, a handle-mirror, a *kalathos*, and a *falx arboraria*. Directly below the banquet a smaller-scale figure in a *chiton* moves right holding the reins of a horse.

Inscription:

Ἕσπερος Ἑσπέρου υἱὸς / Ἑσπέρῳ τῷ πατρὶ μνή/μης χάριν· Κοκκειανοῦ / ΛΙΠΝΟΣ θρέπτῳ οἰκο/νόμῳ ζήσαντι κοσμίως / ἔτη πεντήκοντα.

Hesperos, son of Hesperos, for Hesperos his father in memory of him who was the threptos and oikonomos *of Cocceianus . . . having live 50 well-ordered years.*

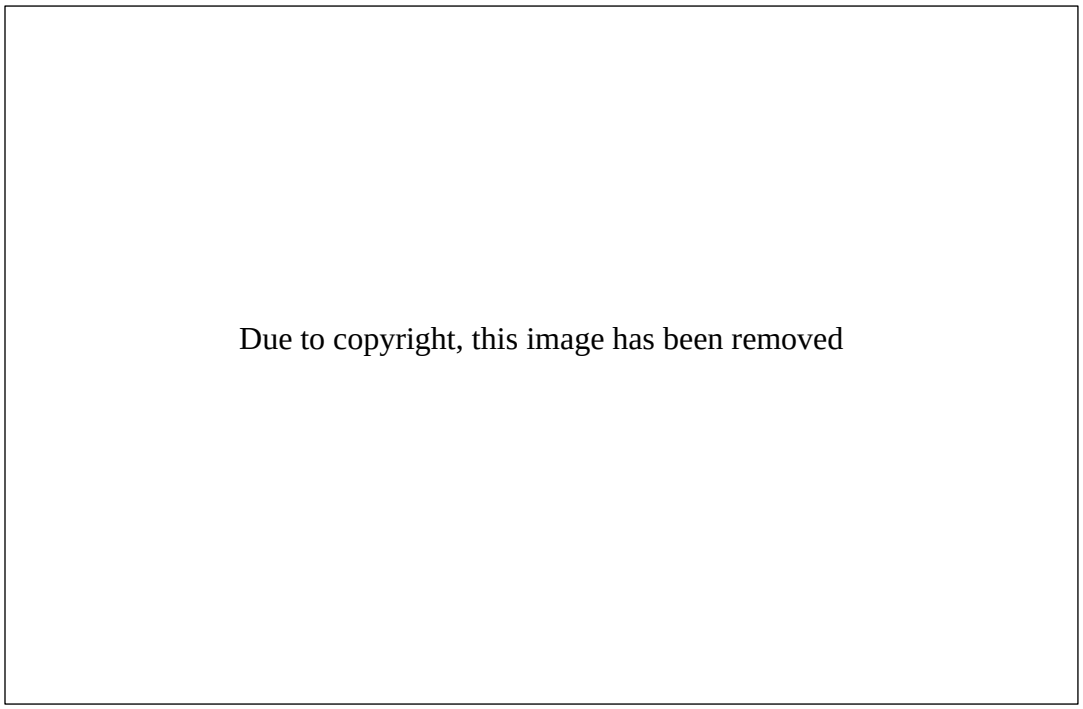
This is the second occurrence of Hesperos in the vicinity of Prusa (see no. 165 above; also known from TAM IV.1.279). The cognomen Cocceianus was carried by Dio Chrysostum and Cassius Dio, and also appears in IK Prusa no. 99.

Date based upon the script.

46. Stele fragment. Probably 2nd/3rd century AD.

Bursa Museum (garden), inv. no. 2611. Found in Bursa. Fragment of the relief field and inscription, broken off on all sides. Marble. H: 41, W: 55, D: 8cm.

Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 178a (Figure).



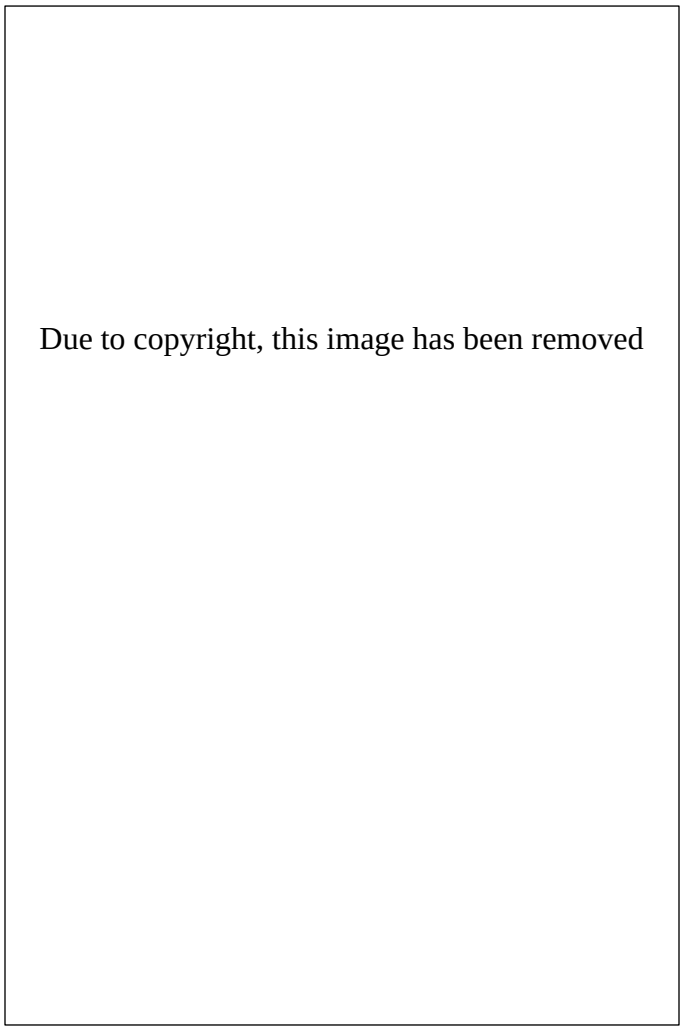
Relief field: The fragmentary scene shows a standard banquet, with two veiled (?) female figures flanking a central *kline* with two reclining men, both with their right hands resting on their raised knee. A tripod table stands in front of the couch. The remains of two small-scale servants are visible, a male standing at the left, between the seated woman and the tripod table, looking up towards the reclining men, raising his right hand, and a female standing beside the seat of the seated woman at the left.

Inscription: Fragmentary.

]Ν Εὐτυχίδος καὶ ΚΑΥΟΣΜΕΛΕΥΙΕΙΣΕΝΟ[/ ν]ύμφην ἔτι καὶ ἀτελῆ γυναῖκα
ὀκτωκαίδ[εκα /]θεισαν Π[— —]ΑΝΔΡΙ Ι[—]ΟΣΟΟΥΔΟ[/]ΟΚΤΩ ἡλίου
ἀνιόντος ΧΕΣ[/]ΥΣΑΕΙΤΕ ΜΟΙ ΗΑΙΟ[/]ΙΠΛ[

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

47. Naiskos stele with tenon for Iulias. 2nd/3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 3802. Found in Hasanköy (near Bursa). Two of the *akroteria* broken off. Marble. H: 81, W: 45, D: 6cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 125 (Figure).



Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with wool-basket and handle-mirror overlaid on the curved, high-back chair of the woman.

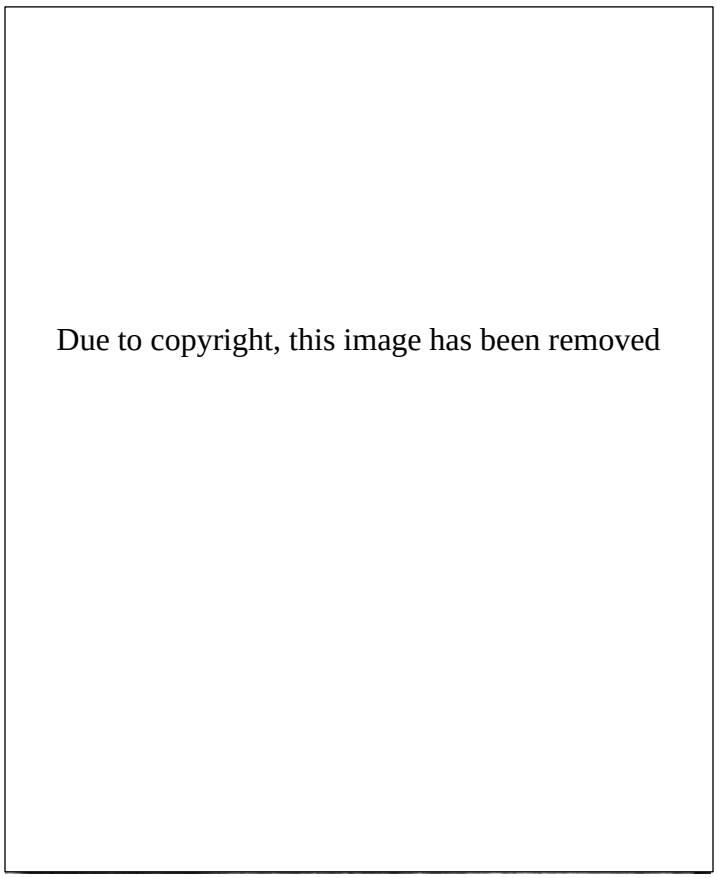
Inscription field:

> Λάδων τῇ γυνεκὶ Ἰο/υλιάδι τὴ στήλην / συνζησάσῃ κοσμί/ως ἔτη *vacant* ιη΄.
>
> *Ladon (set up) for his wife Iulias this stele, having lived with him for eighteen well-ordered years.*

A second field was carved out on this stele but not carved with either a relief or an inscription.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

48. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria* for Eia. Late 2nd/3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2585. Found in Bursa. Light gray marble. H: 52, W: 43, D: 5cm.
Literature: PM 1708 Pl. 249; SEG 29.1354; Corsten 1991, No. 109 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 9.



Relief field: A man with beard and full hair, in a *chiton* and *himation*, reclines on a lightly rendered *kline* with no head rest, looking outward, his right knee bent. His left hand holds a cup, his right raising a stylized wreath. In front of the *kline* is a tripod table, with curved legs which bears three items, including another cup. At the left edge of the scene, looking right, is a veiled woman seated in a high, curved-back chair with a footrest. Her right hand holds an unidentified object. Left of the woman's chair is a full wool-basket with a narrow base. To the right of the table, and equal in height to it, is a mirror with a handle.

Inscription: Below relief field on the shaft.

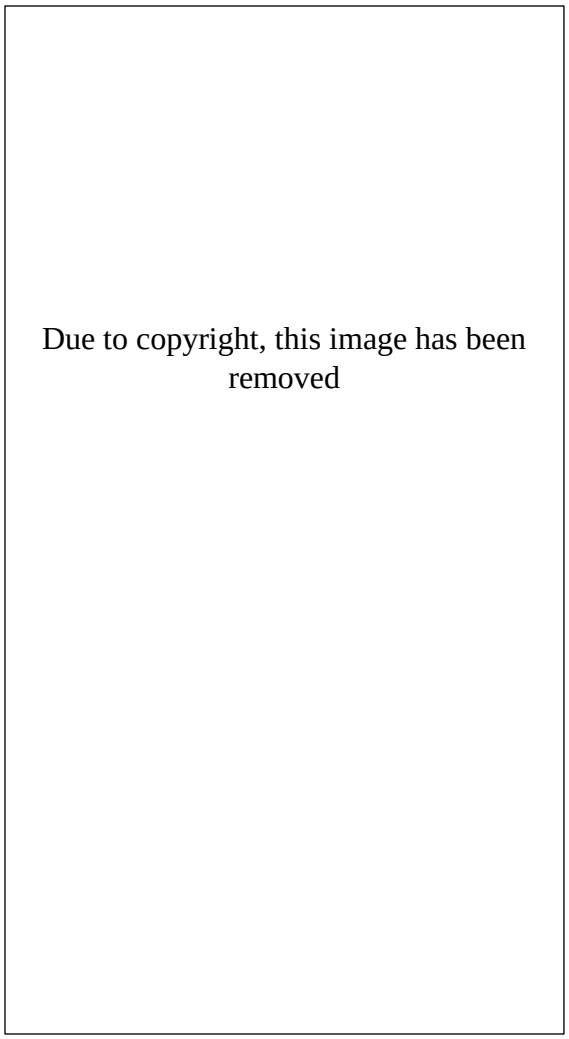
Ἐπαφρόδειτος Εἴᾳ τῇ γ/υνεκὶ συνζησάσῃ / αὐτῷ ἔτη ιε΄ / μνήμης χάριν

Epaphrodeitos for Eia his wife having lived with him fifteen years, in memory.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten). The stele may have been produced by the Kestal workshop.

49. Stele with tenon for Dion. 2nd/3rd century AD.

Bursa Museum, inv. no. 3107. Found in Bursa. White large-grain marble. H: 71, W: 40, D: 6cm.
Literature: PM 1496; SEG 29.1356; Corsten 1991, No. 103 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 36.



Relief field: A *kline* is at centre with curved rests on each end, one with a small pillow. A man with thick hair reclines, looking out, raising a wreath in his right hand, with his left holding an indiscernible item. A table bears small dishes, and at left a dog jumps.

Inscription: Large script

Δίων Συννόμου ἐτῶν / κα΄ σύνμορος ἀδελ/φῆς.

Dion son of Sunomos, 21 years, who suffered the same fate as his sister.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten; Cremer).

50. Stele with arch of Kareina Aquila. Late Imperial
Bursa Museum inv. no. 2590. Found in the environs of Bursa. White marble. H: 70, W: 52, D: 5cm.
Literature: PM 1510; SEG 29.1357; Cremer 1992, B 37.

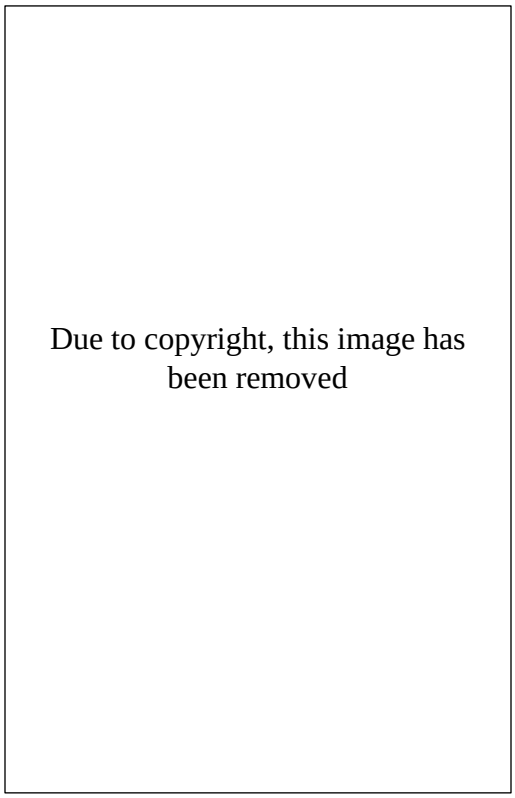
Relief field: A man reclines on a *kline*, holding a wreath in his right hand. A table with objects in front of this, and at left a smaller in proportion figure of a servant, looking right, and left of the *kline* is a large sickle or pruning knife.

Inscription:

> Καρεῖνα Ἀκύλᾳ ἐκ τῶν ἰδί/ων αὐτοῦ μνήμης χάριν / ζήσαντι καλῶς ἔτη μ΄.
>
> *Kareina Aquila out of her own (means) for herself in memory, having lived 50 beautiful years.*

Date based upon the relief (Cremer).

51. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria* for Eutyches. Late 2nd/3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum inv. no. 2588. Found in Narlıdere – Bursa. Marble. H: 85, W: 40-50, D: 8cm.
Literature: Corsten 1990a, 100-101 No. 5; Corsten 1991, No. 119 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 18.



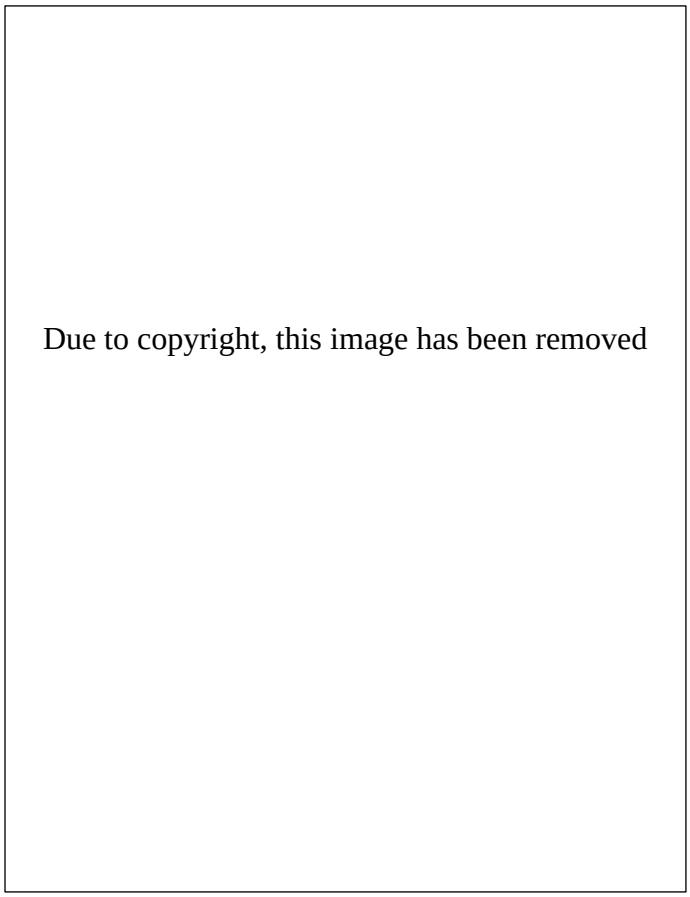
Relief field: A beardless man in a *chiton* and *himation* reclines on a *kline* with a curved headrest and detailed legs, his right knee bent. His left hand holds a cup, while his right raises an object wider at its base than its top (an alabastron?), concealed by the man's hand. In front of the *kline* is a tripod table. At the left, looking right, a veiled woman sits in a chair with a high, curved back and a footrest, pulling her mantle forward with her raised left hand. Next to her stands a small-scale female servant. At left below this main relief field, and above the inscription field, appear three birds.

Inscription:

> Πεῖα τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ τῷ γλυ/κυτάτῳ Εὐτυχήδι ζήσαν/τι κοσμίως ἔτη ξε΄ μνήμ/ης χάριν
>
> *Pia for her own sweetest husband Eutyches having lived 65 well-ordered years in memory.*

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten; Cremer).

52. Stele for Maximus and Eutychiane. 3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 2878. Found in Ishaniye (near Bursa). Upper section of stele, including part of relief field, broken off. Marble. H: 52, W: 40, D: 6cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 138 (Figure).



Relief field: A stylized banquet scene, fragmentary, between vine-scroll pilasters. The legs of the table are straight, and the shortened *kline* features decorative legs. Next to the table, under the *kline*, is an animal (dog?), with a tail.

Inscription: Within and below a *tabula ansata*.

Αὐρήλιος Μάξι/μος καὶ Βᾶσος / πατρὶ Μ̣αξίμῳ / καὶ μητρὶ Εὐτυχι/ανῇ βιωσάσῃ ἔτη / ἑβδομήκοντα κ̣αὶ ᾱ̈ῑ̈θε[υ]/σάσῃ ἔτη λ΄ διὰ τὰ παιδία / μνήμης χάριν ἀνεθήκα/μεν.

Aurelius Maximus and Bas(s)us for their father Maximus and their mother Eutychiane, having lived 70 years, and as a window for 30 years on account of her children; in memory we have set up (this monument).

Date based upon relief, script, and name (Corsten).

53. Stele. Late Imperial.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 1080(?). Found in Bursa. Marble. H: 58, W: 43, D: 4.5cm.
Literature: PM 1148.

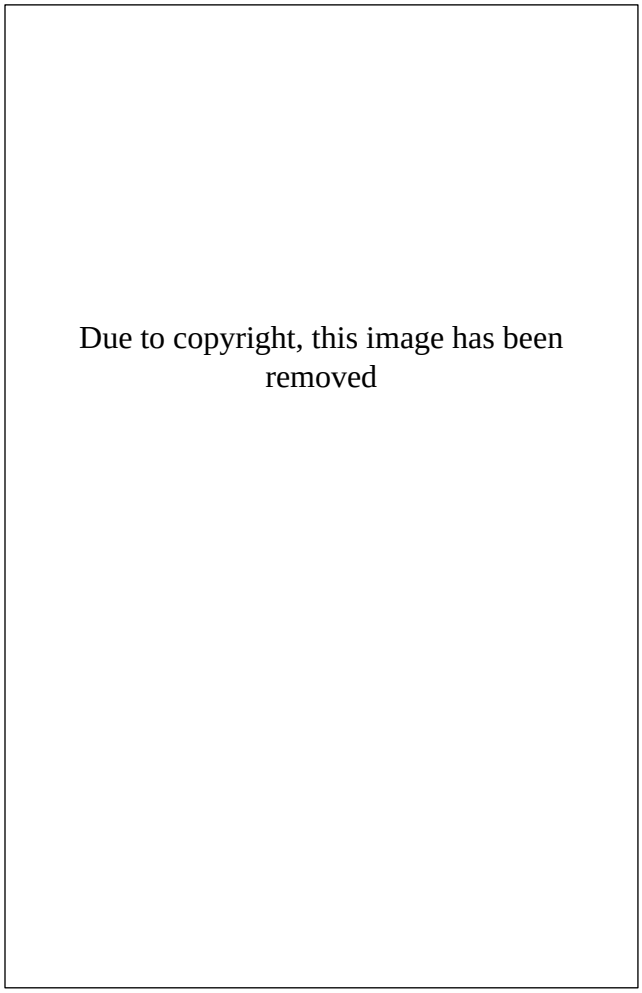
Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A man reclines on a *kline* with a curved backrest and small pillow, holding a dish or food in his left hand. At the far left, a female figure sits in a narrow chair. A tripod table in front of the *kline* shows various items.
Lower relief: A man behind a plough walks left, wielding a *kentron* above two (?) oxen.

No surviving inscription?

Date based upon relief (PM).

54. Naiskos stele with arch and palmette *akroteria*, and tenon, for Epitherses and Theoktistos. 3rd century AD.

Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 3140 (old 2926). Found in Bursa (Bezirk Muradiye). Top right palmette *akroterion* broken off. Marble. H: 84cm, W: 54, D: 6cm.
Literature: PM 1697; SEG 29.1697 (49.1796); Corsten 1991, No. 115 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 1.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A typical banquet scene, with a variation. At the right, at the head of the *kline*, stands a small boy in a typical pose, in front of him an altar over which he is making an offering.
Lower relief: Between the banquet and the *tabula ansata* with the inscription is a line of objects, including from left to right a handle-mirror, a spindle-and-distaff, a wool-basket, and a comb.

Inscription: Within a decorative *tabula ansata*.

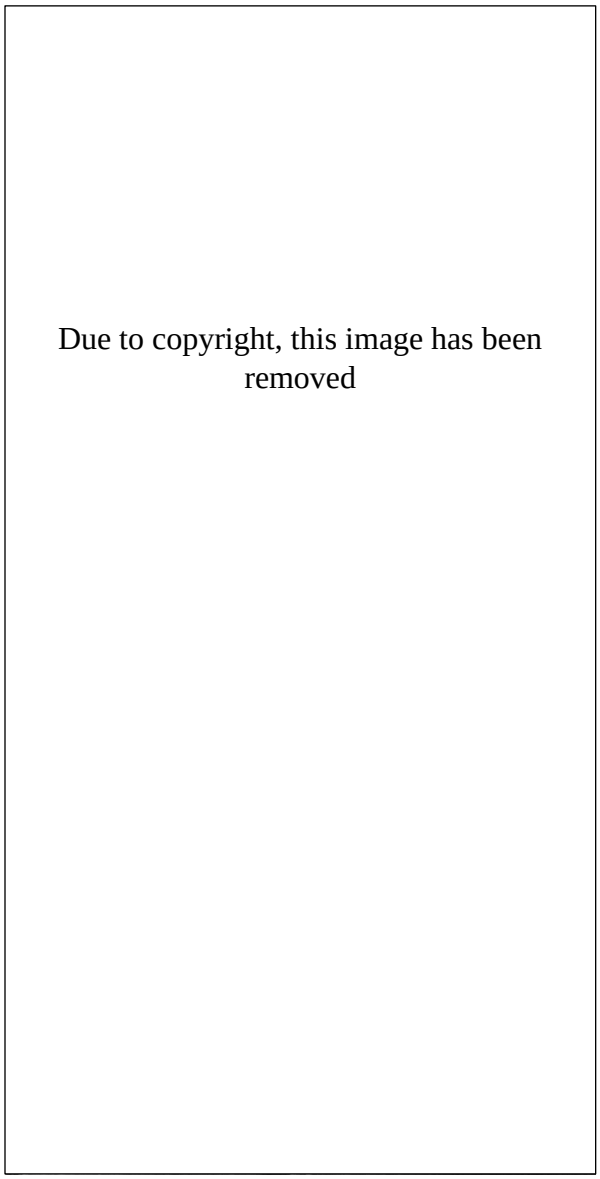
Ἐπιθέρσῃ τῷ θεοσε/βῇ κ<α>ὶ Θεοκτίστῳ / τὰ τέκνα Μα<ρ>κιανὸς / καὶ Ἐπιθέρσης μετὰ / τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐκ τῶν / εἰδείων μνήμης χάριν.

For the God-fearing Epitherses and Theoktistos, their children Markianos and Epithersis with their brothers out of their own means (put up this monument), in memory.

The attribute *θεοσεβής*, together with the name of the other individual, Theoktistos, suggests these were of Jewish or Christian origin. The same epithet has been used on Jewish stelai (see Robert 1964 for examples from Sardis, and Reynolds/Tannenbaum 1987, on instances from Aphrodisias). Alternatively, Mitchell 1999 and Ameling 1999 have argued that the deceased Ἐπιθέρσης, qualified as τῷ θεοσε/βῇ, was a follower of Theos Hypsistos.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten). Stele may be a product of the Kestal workshop.

55. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria*, and tenon, for Onesion. 3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2591. Found in Narlıdere (near Bursa). Marble. H: 57, W: 44, D: 7cm.
Literature: Corsten 1990a, 101-102 No. 6; Corsten 1991, No. 149 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 20 Pl. 23.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A man in *chiton* and *himation* reclines on a *kline*, holding a cup in his left hand while raising a wreath in his right. A tripod table standing in front of the *kline*, while at the foot of the couch sits a veiled woman on a chair with a high, curved back and a foot rest, her left hand raised to her mantle, her right in her lap, perhaps holding some sort of garland.
Lower relief: A donkey stands at left, being led right by a farmer carrying an object is his left hand. At the far left is an incised *falx arboraria*.

Inscription:

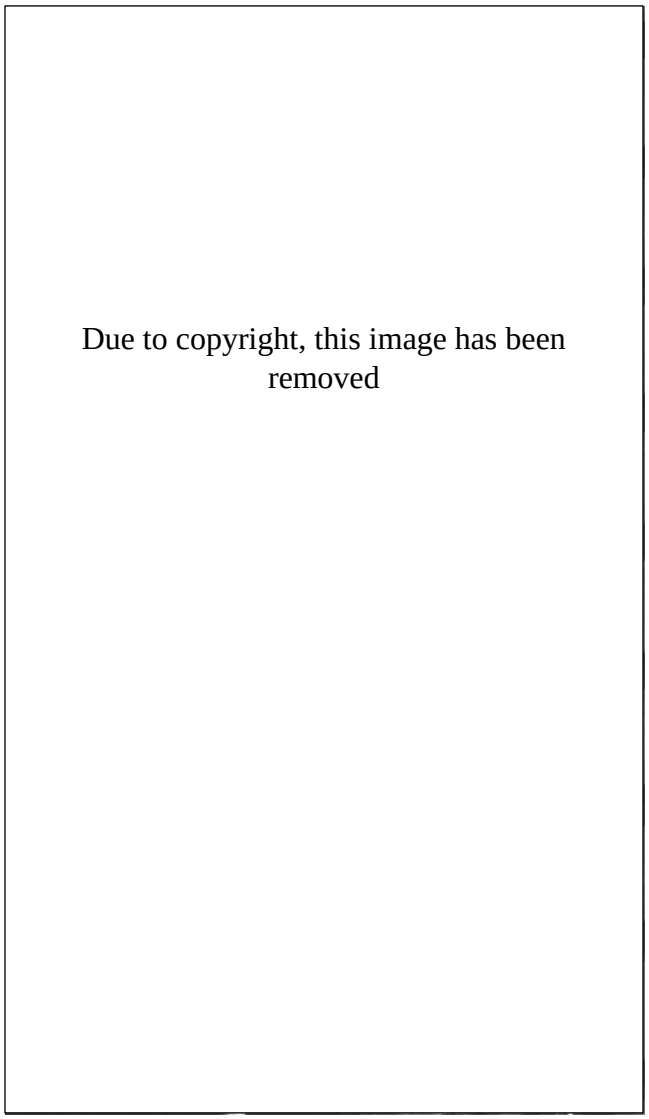
Παρθενόπη Ὀνησίωνι / τῷ ἀνδρεὶ ξυλοκάρῳ / μνήμης χάριν ζήσαν/τι ἔτη μ΄

Parthenope for Onesion her husband, a woodcutter, in memory, having lived 40 years.

The designation ξυλοκάρῳ (translated as "Holzfäller" in Corsten 1990) is otherwise unattested in Anatolia.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

56. Rectangular naiskos stele. Roman Imperial period.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2644. Found in Bursa. White marble. H: 68, W: 31-34, D: 9cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 198 (Figure).



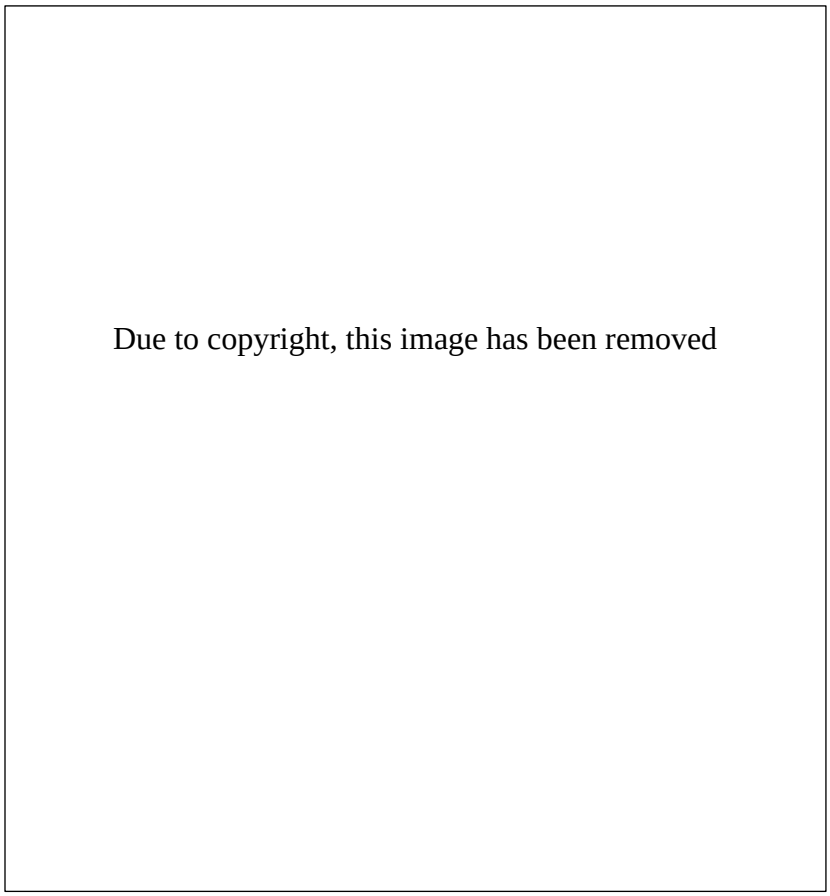
Relief field: A standard banquet scene, with a reclining man raising a wreath in his right hand, and a veiled woman seated at the left. A small-scale male servant stands in mourning to the right of the tripod table.

Inscription: Fragmentary.

Μ̣Ι.ΜΕCΘΕΥ / Θ̣εωδώροῠ, / χαῖραι.

Date based upon relief (Corsten).

57. Stele for Hedea and Nana. 1st century BC/1st century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2581 (old 4685). Found in Bursa. Stele broken off along a diagonal break across the relief field. Marble. H: 78, W: 68, D: 11cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 122 (Figure).



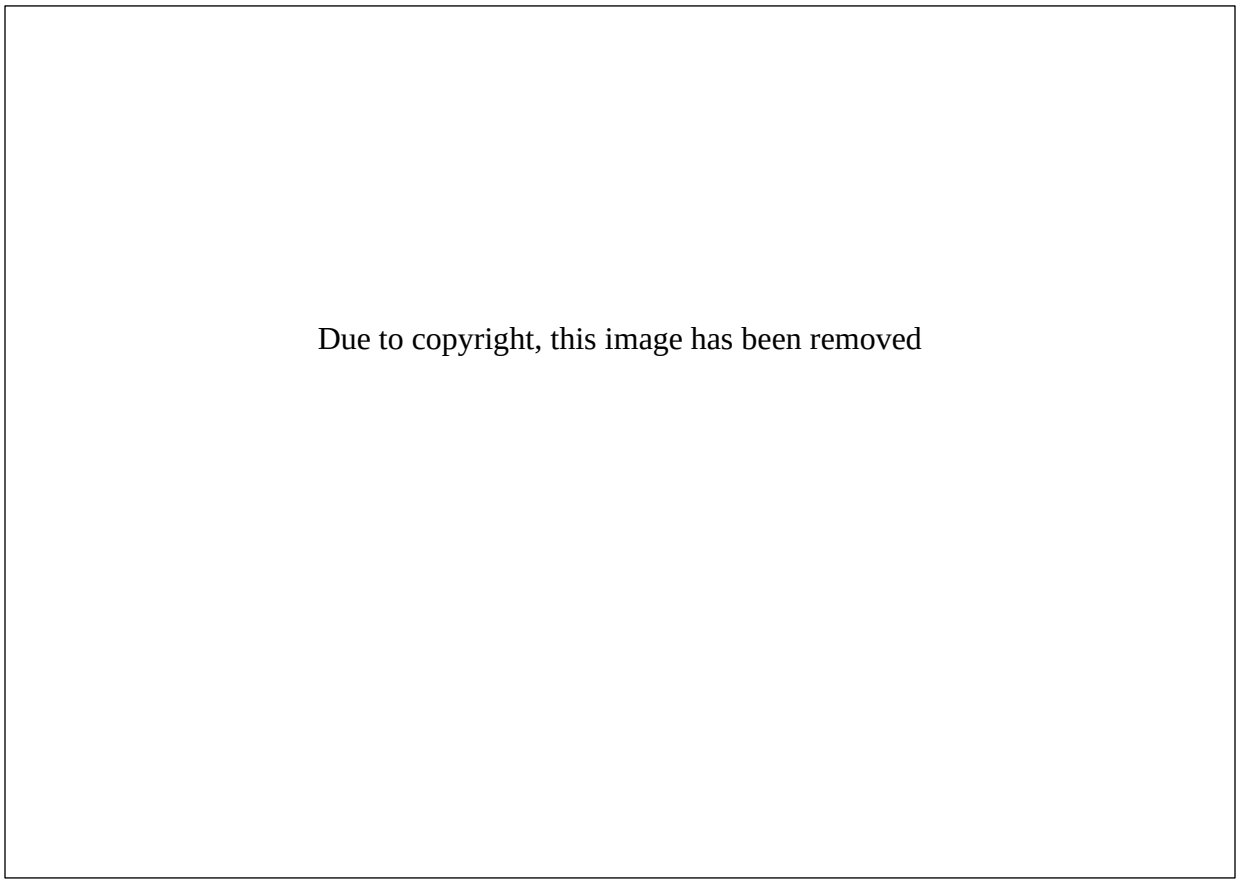
Relief field: The remains of this scene show two frontal standing female figures, only the figure on the left intact.

Inscription field:

> Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀπολλονίου Ἡδείᾳ τῇ / θυγατρὶ καὶ Νάνᾳ τῇ γυναικί, θυγατρὶ δὲ / Διογένου, μνήμης χάριν.
>
> *Artemidoros Apollonios for Hedea his daughter and his wife Nana, daughter of Diogenes, in memory.*

Date based upon script and relief (Corsten).

58. Naiskos stele (Fragment). 1st century AD.
Bursa Museum. Found in Bursa. Marble. H: 36, W: 49cm.
Literature: PM 166 Pl. 36; Cremer 1992, O 5.

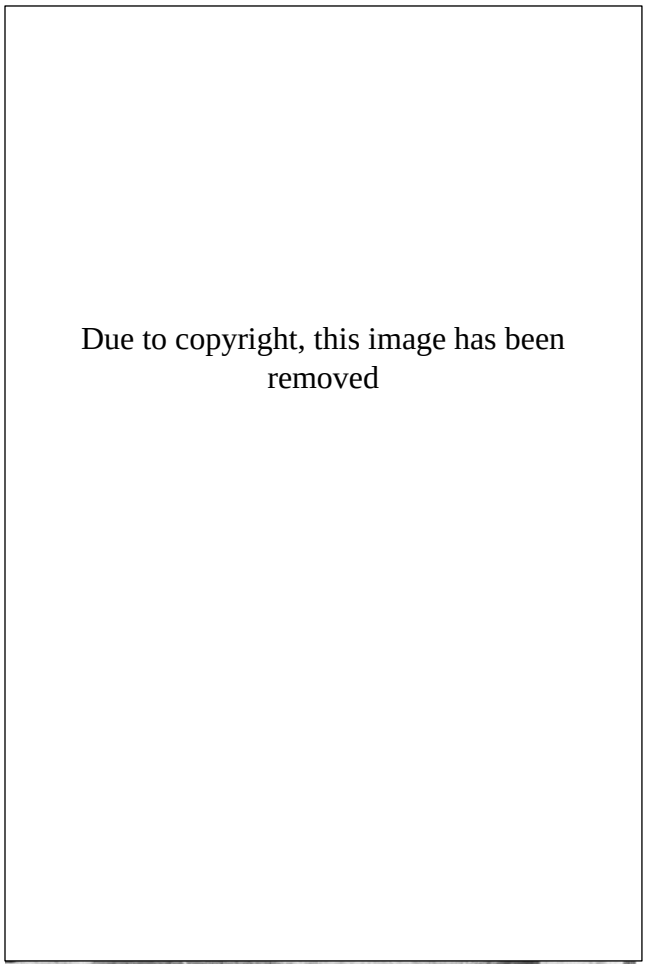


Relief field: A frontal boy in a *himation* stands in a typical pose, flanked by parchment roll, with case, inkwell, and reeds at left, and a diptych with two or three reeds and a stylus at right.

No surviving inscription.

Date based upon relief (Cremer).

59. Naikos stele for Hermogenes. 1st/2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 3167 (old 3836). Found in the environs of Bursa. Marble. H: 86, W: 40, D: 8cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 123 (Figure); Cremer 1992, O 9.



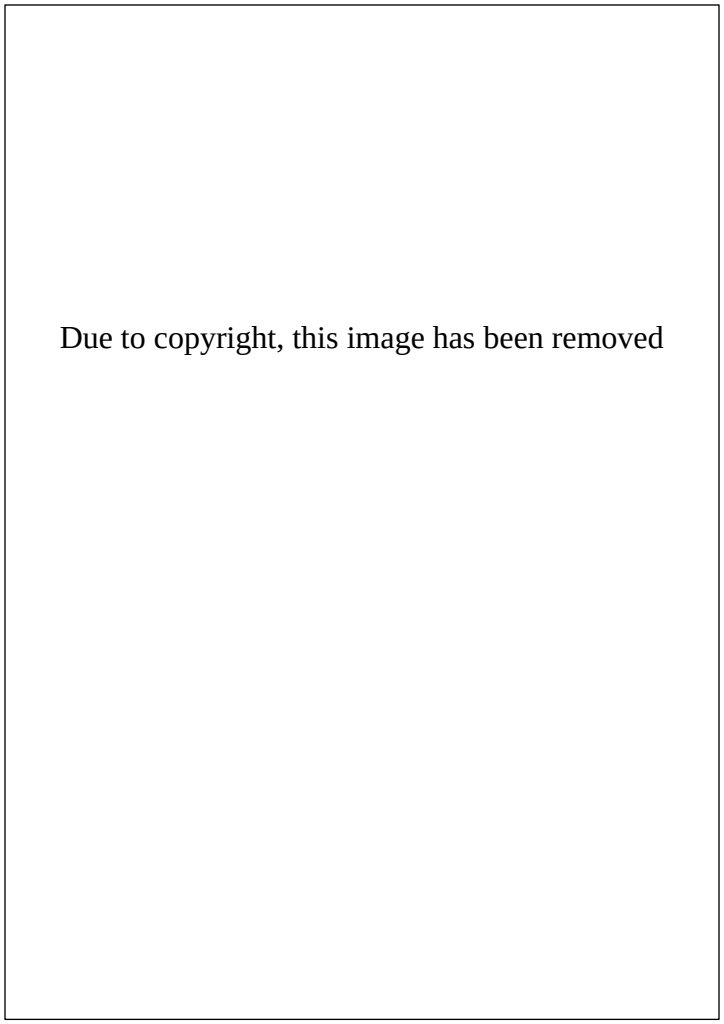
Relief field: A frontal bearded man whose hair suggests a second-century date stands in a standard pose, his right arm concealed in the folds of his *himation*, his left hanging down. At left appears a wreath encompassing a flower above a large-scale pruning knife.

Inscription:

> Οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Ἑρμογέ/νῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μνή/μης χάριν ζήσαν/τι κοσμίως ἔτη / λε΄ χαίρετε.
>
> *Brothers for Hermogenes their brother in memory, having lived 35 well-ordered years. Farewell.*

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten; Cremer).

60. Naiskos stele with *akroteria* for Apollophanes. 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 9080. Found in Bursa. Marble. H: 57, W: 37, D: 10cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 75 (Figure).



Relief field: This shows a central standing male figure, in a typical pose, in *chiton* and *himation*. He holds a bunch of grapes in his lowered right hand. He is flanked on the viewer's left by a cock, and at the right by a leaping dog. In the right corner stands a chest, upon which are five book-rolls.

Inscription:

Ἀνία Ἀμία Ἀπολλ[ο]/φάνη · τῷ υἱῷ μνήμης / *vacat* χάριν. *vacat*

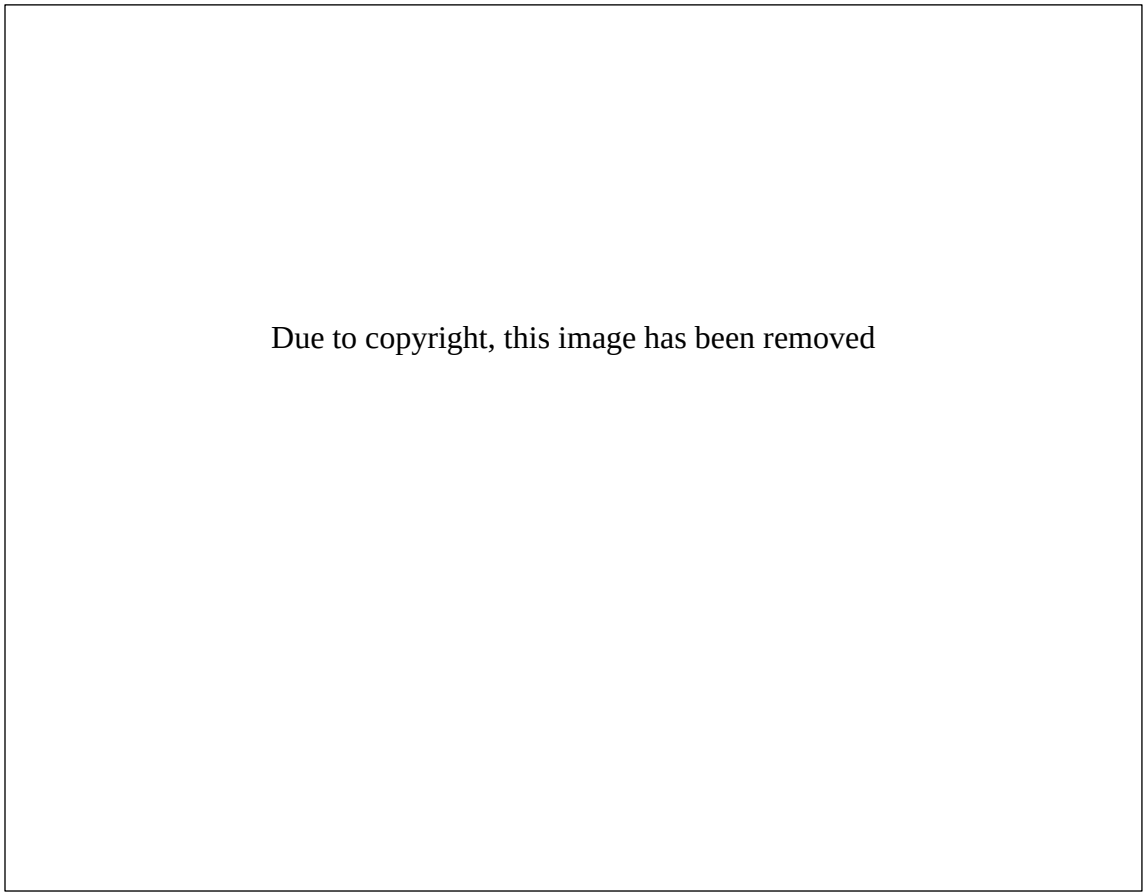
Annia Ammia for her son Apollophanes in memory.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

61. Pediment naiskos stele for Chrysa and Rufus. 2nd century AD.

Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 2881 (old 1943). Found in Bursa. Broken in multiple parts, with upper section separated from remains of the relief field. Only the lower section of the relief field survives. White marble. H: 105, W: 64, D: 10cm.

Literature: PM 552 Pl. 86; Corsten 1991, No. 95 (Figure).



Relief field: Only the lower section survives, showing the remains of a standing male and female couple and a smaller-scale male servant at the left. Between the frontal pair appears a base.

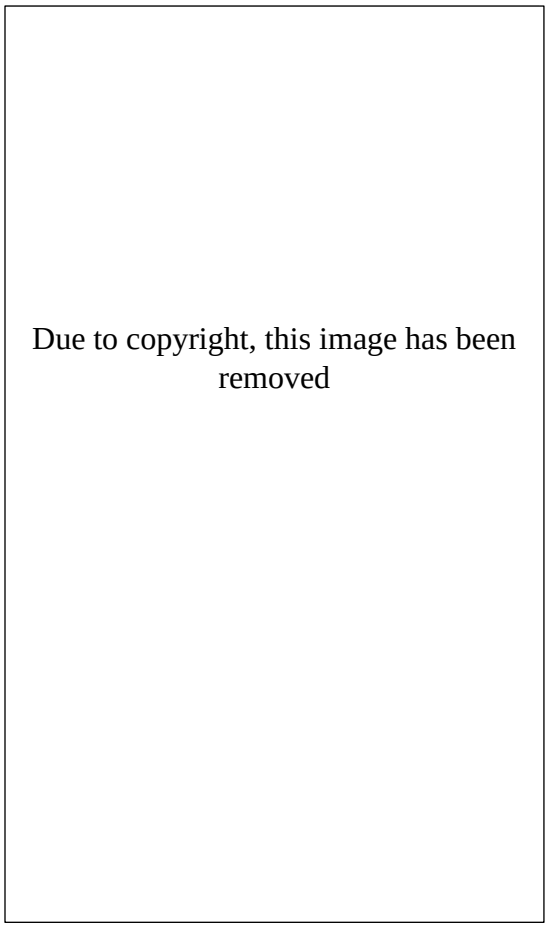
Inscription:

> Χρύσα Διοσστράτου ❦ ζῶσα ἐ/αυτῇ ❦ καὶ Ῥούφῳ τῷ υἱῷ ❦ ζήσαντι / ἔτη ❦ κε΄ ❦ μνήμης χάριν. ❦
>
> *Chrysa, daughter of Diostratos, (set this up) while living for herself and for her son Rufus, having lived 25 years, in memory.*

Date based upon relief and script (PM; Corsten).

62. Pediment stele for Apphe. Early 2nd century AD.

Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2619 (old 1001). Found in Kelesenköy (near Bursa). Surface of relief field damaged, as well as pediment and right edge. Bottom of stele broken off. Marble. H: 121, W: 60, D: 9cm.
Literature: PM 560; SEG 27.1227; Corsten 1991, No. 77 (Figure).



Relief field: Two frontal standing figures, in typical poses, a *Pudicitia* at the left, and a man at the right. These are flanked by two small-scale servants, female at the left, male at the right.

Inscription:

> Ἄπφη Τίτθας, · γυνὴ δὲ Τιβερίου / Κλαυδίου Αὐγουστάλου · ἐτῶν κα΄. / *vacant* · χαῖρε. ·
>
> *Apphe, daughter of Tittha, wife of Tiberius Claudius Augustalis, aged 21 years. Farewell!*

The onomastics for the husband here indicate his Roman citizenship, and the Augustalis either his position or a name he had adopted.

Date based upon relief, script, and the name of man (Corsten).

63. Naiskos stele, lightly tapered, Asklepiades and Menekrates. Middle Imperial.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 322? Found in Selçuk-gazi (Bursa). White marble. H: 206, W: 50, D: 12cm.
Literature: PM 347 Pl. 58.

Due to copyright, this image has been removed

Three relief fields:
Upper relief: Two male figures in a typical pose. Behind is a wall edge or curtain which rises irregularly to the right.
Middle relief: A typical banquet scene, man reclining on a *kline* with thin but prominent legs, a curved headrest and two pillows, raising a wreath. A tripod table stands in front, and at the foot of the *kline*, in a chair with a high straight back and a long footrest, sits a veiled woman. Behind the chair, at far left, stands a small-scale female servant holding a miniature wool-basket.
Lower relief: As the upper but with a central inscribed stele between the figures. A female figure protrudes from behind, arms extended behind/above heads of the young men.

Inscription: In three sections.

On mini-stele: *Μοῖρα δὲ / τοὺς ἀτυχῆς / ἤλασεν / ἀμφοτέ/ρους*

Lower right: *Χρῆστος Ἀπολλωνέου / χαῖραι*

Bottom: *Ὦ πάτερ, μεμφόμεθα σ᾽ἀν/φότεροι ὃς προθανὼν ἡμῶν / ὀλίγον χρώνον μητρὸς ἀφήρπασες / ἀνφοτέρους μηδ᾽ ἐλεῶν ἡμῶν μη/τέρα τὴν ἀτυχῆς, μηδὲν εἰδοῦσα / ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀγαθον· Ἀσσκληπειάδης Ἀπολ/λωνίου ἐτῶν κζ΄ Μενεκράτης Ἀπολλωνίου / ἐτῶν κα΄ χαῖρε· καὶ σύ, ξεῖνε, μεγ᾽, ὦ πα/ροδεῖτα, χάροις ὅτει τοῦτο / τὸ κοινὸν χαίριν προσέειπας / εὐσεβείης εἵνεκα· θανούσει δὲ / οὐκέτι χαίριν*

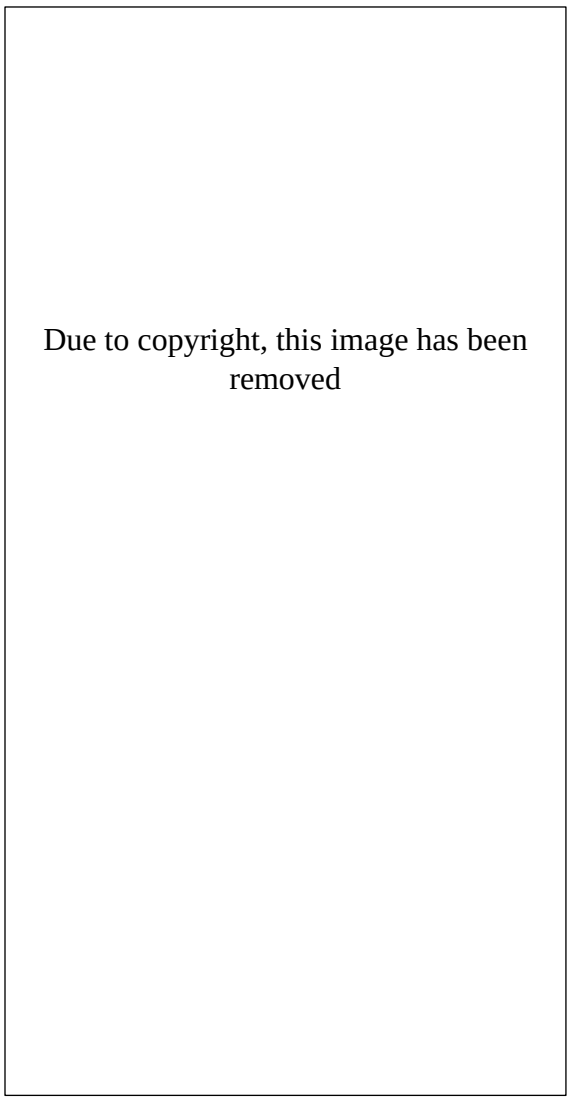
And Moira drew down the unfortunate pair.

Chrystos Apollonios, farewell.

O father, we both reproach you who, having died a little before, snatched away from our mother both of us, having no pity upon our mother for her unhappiness, as she saw nothing good from you [us?]. Asklepiades son of Apollonios, aged 27, and Menekrates son of Apollonios, aged 21, farewell. And you, stranger, O passerby, should much rejoice you spoke this common farewell out of respect; but for the dead there is no more rejoicing.

Date based upon relief and script (PM).

64. Naiskos stele of Agathakles. 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 8388. Found in Kızık Köyü (near Bursa). Marble. H: 70, W: 34.5, D: 5.5cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 66 (Figure).



Relief field: A male figure, with a Julio-Claudian hairstyle, holding in his left hand a plant or vine stock, and in his right a pruning knife.

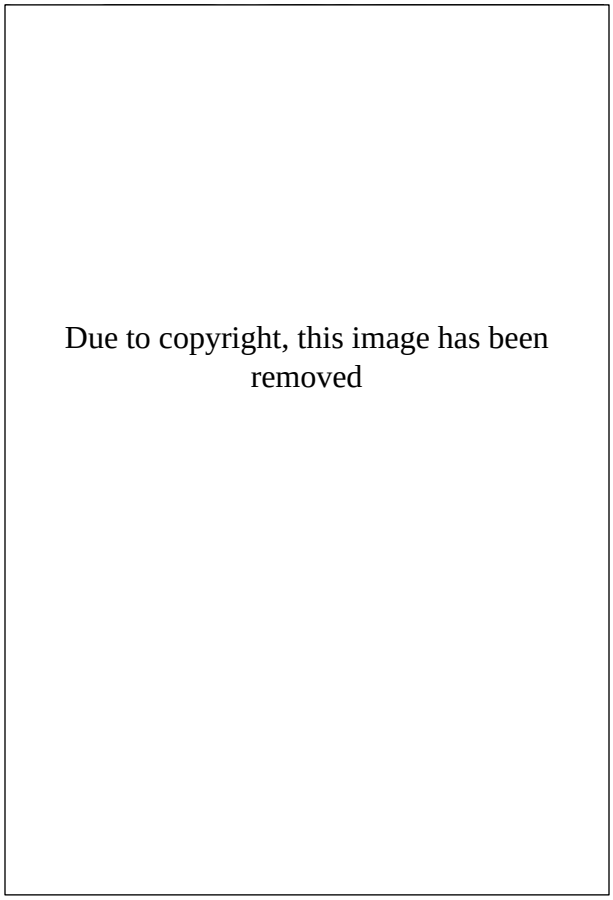
Inscription:

Ἀγαθοκλῆς / Τιμοθέου ζή/σας κοσμίως / ἔτη μβ΄.

Agathokles, son of Timotheos, having lived 42 well-ordered years.

Date suggested by the script, although the hairstyle is more like Julio-Claudian examples (Corsten).

65. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria* for Hedeia. Late 2nd/3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 2884. Found in Bursa. Now in two pieces, with a diagonal break across the inscription field. Gray marble. H: 68, W: 38, D: 6cm.
Literature: PM 764 Pl. 113; Merkelbach 1978, 70; Şahin 1978, No. 15 (III); Corsten 1991, No. 57 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 43.



Relief field: A small child stands frontal between a small dog at right and a chicken at left. Pfuhl and Möbius identified the child as a boy in a mid-length ungirded *chiton*, holding writing tablets. The image is badly weathered, however, and the figure could be a small girl.

Inscription:

> Μὴ τέλειος γ’ ἔτει νή/πειος ἐνθάδε κεῖμα/ι · Ἡδέα μὲν ὄνομα, Λεῦ/κος δὲ πατήρ ἰστήλην ἀ/νέθηκεν μνημοσύνης χάρ/ιτα
>
> *I am not here as an adult but as a child. Hedeia was my name, Leukos my father put up this stele in memory.*

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten; Cremer). The stele probably was produced by the Kestal workshop.

66. Stele fragment. 1st century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 3276. Found in Bursa. Broken off on all sides. Marble. H: 37, W: 23, D: 9cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 177.

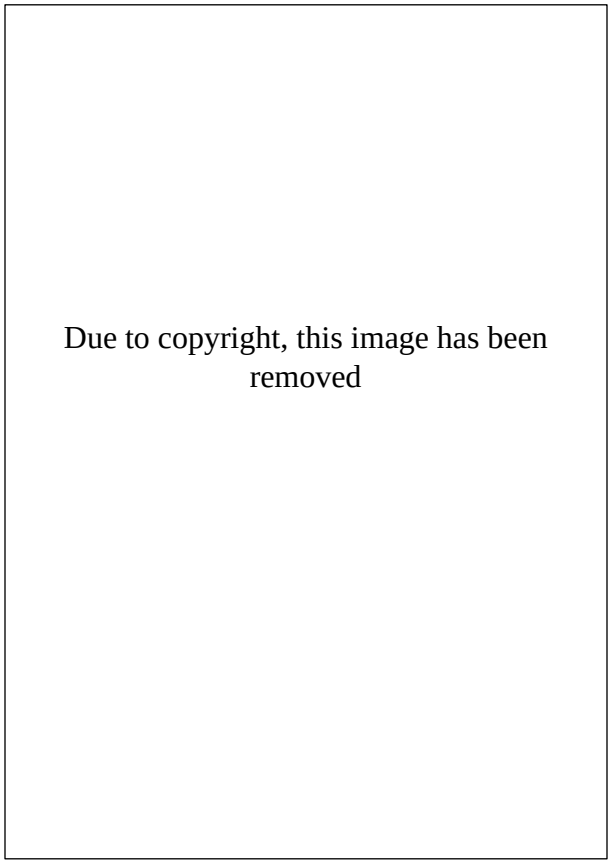
Relief field: Little survives of this field, but there are the remains of a seated woman at the left, in front of whom stands a frontal male figure in a *himation* and traditional pose, slightly smaller in scale.

Inscription: Fragmentary.

[Δ]άδα Χ̣ρήστοῦ [—]λου, γυνὴ δὲ []

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

67. Naiskos stele for Polychronios and Philete. 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 3157 (old 1616). Found in Bursa. A hole pierces the centre of the relief field, probably a drain. Marble. H: 58, W: 42, D: 7cm.
Literature: PM 1017; SEG 27.1234; Corsten 1991, No. 154 (Figure).



Relief field: The scene, framed by Ionic columns, shows an unveiled woman seated at the left, holding a handled-mirror extended in her left hand. In front of her is a rectangular frame (?), and beyond stands a frontal male figure in a typical pose. Below the right column is a wool-basket.

Inscription:

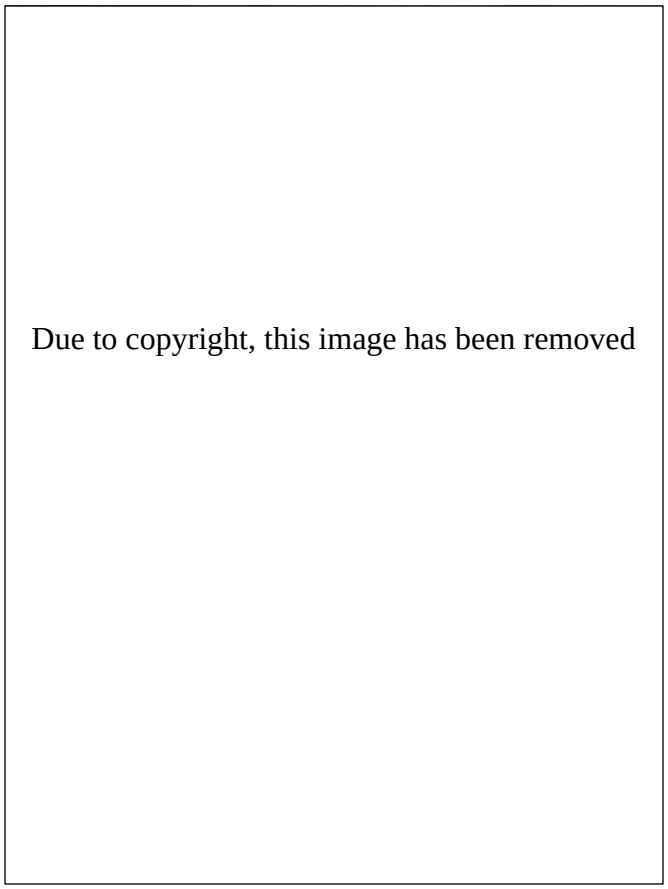
Γάιος καὶ Χελειδὼν / τοῖς ἑαυτῶν τέκν/οις
Πολυχρονίῳ / ζήσαντι ἔτη θ΄, Φιλή/τῃ
ζησάσῃ ἔτη · ζ΄ · μνήμ/ης χάριν· *vacant* χαῖρε.

Gaius and Chelidon for their own children
Polychronios having lived 9 years,
and Philete having lived 7 years, in memory.
Farewell.

This stele shows evidence of reuse probably as a water feature at some point after its original production.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

68. Naiskos stele with arch, *akroteria*, and tenon for Saturninus. Late 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 8887. Found in Bursa. Upper right corner broken off. Marble. H: 72, W: 48.5, D: 9cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 160 (Figure).



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A veiled woman sits in a chair with a curved, high back, and a foot rest. Her left arm is raised to her mantle, while her right holds a spindle. At her feet stands a wool-basket, above which floats a handle-mirror (left) and a comb (right).
Lower relief: A male figure in a *chiton* stands behind a plow with two oxen.

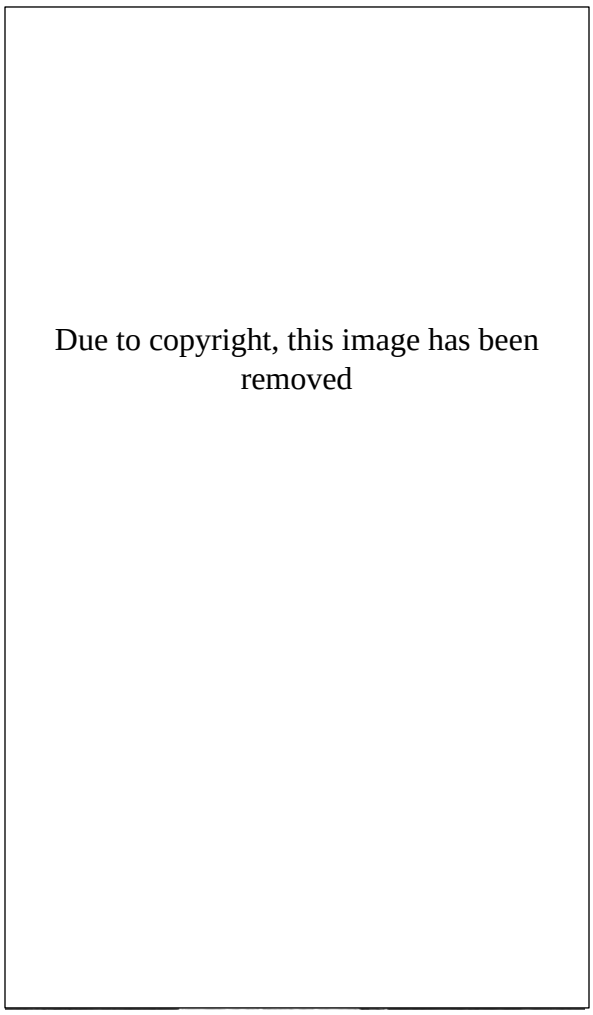
Inscription:

> Δίων Βασιλείδου τὴν στήλλην ἐποί/ησεν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ υἱῷ Κατορνείνῳ / ζήσαντι ἀμέμπτως ἔτη ιη΄ / μνείας χάριν. *vacant*
>
> *Dion, son of Basilides, had this stele made for his own son Saturninus, having lived 18 blameless years, in memory.*

Some features of this stele are in common with examples from the Kestal group. This is a example of the chosen imagery of the stele not being directly representative of the deceased.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

69. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria* for Antigeneia. Late 2nd/3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 2860. Found in Bursa. Marble. H: 72, W: 36-40, D: 4-5cm.
Literature: PM 1018; Corsten 1991, No. 69 (Figure).



Relief field: A veiled woman is seated at left in a chair with a high, curved back and foot rest, her left hand raised to her mantle. In front of her stands a smaller-scale frontal male figure in a girded *chiton*, his left arm hanging free, his right extended towards the woman, grasping a small vessel or object.

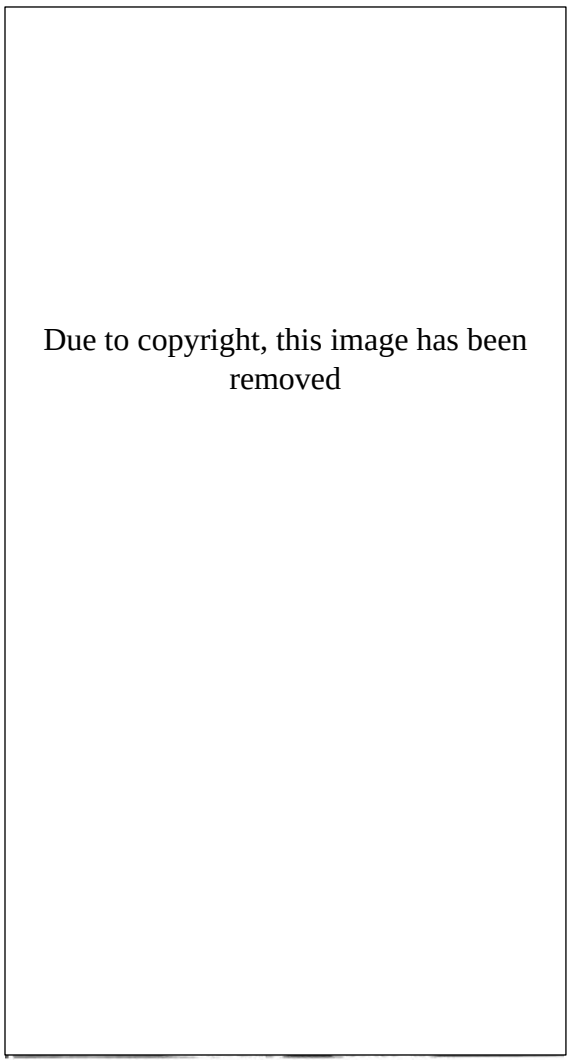
Inscription:

Δέκνος Δέκνου Ἀντειγ/ενία ζησάσῃ κο<σ>μ<ί>ως / ἔτη ο΄

Deknos son of Deknos for Antigeneia, having lived 70 well-ordered years.

Δέκνος probably derived from the Latin name Decimus, by way of Δέκμος (Corsten). Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

70. Naiskos stele with arch, *akroteria*, and tenon for Aristainete. 3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2559. Found in Bursa. White marble. H: 75, W: 38, D: 7cm.
Literature: PM 931 Pl. 140; Corsten 1991, No. 79 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 29.



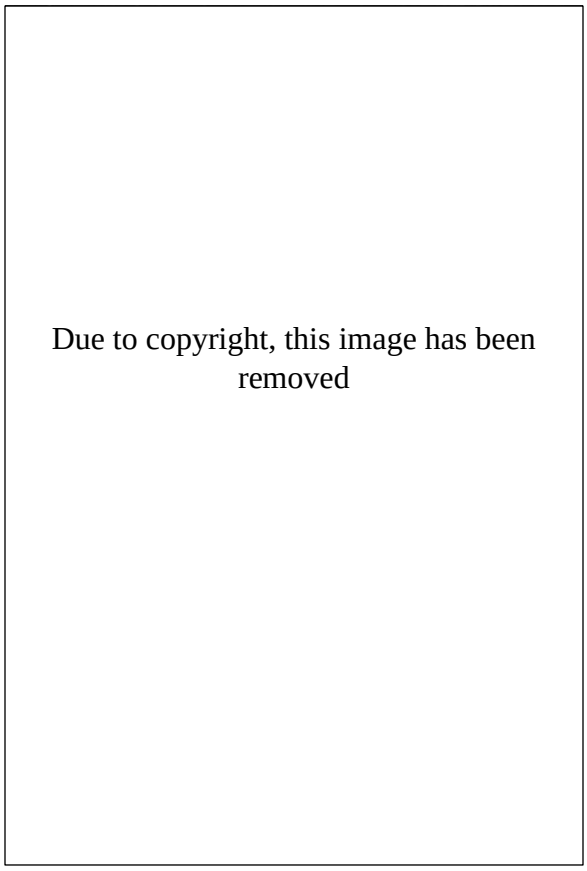
Relief field: A veiled woman sits at left, looking right, in a chair with a high, curved back and a foot rest, in a mantle. Her raised left hand pulls the mantle forward, while her right holds a spindle above her knees. In front of her is a full bell-shaped wool-basket, an oversized mirror with its handle, and above this a comb.

Inscription:

> Κασσιανὸς Ἀ/λέξανδρος Ἀ/ρισταιναίτῃ τῇ / συνβίῳ μνήμης χά/ριν ζησάσῃ ἔτη κβ΄.
>
> *Cassianus Alexandros for Aristainete his wife in memory having lived 22 years.*

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten). Probably a product of the Kestal workshop.

71. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria*, for Praxiade. Late 2nd/3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 3801. Found in Congara (Bursa). Some surface damage to arch and *akroteria*, and lower right corner of stele missing. White marble. H: 45, W: 30, D: 4.5cm.
Literature: Mendel, Brousse No. 53; PM 942 Pl. 141; Corsten 1991, no. 118 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 31.



Relief field: A veiled woman appears at left seated in a chair with a high, curved back and a foot rest. Her left hand pulls the mantle forward, her right holds an unclear object. In front of her stands a full wool-basket, above which are suspended a spindle-and-distaff.

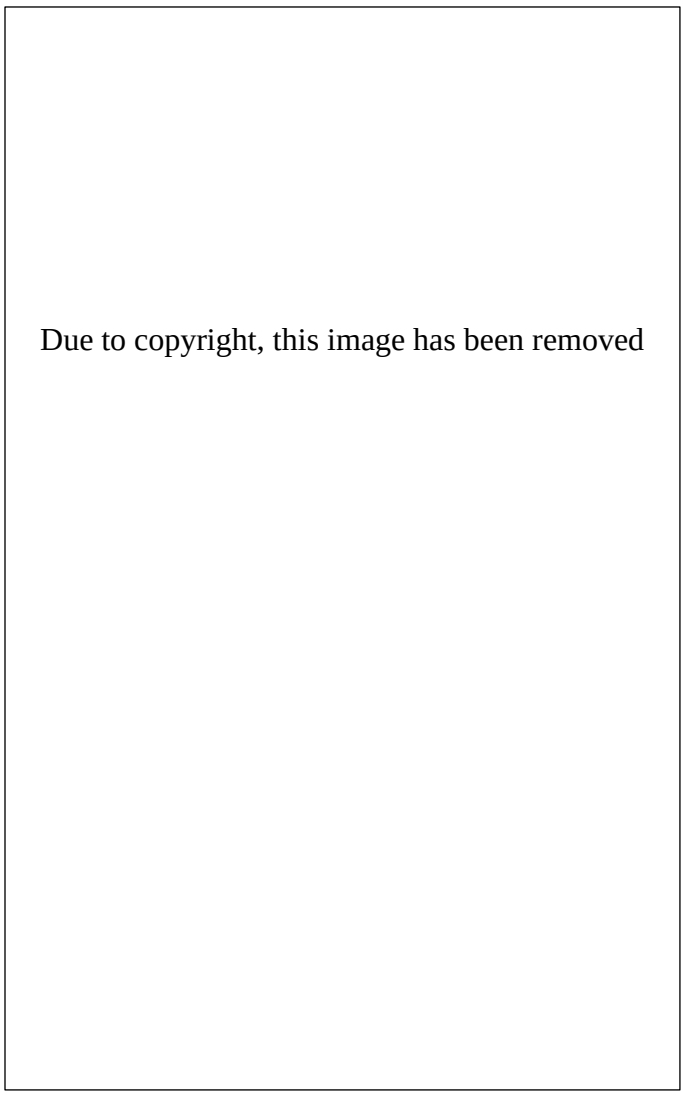
Inscription:

Ἀκρόπολις τῇ μη[τρὶ] / Πραξιάδι· μνήμη[ς χάριν]

Akropolis for his mother Praxiade – in memory.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

72. Naiskos stele with arch, *akroteria*, and tenon for Eirene. 3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2565. Found in Balıklı (Bursa). Marble. H: 69, W: 33, D: 7cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 111 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 32 Pl. 25.



Relief field: A veiled woman is seated at left in a chair with a curved back and foot rest, her hands holding a spindle-and-distaff (?). A female servant stands in front of her, holding an ill-defined object. Suspended above the servant is a long-handled mirror (left) and a wool-basket (right).

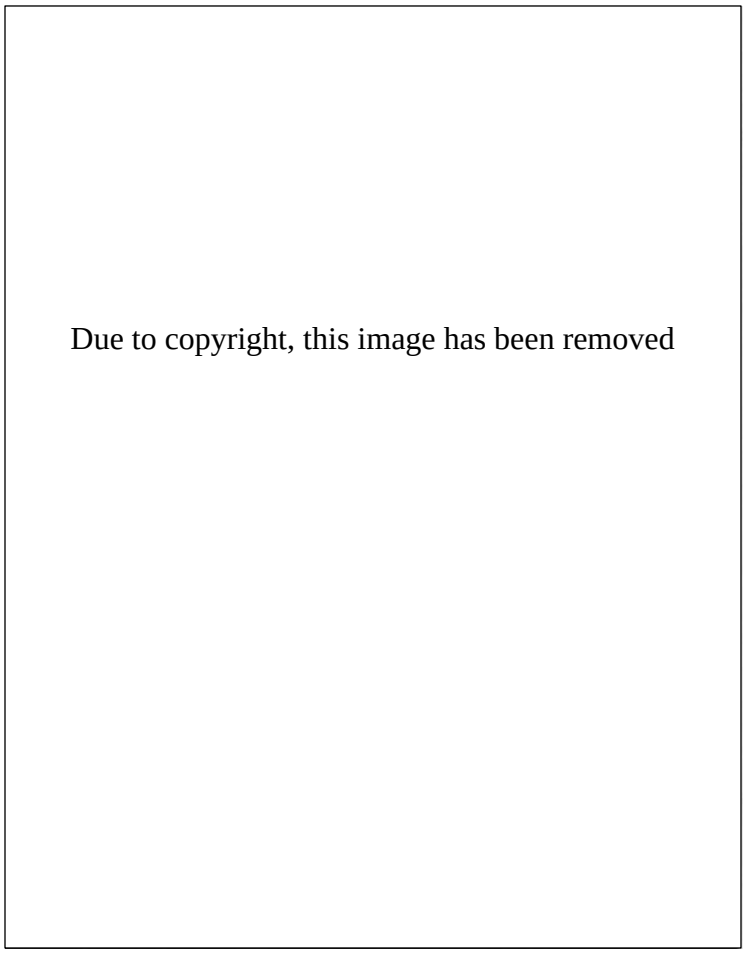
Inscription:

Τειμόθεος Γαϊ/ου Εἰρήνῃ μνή/μης *[vine leaf]* χάριν

Teimotheos son of Gaius for Eirene in memory.

Date based upon relief and script (Cremer).

73. Naiskos stele for Kailiana Elpis. Late Imperial period.
Unknown private collection. Found in the environs of Bursa. White marble. H: 73, W: 53cm.
Literature: PM 924 Pl. 139; Corsten 1991, No. 91 (Figure); Cremer 1992, O 8.



Relief field: A veiled woman is seated at left in a chair with a high, curved back and a foot rest. Her left hand pulls the mantle forward, her right an unclear object. In front of her stands a full wool-basket, a spindle-and-distaff, and in the far-right corner two long-necked vessels above a wide vessel like a *skyphos*. Suspended above these are a comb and a long-handled mirror (left) and a split-point wreath with ribbons (right), the ends of the wreath at the top holding a disk, while inside the wreath is a Gorgon head.

Inscription:

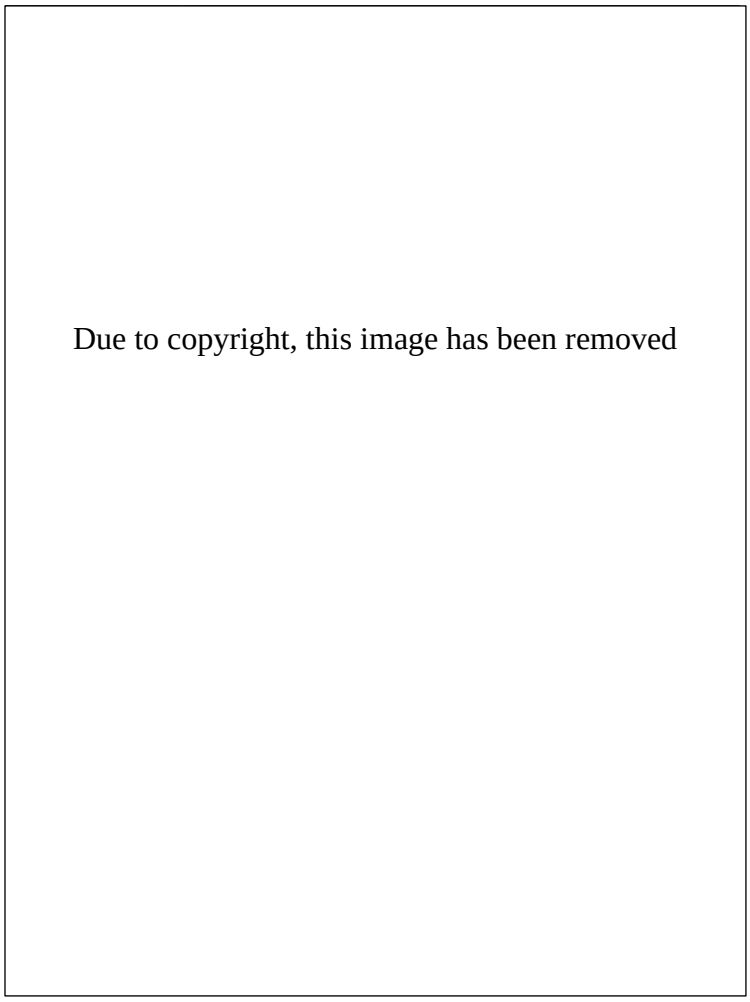
> Αἴλιος Ἀγάθων Καιλιανῇ Ἐλπίδι / τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ μνή/μης χάριν ζησάσῃ ἔτη λε΄. / χαῖρε παροδεῖτα.
>
> *Ailios son of Agathos for Kailiana Elpis his own wife in memory having lived 35 years. Greetings passerby.*

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten; Cremer).

74. Naiskos stele for Sescenia Polla. 1st century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 490. Found in Bursa. Lower left corner broken off. White marble. H: 77, W: 58, D: 12cm.

Literature: PM 2129; Corsten 1991, No. 162 (Figure).



Relief field: The shoulders and head of a female figure are shown between two pilasters, with a first-century hairstyle. At the right stands a male full-figure in a typical pose. In the left corner there is a box, and on the right a chest with notched edges (?).

Inscription:

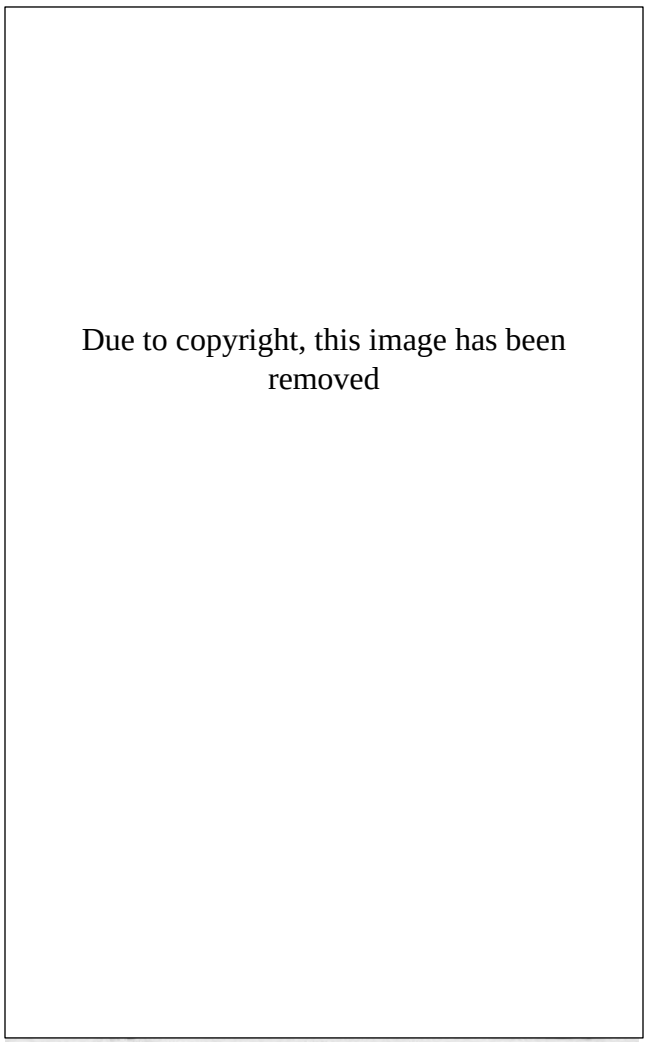
Λ[—]ḤNC[— —]ĄḴ[— / Σεσκηνία / Πῶλλα, / χαῖρε.

Sescenia Polla, farewell.

Σεσκηνία is the Latin gentilicum Sescenia.

Date based upon relief (PM; Corsten).

75. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria* for Mousa. 3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2554. Found in Bursa. White marble. H: 65, W: 40, D: 7cm.
Literature: PM 2139 Pl. 307; Corsten 1991, No. 143 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 39.



Relief field: A female half-figure is shown inside a pointed wreath with ribbons, a medallion at the culminating ends of the wreath.

Inscription:

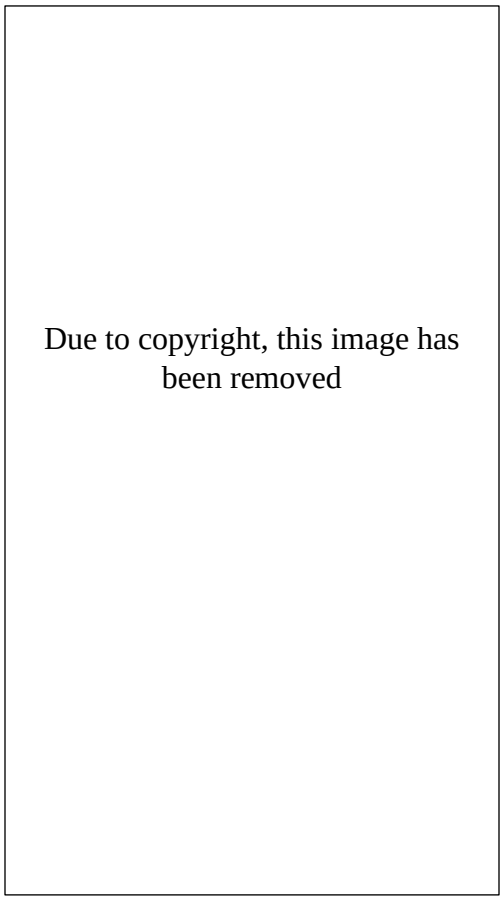
Παμαμύθιος τῇ συν/βίῳ Μούσῃ μνήμης χά/ριν ζήσασα κοσμίως / ἔτη λε΄.

Pamamuthios for his wife Mousa in memory having lived 35 well-ordered years.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

KESTAL

76. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria* for Apollonios. 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 9250. Found in Dudaklı Köyü (near Kestal). Damage to akroteria, and lower part broken. Grey marble. H: 73, W: 37, D: 5cm.
Literature: Akyürek Şahin and Onur 2010, No. 5 (Figure); SEG 60.1350.



Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with two men reclining, one raising a wreath, and a veiled woman (*Pudicitia*-type).

Inscription:

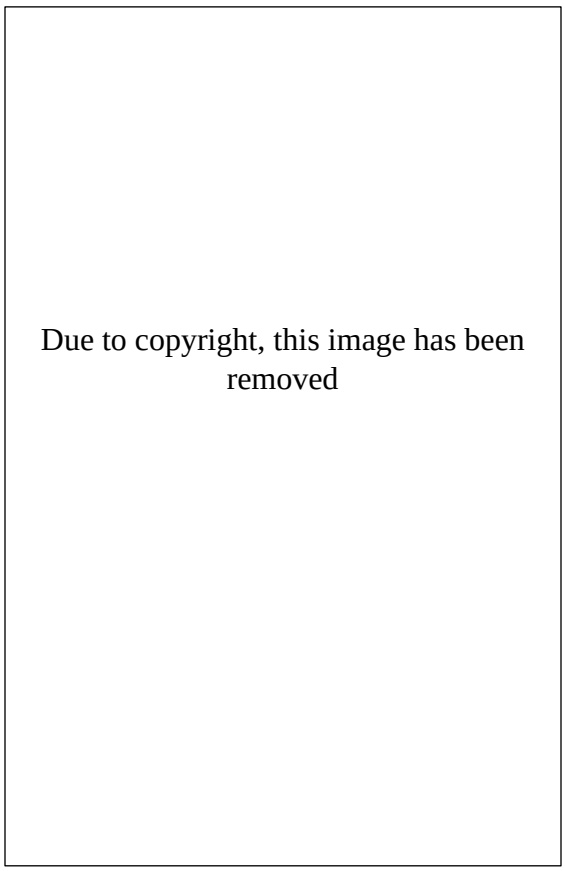
> Λούκιος Δημοφίλου καὶ Χρή/στη Διονυσίου οἱ γονεῖς τὴν στ/ήλην ἀνέστησαν Ἀπολλωνίω[ι] / τῶι τέκνωι μνήμης χάριν ζήσαντι ἔτη ι΄· χαίρετε, παροδεῖ/ται, ὅσοι μνημεῖον οὐκ ἀδικεῖτε / χαῖρε
>
> *The elder Lucius, son of Demophilos, and Chreste, daughter of Dionysios, put up this stele for their son Apollonios, in memory, aged 10. Greetings, passersby, do not mistreat this tomb. Farewell!*

Date based upon relief and script (Akyürek Şahin and Onur).

77. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria* for Oktaeios, Telesphoros, and Zois. 2nd century AD.

Bursa Museum, inv. no. 22.04.2004. Found in Narlıdere Köyü (near Kestal). Part of tenon broken off. Marble. H: 95, W: 52, D: 7cm.

Literature: Akyürek Şahin and Onur 2010, No. 6 (Figure); SEG 60.1351.



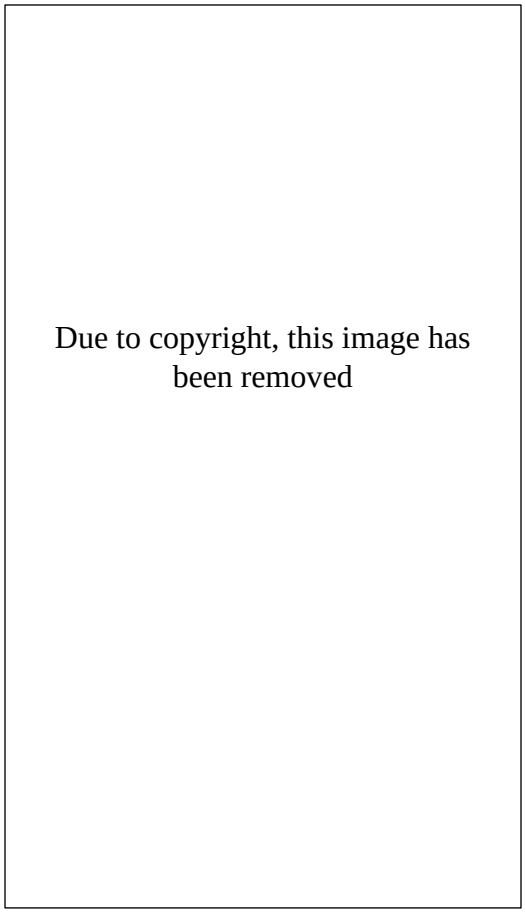
Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Typical banquet scene, with two men reclining, and a veiled woman (*Pudicitia*).
Lower relief: A collection of objects in line above the inscription (from left to right), a handle-mirror, a comb, a spindle-and-distaff, and a *falx vinitoria*.

Inscription:

> Λεῦκος Ὀκταείῳ καὶ Τε/λεσφόρῳ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς / ζήσασειν ἔτη τεσσαρά/κοντα ἐποί⟨η⟩σε μνήμης / χάρειν· Ἀλούκιος καὶ Χαρεί/των τῇ εἰδίᾳ τεκούσῃ Ζοεί/δι ν {ω} ζησάσῃ ἔτη τριάκον/τα πέντε μνήμης χαίρειν
>
> *Leukos put up (this monument) for his brothers Oktaeios and Telesphoros, having finished 40 years, in memory. Alucius and Chariton for their own mother, Zois, having lived 35 years, in memory.*

Date based upon relief and script (Akyürek Şahin and Onur).

78. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria* for Pronous and Cassia Briseis. 2nd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 8329. Found in Kestal. Marble. H: 125, W: 53, D: 9cm.
Literature: Corsten 1990a, 96-98 No. 2; Corsten 1991, No. 93 (Figure).



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A typical banquet scene.
Lower relief: At the centre stands a male figure in a short tunic. At the left is a donkey, and at the right a large-scale pruning knife.

Inscription:

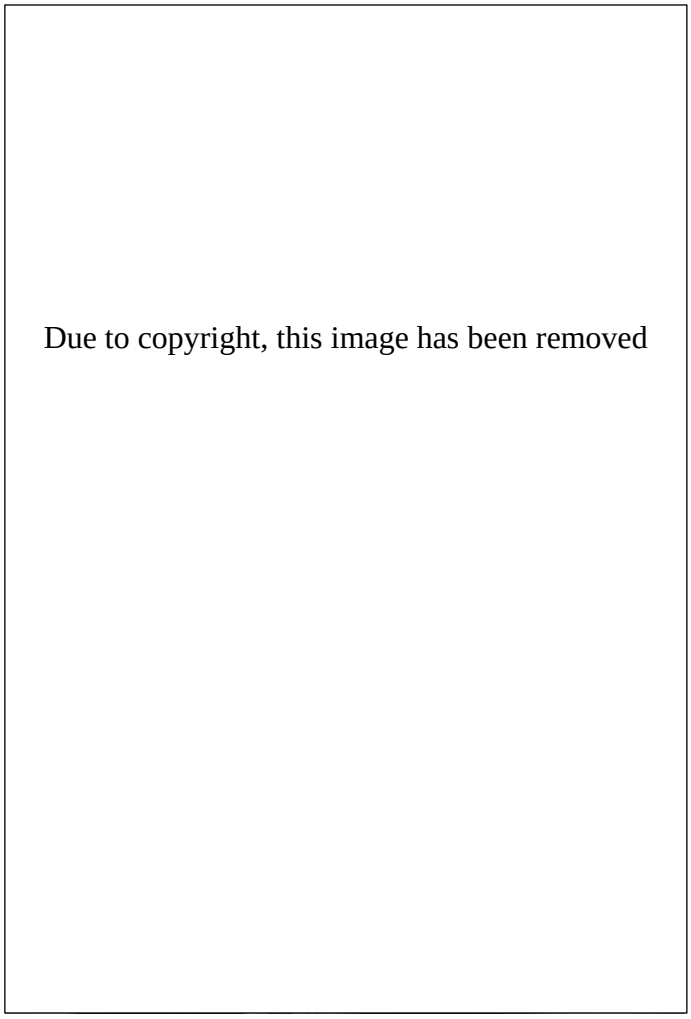
Κάσιος Εὐέλπιστος / Προνόῳ υἱῷ vacant / καὶ Κασίᾳ Βρησηίδι / μνήμης χάριν.

Cas(s)ius Euelpistos for his son Pronous, and for Cas(s)ia Briseis, in memory.

Euelpistos and Briseis are a manumitted slave couple. There were many Cassii in Bithynia, the most famous of which being Cassius Dio. Most probably received citizen rights from C. Cassius during his journey through Asia Minor to Philippi (Corsten 1991). The name Cassius is well-attested in other epigraphic records of Bithynia (Şahin *I.K.* 9, nos. 25-28, 51, 85, 116 [Nikaia]; Ameling *I.K.* 27, nos. 8 [Prusias ad Hypium]; also Millar 1964, 8-9; Şahin *I.K.* 7, 6-7; Syme 1982, 184).

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

79. Naiskos stele with arch, *akroteria*, and tenon for Lukios and Neike. 3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 8330. Found in Kestal. Marble. H: 78, W: 50, D: 8cm.
Literature: Corsten 1990a, 103-104 No. 7; Corsten 1991, No. 132 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 3 Pl. 20.



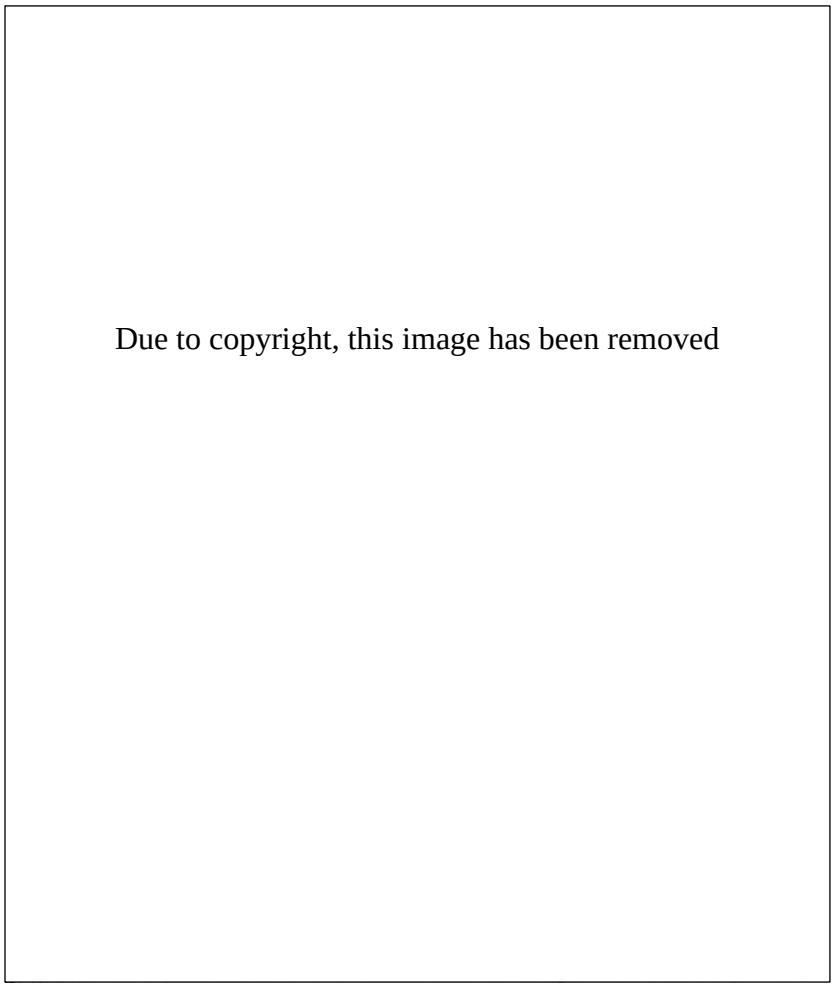
Relief field: A typical banquet scene.

Inscription:

> Κόιντος καὶ Λούκιος οἱ ἀδελ/λφοὶ τῷ πατρὶ Λουκίῳ ζήσαν/τι κοσμίως ἔτη μ΄ καὶ τῇ μη/τρὶ Νείκῃ ζησάσῃ κοσμίως ἔτη ν΄. Μνήμης χάριν.
>
> *Brothers Kointos and Lukios for their father Lukios having lived 40 well-ordered years and their mother Neike having lived 50 well-ordered years. In memory.*

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten; Cremer).

80. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria*, for Dione and Dion. 3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 8355. Found in Kestal. Upper left corner broken off. White marble. H: 74, W: 42, D: 4cm.
Literature: Corsten 1990a, 106-107 No. 10; Corsten 1991, No. 105 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 13 Pl. 22.



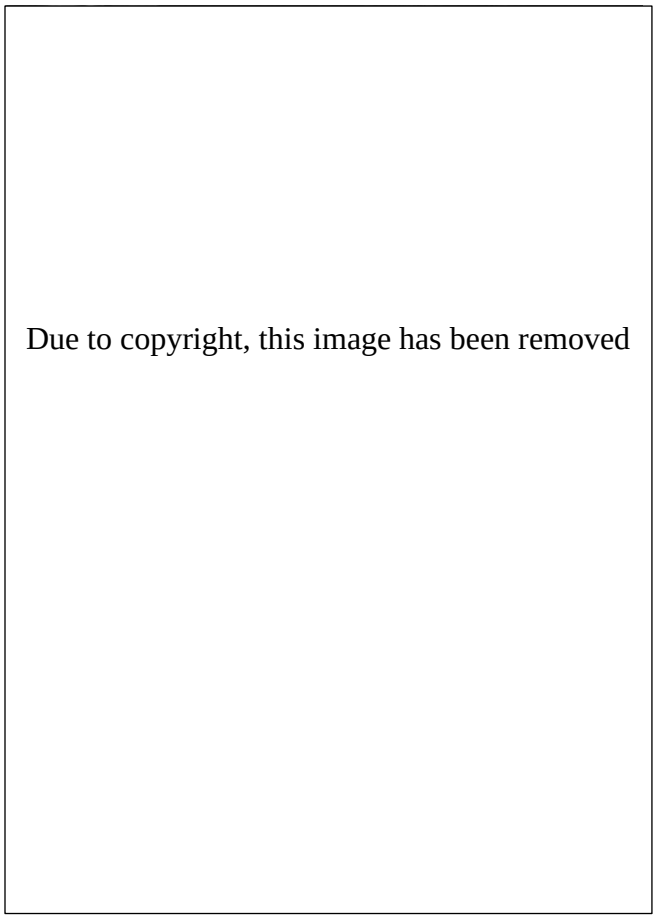
Relief field: A typical banquet scene.

Inscription:

> Διώνη ζήσασα κοσμίως / ἔτη κβ΄. ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῇ / ἐποίησε τὴν στήλλην / μνήμης χάριν
> Δίων Πολυχάρμου καὶ Ταλλιόπλοκος.
>
> *For Dione having lived 22 well-ordered years. Her father made this stele in memory.*
> *Dion son of Polycharmos and Tallioplokos.*

Date based upon relief, script, and comparanda with other material produced by the Kestal workshop (Cremer).

81. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria* for Chareis and Barbarion. 3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 8331. Found in Kestal. Lower right corner broken off. Marble. H: 62, W: 42, D: 5cm.
Literature: Corsten 1990a, 104-105 No. 8; Corsten 1991, No. 90 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 17 Pl. 23.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A typical banquet scene (seated woman holding a spindle).
Lower relief: Two oxen are shown pulling a plough.

Inscription:

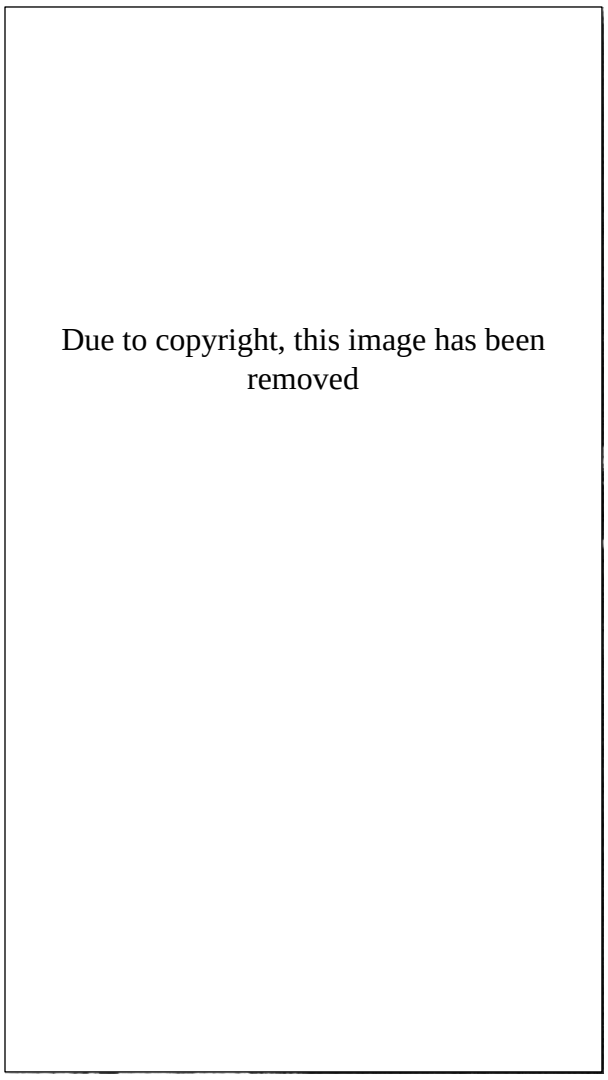
ΘCIAT
Χρύσιεν μετὰ τῶν πεδὶ/ων Χαρεῖνι Βαρβαρίωνι / [ ] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων / [μνήμ]ης χάρειν.

ΘCIAT. Chrysion for her children for Chareis and Barbarion [. . .] in memory.

There is some dispute over whether Chareis and Barbarion are two persons or one, namely Chareis Barbarbion (SEG 40.1156).

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

82. Naiskos stele with arch, *akroteria*, and tenon for Agathakles. 3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), no inv. no. recorded. Found in Kestal. Marble. H: 104, W: 44.5, D: 6cm.
Literature: Corsten 1990a, 98-99 No. 3; Corsten 1991, No. 65 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 22 Pl. 24.



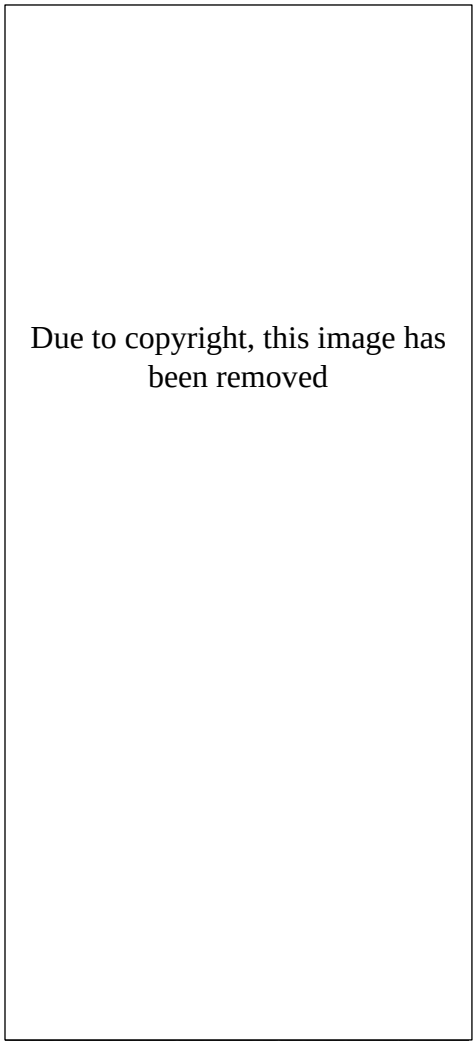
Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A typical banquet scene.
Lower relief: Like **81**, with addition of a pruning knife floating at left.

Inscription:

> Ἀπολλωνὶς Ἀγαθοκλῆδι τῷ ἰδί/ῳ ἀνδρὶ ζήσαντι κοσμίως ἔτη ξ΄ / ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μνήμης χάριν
>
> *Apollonis [made this] for her own husband Agathokles having lived 60 well-ordered years from his own (means?) in memory.*

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

83. Naiskos stele with arch, *akroteria*, and tenon for Nigrion. 3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 3104 (old 2000). Found in Kestal. White marble. H: 96, W: 41, D: 8cm.
Literature: PM 1711 Pl. 253; *SEG* 29.1358; Corsten 1991, No. 144 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 24.



Two relief fields:
Upper field: A man with a short beard reclines on a *kline* with curved back and ornate legs. The remainder of the scene is like other standard banquet scenes from Prusa and Kestal.
Lower field: A knobby-kneed donkey stands at left, wearing a saddle, while at the right is a large-scale pruning knife.

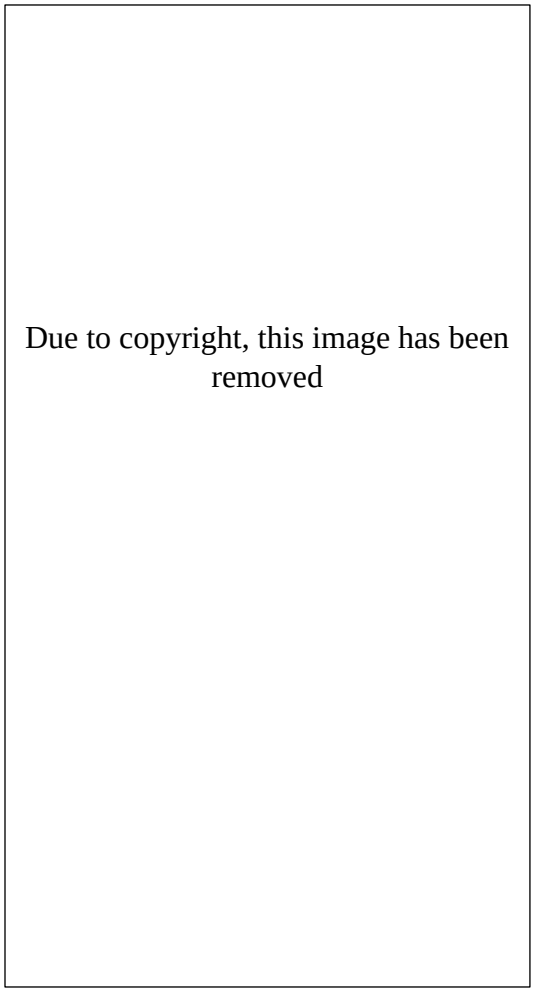
Inscription:

Πολυχρονία τῷ ἰδίῳ / ἀνδρὶ Νιγρύωνι ζή/σαντι κοσμίως ἔ/τη ξε΄μνήμης / χάριν

Poluchronia for her own husband Nigrion having lived 65 well-ordered years, in memory.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

84. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria*, of Gaius and Polion. 3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum (Depot), inv. no. 8332. Found in Kestal. Marble. H: 79, W: 43, D: 8cm.
Literature: Corsten 1990a, 99-100 No. 4; Corsten 1991, No. 120 (Figure); Cremer 1992, B 23 Pl. 24.



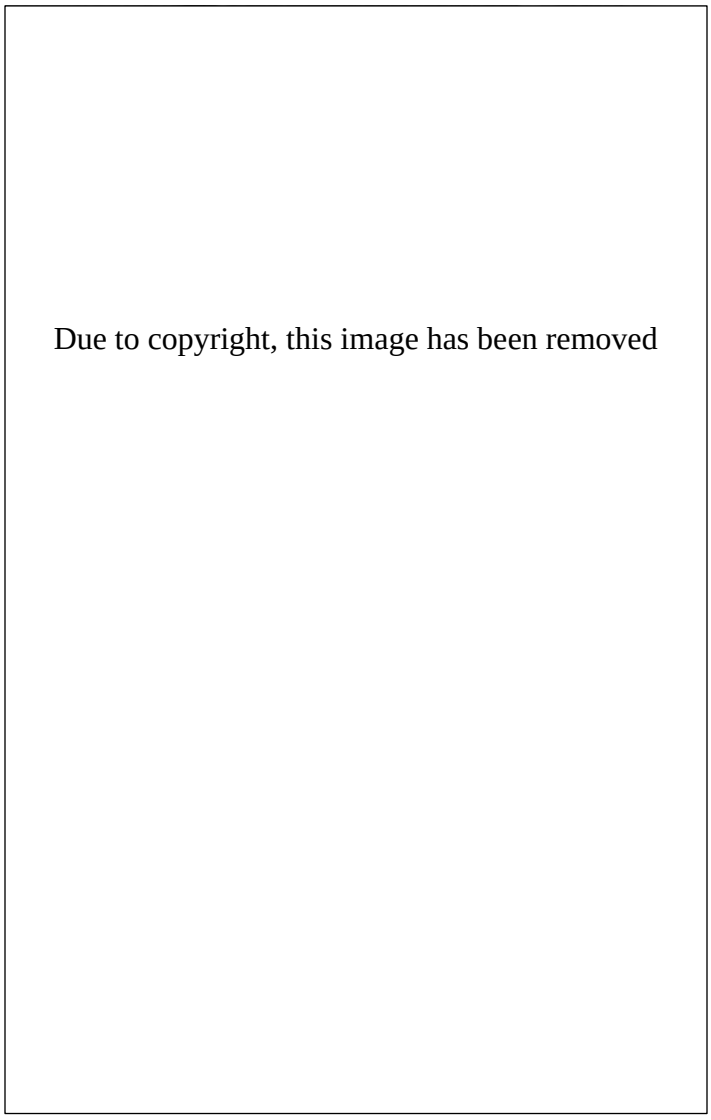
Three relief fields:
Upper relief: Typical banquet scene.
Middle relief: Objects shown in a row, from left to right, a handle-mirror, a comb, distaff-and-spindle, and a wool-basket.
Lower relief: Oxen and pruning knife (as on **82**).

Inscription:

> Γάιος καὶ Πολίων / τῷ πατρὶ ζήσαν/τιν (sic) κοσμίως / ἔτην (sic) ξε΄ μνή/μης χάριν.
>
> *Gaius and Polion for their own father having lived 65 well-ordered years, in memory.*

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

85. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria*, for Rufus. 3rd century AD.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 3151. Found in Kestal. Some surface damage on right edge. White/gray marble. H: 69, W: 35.5, D: 12cm.
Literature: Corsten 1991, No. 159 (Figure); SEG 36.1114; Cremer 1992, B 44 Pl. 26.



Relief field: A single frontal male figure is depicted in a short sleeveless tunic, holding in his right hand a *lagobolon* and in his left a snake, the head of which twists towards the ground.

Inscription:

Οἱ συνμύστε Ῥούφῳ / Γαίου μνήμης χάριν / ζήσαντι κοσμί/ως ἔτη ξ΄.

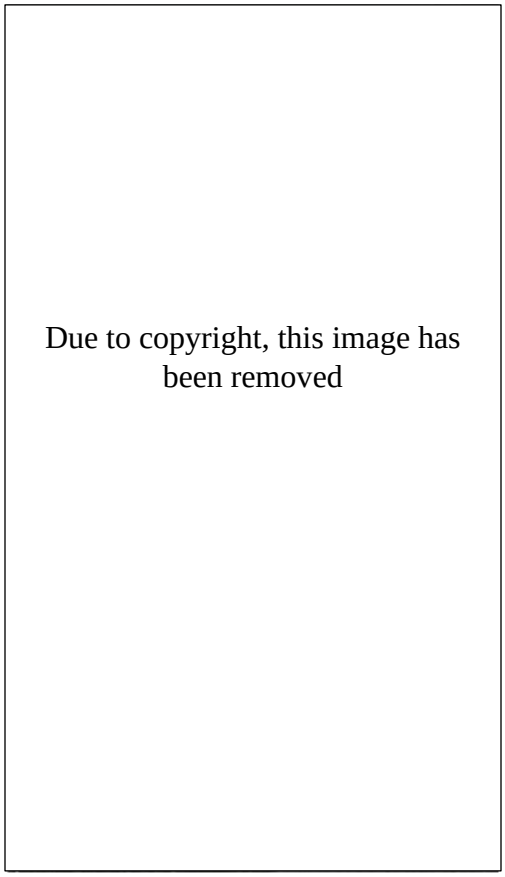
The 'fellow Initiated ones' for Rufus son of Gaius in memory having lived 60 well-ordered years.

Date based upon relief and script (Corsten).

PAMUKOVA/GEYVE

86. Pediment stele for Aur. Kallistos. After AD 212.

Adapazarı Museum, inv. no. 91/5. Found in Akçakaya, near Geyve. The upper and left-hand sections of the stele are broken away, and the surface damaged. Limestone. H: 97, W: 60, D: 19cm.
Literature: Adak and Akyürek Şahin 2005, No. 13 (Figure); SEG 55.1357.



Relief field: Fragmentary, showing the remains of a banquet scene, with a reclining male figure raising a wreath, and a second seated figure, probably female.

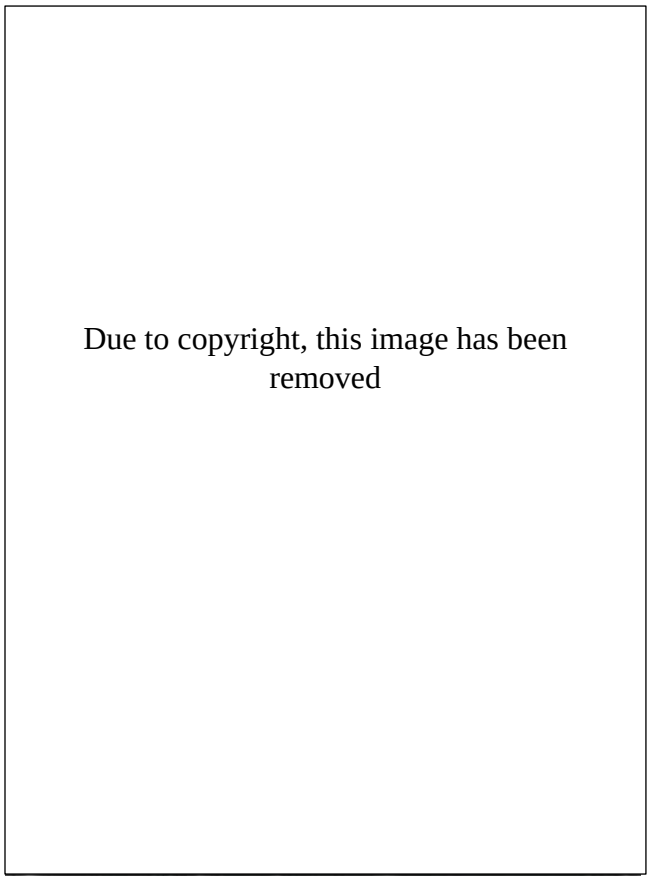
Inscription:

> Α. Τ̣ρ̣ύφαινα ἀνέσ/τησεν τὸ μ̣ν̣ημεῖ/ον τῷ ἑαυτῇ̣ς ἀνδρὶ / Α. Καλλίστῳ ζή/σ̣αντι ἔτ̣η̣ μα΄ · εἴ / τις δὲ ἰσκύλ̣ῃ μὴ̣ π̣ρ̣οσ/ήκων, παραδεδόσ/θω θεῦ̃ς καταχθο/νίυς, χαῖρε
>
> *A(urelia) Tryphaina set up this monument for her husband A(urelius) Kallistos, having lived 41 years. If any who has no right disturbs this, let him be answerable to the gods of the underworld.*

Date based upon the Aurelian names.

87. Arch stele for Eia. 2nd century AD.

Adapazarı Museum, inv. no. 2002/281. Found in Paşalar, west of Pamukova. Damage to the upper section of the stele, and the face of the figure. Marble. H: 86, W: 57, D: 19cm.
Literature: Adak and Akyürek Şahin 2005, No. 7 (Figure); SEG 55.1348.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Inside the arch-niche, a half-figure of a woman.
Lower relief: A collection of objects, from left to right, a large wool-basket, a spindle-and-distaff, and a folding mirror.

Inscription:

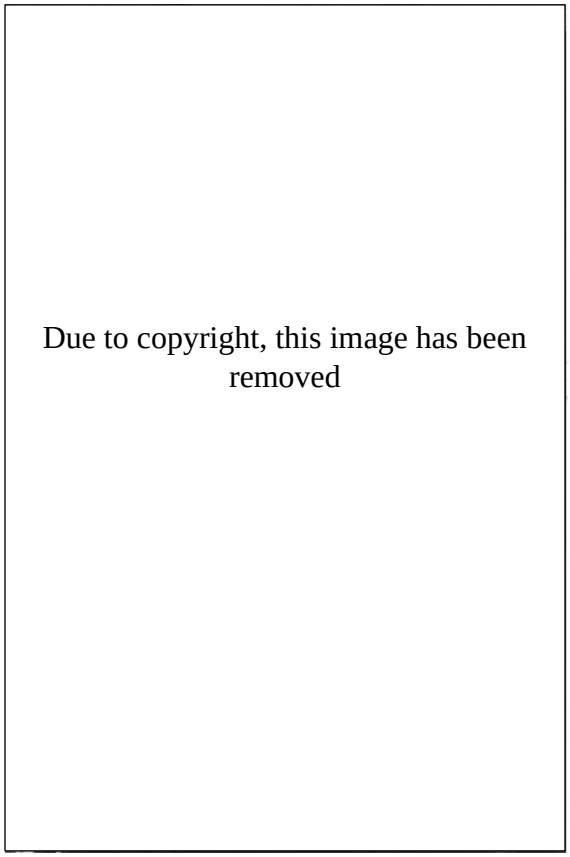
> Εἴα Μενάνδρου θυγάτηρ, γυνὴ δὲ Ἀσκ[λ]/ηπιάδου, χέρετε πάροδοι · ἐπιδέξετ[αι] / (basket) τῆς τύχης ἔτη νθ΄
>
> *Eia, daughter of Menandros, wife of Asklepiades. Greetings, passerby! She received of fate 59 years.*

Date based upon reliefs (Adak and Akyürek Şahin).

88. Arch stele for Pollion and Titha. 3rd century AD.

Adapazarı Museum, inv. no. 91/7. Found in the area of Pamukova/Geyve. Upper part of arch niche broken, and horizontal break at the bottom of the stele; also damage to the surface and faces. Limestone. H: 105, W: 60, D: 18-34cm.

Literature: Adak and Akyürek Şahin 2005, No. 11 (Figure); SEG 55.1362.



Relief field: Within the arch niche are two half-figures, male at right and a female at left, both badly preserved. Several objects also appear, namely at the far right is a *falx vinitoria*, while at the left of the female figure are a wool-basket and a mirror.

Inscription: A recessed field below the arch.

> [ὁ δεῖνα] Πωλίω/νος κατεσκεύ/ασε τὸ μνημεῖον / Πωλίωνι τῷ πατρὶ / καὶ Τίθᾳ τῇ μητρὶ ζή/σαντι ἔτη ⟨ἐ⟩ζήκ/οντα · χαῖρε · / εὐσεβίης ἕνεκεν.
>
> *[. . .], the son of Pol(l)ion, set up this monument for his father Pol(l)ion and his mother Titha, aged 60. Farewell! Out of piety.*

The names for the commemorated couple are more akin to Phrygian names.

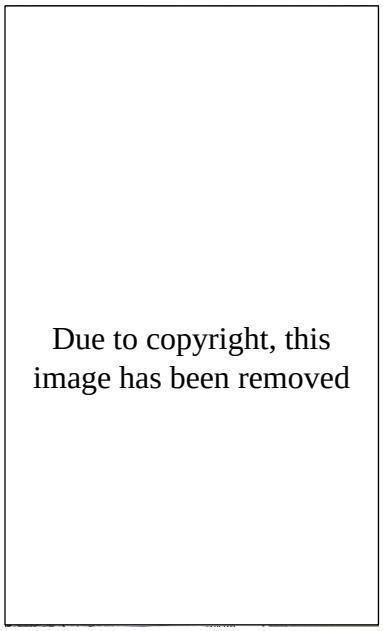
Date based upon the relief (Adak and Akyürek Şahin).

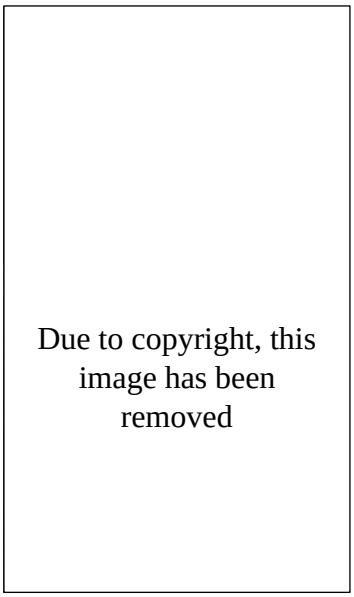
B. Byzantion/Constantinople

BEYAZIT

89. Pediment stele of Quintus Attius Herakleides. 1st century BC.

In the Philosophy Faculty of the University (Beyazıt). Found in Beyazıt, Hürriyet Meydanı, probably during construction of the Esnaf Hastahanesi. Marble. H: 76, W: 34-38, D: 16cm.
Literature: Taşlıklıoğlu 1961, No. 4 Fig. 15; Fıratlı 1964, No. 77 Pl. 27; PM 1804 Pl. 261; Łajtar 2000, No. 267.





Relief field: A banquet scene, with a male figure reclining on a *kline*, and a frontal male figure standing clasping the hand of a veiled woman seated at the left. Two small-scale servants flank the scene, a male in mourning at the right, and a female holding a *kalathos* at the left. Behind the main figures is a shelf with a collection of objects, including a casket and three book-rolls.

Inscription:

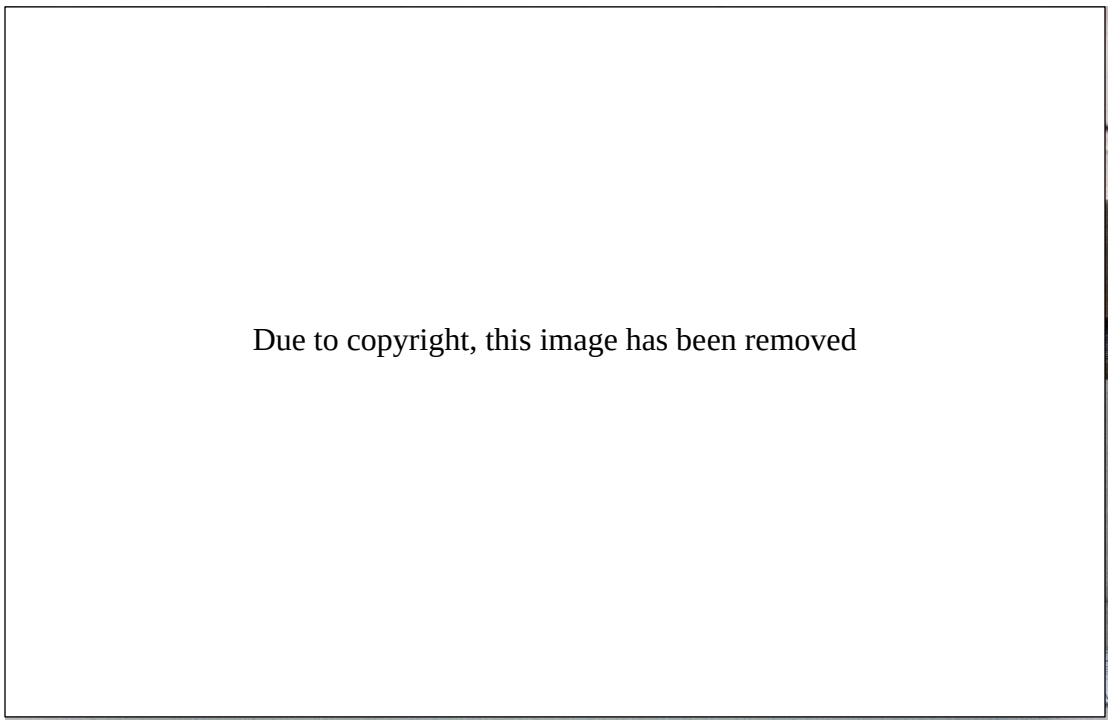
Κοΐντος Ἄττιος Ἡρακλίδης.

Quintus Attius Herakleides.

The Attii are known from other inscriptions in Bithynia (IK Nikaia nos. 1152 and 1293). The Quintus Attius Herakleides here was probably a Greek who received Roman citizenship from a Quintus Attius, in all likelihood one Q. Attius Varus, *praefectus equitum* for Caesar in Gaul in 51 BC and in the civil war in 48 BC (Łajtar 2000).

Date based upon the relief (Fıratlı), inscription may be later (PM).

90. Naiskos stele of Theodotos. 1st century BC.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4845. Found in Beyazıt, Ordu Caddesi, near the mosque. White marble. H: 85, W: 125, D: 23cm.
Literature: Ozgan 1948, 13; Fıratlı 1964, No. 33 Pl. 8; PM 2034 Pl. 294; Łajtar 2000, No. 284. Photo by author 2017.



Relief field: Between two flanking bases carrying *karyatids* and sphinx capitals, a man reclines on a *kline*, his left hand raised to his face, his right holding a wand pointing down to a globe sitting on a rectangular box on the groundline. A veiled woman sits at the left on the end of the couch, her feet resting on a low rest. Three smaller-scale servants attend, a male holding a casket at the right, and two female at the right, the larger holding a casket, the smaller a *kalathos*. On a shelf behind the main couple appear a collection of objects, including (left to right) two vessels, a double comb, a mirror, a footed-casket, a circular object, a bundle of three book-rolls, a second casket, and another object (identified as a sundial in the Museum).

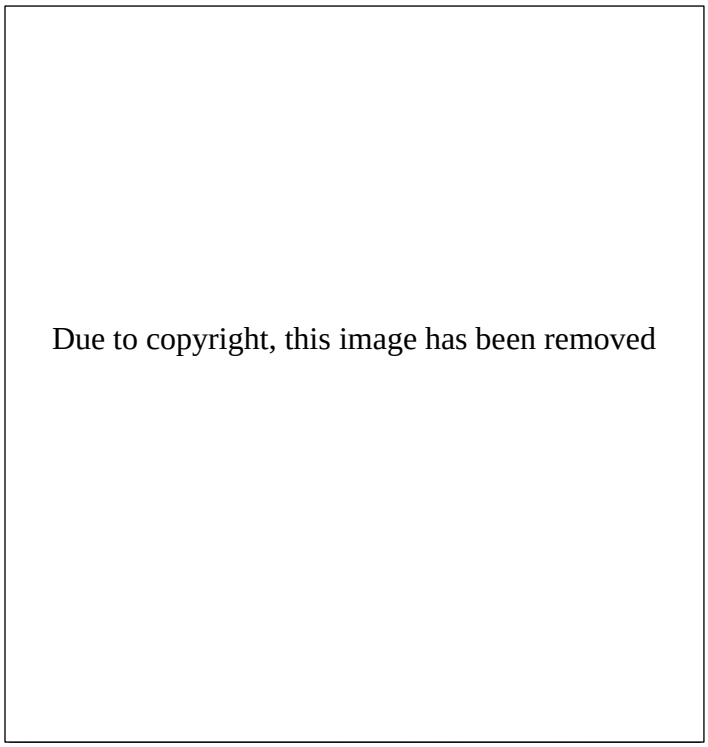
Inscription: Above the reclining male.

Θεόδοτος Μενέφρονος, χαῖρε.

Theodotos, son of Menephron, farewell.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı; Łajtar).

91. Stele of Matro and Hermodoros. 1st century BC.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5016. Found in Beyazıt. Relief in two fragments, lower part of stele missing. Marble. H: 47, W: 48, D: 7cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 101 Pl. 19; Łajtar 2000, No. 230.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with a male figure reclining on a *kline*, holding a cup and raising a wreath in his right hand. At the left sits a veiled woman, on a block-like seat, grasping her veil with her left hand. A table stands in front of the *kline*. Two servants accompany the scene, a female at the left and a male at the right, the latter in mourning.

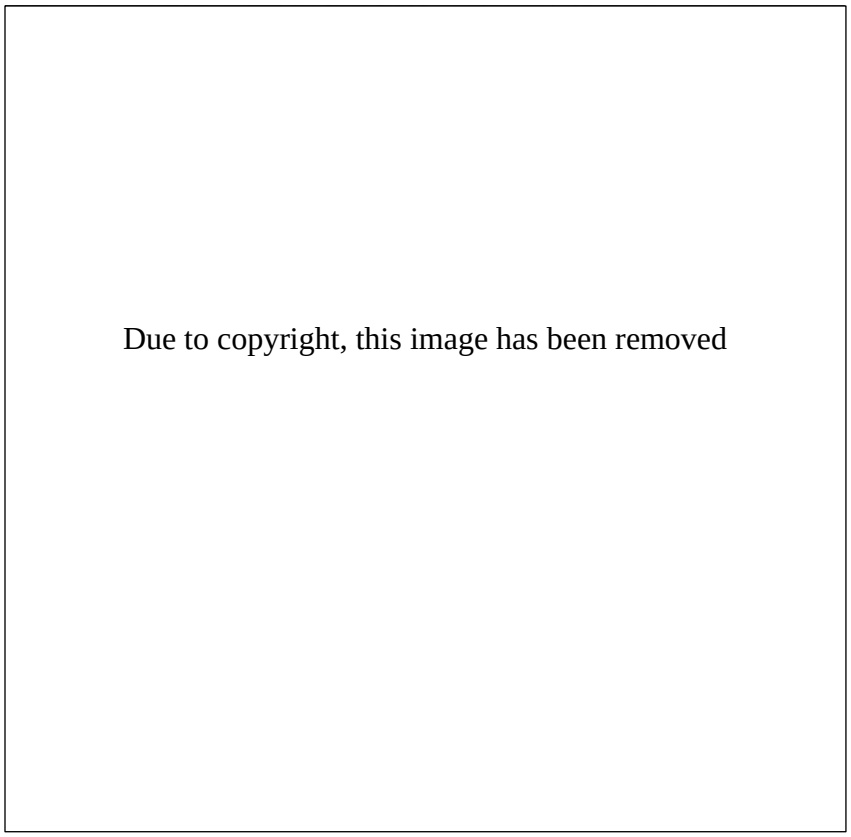
Inscription:

Ματρὼ / Ἑρμοδώρου
Ἑρμοδώρος / Μηνοφίλου

Matro (daughter or wife of) Hermodoros. Hermodoros, son of Menophilos.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

92. Rectangular stele with arch of [ ]arion. 1st century BC.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5030. Found in Beyazıt. Lower portion of stele missing, and lower part of figure broken away. Marble. H: 35, W: 40, D: 9cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 149 Pl. 37; Łajtar 2000, No. 137.



Relief field: Upper figure of a veiled frontal woman.

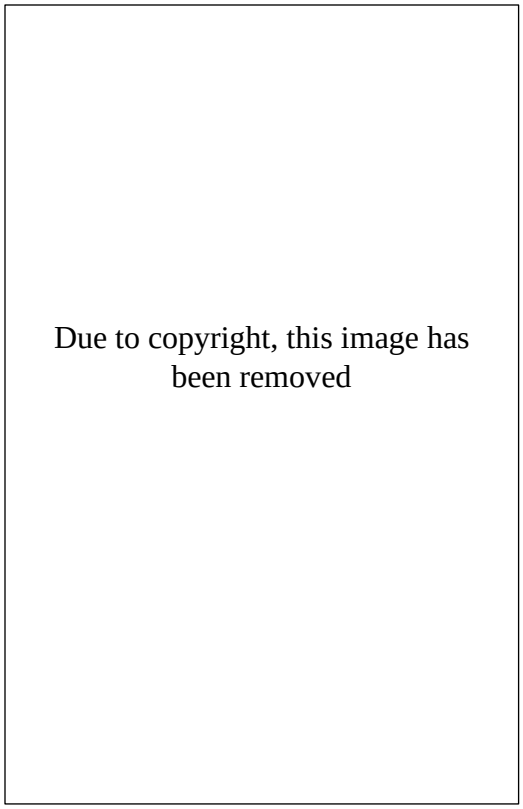
Inscription:

[ ]άριν / Μοσχίωνος, Δ[ ]ου τοῦ καὶ / Βάσσου γυνὴ χαῖρε.

[ ]arion daughter of Moschion and wife of [ ] also known as Bassus, farewell.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

93. Stele of Markus Antonius Dadas. Late 1st century BC.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4979. Found in Beyazıt. Marble. H: 37, W: 23, D: 7cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 43 Pl. 21; Łajtar 2000, No. 198.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with a male figure reclining on the *kline,* raising a wreath in his right hand, a table in front of the couch. A veiled woman sits at the left on a cube-like block. With her appears a small-scale female servant holding a *kalathos*, and a male servant stands in mourning at the right edge.

Inscription:

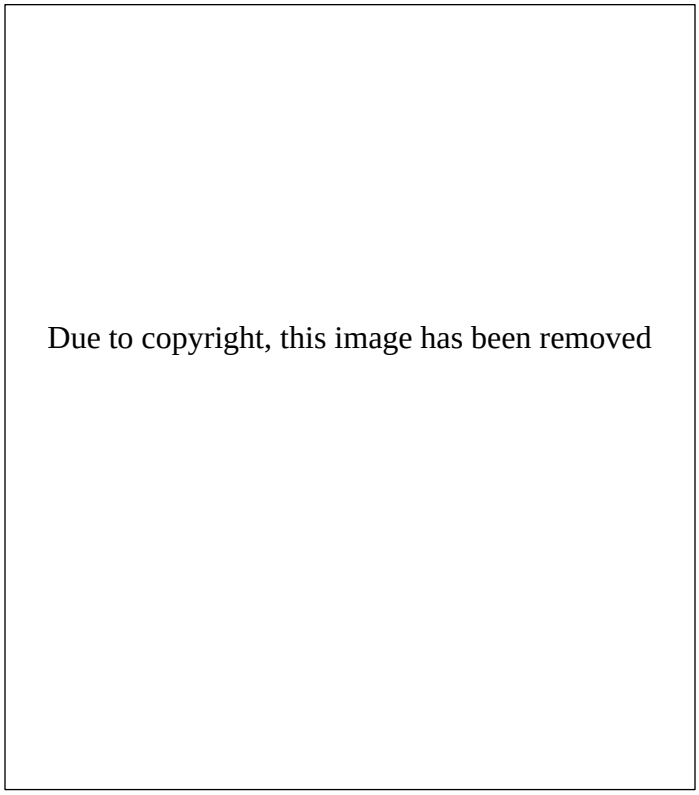
Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Δα/δας.

Markus Antonius Dadas.

The name indicates the man was granted Roman citizenship under Marcus Antonius during the 2nd Triumvirate.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

94. Pediment stele of Hadys, Vigellia Catula, and Dionysios. 1st century BC.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4949. Found in Beyazıt. Marble. H: 34, W: 29, D: 5cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 104 Pl. 27; Łajtar 2000, No. 269.



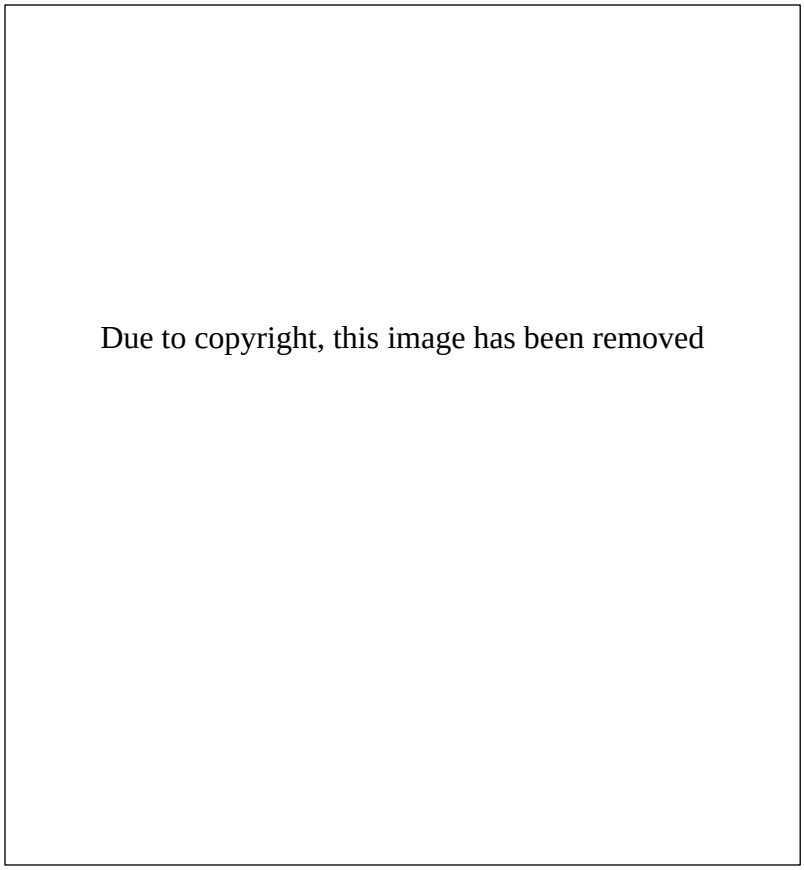
Relief field: A banquet scene, showing a man reclining on a *kline*, holding a cup or vessel, a table standing in front of the couch. Left of the table, at the centre, stands a frontal male figure in a typical pose, wearing a *himation*. At the far left sits a veiled female figure on a cube-like seat. Two servants flank the scene, a female at the left, and a male in mourning at the right.

Inscription:

> Ἀδὺς Ποσιδωνίου, ζῆ. / Βειγελλία Κάτυλα, ζῆ. / Διονύσις Ἀδύος.
>
> *Hadys, son of Posidonios, living. Vigellia Catula, living. Dionysios, son of Hadys.*

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

95. Pediment stele of Aphphia and Trophimos. 1st century BC/ 1st century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4970. Found in Beyazıt. Marble. H: 49, W: 43, D: 8cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 105 Pl. 24; Łajtar 2000, No. 266.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with the man reclining, raising a wreath with his right hand. At the centre, in front of the *kline,* stands a young male figure, frontal and in a typical pose. To the right stands a table. At the left, a veiled woman is shown seated on a block-seat. Two small-scale servants accompany the scene, the male at right, the female at left, both in mourning.

Inscription:

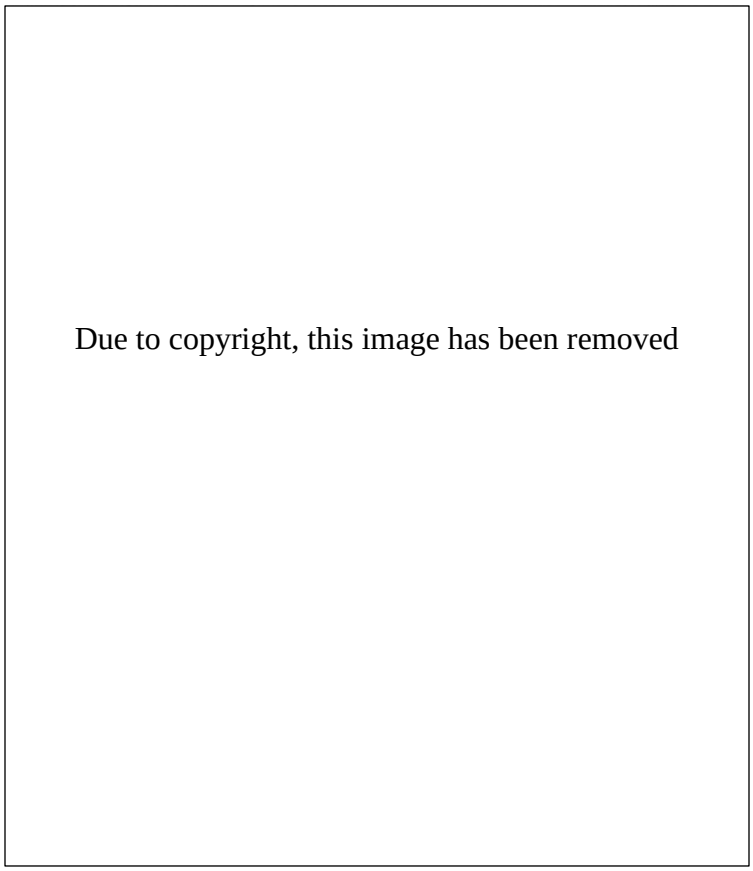
Ἀφφία *vvv* Τροφίμου / Τρόφιμος *vvv* Παρέδρου.

Aphphia (daughter or wife of) Trophimos. Trophimos, son of Paredros.

Τροφίμου here may be either a patronym or andronym for Aphphia. It has been argued that women in Byzantion used their husband's name rather than their father's (Fabricius 1999, 258-260).

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

96. Stele of Theophilos. 1st century BC/ 1st century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4829. Found in Beyazıt. Two fragments, with a vertical break, and the lower left corner missing. Marble. H: 100, W: 60, D: 15cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 51 Pl. 21; Łajtar 2000, No. 202.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with a reclining male figure raising a wreath, a table in front of the *kline*. At the left a veiled woman sits on a block-seat. Two servants accompany the scene, a female at the left, a male at the right, both in mourning.

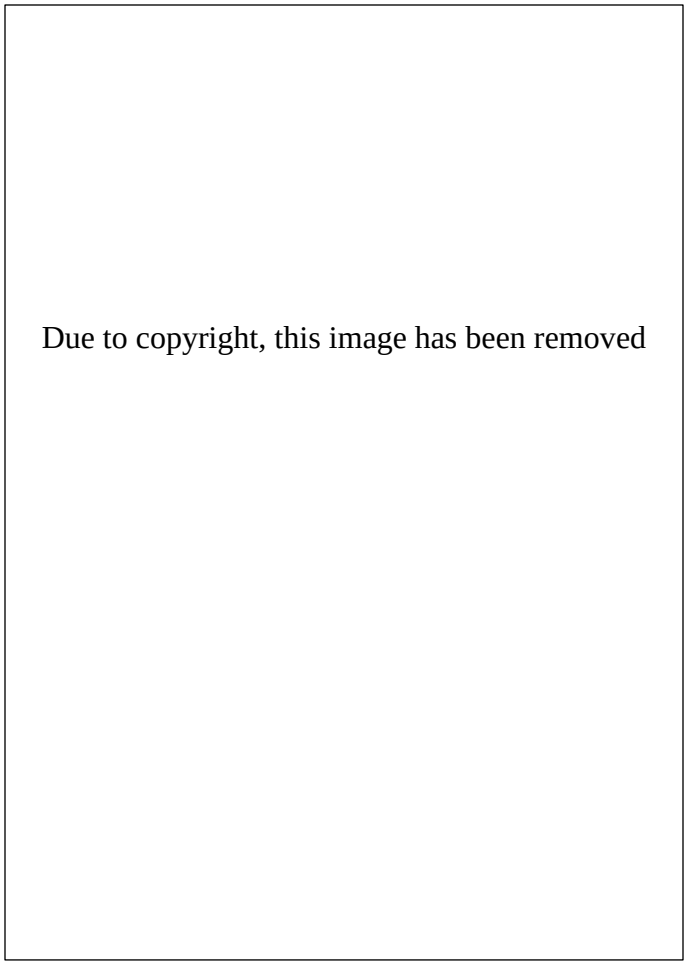
Inscription:

Θεόφιλος Θεοφίλου, χαῖρε.

Theophilos, son of Theophilos, farewell.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

97. Naiskos stele of Zotichos and Stratonike. 1st century BC/ 1st century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4846. Found in Beyazıt. Marble. H: 56, W: 40, D: 6cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 98 Pl. 21; Łajtar 2000, No. 228.



Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with the man reclining, raising a wreath, and the woman seated on a block-seat at left. Two servants accompany the scene, the male at right, the female at left, both in mourning.

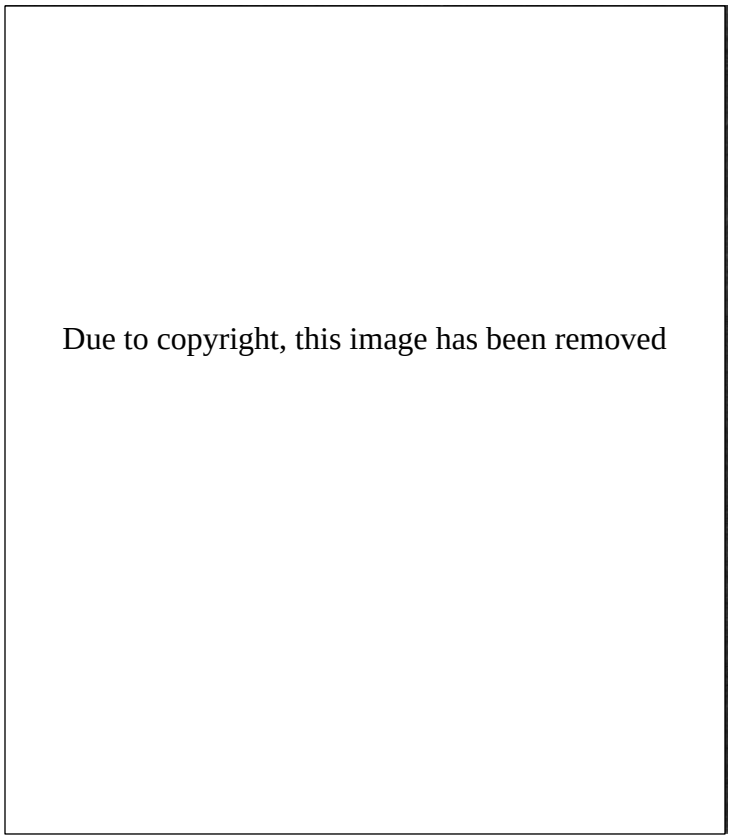
Inscription:

Ζώτιχος *νν* Συρί<σ>κου / Στρατονείκη γυνὴ ζῇ.

Zotichos, son of Syriskos, and his wife Stratonike, living.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

98. Pediment stele of the family of Diodoros. 1st century BC/ 1st century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5023. Found in Beyazıt. Stele in two parts with a horizontal break, with both lower corners broken off. Marble. H: 48, W: 40, D: 7cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 110 Pl. 24; Łajtar 2000, No. 281.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with the man reclining, raising a wreath, and the woman seated on a block-seat at left. In front of the *kline* stands a table at right and at left two frontal girls in typical poses. Two servants accompany the scene, the male at right, the female at left, both in mourning.

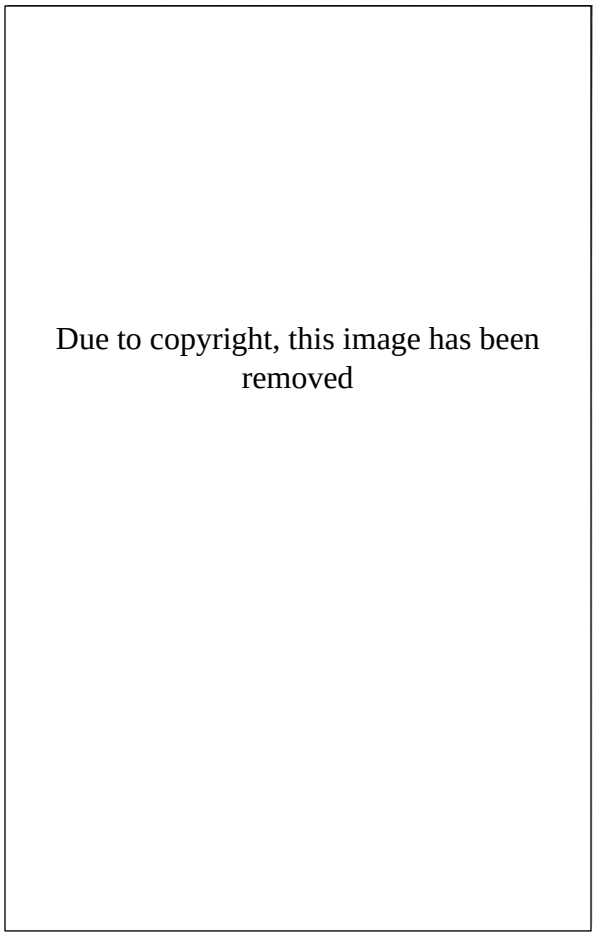
Inscription:

> Τατις Διοδώρου, Πῶλλα Διο/δώρου, Παῦλα Δι<οδ>ώρου, Διόδωρος β΄ τοῦ καὶ / Καλλιστράτου.
>
> *Tatis, daughter of Diodoros, Polla, daughter of Diodoros, Paula, daughter of Diodoros, Diodoros, son of Diodoros, also (with the epithet) Kallistratos.*

Two of the daughters have Latin names (Paula and Polla), while the third has a Greek (Tatis).

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

99. Stele fragment. 1st century BC/ 1st century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5014. Found in Beyazıt. The left part of a stele, broken from the upper left to the lower right corners. Marble. H: 67, W: 36, D: 12cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 99 Pl. 57; Łajtar 2000, No. 258.



Relief field: The fragmentary scene preserves the left section of a banquet scene, showing a woman (veiled?) seated on a block-like seat, her left hand raised to her mantle, her right resting in her lap. In front of the woman are the foot portion of a *kline*. In the corner at the left stands a small-scale female servant in mourning.

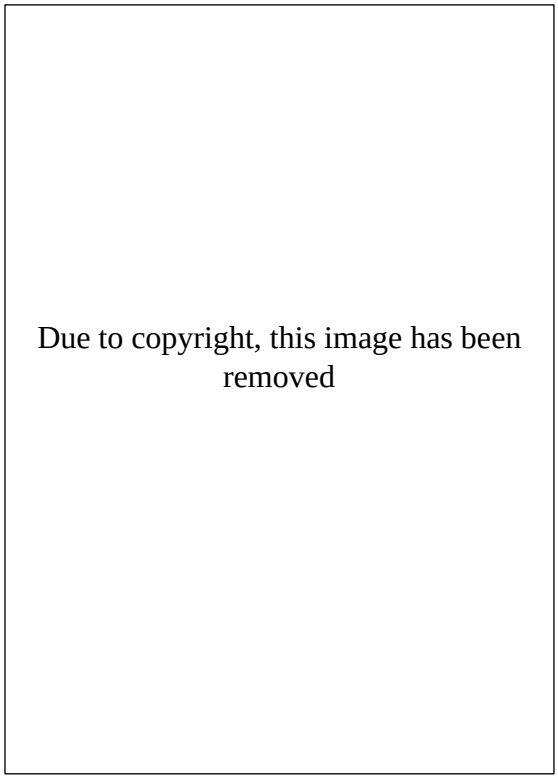
Inscription:

Ḭασ.[- - -] / Φιλητα[- - -]

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

100. Stele of Lyko. 1st century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4247. Found in Beyazıt. Light gray marble. H: 42, W: 31, D: 6cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 56 Pl. 26; Merkelbach 1976, 96; PM 1785 Pl. 258; Łajtar 2000, No. 279.



Relief field: A banquet scene showing a male figure reclining on a *kline*, his left hand holding a vessel, his right resting on the shoulder a small female figure seated on the *kline*. In front of the *kline* stands a tripod table. At the left a veiled woman sits on a cube-like block. A female servant stands at the left, holding a wool-basket, while at the right a male stands in mourning.

Inscription:

Λυκὼι {Φ} <Μ>ενεκράτη.

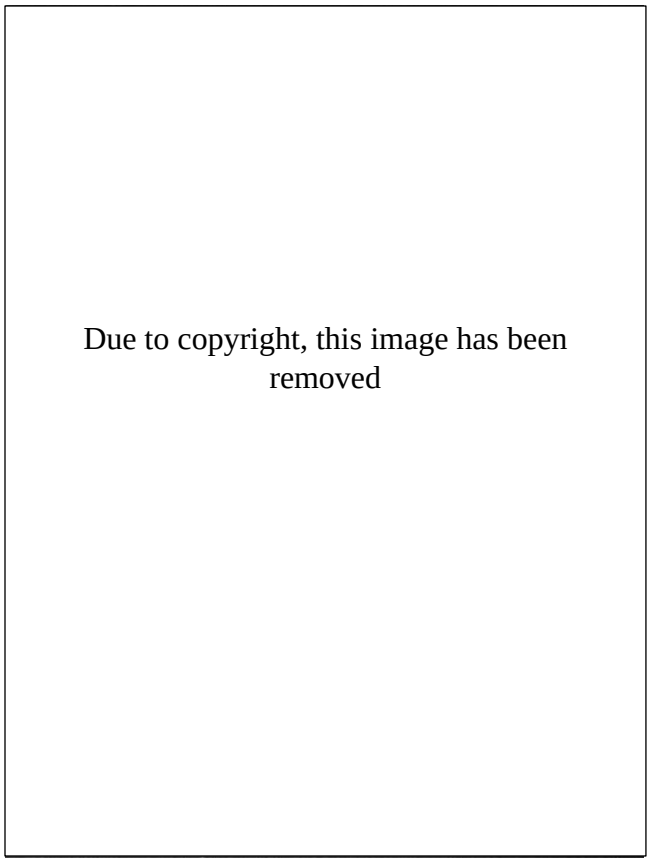
Lyko, (daughter or wife of) Menekrates.

Multiple publications of this stele and its inscription have debated whether or not the person commemorated is female (Lyko, daughter or wife of Menekrates) or male (Lykon, son of Menekrates). Łajtar and others have interpreted the name as female, based upon the smaller-scale female figure seated on the *kline*.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

101. Pediment stele of Polla. 1st century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5019. Found in Beyazıt. Diagonal break through upper left corner of relief field, and three faces badly damaged. Marble. H: 54, W: 43, D: 9cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 111 Pl. 26; PM 1790 Pl. 259; Łajtar 2000, No. 280.



Relief field: Banquet scene, with a man reclining on a *kline*, holding a vessel in his left hand, but his right rests on the right shoulder of a frontal boy standing in a typical pose and *himation*. At the centre of the scene is a medium-scale frontal female figure, also in a typical pose, seated on the *kline* but with her feet on a base (rather than a foot rest). At the far left sits a veiled woman, her left hand grasping her mantle, her right resting in her lap (or holding a garland?). The scene is flanked by two small-scale servants, a female at the left and a male at the right.

Inscription:

Πῶλλα(?) [- - -]

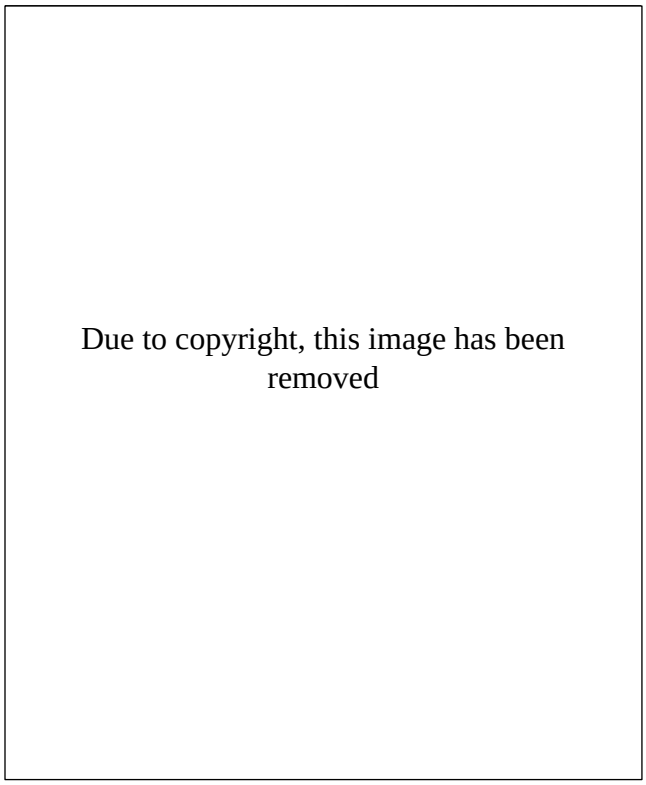
Polla [ ].

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı; PM).

102. Pediment stele of Protion and Demokratia. 2nd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4950. Found in Beyazıt. Horizontal break along bottom. White marble. H: 58, W: 45, D: 6.

Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 108 Pl. 25; PM 1692 Pl. 247; Łajtar 2000, No. 265.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with a bearded man (Hadrianic?) reclining on a *kline*, holding a vessel in his left hand and raising a wreath with his right. A tripod table stands in front of the *kline*. At the far left sits a veiled woman on a backless seat. She holds a swaddled infant in her left arm, while her right grasps an object or part of her mantle in her lap. Directly in front of her, next to the table, stands a small boy in a typical pose and *himation*. The scene is flanked by two small-scale servants, a female at left and a male at right.

Inscription: Running above and under the relief field.

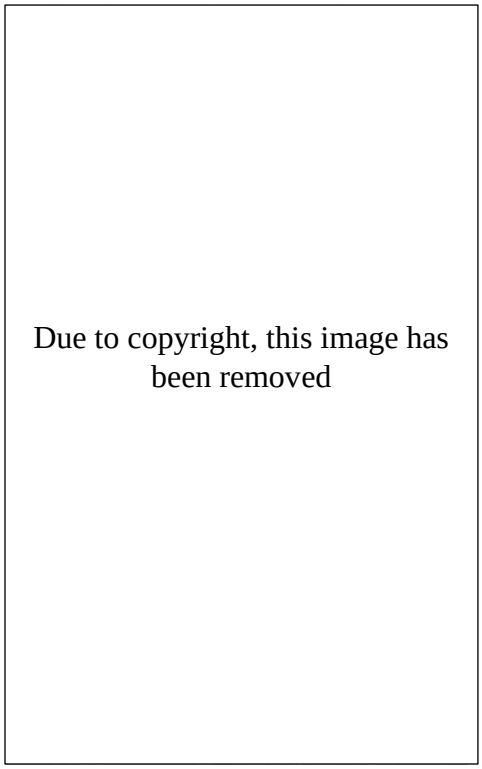
> Πρωτίων Νηδύμου ζήσας ἔτη / λ΄. Δημοκρατία ἡ καὶ Παρθενι/κὴ θυγάτηρ Δίωνος, ζῇ.
>
> *Protion, son of Nedymos, having lived 30 years. Demokratia, also (with the nickname) Parthenike, daughter of Dion, living.*

This is a rare surviving instance here of an epithet added, in this case Parthenike.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

103. Stele fragment. 2nd century AD.

Museum St. Sophia (?). Found in Beyazıt. Left side of a stele. Prokonnesian marble. H: 52, W: 26, D: 9cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 56a Pl. 58.



Relief field: A fragmentary banquet scene, showing a veiled woman seated at the left, a small-scale female servant standing beside the block-like seat, holding a *kalathos*. The lower legs and raised wreath of a figure reclining on a *kline* are visible left of the break.

No surviving inscription recorded.

Date based upon the relief (Fıratlı).

104. Naiskos stele of Lysidike and Apollodoros. Roman Imperial period.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4843. Found in Beyazıt. Marble. H: 41, W: 28, D: 9cm.
Literature: Clairmont 1967, 465; Schmidt 1991, 109 No. 494; Łajtar 2000, No. 227.

Relief field: A standard banquet scene, with the man reclining, raising a wreath, and the woman seated on a block-seat at left. She grasps her mantle with her left hand, and holds an object (a garland?) in her right. Two servants accompany the scene, the male at right, the female at left.

Inscription: Above the heads of the man and the woman.

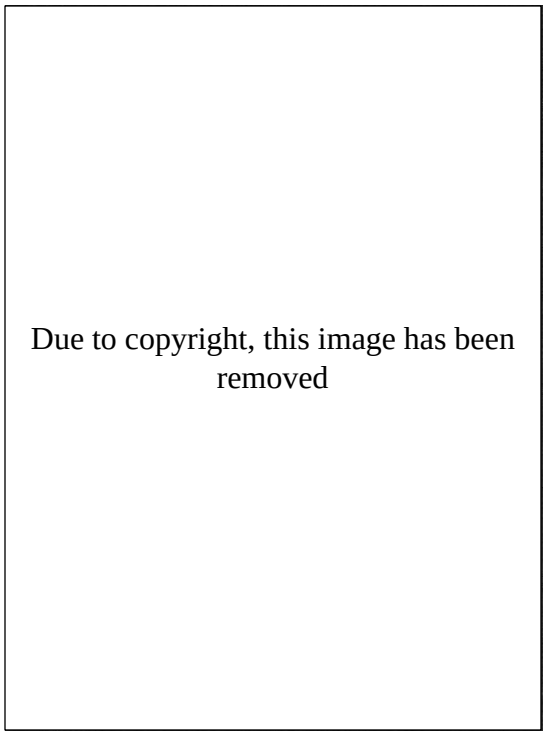
Λυσιδίκη / Ἀπολλοδώρου

Ἀπολλόδωρος / Διονυσίου.

Lysidike (daughter or wife of) Apollodoros. Apollodoros, son of Dionysios.

Date based upon the relief and script (Schmidt).

105. Stele fragment of the family of Lucia Caesonia. Roman Imperial period.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4814. Found in Beyazıt. Left side of a stele. Marble. H: 60, W: 29, D: 9cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 106 Pl. 26; Łajtar 2000, No. 273.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A fragmentary banquet scene, showing at the left a veiled woman seated on a block-like seat. To the right, a fragmentary male figure stands frontal. In the left corner stand a small-scale female servant in mourning.
Lower relief: A fragmentary ship appears in flat relief.

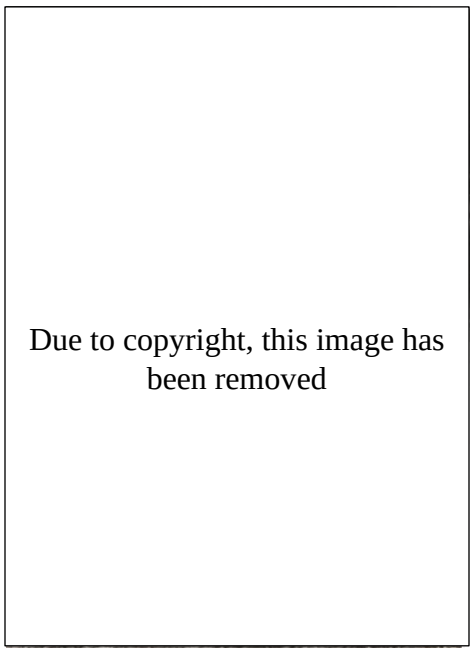
Inscription: The lines appear above and below the relief field.

> Λου(κία) · Καισωνίᾳ / Λού(κιος) · Καισώνιος / Νεικὼ Λουκίο[υ]
> Αἰλία Ἰουλία ΚΑΙ . [- - -] / τῷ θρεπτῷ Ζωσίμῳ ζή[σαντι ἔτη - -] / μνήμης χάριν.
>
> *Lucia Caesonia, Lucius Caesonius, Niko, daughter of Lucius. Aelia Iulia . . . for her* threptos *Zomimos, having lived [ ], in memory.*

The connections between the members of this family are not entirely clear. Lucia Caesonia and Lucius Caesonius are either father and daughter or perhaps siblings (Łajtar also poses whether they are married). Aelia Iulia may have the gentilica Caesonia, or KAI may indicate a second name. The ship depicted may represent the economic interests of the family Caesonii.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

106. Naiskos stele with arch, of the family of Quintus Anicius. 1st century BC.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5021. Found in Beyazıt. Lower section of stele broken, surface eroded. Marble. H: 60, W: 40, D: 16cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 155 Pl. 62; Łajtar 2000, No. 127.



Relief field: Two frontal standing central figures, a veiled woman at the left who with her left clasps the right hand of a man at the right in a *himation*. The central pair are flanked by two servants. All figures eroded.

Inscription:

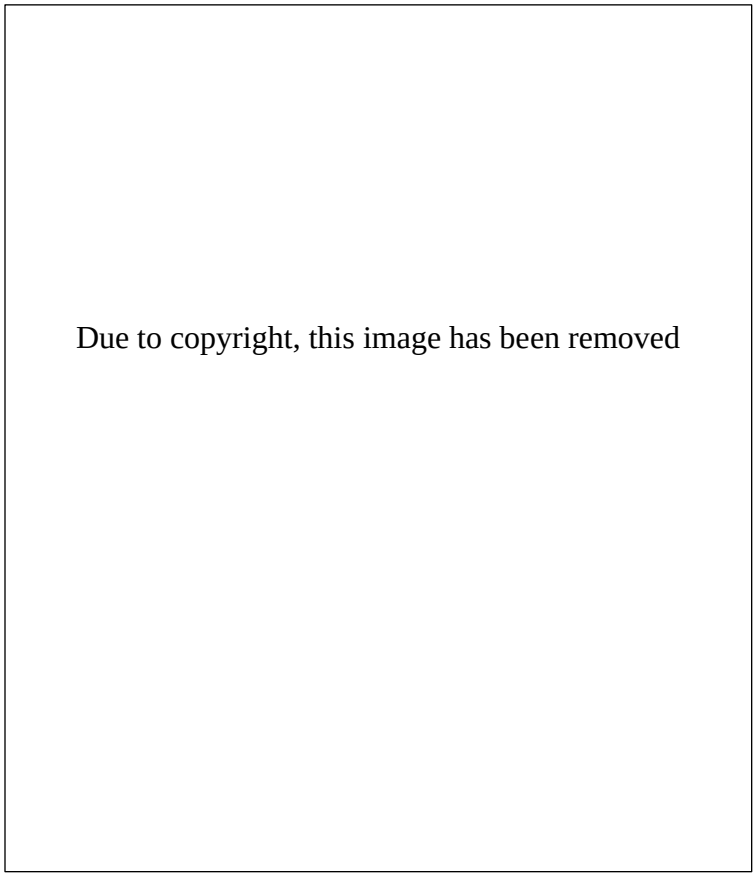
> Κοίντος (Ἀ)νίκιος καὶ Μᾶρκος Ἀνίκιος / καὶ Κοίντος Ἀνίκιος Κοίντου Ἀνικίου / Μάρκου υἱοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι χαίρετε.
>
> *Quintus Anicius and Marcus Anicius, and Quintus Anicius, son of Quintus Anicius, sons of Marcus, Romans, farewell.*

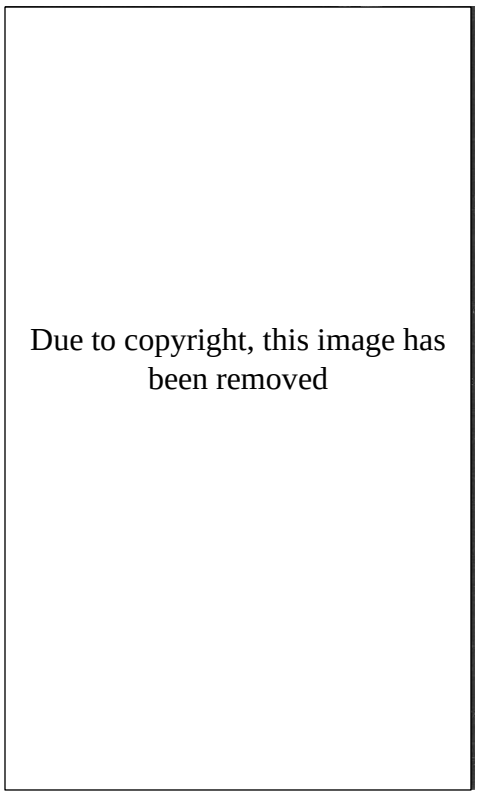
The Anicii were a family known from Praeneste who attained prominence in the Imperial period (Klebs 1894, 2196-2198; Wilson 1966, 110). Cicero mentions a businessman C. Anicius, *ad Fam*. 12.21, and probably in Byzantion this family were *negotiatores* (Łajtar 2000). The pseudo-ethnic Ῥωμαῖος was used in the Hellenistic period in the East as a reference to all inhabitants of the Apennine peninsula, regardless of whether they possessed Roman citizenship or not (Hatzfeld 1919, 243-245).

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

107. Stele with arch, of Epaphroditos. 1st century BC.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5026. Found in Beyazıt. White marble. H: 52, W: 30, D: 10cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 136 Pl. 33; PM 735 Pl. 110; Łajtar 2000, No. 105.





Relief field: A frontal male figure stands in a short *chiton* and chlamys, probably a youth, who holds in his right hand a bunch of grapes, above a dog, and holding an object (now lost) to his chest with his left. At the right edge stands a small-scale male servant in mourning.

Inscription:

Ἐπαφρόδειτος Διο/δώρου ἐτῶν δ΄.

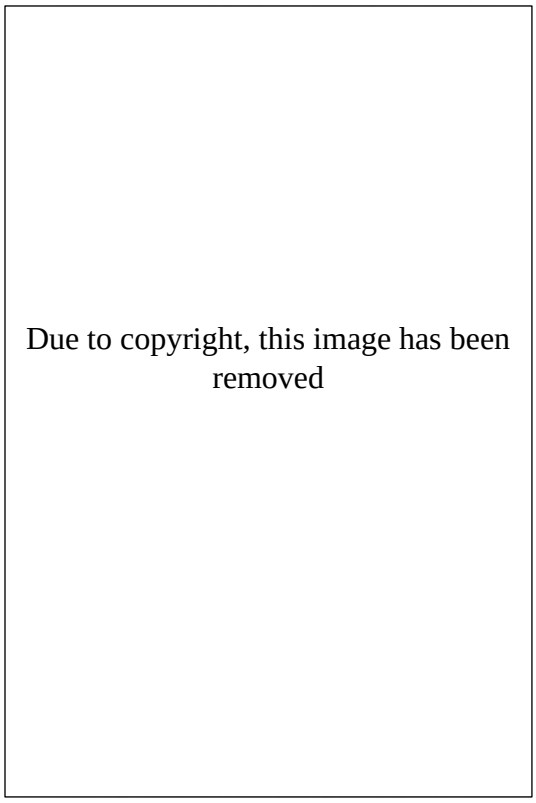
Epaphroditos, son of Diodoros, aged 4.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

108. Stele of Nemerius Gaius Scaeva. 1st century BC.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5824. Found in Beyazıt. The upper section of this stele is broken off. Marble. H: 64, W: 49, D: 8cm.

Literature: Fıratlı 1966, Annexe No. 246a Pl. 21; SEG 24, 828; J. and L. Robert 1968, 342; Łajtar 2000, No. 117.



Relief field: A frontal male figure stands at centre, wearing a *chiton* and *himation*, in the typical pose with an arm-sling holding a book-roll to his chest. Two small-scale male servants in mourning also appear in the scene.

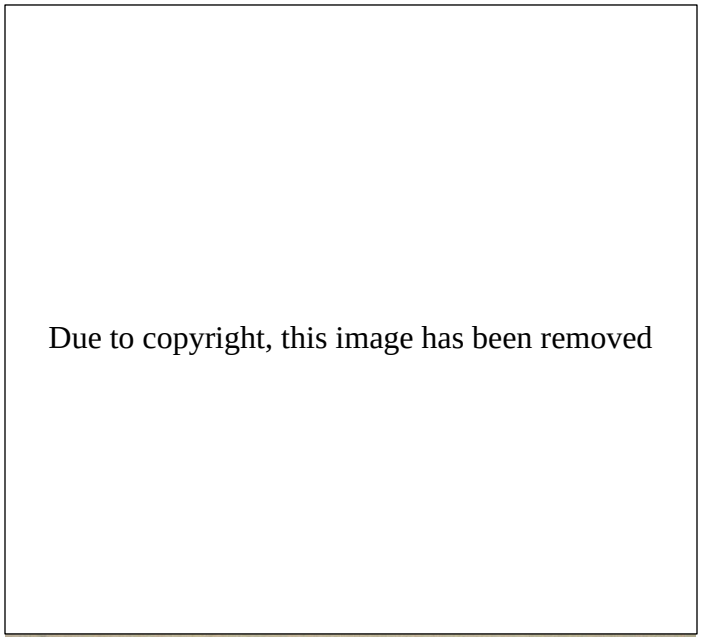
Inscription:

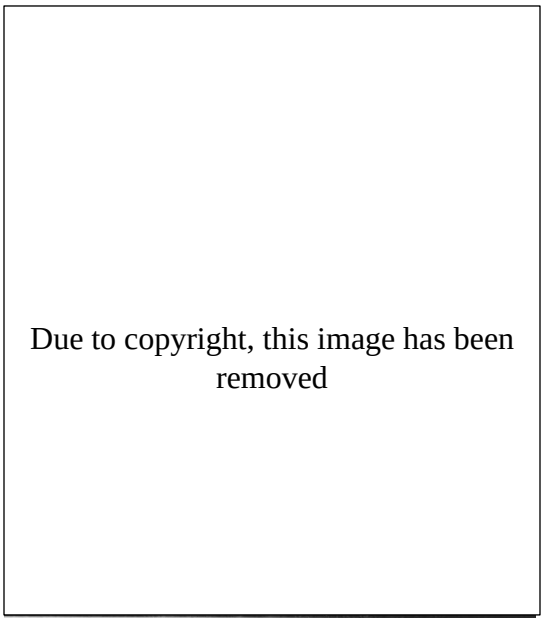
Νεμέριος Κάϊος Νεμερίου υἱὸς Σκέυα, / χαῖρε.

Nemerius Gaius Scaeva, son of Nemerius, farewell.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

109. Stele of Marcus Antonius Fronto. Late 1st century BC.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4965. Found in Beyazıt. Marble. H: 59, W: 53, D: 6cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 186 Pl. 46; PM 1449 Pl. 211; Łajtar 2000, No. 184.





Relief field: A male figure in a *himation* with vertical folds stands frontal in a typical pose. Behind him stands a horse, right hoof raised, its bridle held by a small-scale male servant who holds a riding whip in his other hand. Beyond the horse at the left is the upper body of another servant. In the background above the head of the main figure are, from left to right: a *diptychon*, a cluster of three book-rolls, a chest with a high lid and handled-sides, an inkwell, a second bundle of three book-rolls, and a writing tablet.

Inscription:

Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Φρόντων.

Marcus Antonius Fronto.

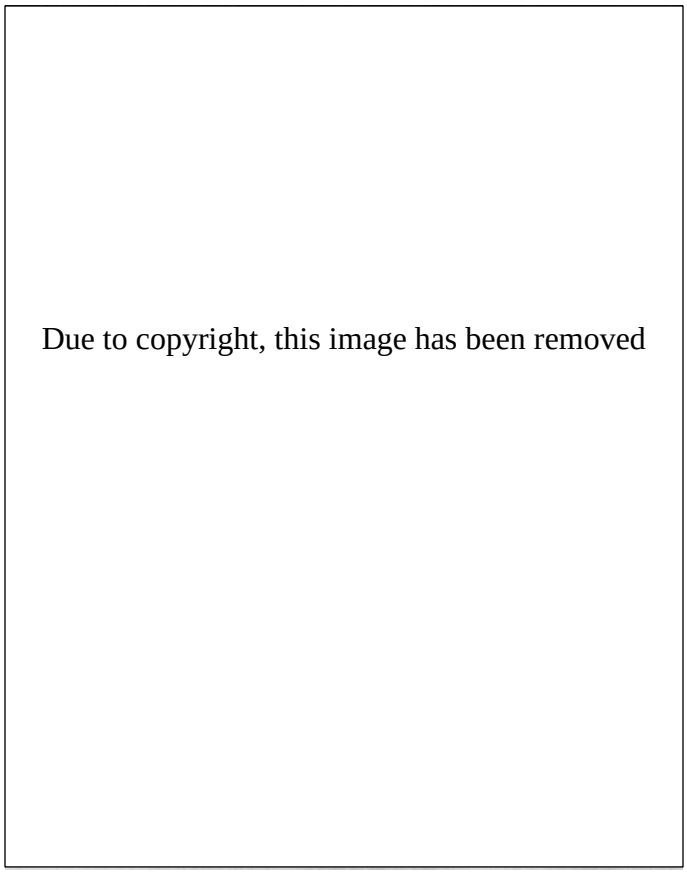
The Latin *cognomen* leaves little doubt that he was not a Greek but rather a Roman resident of Byzantion. Another Marcus Antonius appears in Byzantion about the same period (Łajtar 198), a Greek with Roman civic rights.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

110. Stele with arch, of Menophilos. Roman Imperial period.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5033. Found in Beyazıt. Parts of the left edge and the arch broken off. Marble. H: 18, W: 14, D: 5cm.

Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 137, Pl. 34; Łajtar 2000, No. 106.



Relief field: A frontal male figure stands in a typical pose.

Inscription:

Μηνόφιλος Γαύρ/ου ζήσας ἔτη · ε΄ ·

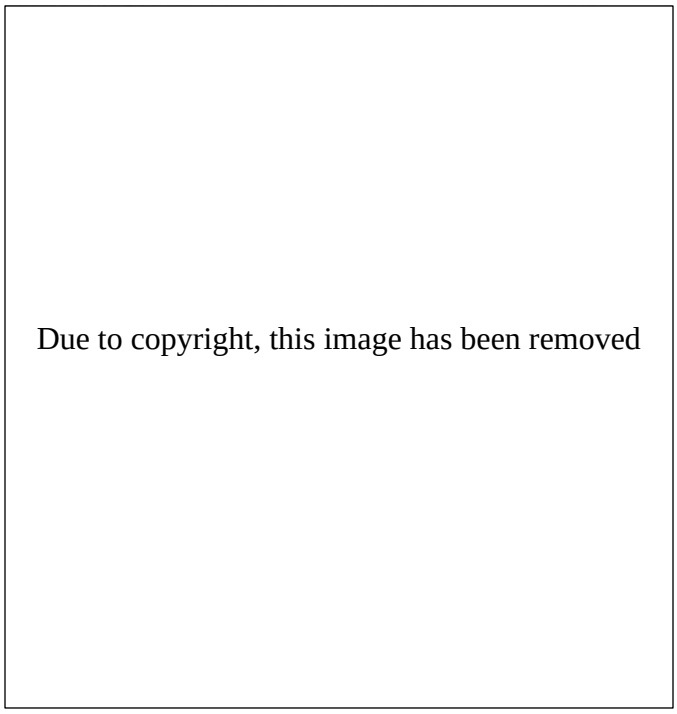
Menophilos, son of Gauros, having lived 5 years.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

111. Stele with arch, of Aniketos. Roman Imperial period.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4501. Found in Beyazıt. Broken off below. Marble. H: 17, W: 17, D: 5cm.

Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 138 Pl. 34; Łajtar 2000, No. 107.



Relief field: A male figure stands frontal in a typical pose, holding a book roll in his left hand.

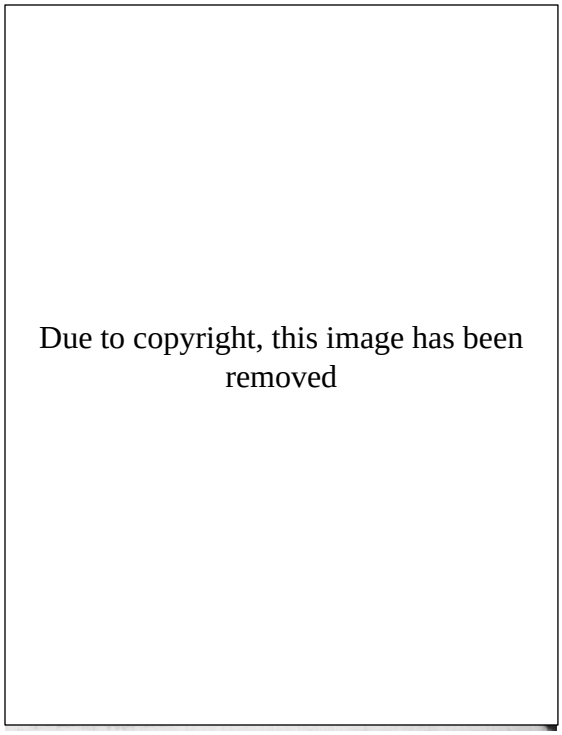
Inscription: The inscription is inside the pediment, and the second line is separated by the arch feature.

[Ἀ]νείκητος / Ἀνεικ- *ARCH* -ήτο[υ].

Aniketos, son of Aniketos.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

112. Pediment stele with arch, of Tyche. Roman Imperial period.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5009. Found in Beyazıt. Marble. H: 30, W: 22, D: 8cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 145 Pl. 36; Łajtar 2000, No. 132.



Relief field: A veiled female figure stands frontal, her right hand lifted to her chest, her left arm inside the mantle. In the corners stand two small-scale female servants in mourning.

Inscription:

Τύχη Μητρο/δώρου.

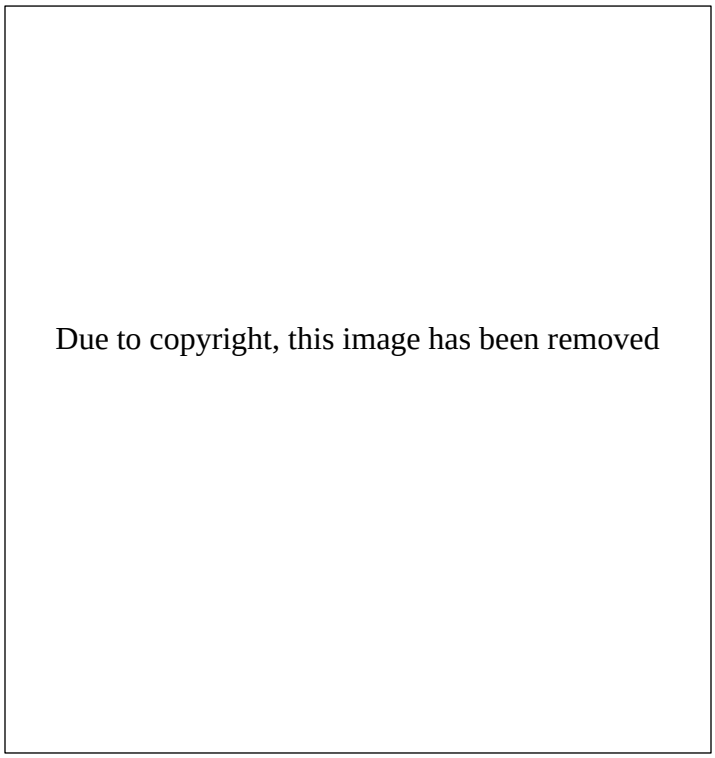
Tyche (daughter or wife of) Metrodoros.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

113. Stele with arch. Roman Imperial period.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4500. Found in Beyazıt. Only the right upper corner of the stele survives. Marble. H: 22, W: 22, D: 10cm.

Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 150 Pl 37; Łajtar 2000, No. 138.



Relief field: The surviving fragment shows a veiled frontal woman with her mantle knotted in front of her breast, with symmetrical folds, in a Herculanean-type. In the background, at the height of the figure's waist, is a box and a basket in flat relief. Two other unidentified objects are on the right border of the field.

Inscription:

[- - -]σθενον[- - -]

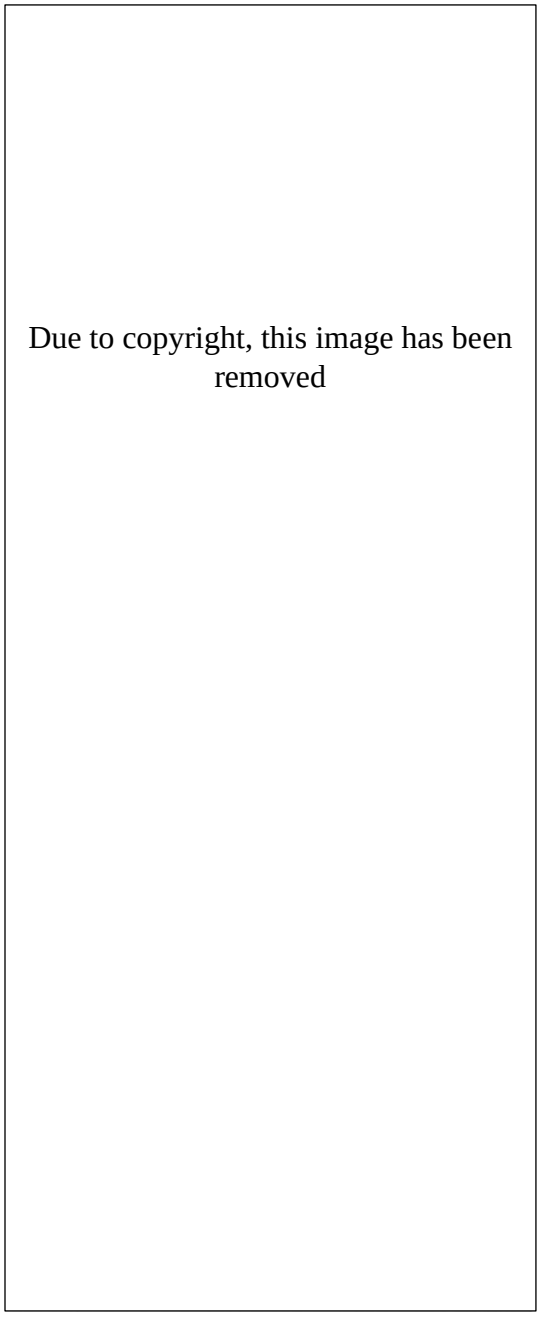
The knotted mantle at the woman's breast is an iconographic characteristic of the Egyptian goddess Isis and her priestesses, as on a known Roman-period grave stele from Athens for a priestess of Isis (Walters 1988). This stele probably was originally for such a priestess, in which case the object on the right frame would be a sistrum or an *anch* symbol (Łajtar). A second stele, of unknown date, discovered in the nave of the Armenian Church of St Michael (the earlier Blachernai) in 1835 shows a similar scene and the same knotted mantle, and commemorates Glykea, daughter of Herakon (Łajtar 2000, No. 139).

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

114. Naiskos with *akroteria*, for Titus Flavius Surillio. 3rd century AD (AD 214).

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5825. Found in Beyazıt with **115** and **116** in an underground passage part of a tomb from the third century AD. The stelai were reused as part of the walls of the tomb. Prokonnesian marble. H: 240, W: 105, D: 13.

Literature: Fıratlı 1966, Annexe 207ff. No. 258 Pl. 26; PM 307 Pl. 55; Łajtar 2000, No. 123.



Relief field: A frontal bearded soldier appears in a short girded, long-sleeved tunic and a *paludamentum* around his neck and covering his left shoulder, sword, and arm. In his right hand his holds a rectangular object (perhaps a military diploma or book-roll), and his left a field *signum* surmounted by an eagle. At the lower right sits a round shield.

Inscription: Above the pediment, next to palmette akroteria, and below the relief field.

D(is) M(anibus)
T(ito) Fl(avio) Surillioni aquilifero / leg(ionis) II adi(uticis) p(ia) f(idelis) militavit / annos XVIII, vixit annos XXXX / posuit Aur(elius) Zanax aqu/ilifer leg(ionis) eiusdem colle/ge bene merenti.

To the spirits of the dead. For Titus Flavius Surillio, aquilifer of the 2nd Legion Adiutix pia fidelis. He served for eighteen years, he lived 40 years. Aurelius Zanax, aquilifer of the same legion, has placed this (stele) for his colleague who merited it.

This stele, and **115**, both commemorate soldiers from two Pannonian legions, suggesting the two originate from a time when both legions were moved eastward and stationed in Byzantion and its environs. It seems likely that this would be in AD 214, when Caracalla spent the winter with the Danube legions in the Propontis area at the beginning of his Parthian campaign (Łajtar, No. 122).

115. Naiskos stele with palmette akroteria, for Aurelius Surus. 3rd century AD (AD 214).
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5826. Found, like **114** and **116**, during construction in Beyazıt. The relief field is broken in four pieces. Prokonnesian marble. H: 257, W: 98, D: 14.
Literature: Fıratlı 1966, Annexe 206f. No. 257 Pl. 26; PM 308 Pl. 55; Łajtar 2000, No. 122.

Due to copyright, this image has been removed

Relief field: Between two columns with capitals and below an epistyle, appears a frontal soldier, in girded *chiton* and chlamys. In his outstretched right hand he holds a lance, at the lower end of which sits a helmet, while in his left hand a *tuba*. A sword hangs on his left side, and at lower right sits an oval shield with boss.

Inscription field:

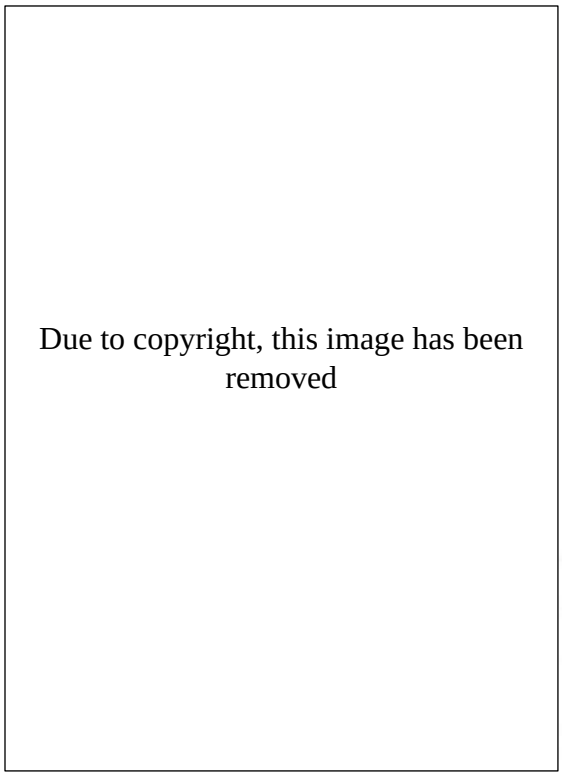
D(is) M(anibus) / Aurel(io) Suro quo/ndam Bucina/tori leg(ionis) I ad(iutricis) p(ia) f(idelis) / stip(endiorum) XVIII vixit a/nnis XL D F Suria / Sept(imius) Vibianus heres / et collega eiius / b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

To the spirits of the dead. For Aurelius Surus, once bucinator of the 1st Legion Adiutix pia fidelis. He served 18 years, he lived 40 years. He came from Syria-Phoenicia (?). Septimius Vibianus, his heir and colleague, had this (stele) made for one who merited it.

It is noteworthy that the lower left corner of the stele shows a demarcated notch for a tenon, but this does not appear to have been completed. For discussion on dating, see **114**.

116. Naiskos stele with *akroteria*. Probably 3rd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5827. Found in Beyazit, reused in the wall in the same third-century tomb as **114** and **115**. Lower part of the stele is broken off. Marble. H: 81, W: 62, D: 13cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1966, Annexe No. 259 (Figure).



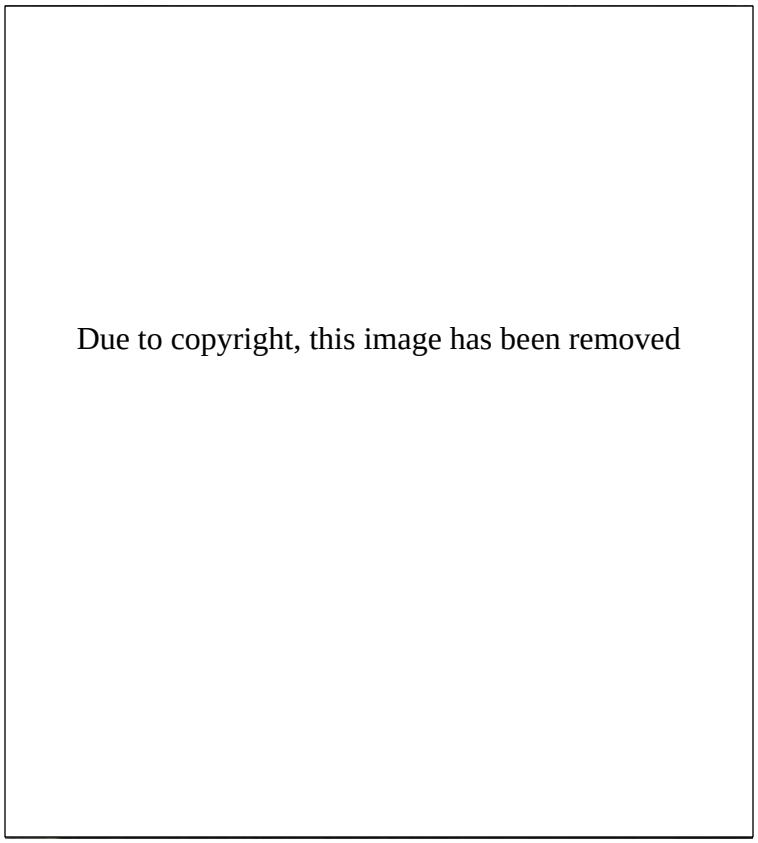
Relief field: Between two pilasters appears a bearded Roman soldier, standing and frontal, with short hair, in *chiton* and chlamys. In his right hand he holds a lance, while his left crosses the body to grasp the hilt of a sheathed sword (?). At the lower right sits a large round shield.

No surviving inscription.

The form of the stele and the relief are in the same style as **114** and **115** with which this stele was discovered. The shared features suggest that this stele may also be third century in date, although this cannot be confirmed in the absence of an inscription.

117. Pediment stele of Philinos, Demetrios, and Tittha. 1st century BC.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5031. Found in Beyazıt. Stele broken into two pieces, and the entire lower portion is missing. Marble. H: 45, W: 46, D: 8cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 182 Pl. 45; PM 1040 Pl. 156; Łajtar 2000, No. 177.



Relief field: A veiled woman sits at the left, looking right, her left hand raised to her mantle, and her right resting in her lap. In front of her, to the right, stand two frontal male figures in a typical pose. A small-scale servant also appears at the far right, in mourning.

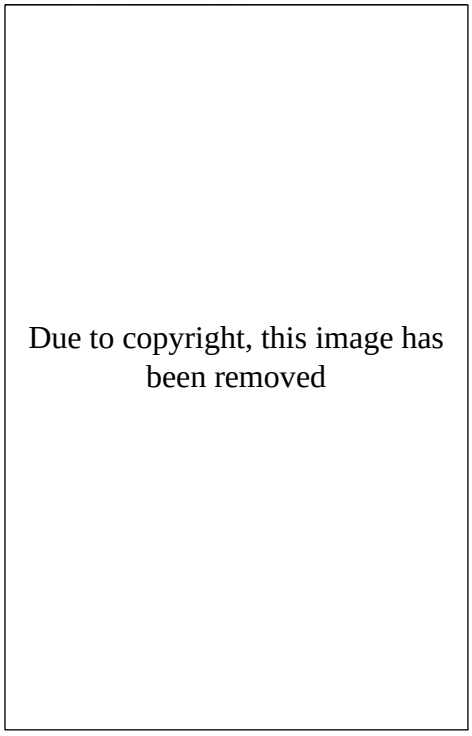
Inscription: The names are placed above the relief field, the word ζῇ at the left edge behind the woman's head.

> [Φ]ιλῖνος Μητροδώρου *ν* Δημήτριος Μητροδώρου / Τίτθα Μητροδώ[ρ]ου / ζῇ.
>
> *Philinos, son of Metrodoros. Demetrios, son of Metrodoros. Tittha (daughter or wife of) Metrodoros, living.*

The stele either commemorates three children of Metrodoros, namely two deceased brothers and their sister, still living, or two sons of Metrodoros with their mother, wife of Metrodoros.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

118. Pediment stele with arch, of Pyllis and Artemidoros. Early Imperial.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5005. Found in Beyazıt. Marble. H: 40, W: 23, D: 8cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 183 Pl. 44; PM 953 Pl. 142; Łajtar 2000, No. 178.



Relief field: Beneath the arch a veiled woman sits at left, looking right. She holds on her lap a frontal boy, in a *himation*. At far right stands a small-scale female servant, looking left.

Inscription field: The three lines are above (line 1), and on either side of the arch field (lines 2-3).

Φύ[λ]λις Ἀντιπάτρου / Ἀρτεμ – ίδωρως / Ἀντι – πάτρ/ου

Pyllis (daughter or wife of) Antipatros. Artemidoros son of Antipatros.

Either for a brother and sister, or a mother and son.

Date based upon relief and script (Fıratlı).

119. Stele fragment. 2nd century AD (?).
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4830. Found in Beyazıt. Only the left lower section of the stele, with part of the relief field, survives. Marble. H: 64, W: 20, D: 8cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 196 Pl. 60.

Relief field: The fragment shows a veiled woman seated on a block-like seat, left hand raised to her mantle, right in her lap. A small-scale female servant stands beside the chair, holding a casket.

No surviving inscription.

Date based upon the relief (Fıratlı).



ÇEMBERLITAŞ

120. Stele fragment. Late 1st century BC.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4256. Found in Çemberlitaş (Istanbul). Only the right side of the stele survives. White marble. H: 57, W: 26, D: 10cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 162 Pl. 40.

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Relief field: The fragment shows a single male standing figure, frontal but with his head turned slightly towards the centre, in a typical pose and wearing a *himation*, with an Augustan-type hair style.

No surviving inscription.

Date based upon the relief (Fıratlı).

121. Rectangular stele fragment. Late 1st century BC/ Early Imperial.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4256. Found in Çemberlitaş (Istanbul). Only the right side of the stele survives. White marble. H: 57, W: 26, D: 10cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 163 Pl. 39; PM 230 Pl. 45; Łajtar 2000, No. 118.

Due to copyright, this image has been removed

Relief field: The fragment shows a typical frontal standing male figure.

Inscription:

[- - -]μα

Date based upon the relief (Fıratlı; PM).

122. Pediment stele of Dionysios. Trajanic period.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4255. Found in Çemberlitaş (Istanbul). Light gray marble. H: 38, W: 18, D: 10cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 132 Pl. 31; PM 185 Pl. 39; Łajtar 2000, No. 101.

Relief field: A frontal male figure stands in a typical pose.

Inscription:

Διονύσιος Διαφάνη.

Dionysios, son of Diaphanes.

Fıratlı dated this stele to the second century BC, while PM gave it a Trajanic date based upon hairstyle.

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123. Pediment stele with akroteria, of Herakleon. 2nd century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4199. Found in Çemberlitaş (Istanbul). White marble. H: 47, W: 35, D: 7cm.
Literature: PM 1741; Łajtar 2000, No. 246.

Relief field: A banquet scene, with a bearded man reclining.

Inscription:

Ἡρακλέων Ἡρακλέω(νος) / ἐτῶν νε΄, / χαῖρε. Other names (*ed. pr.*)

Herakleon, son of Herakleon, aged 55, farewell.

Date based upon the relief and script (Łajtar).

124. Stele fragments, of Flavia. Roman Imperial period.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5676. Found in Çemberlitaş (Istanbul). Three fragments survive, the middle part of the stele, a lower section, and the right upper corner. Bluish marble. H: 20, W: 16, D: 4cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1966, Annexe No. 248 Pl. 22; J. and L. Robert 1968, 342; Łajtar 2000, No. 144.

Due to copyright, this image has been removed

Relief field: A female figure, probably a girl, stands frontal, holding an object (perhaps a bird) with her left hand, and perhaps grapes in her right. A small-scale servant stands in the right corner, in mourning.

Inscription:

Φλαβ[ία — — —].

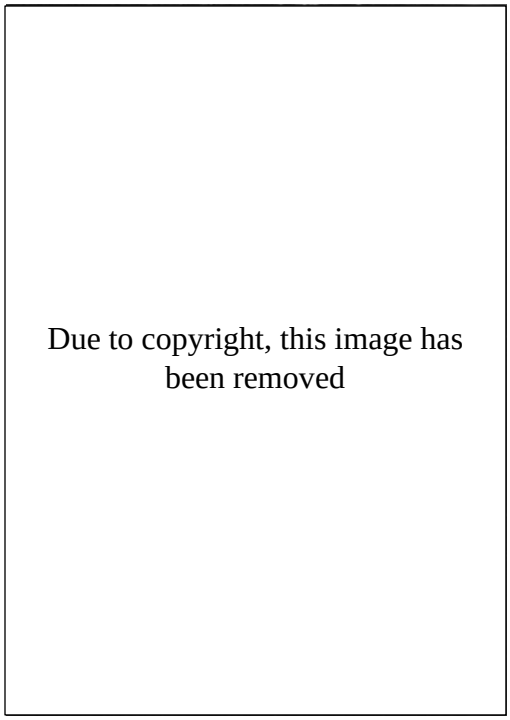
Flavia [ ].

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

EYÜP

125. Stele. Early Imperial.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 725. Found in Eyüp. Broken off across top, upper left corner, and portion of left side. Faced also damaged. White large-grain marble. H: 60, W: 42, D: 9cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 44 Pl. 14; PM 1672 Pl. 244; Łajtar 2000, No. 199.



Relief field: A banquet scene, showing the man reclining while raising a wreath, a tripod table in front of the *kline*, and a veiled woman seated at the left on a back-less seat. Two mourning small-scale servants, female at left, male at right, flank the scene.

Inscription:

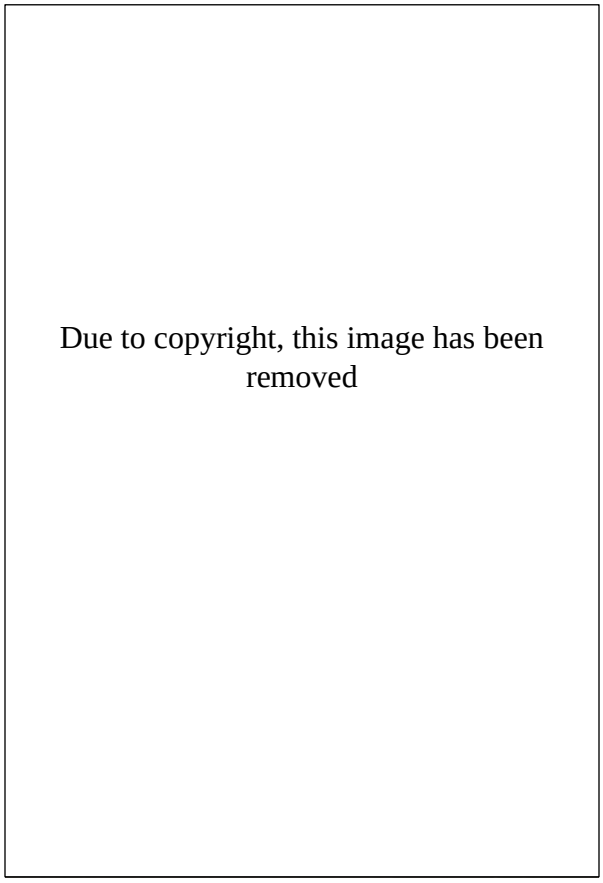
[ ]εα Μουκάζει

The name is Thracian in origin. Stylistically, the scene has similarities with some of the stelai from Bithynia-Pontus, for example the cube-like seat used by the woman (such as from Preietos).

Date based upon the relief (Fıratlı; Łajtar).

126. Stele of Phileta and Parthenion. 2nd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 724. Found in Eyüp in 1895. White marble. H: 53, W: 36, D: 9cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 57 Pl. 58; PM 1690 Pl. 247; Łajtar 2000, No. 276.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with the man reclining, holding a vessel in his left hand and raising a wreath with his right. In front of the couch stands a tripod table. Also in front of the *kline* stands a frontal female figure. At the left, a woman is shown seated on a block-seat. She raises her left hand to her mantle, while her right hand reaches towards the central veiled girl. Two mourning servants accompany the scene, the male at right, the female at left.

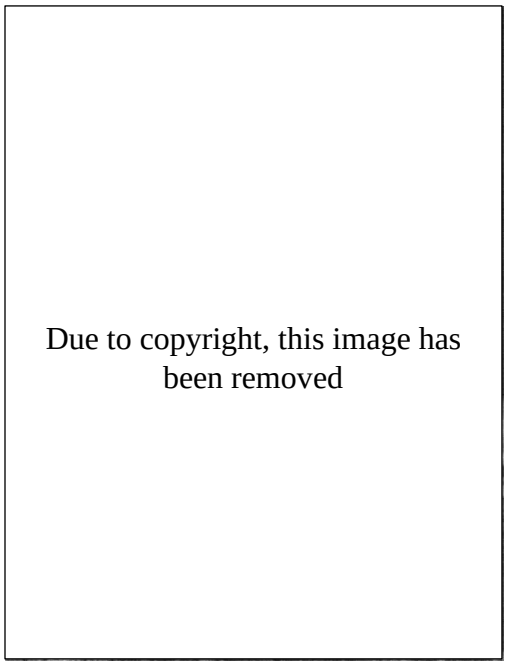
Inscription:

Φιλήτα Ῥούφου, Παρθένιν Φι[- - -]. . / Δέκμος Νώνιος [. . .]ος.

Phileta (daughter or wife of) Rufus, Partheni(o)n . . . Decimus Nonius.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı; PM).

127. Stele of the family of Philoxenos. Roman Imperial period.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5290. Found in Eyüp. Marble. H: 82, W: 60, D: 8cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 160 Pl. 39; Łajtar 2000, No. 153.



Relief field: Three frontal figures, a woman at left and two men, stand in typical poses, with their right hands to their chests, and hold a book roll in their left hands. Two small-scale servants appear in the scene, a female in the left corner, and a male in the right. Between the woman and the central man is a small crouching dog.

Inscription: The names appear above the figures.

Γ̣υκέα / Φιλοξένου

[- - -] / Φιλοξένου

[- - -] / Κλεονείκου̣.

Gykea (daughter or wife of) Philoxenos. [ ] of Philoxenos. [ ] of Kleonikos.

If the missing names are sons of Philoxenos and Kleonikos respectively, then the stele represents another possible case of either two siblings (children of Philoxenos) being commemorated with a third individual (perhaps Gykea's husband, or some of connection to the family), or a mother and son, with so-and-so Kleonikos.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

BYZANTION/CONSTANTINOPLE

128. Rectangular naiskos stele. Early 1st century BC.

Unknown (excavation inv. no. 131). Found as part of the Marmaray-Metro excavations in the Sirkeci Station (Istanbul). Right side broken away and missing. Marble (Prokonnesian?). H: 125, W: 77-79, D: 12cm.
Literature: Erhan and Eskalen 2011, No. 1 Fig. 2.

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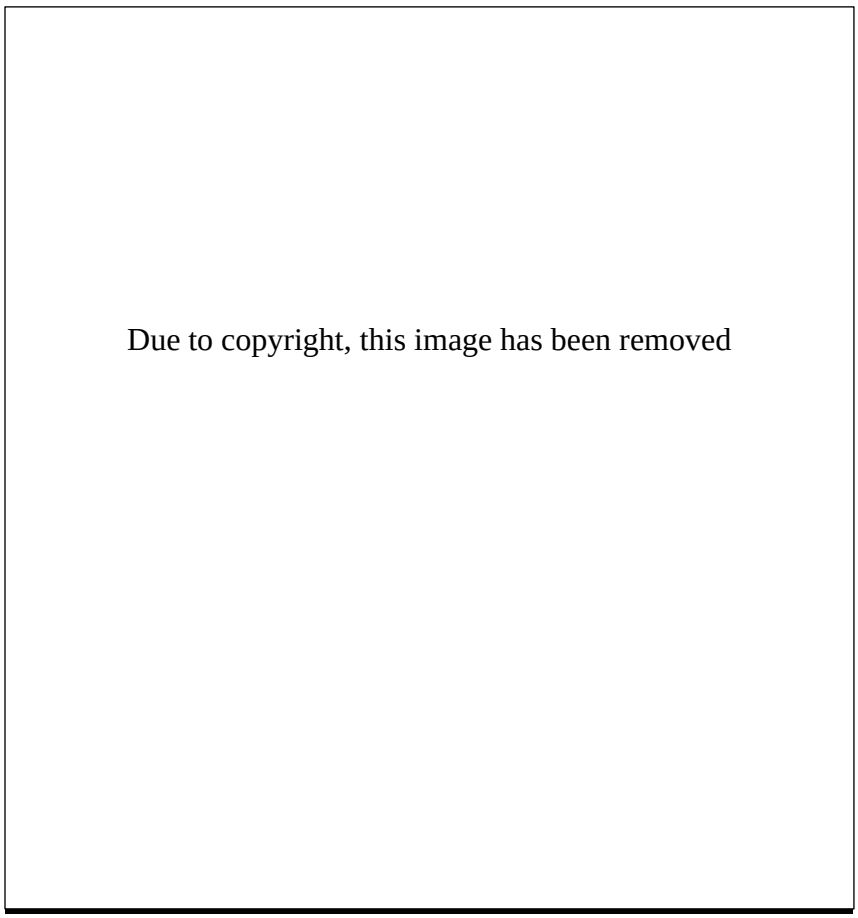
Relief field: A banquet scene, with a single male figure reclining, raising a wreath, and a veiled woman (*Pudicitia*-type) seated on a chair with decorated legs at the left, holding a pomegranate in her right hand. A tripod table stands in front of the *kline*, and two surviving small-scale female servants, of different sizes, stand next to the woman, one in a gesture of mourning, the other holding a *kalathos*.

No surviving inscription.

Date based upon the relief (Erhan and Eskalen).

129. Rectangular naiskos stele of Publius Fabius Philodamus Marci. Early 1st century BC.

Unknown (excavation inv. no. 133). Found as part of the Marmaray-Metro excavations in the Sirkeci Station (Istanbul). Marble (Prokonnesian?). H: 106, W: 101-106, D: 6cm.
Literature: Erhan and Eskalen 2011, No. 2 Fig. 3; SEG 60.741.



Relief field: A scene with a banquet schema, with a male figure reclining on a *kline*, his left elbow on a cushion, his hand raised to the side of his face. At the left, a veiled woman (*Pudicitia*-type) holds her veil with her left hand and with her right grasps the right hand of the male figure. Two smaller-scale female figures stand behind the woman's chair, and two smaller-scale male attendants stand to the right of the couch, in mourning. In the background a high shelf bears objects, including from left to right a jewelry box, small bottles, and a book-roll.

Inscription field:

Πόπλιε Φάβιε Μάρκου / Φιλόδαμε, χαῖρε.

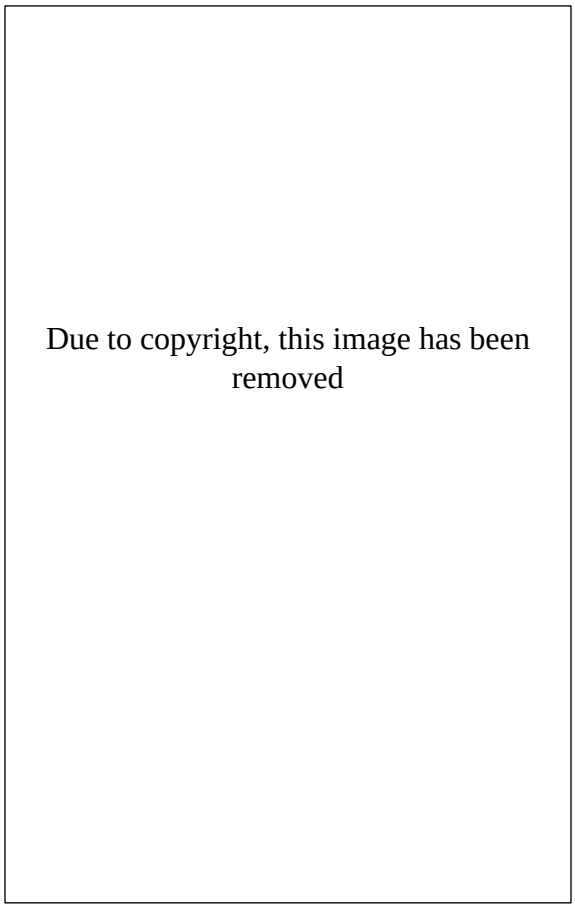
Publius Fabius Philodamus Marci, farewell.

Date based upon the relief and script (Erhan and Eskalen).

130. Rectangular stele of Theodora. 1st century BC.

Walled into the Adrianople Gate (Edirnekapı) in Hagios Demetrios in Sarmaşik. Found in Istanbul. Marble. No measurements recorded.

Literature: PM 1657 Pl. 242; SEG 29.669; Łajtar 2000, No. 243.



Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with a man reclining, raising a wreath over the head of a veiled woman seated at the left. Two small-scale servants flank the scene, a male at the right, in mourning, and a female at the left, holding a *kalathos*. On a shelf behind the couple are a selection of objects, including book-rolls and several chests or caskets.

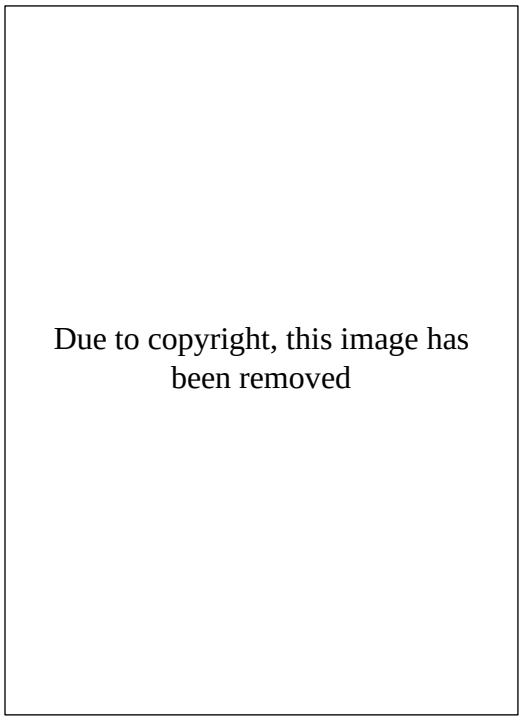
Inscription:

[Θ]εοδώρας τᾶς Διογένη.

Theodora, (daughter or wife) of Diongenes.

Date based upon the relief and script (Łajtar).

131. Pediment stele of Gaius Volusius Eros. 1st century BC.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5338. Found in Süleymaniye (Istanbul). Marble. H: 71, W: 53, D: 8cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 84 Pl. 12; Łajtar 2000, No. 260.



Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with a reclining man who grasps with his right hand that of a veiled woman seated at the left on a block-like seat. A tripod table stands in front of the couch, and the scene is flanked by two small-scale servants, a male in mourning at the right and a female at the left holding a *kalathos*. A behind the main couple bears a collection of objects, from left to right, two vessels, a mirror, a vase and wool-basket, a large comb, two chests, a bundle of three book-rolls, an inkwell, and a rectangular object (a diptych?).

Inscription:

Γάϊος Ὀλούσιος / Ἔρως.

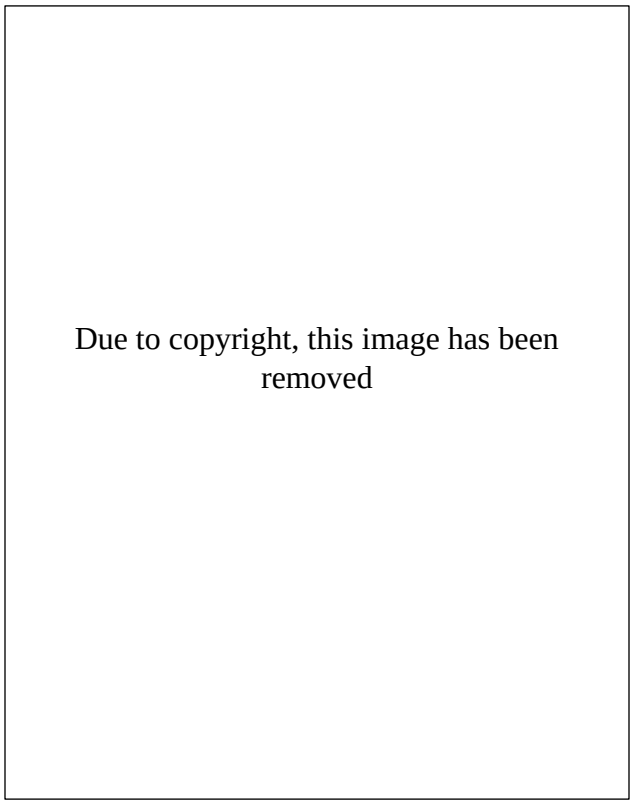
Gaius Volusius Eros.

Gaius Volusius Eros was probably a Greek who was granted Roman citizenship by a member of the Volusii family, perhaps as a freedman (Łajtar 2000). This family is known from the first century BC (Lippold 1961, 898-906). Another member of the family is known from Byzantion in the Hadrianic period (Łajtar 2000, No. 38).

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

132. Rectangular stele of Glykeia. 1st century BC.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4784. Found in Küçükçekmece. The upper left corner is broken off.
Marble. H: 62, W: 48, D: 15cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 42 Pl. 13; Łajtar 2000, No. 197.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with a man reclining on the *kline*, holding a vessel in his left hand and a wreath in his right. A veiled woman sits at the left, a tripod table standing in front of the couch. The scene is flanked by two small-scale servants, a male at the right in mourning, a female at the left holding a *kalathos*.

Inscription:

[Γυ]κῆα Ζωτᾶ.

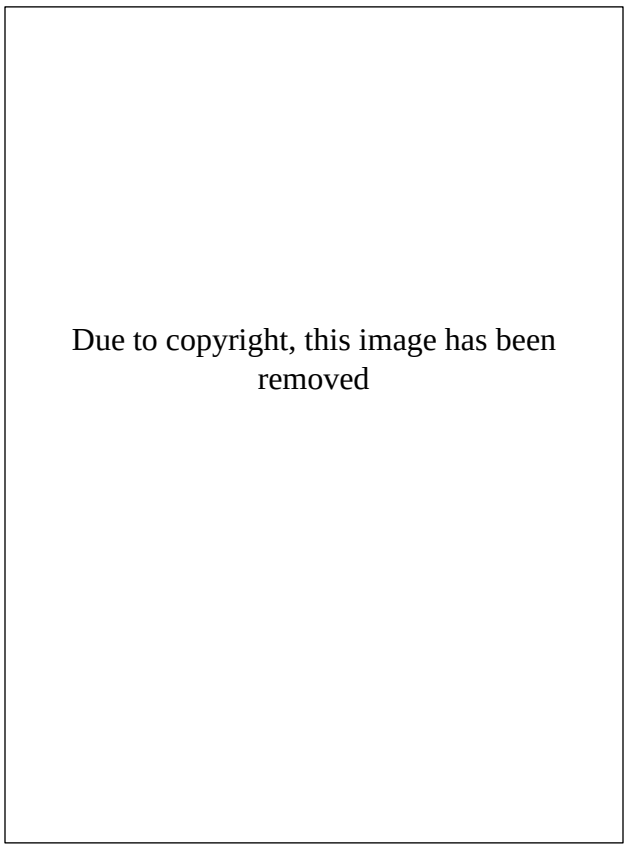
Glykeia (daughter or wife of) Zotas.

Date based upon the relief and script (Łajtar).

133. Pediment stele of Kallo and Dionysios. 1st century BC.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5473. Found along the shores of the Sea of Marmara during excavations of the city-walls. Based upon traces of mortar on the stele, it had been reused in a Byzantine building. Marble. H: 41, W: 32, D: 7cm.

Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 103 Pl. 18; Łajtar 2000, No. 231.



Relief field: A banquet scene of the standard scheme, with the man reclining, the veiled woman seated, a table in front of the kline, and two servants in mourning flanking the scene. The heads of the two main figures are larger in proportion to their bodies. On the upper right corner of the frame are two palm-out hands, at the end of the inscription.

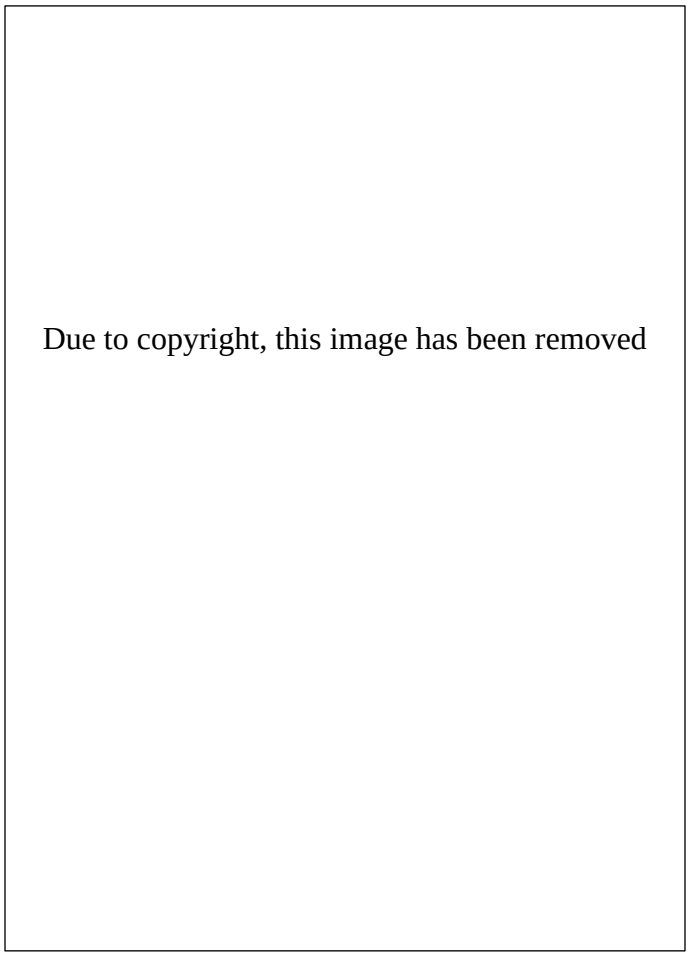
Inscription:

Καλλὼ / Διονυσίου
Διονύσιος / Ἀπολλοδώρου.

Kallo (daughter or wife of) Dionysios. Dionysios, son of Apollodoros.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

134. Pediment stele of Phileta and Menestratos. 1st century BC/ 1st century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5292. Found in Büyükçekmece (Athyra), Anakşaköy. Marble. H: 33, W: 24, D: 6cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 94 Pl. 22; Łajtar 2000, No. 224.



Relief field: A standard banquet scene, with the man reclining, raising a wreath, and the woman seated on a block-seat at left. Two servants accompany the scene, the male at right, the female at left, both in mourning.

Inscription:

Φιλήτα Μενεστράτου / γυνὰ Ἀρίχου. / Μενέστρ<α>τ[ο]/ς.

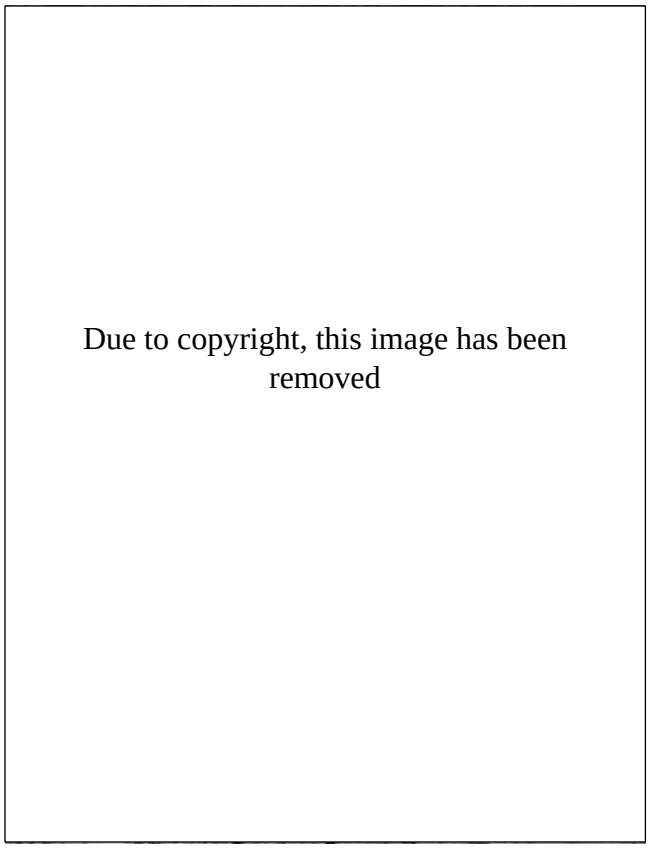
Phileta, daughter of Menestratos, wife of Arichos. Menestratos.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

135. Pediment stele. 1st century BC/ 1st century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4820. Found in the vicinity of Lake Terkos. Lower left corner broken off. Marble. H: 38, W: 28, D: 8cm.

Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 95 Pl. 58; Łajtar 2000, No. 225.



Relief field: A standard banquet scene, with the man reclining, raising a wreath, and the woman seated on a block-seat at left. Two servants accompany the scene, the male at right, the female at left, both in mourning.

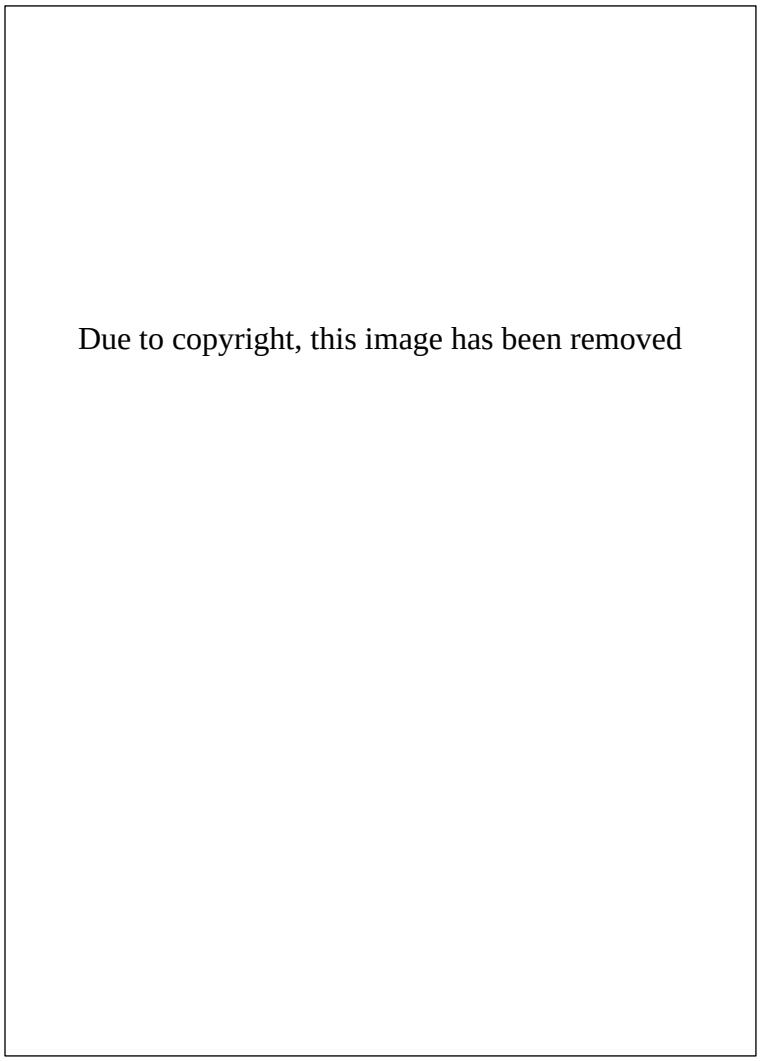
Inscription: Above the heads of the man and the woman.

. . . . / NOYM. .OY

NOYM. / ΔY. . .[- - -]

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

136. Pediment stele of Andronikos and Epiktesis. 1st century BC/ 1st century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 2146. Found in Kăğithane, a village north of the Golden Horn. Light gray marble. H: 61, W: 41, D: 10cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 96 Pl. 19; PM 1721 Pl. 250; Łajtar 2000, No. 226. Photo by author 2017.



Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with the man reclining, raising a wreath, and the woman seated on a block-seat at left. Two servants accompany the scene, the male at right, the female at left, both in mourning.

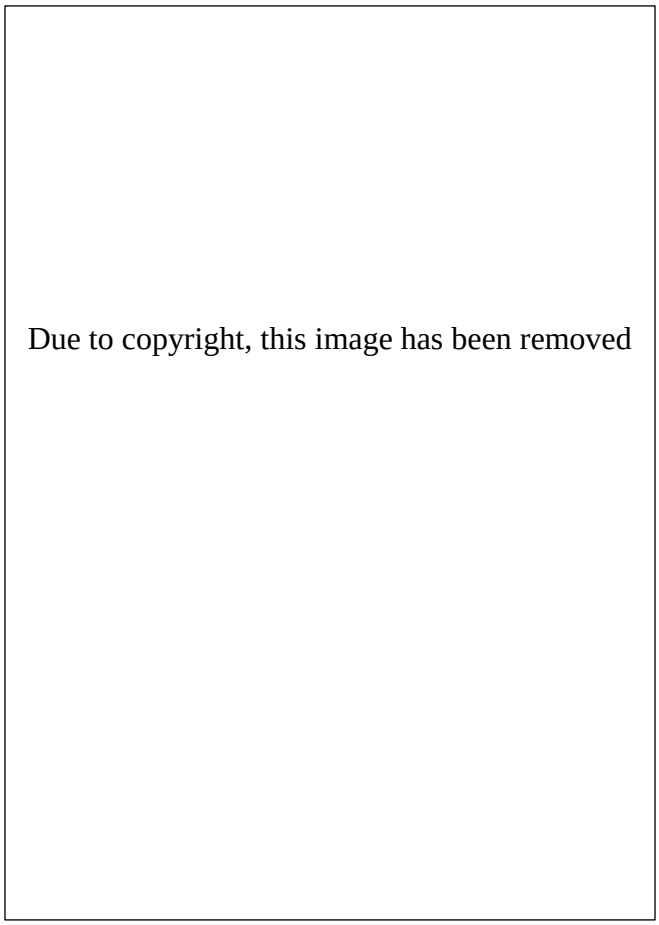
Inscription field:

Ἀνδρόνεικος / Παπα ζῇ, / Ἐπίκτησις Ἀνδρονείκου.

Andronikos, son of Papas, living. Epiktesis (daughter or wife of) Andronikos.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı; PM).

137. Rectangular stele. 1st century BC/1st century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4419. Found in Kocamustafapaşa. Edges of frame broken, and surface eroded. Marble. H: 110, W: 40, D: 15cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 64 Pl. 23.



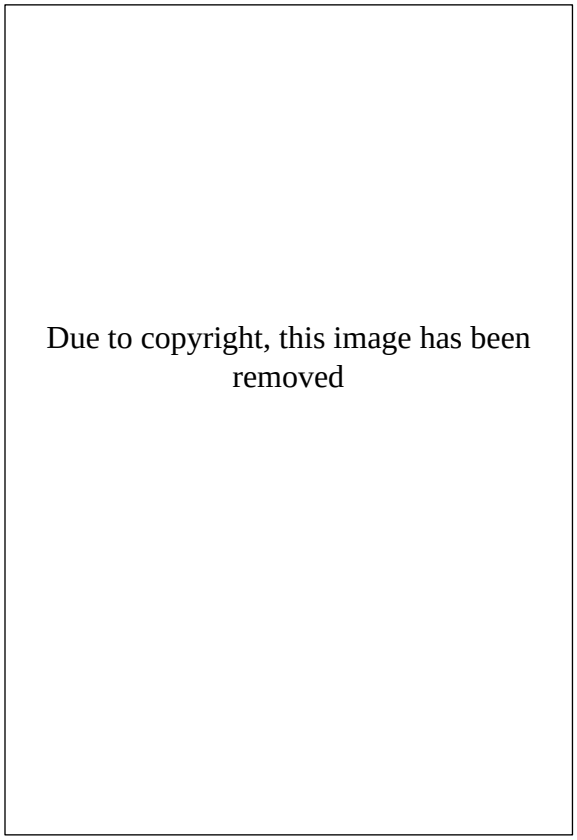
Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A typical banquet scene, with a reclining man, and seated veiled woman.
Lower relief: A male figure stands at the centre, looking right with a plow pulled by two bulls. At the left stands another pair of animals, probably horses, also looking right.

No surviving inscription.

This is one of only two stelai from Byzantion which feature this agricultural motif.

Date based upon the relief (Fıratlı).

138. Pediment stele of Philon. 1st century BC/ 1st century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5211. Found in Safraköy, near Bakırköy. Marble. H: 46, W: 32, D: 7cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 107 Pl. 24; Łajtar 2000, No. 264.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with the man reclining, raising a wreath, and the woman seated on a block-seat at left. In front of the *kline*, at centre, stands a young frontal male figure, in a typical pose. At the right stands a table. Two small-scale servants accompany the scene, the male at right, the female at left, both in mourning.

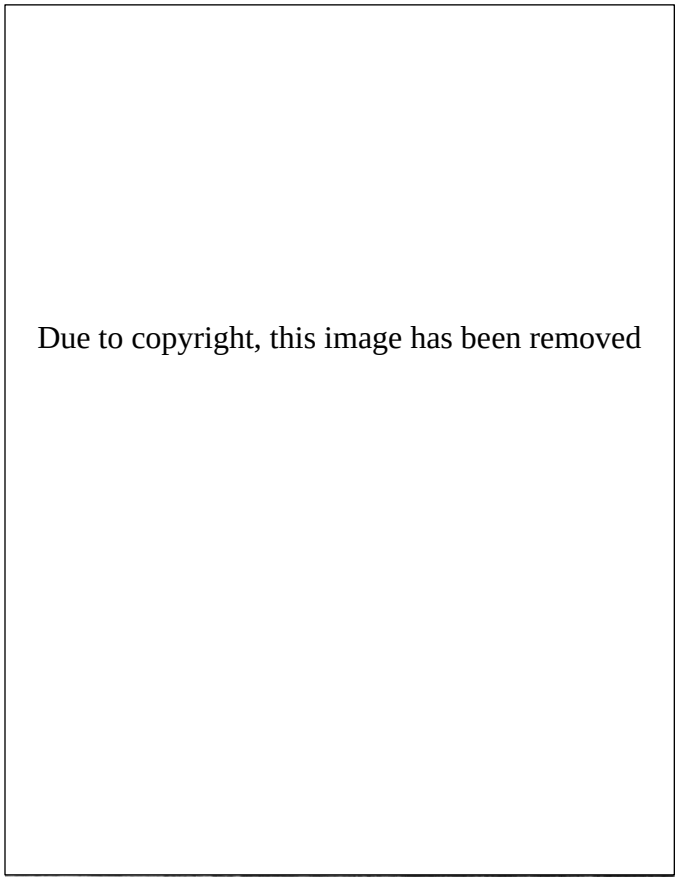
Inscription:

Φίλων Διοδώρου ἐτῶν κ΄.

Philon, son of Diodoros, aged 20.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

139. Rectangular stele of Lykon and Anne. 1st century BC/ 1st century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4693. Found in Şehzadebaşı (Istanbul). Marble. H: 49, W: 40, D: 10cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 63 Pl. 23; Łajtar 2000, No. 207.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A standard banquet scene, with a man reclining, raising a wreath, and the woman seated on a block-like seat at left.
Lower relief (flat): Here two oxen are shown with a plough at the right.

Inscription:

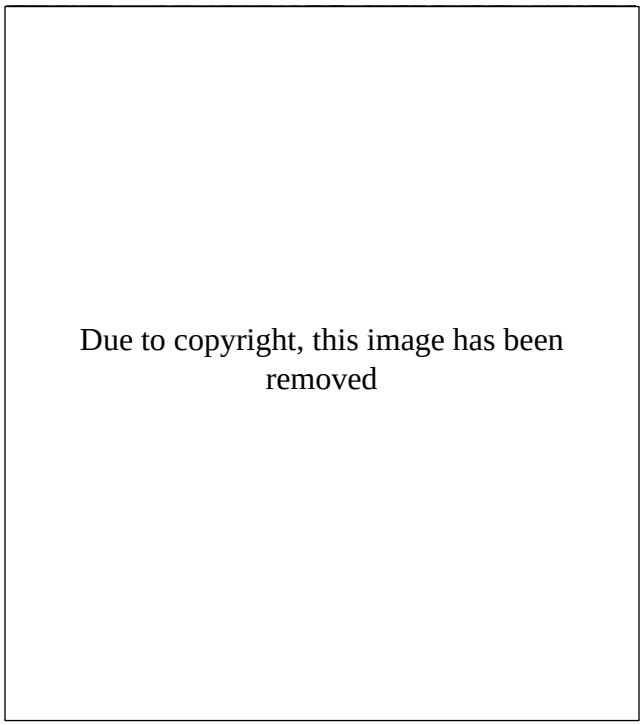
Λύκων β΄ ζήσας / ἔτη οε΄, γυνὴ Ἄννη ζῇ.

Lykon, son of Lykon, having lived 75 years, (and) his wife Anne, living.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

140. Stele fragment. 1st century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 2790. Found in Yedikule (Istanbul). Upper part of stele, including upper portion of relief field, broken off. Light-gray marble. H: ca. 60, W: ca. 55, D: ca. 12cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 38 Pl. 10; PM 1597 Pl. 232.

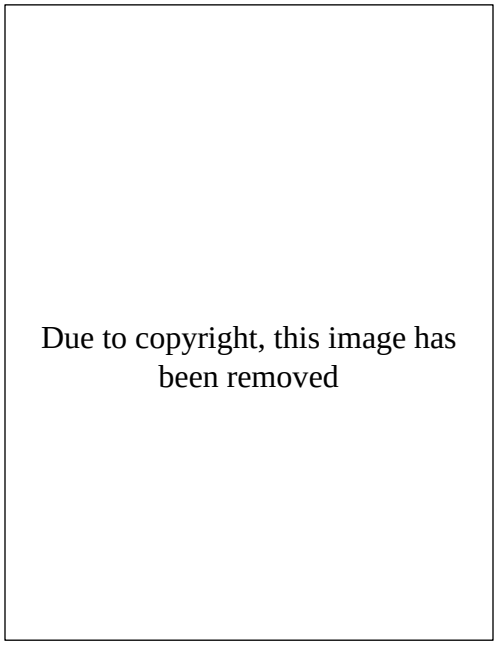


Relief field: Fragmentary banquet scene, with remains of a figure reclining on a *kline*, a tripod table, and a woman seated in an ornately rendered chair with thin back and arm rests, as well as a foot rest. Three small-scale servants are visible, a female at the left, holding a *kalathos*, and two male servants at the right edge, one in a typical pose of mourning, the other turned to look at his companion, right arm bent and raised to the left shoulder of the other.

No surviving inscription.

Date based upon the relief (Fıratlı).

141. Rectangular stele. Early Imperial.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4143. Found in Byzantion? White marble. H: 39, W: 30, D: 5cm.
Literature: PM 1688 Fig. 95.



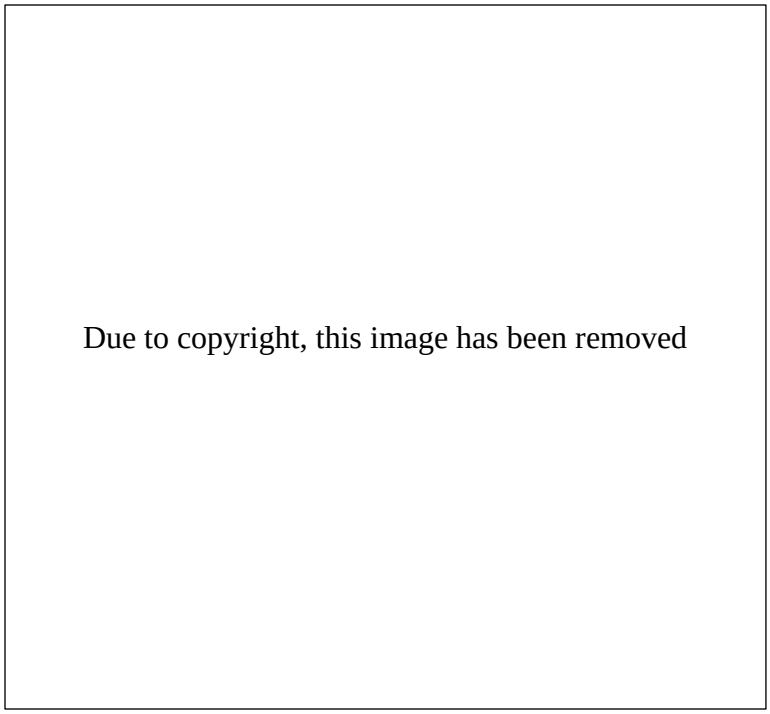
Relief field: A banquet scene in the standard formula, but like **89**, **94-95**, and **102**, a third frontal standing figure, a boy here in a typical pose and *himation*, is centrally placed between the seated woman at the left and the table at the right. A female servant, like a small column, appears at the far left.

Inscription:

Πυθο - - -/ρου Ἀνείκατο[ς- - -.

Date based upon the relief (PM).

142. Naiskos stele of Matrodoros and Kalligeiton. Early Imperial.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 16. Found Fatih (Istanbul). Light gray marble. H: 87, W: 88, D: 30cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 36 Pl. 10; PM 2035 Pl. 295; Łajtar 2000, No. 285.



Relief field: Between pilasters, a scene in the schema of a standard banquet, with a man reclining, his elbow on cushions, holding a book-roll in his left hand, his right resting on his bent knee. A veiled female figure sits at the left on the foot of the *kline*, left arm crossing to her right shoulder, her feet on a foot-rest. In front of her stands a small-scale male servant who hands a book-roll to her with his right hand. Another servant, female, stands behind, holding a *kalathos*. In front of the *kline* stands a tripod table with acanthus decoration, carrying two book-rolls, an inkwell, a small box, and a diptych (?). At the far right stands a second male servant, in mourning. Above the figures, in the centre, are incised the images of a horse bridle with nose strap, and at right what may be a sword. In the right corner, in a recessed field, is a horse protome, looking right.

Inscription: Two lines separated by the relief field.

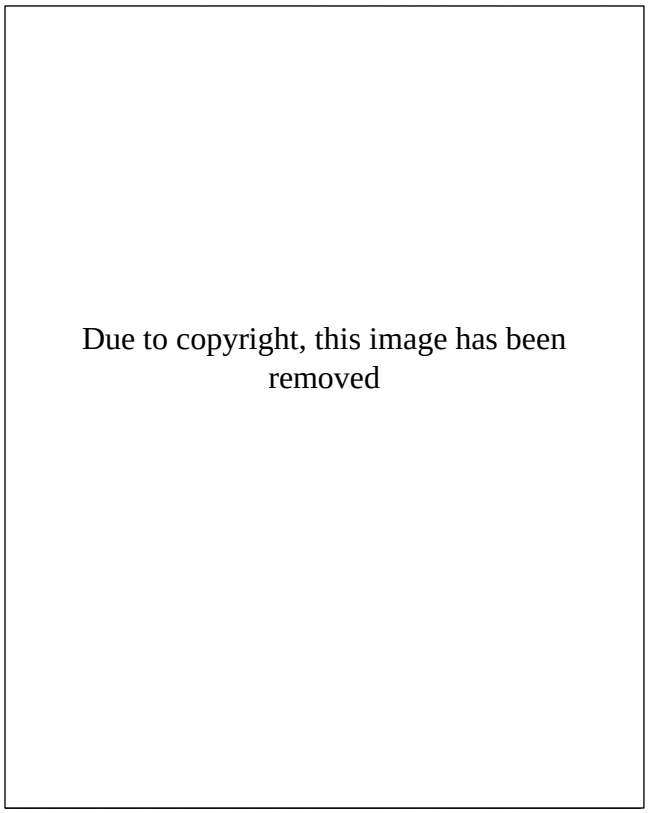
Ματροδώρου τοῦ Καλλιγείτονος
Καλλιγείτων Ματροδώρου

Matrodoros, son of Kalligeiton. Kalligeiton, son of Matrodoros.

Date based upon the relief and head of the male figure (PM).

143. Stele of Dorema and Hermes. Early Imperial.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4240. Found in Fatih (Istanbul). Two fragments, with a vertical break. Light-gray marble. H: 43, W: 34, D: 8cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 59 Pl. 16; PM 1680 Pl. 246; Łajtar 2000, No. 205.



Relief field: A standard banquet scene with a reclining man and seated woman. A female servant stands in mourning at the left, and the remains of a male servant in the right corner.

Inscription:

Δώρημα / Ἑρμᾶ / ζῇ
Ἑρμῆς / Ξενωφάτ/ου

Dorema (daughter or wife of) Hermas (Hermes), living. Hermes, son of Xenophantes.

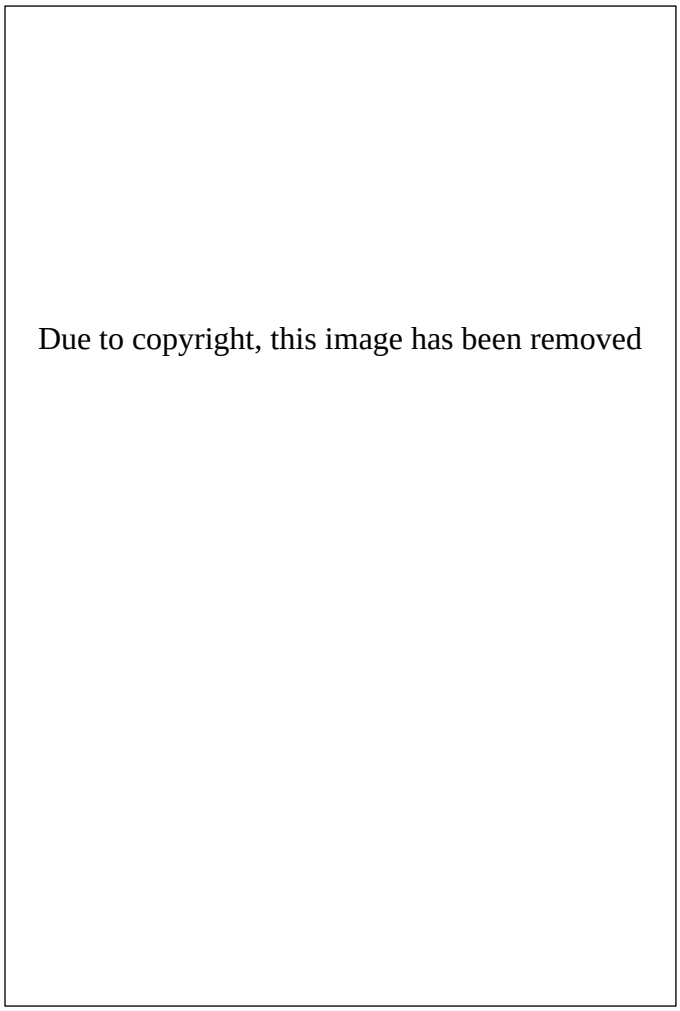
Possibly a father and daughter, or husband and wife.

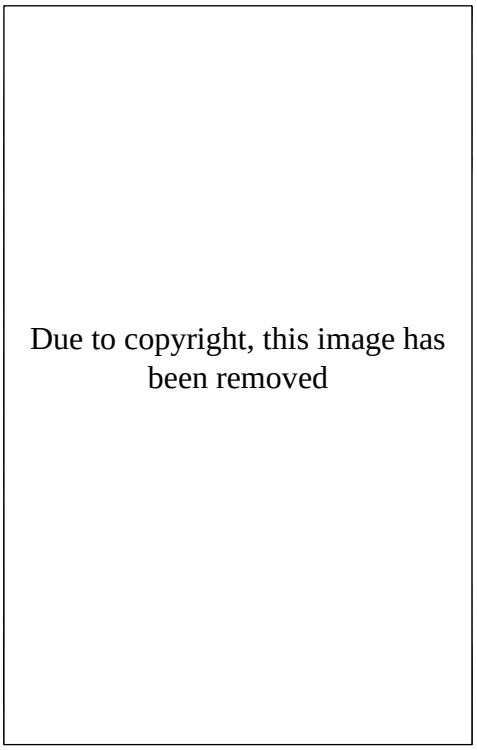
Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı; PM).

144. Pediment stele of Mammia and Dinusis Dikaios. 1st century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5190. Found in Istanbul (Küçükçekmece, Firuzköy). Marble. H: 60, W: 38, D: 6cm.

Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 93 Pl. 25; Clairmont 1967, 464; PM 1748 Pl. 254. Color photo by author 2017.





Relief field: A banquet scene, with the man reclining on the *kline*, raising a wreath, and a table in front of the couch. The veiled woman sits on the cube-like seat at the left holds a small boy in a *himation* on her lap. Two servants accompany the scene, in gestures of mourning – a female at the left, and a male at the right.

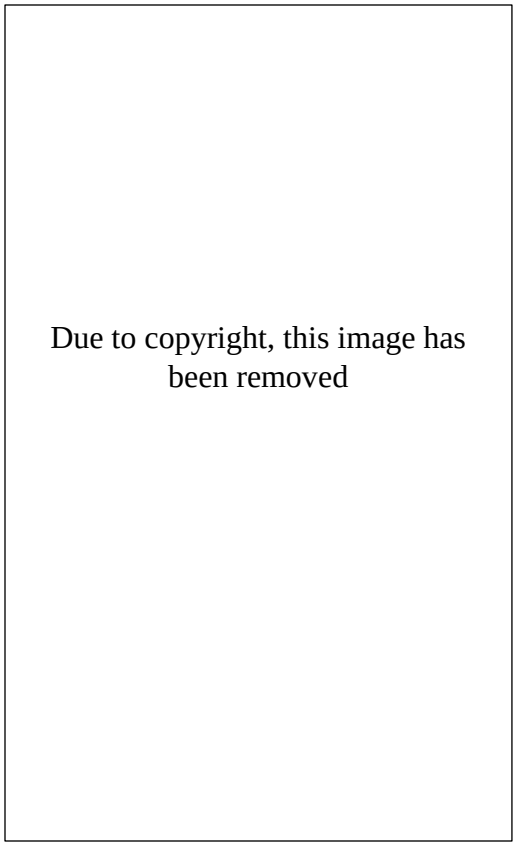
Inscription:

Μαμμία Διονυσίου, / Δινυσις Δικαίου.

Mammia (daughter or wife of) Dionusios. Dinusis Dikaios (?).

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

145. Pediment stele of Aphphis and Apollonios. 1st century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 6243. Found in Küçükçekmece. Marble. H: 62, W: 35, D: 6-7cm.
Literature: Sayar 1982, No. 3 Pl. 9; Łajtar 2000, No. 244.



Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with the man reclining, raising a wreath, and the woman seated on a block-seat at left. A small-scale female servant stands at the left, holding a *kalathos*.

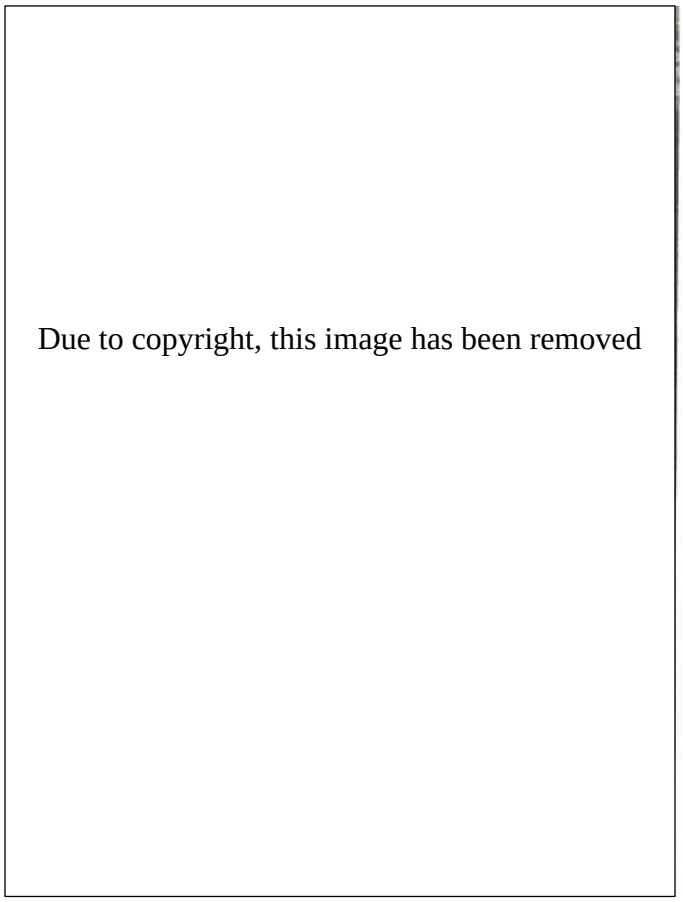
Inscription:

Ἀφία Ἀπολλονίου, Ἀπολλόνις Ἀπολλονίου.

Aph(ph)is (daughter or wife of) Apollonios, and Apollonios son of Apollonios.

Date based upon the relief and script (Sayer).

146. Pediment stele of Polla, Diotimos, and Agathemeros. Early Imperial.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no.? Found near Küçükçekmece. Marble. H: 48, W: 35, D: 6cm.
Literature: Taşlıklıoğlu 1971, 62 No. 1 Pl. 163; Łajtar 2000, No. 271.



Relief field: A standard banquet scene, with the man reclining, raising a wreath, and the woman seated on a block-seat at left. In addition to the typical formula, at the centre stands a second male figure, frontal. A table stands at the right. Two servants accompany the scene, the male at right, the female at left.

Inscription field:

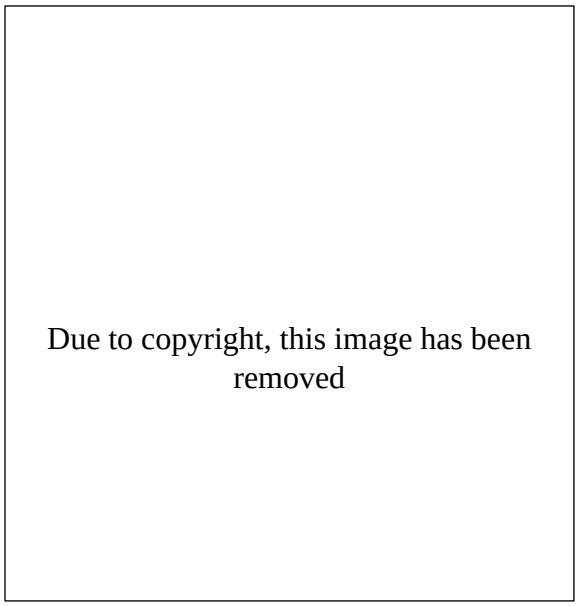
. . PIA . [Π]ῶλλα, Διότιμος Ἀγαθημέ|ρου, / Ἀγαθήμερος Ἀγαθημέρου.

[P]olla, Diotimos, son of Agathemeros, Agathemeros, son of Agathemeros.

The stele may commemorate a married couple and their son.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

147. Pediment stele of Heroxenos, Mama, and Dynamis. Early Imperial.
Private collection of Eric Lomnitz (New York). Found, allegedly, by a man in a vegetable garden in the vicinity of the Hippodrome (with **148** and **183** and a fourth of unknown date). Marble. H: 36, W: 35-33cm.
Literature: Lane 1969, No. 3 Fig. 3; Łajtar 2000, No. 277.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with a reclining man raising a wreath in his right hand, and a veiled woman seated at the left, and a second veiled woman standing in front of the couch, left of a low tripod table. Two small-scale servants flank the scene, a male at the right and a female at the left.

Inscription:

Ἡρόξενος Διονυσίου, Μαμα Ἡροξένου, Δύναμις Ἡροξένου.

Heroxenos, son of Dioysios, Mama, daughter of Heroxenos, Dynamis, daughter of Heroxenos.

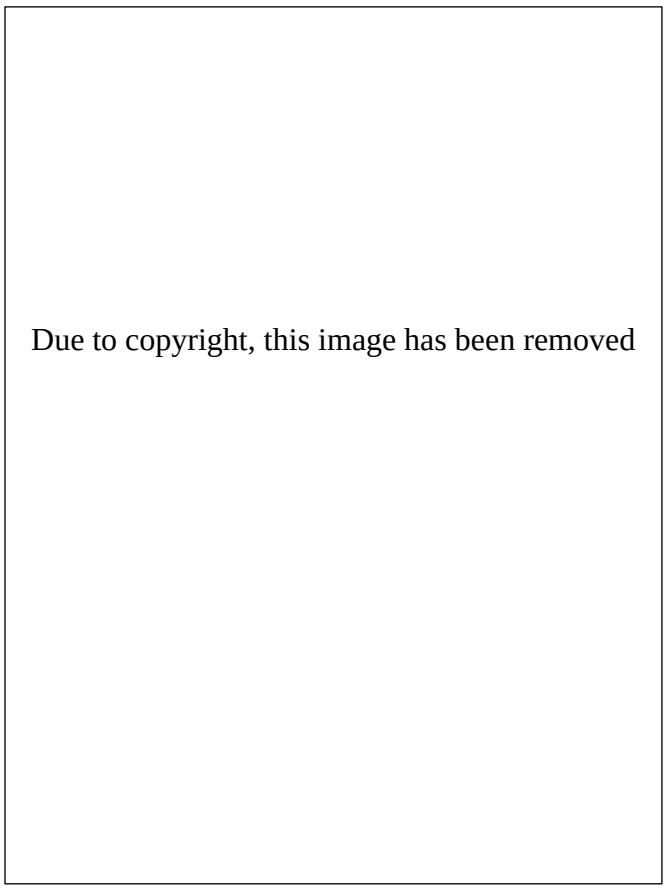
This stele, together with three others (**148** and **183**; also Łajtar 2000, No. 140 of unknown date), published by Lane in a private collection, were all allegedly found by a man digging in a vegetable garden near the Hippodrome, then purchased by the wife of Edgar J. Fisher, dean of Robert College, before later in 1967 being sold at auction (Lane 1969, 35-36). Unfortunately, no additional record of their findspot or circumstances survives. These may have come from a family group of monuments, as has been argued by Lane and Łajtar in light of the overlapping names and possible familial links.

Date based upon the relief and script (Lane; Łajtar).

148. Pediment stele of Mama and Apphus. Early Imperial.

Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts (Boston), inv. no. 69.1095. Found, allegedly, by a man in a vegetable garden in the vicinity of the Hippodrome (Atmeydan) (with **147** and **183** and a fourth of unknown date). Marble. H: 50.5, W: 34.5, D: 34.5cm.

Literature: Lane 1969, No. 2 Fig. 2; Łajtar 2000, No. 240. Photo courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, 2019.



Relief field: A standard banquet scene, with the man reclining, raising a wreath, and the woman seated on a block-seat at left. Two servants accompany the scene, the male at right, the female at left.

Inscription field:

Μαμα Ἀπφου, Ἀπφους Εὐφρονί/ου.

Mama (daughter or wife of) Apphus, and Apphus son of Euphronios.

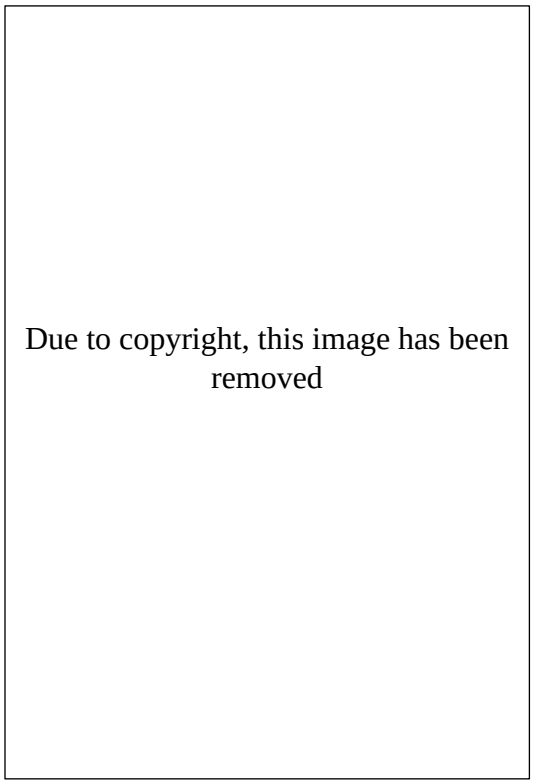
See discussion above for the possible connection between this stele and others from the same alleged findspot (**147**, and **183).**

Date based upon the relief and script (Lane; Łajtar).

149. Stele of Bithys. Early Imperial.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. not recorded. Found in Güzelce, west of Büyükçekmece (Athyra). Marble. H: 66, W: 42, D: 8cm.

Literature: Taşlıklıoğlu 1971, 54-57 No. II.2 Pl. 40; Łajtar 2000, No. 189.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with a reclining male figure and a second man standing to the left, clasping the hand of the first. Flanking the scene are two small-scale male servants.

Inscription:

[B]ειθυς Σφοδρία.

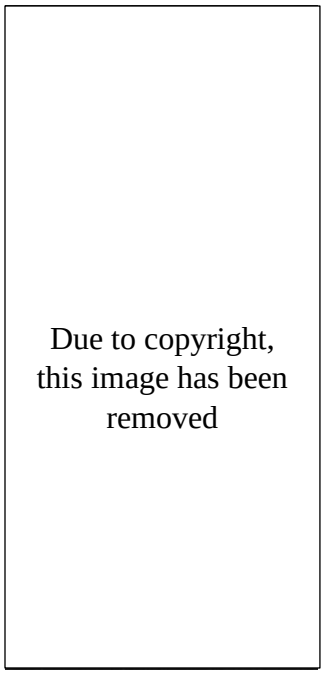
Bithys, son of Sphodrias.

Bithys is a Thracian name (Dechev 1957, 66-68; Łajtar 2000).

Date based upon the relief and script (Łajtar).

150. Stele of Xenon and Meniskos Xenonos. 1st century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5516. Found during road construction between Silivri and Sinekli. Broken off at the bottom. White large-grain marble. H: 75, W: 34.5-31, D: 7cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 191a Pl. 62; PM 1088 Pl. 164; Łajtar 2000, No. 179.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: At left sits a veiled woman on a backless seat without foot rest, her left hand raised to her mantle, her right clasping the right hand of a frontal standing male figure in a typical pose. At the far left beside stands a small-scale female servant holding a narrow *kalathos*, and at the far right a small male servant leans against the edge in mourning.
Lower relief: A banquet scene. At the right, a man reclines on a *kline*, holding a bowl in his left hand, his right visible behind the right shoulder of a frontal youth in a typical pose (as above, but with his right hand inside his mantle). A table stands in front of the *kline*. At far left sits a veiled woman in the same attitude as above, but with her right hand resting in her lap.

Inscription: Two lines, one at top of stele, and the other between the relief fields.

[Ξ]ένων Μενίσκου χαῖρε
Μενίσκος Ξένωνος χαῖρε.

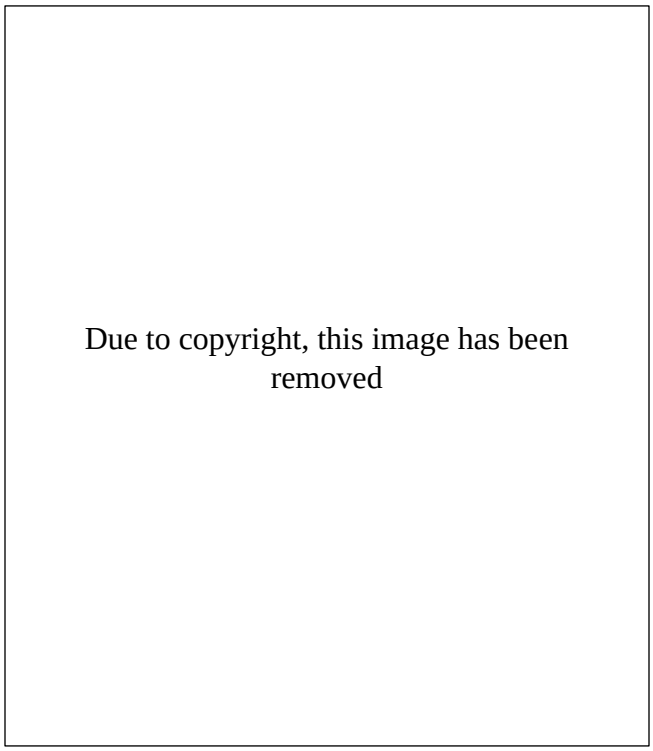
Xenon son of Meniskos, farewell.
Meniskos Xenonos, farewell.

The stele commemorates a father and son.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı; PM).

151. Pediment stele for Zotichos. 1st/2nd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5466. Found in Bakırköy. Marble. H: 53, W: 47, D: 7cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 102 Pl. 27; PM 1812 Pl. 261; Łajtar 2000, No. 268.



Relief field: A banquet scene with three main figures. A bearded man reclines on the *kline*, and at the left a veiled woman sits on a cube-like seat. At the centre, between the woman and the table in front of the *kline*, stands a central male figure. Dressed in a *chiton* and chlamys, he holds an unidentified object in his right hand, and in his left a *lagobolon* or *pedum*. A single small-scale female servant appears at the far right of the scene.

Inscription: Three, in the pediment (where two palm-out hands also appear), below the relief field, and finally inside the relief field.

ἐξῆλθον τοῦ / βίου Ζώτιχος Μίλωνος

ζήσας ἔτη · κε΄ · μῆ(νας) · ι·α΄ · / οἱ γονεῖς Μίλων καὶ Εἶα / τὸ σῆμα ἐθέμε<ν> μνάμας χάρ/ιν·

χαῖρε *HEAD* παροδῖ/τα.

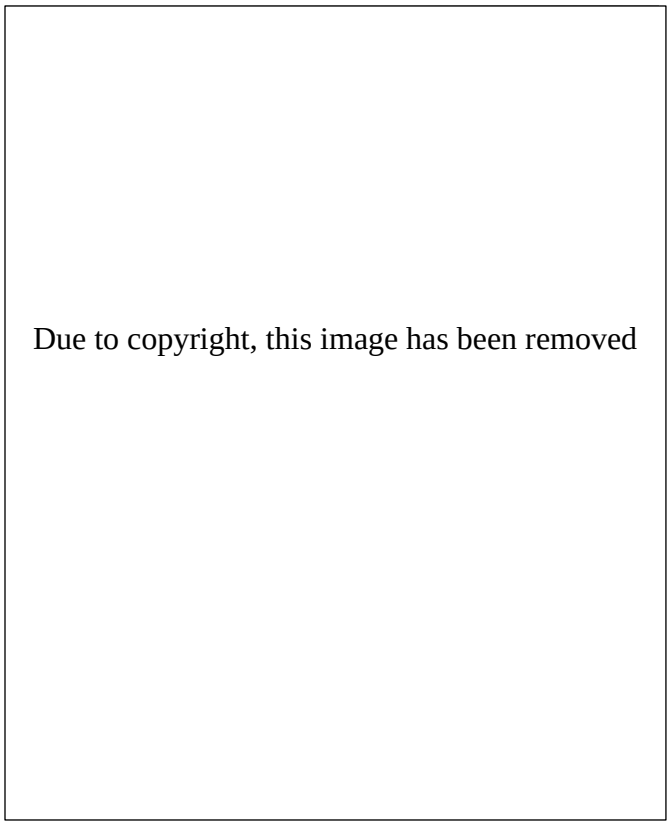
I, Zotichos, son of Milon, have departed life having lived 25 years 11 months. We, the parents Milon and Eia, have built this tomb in memory. Farewell, passerby!

Date based upon the relief and script (Łajtar).

152. Stele of Dionysios. 2nd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 74.4. Found in the village of Bayrampaşa. White marble. H: 48, W: 40, D: 6-7cm.

Literature: Sayar 1982, No. 5 Pl. 10; Łajtar 2000, No. 263.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with a man reclining on the *kline*, holding a vessel in his left hand, a smaller male figure sitting at the middle of the *kline*, wearing a short tunic and holding a book roll in his left hand. A table stands in front of the *kline*. A veiled woman sits on a block-like seat at the left, her left hand raised to her mantle, her right clasping the right hand of the central boy. Two small-scale servants attend the scene, a female at the left holding a *kalathos*, and a male at the left in mourning. In the background above the heads of the figures are, at the left, a bundle of three book-rolls and, at the right, some sort of bag or purse.

Inscription:

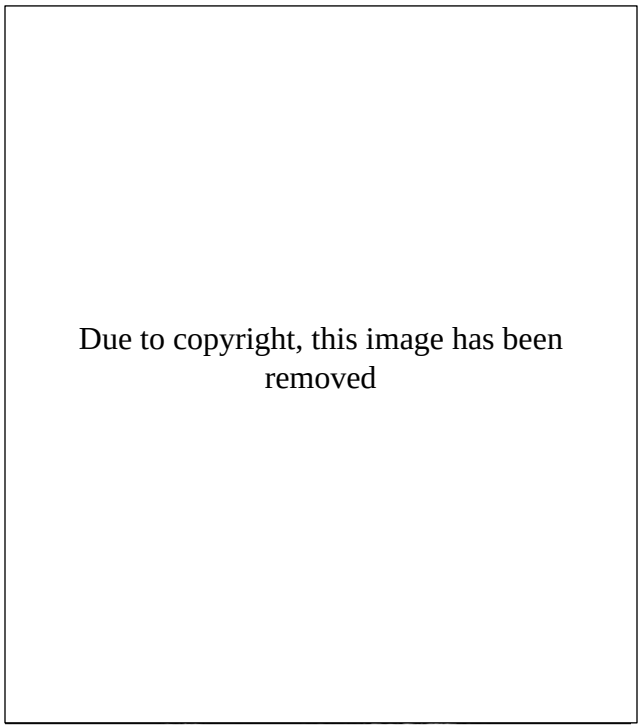
Διονύσιος Μεννέα.

Dionysios, son of Menneas.

Date based upon the relief and script (Sayer).

153. Pediment stele. 2nd century AD.

Unknown (excavation inv. no. 00.2 (T)). Found in the excavations in Küçük Ayasofya Street, Eminönü (Istanbul).
Marble. H: 36.5, W: 30.5, D: 5cm.
Literature: Gökçay and Asal 2008, No. 8 Fig. 46; SEG 58.692.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with a single reclining male figure, his right hand resting on his raised leg, his left holding a drinking vessel. A tripod table stands in front of the couch. At the left stands a small-scale male servant, in mourning.

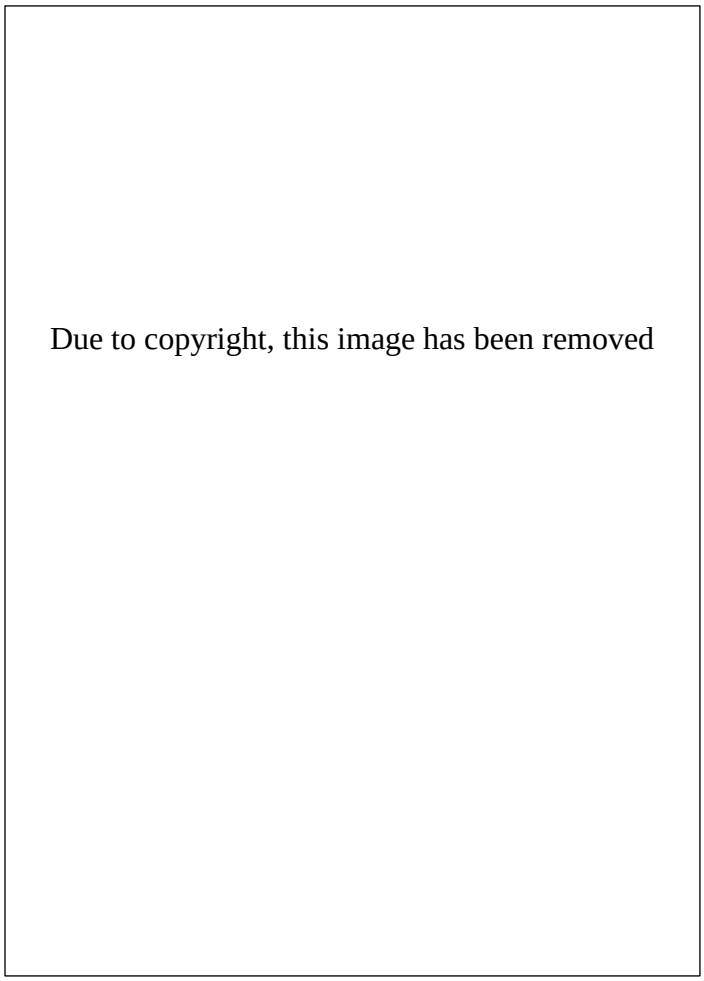
Inscription:

[- - -]δωρε χαρε.

[…] farewell!

Date based upon the relief (Gökçay and Asal).

154. Rectangular stele for Marcus Trebellius Maximus. 2nd century AD.
Sadberk Hanım Museum, inv. no. 117-9319. Reportedly found in Istanbul. Marble. H: 57, W: 44-50, D: 9.5cm.
Literature: Sayar 2000, No. 9 (Figure).



Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with a reclining male figure raising a wreath, a veiled female figure, and two pillar-like small-scale servants (one male and one female) flanking the scene.

Inscription:

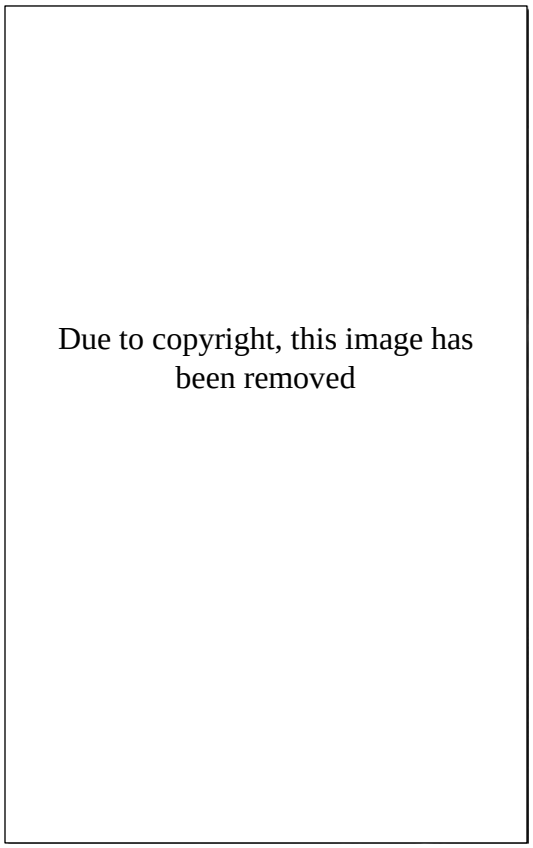
> Μάρκω Τερβελλίῳ Μαξίμω Μᾶ[ρκος] / Τερβέλλιος Μάξιμος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ / τῷ πατρὶ μνήμης χάριν.
>
> *His son Marcus Trebellius Maximus (made this) for his father Marcus Trebellius Maximus, in memory.*

Date based upon the relief and script (Sayar).

155. Pediment stele of Tittha and Damas. 2nd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 76.44. Found in Haramidere. The lower left corner is broken off. White marble. H: 47, W: 28, D: 7cm.

Literature: Sayar 1982, No. 4 Pl. 9; Łajtar 2000, No. 245.



Relief field: A standard banquet scene, with the man reclining, raising a wreath, and the woman seated on a block-seat at left. Two servants accompany the scene, the male at right, the female at left, both in mourning.

Inscription:

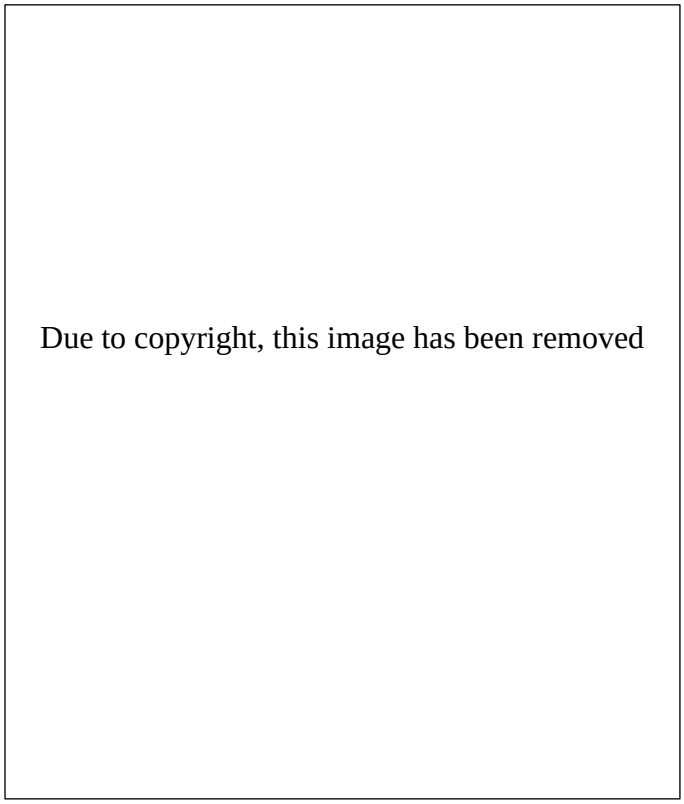
Τίτθα Δαμᾶ / Δαμᾶς Χρηστάκωντος.

Tittha (daughter or wife of) Damas. Damas, son of Chrestakon.

Date based upon the relief and script (Sayer).

156. Pediment stele. 2nd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5524. Found in Süleymaniye (Istanbul). Marble. H: 42, W: 33, D: 6.5cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1966, Annexe No. 236 Pl. 19; Łajtar 2000, No. 282.



Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with a second male figure seated on the block-like seat the left, his right hand in his lap, his left raised to beneath his chin. Two servants accompany the scene, a male the right and a female at the left, both in mourning.

Inscription:

Παπύλος Κασίου ζήσας / ἔτη λε΄, Εἶα Παπᾶδος.

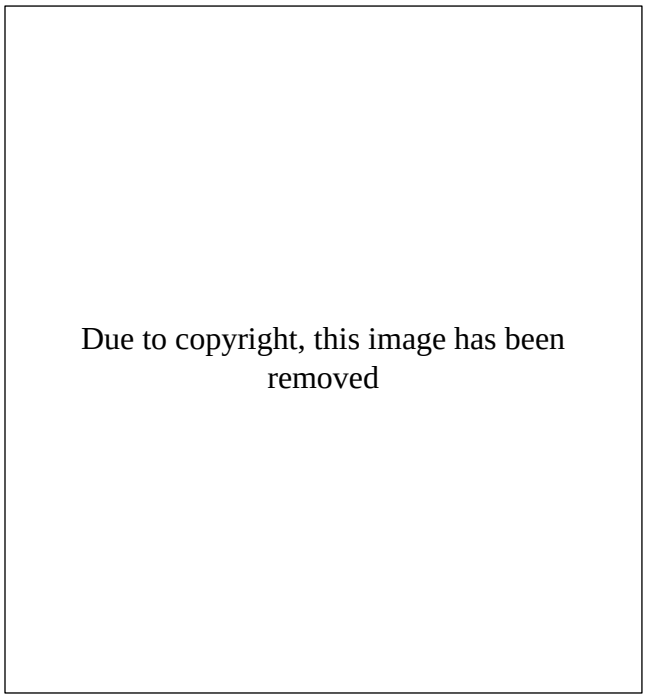
Papylos, son of Kasios, having lived 35 years, and Eia, daughter of Papas.

This is the only relief of a banquet scene from the Roman period stelai which does not include a woman. The inscription refers to a woman together with a man.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

157. Stele fragment. 2nd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5574. Found in Yedikule (Istanbul). Only a small central part of a relief stele. Prokonnesian marble. H: 30, W: 22, D: 8cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 65a Pl. 59.



Relief field: The fragment shows two male figures reclining on a *kline*, and the remains of a table.

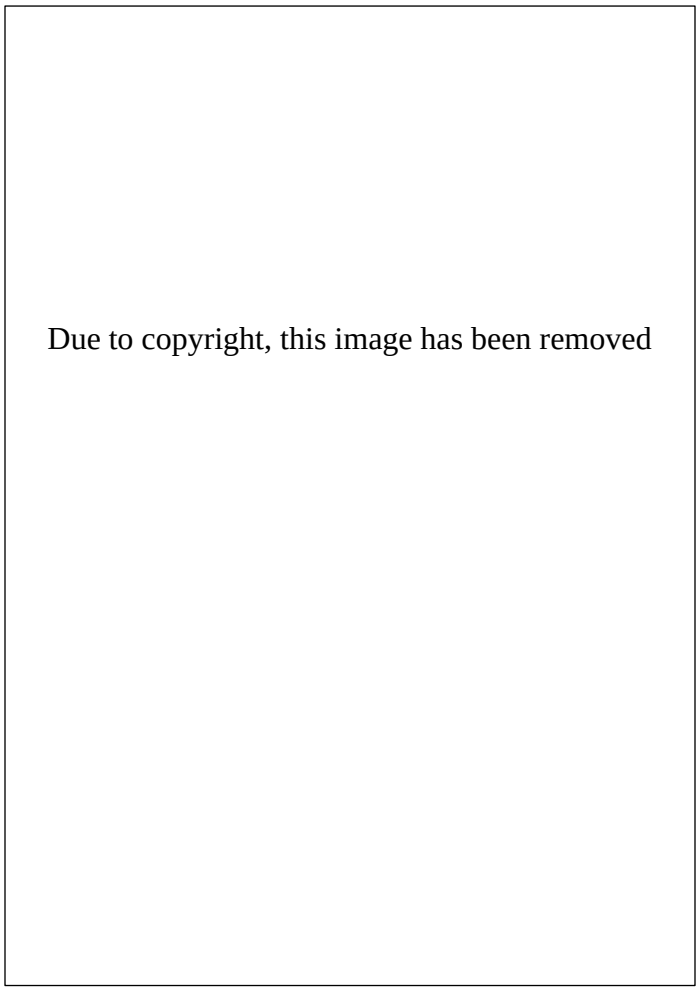
No surviving inscription.

Date based upon the relief (Fıratlı).

158. Pediment stele for Chrysopolis. 2nd century AD.

Sadberk Hanım Museum, inv. no. 129-9321. Facial features badly abraded. Reportedly found in Istanbul. Marble. H: 59.5, W: 43, D: 8cm.

Literature: Sayar 2000, No. 10 (Figure).



Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with a reclining male figure raising a wreath, a veiled female figure at the left, and two servants flanking the scene.

Inscription: Inscribed on the pediment.

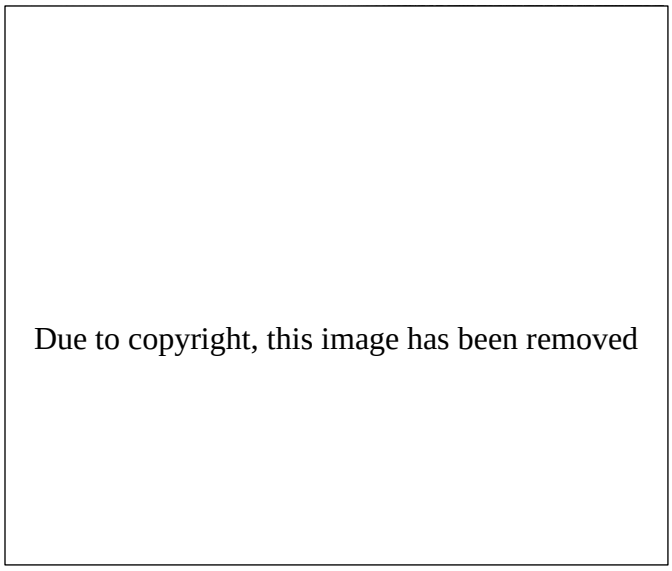
[Φ]λάβ/ιος Τερβέλ/λιος Μάξιμος / Χρυσόπολις τῇ ἑαυ/τοῦ / γυνεκὶ μνήμης χάριν

Flavius Trebellius Maximus (made this) for his own wife Chrysopolis, in memory.

Date based upon the relief and script.

159. Stele of Trakelia and Dionysophanes. 2nd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5565. Found in Istanbul, on the European side. The lower part of the stele missing. Marble. H: 51, W: 59, D: 9cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1966, Annexe No. 228 Pl. 17; Łajtar 2000, No. 232.



Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with the man reclining on the *kline*, raising a wreath, a table in front of the couch, and a veiled woman seated at the left. Left of the table stands a small-scale male servant, holding an unidentified object in his right hand. At the right edge (above the break) is the head of a second attendant.

Inscription: Above the heads of the main figures.

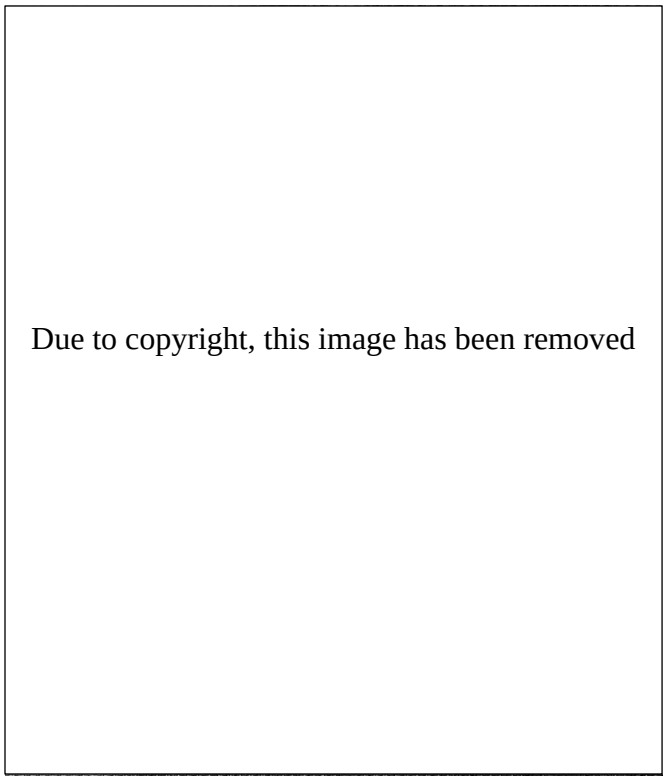
> Με<ν>ί<σ>κου / Τρακῃλία ἡ μήτηρ ζῇ
> Διονυσωφάνης / Θεωδώρου.
>
> *Trakelia (daughter or wife of) Meniskos (?), mother (of Dionysophanes), living. Dionysophanes, son of Theodoros.*

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

160. Stele for Zotichos and Tyche. 2nd/3rd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5569. Found in Arnavutköy, between Istanbul and Terkos. Marble. H: 50, W: 37.5, D: 7cm.

Literature: Fıratlı 1966, Annexe No. 237 Pl. 19; Łajtar 2000, No. 237.



Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with the man reclining, raising a wreath with his right hand, a drinking cup in his left. A table stands in front of the *kline*. At the left sits a veiled woman on a cube-like block. No servants.

Inscription:

Ζώτιχος · Ποπέου / ζή(σας) / π΄

γυνὴ · αὐτοῦ · Τύχη / ζή(σασα) / ογ΄.

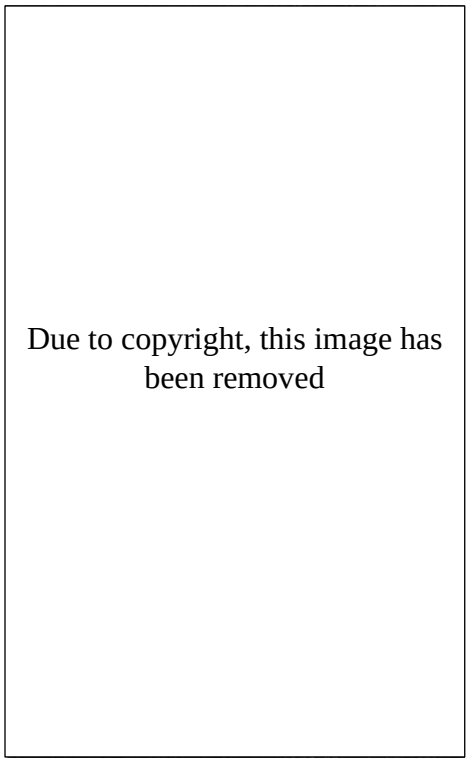
Zotichos, son of Pop(p)eos, having lived 80 years, and his wife Tyche, having lived 73 years.

Date based upon the relief and script (Łajtar).

161. Stele of Apphus and Anthis. Roman Imperial period.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5683. Found in Sazlıbostanköyü (Istanbul). Marble. H: 42.5, W: 26.5, D: 5.5cm.

Literature: Fıratlı 1966, Annexe No. 238 Pl. 19; Łajtar 2000, No. 238.



Relief field: A standard banquet scene, with the man reclining, raising a wreath and holding a drinking cup. The woman seated on a block-seat at left holds an object in her left hand, grasping her mantle with her right. Two servants accompany the scene, a female at the left, a male slightly larger at the right both in mourning.

Inscription:

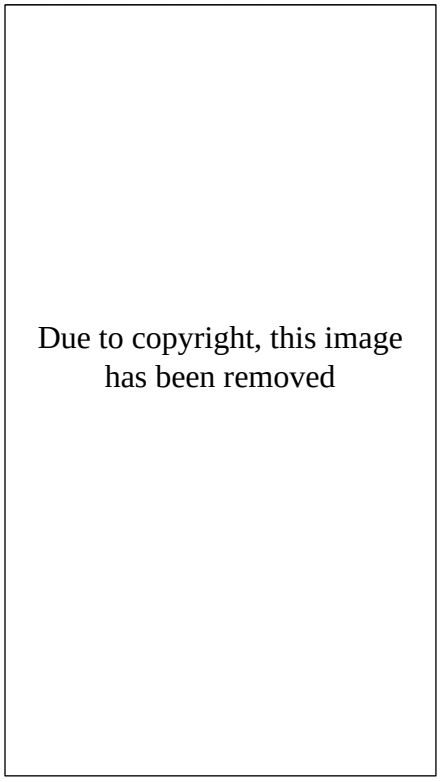
Ἀπφους ΓΛΑΥΞΑΕ / Ἀνθὶς Ἀπφου ζῇ.

Apphus . . . and Anthis (daughter or wife of) Apphus, living.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

162. Stele for Eia. Roman Imperial period.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 2638. Found in Istanbul. White small-grain marble. H: 57, W: 30, D: 9cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 109 Pl. 28; PM 1817; Łajtar 2000, No. 275.



Relief field: A banquet scene with a medium-size child, a frontal girl, standing between the seated woman and the table.

Inscription: Two, separated by the relief.

Ἡλιάδης / Εἴᾳ ἔθηκα / τῇ θυγατρὶ
ζησάσῃ ἔτη δεκα|τρία / μνήμης χάριν· / χαίραιται {χαίρετε} παροδεῖται.

I, Heliades, raised (this stele) for Eia my daughter, having lived thirteen years, in memory. Farewell, passerby.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

163. Pediment stele fragment. Roman Imperial period.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4376. Found in Istanbul. Left side of the stele broken off. Marble. H: 38.5, W: 14, D: 7cm.

Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 113 Pl. 13; Łajtar 2000, No. 257.



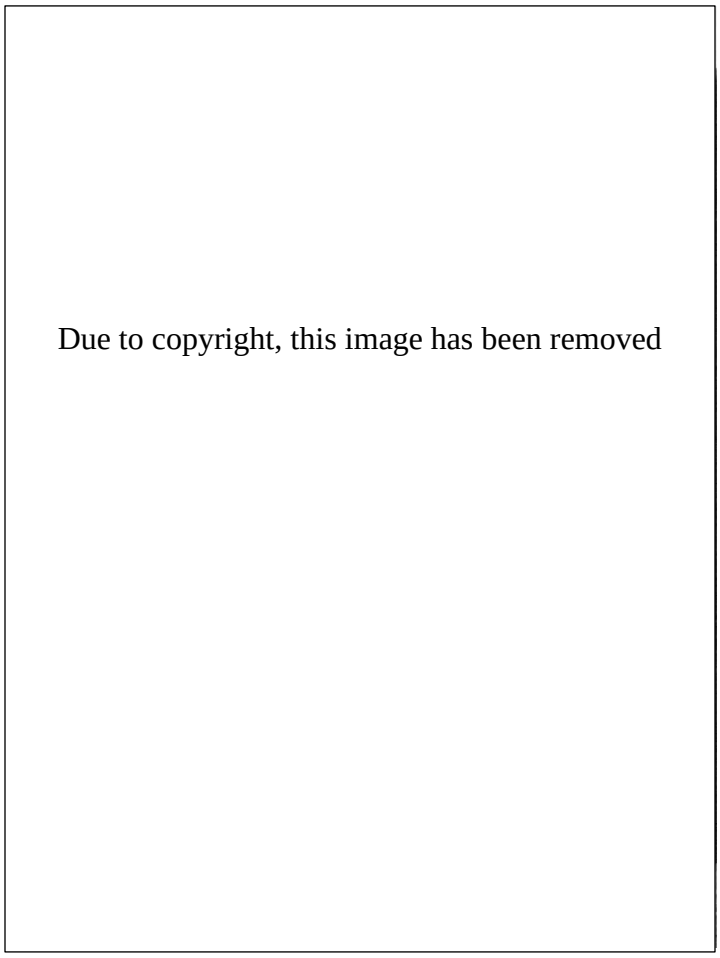
Relief field: A fragmentary banquet scene. The field preserves the left section, showing the upper body of a bearded man reclining on a *kline*. Next to the *kline* in the right corner stands a male servant.

Inscription:

[- - -]. . / [- - -]ων, *v* χαῖρε

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

164. Rectangular stele for Chrysa and Proklos. Roman Imperial period.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 2125. Found in Halkalıköyü (Istanbul). Left upper corner broken. Marble. H: 34, W: 29, D: 7cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 65 Pl. 13; Łajtar 2000, No. 283.



Relief field: A banquet scene, showing two men reclining on a *kline*, the right holding a vessel in his left hand, his right resting on the shoulder of the other man, who also holds a vessel in his left hand, raising a wreath in his right. A table stands in front of the *kline*, and a veiled woman sits at the left.

Inscription: The relief field separates line 1-2 and 3-4 of the inscription.

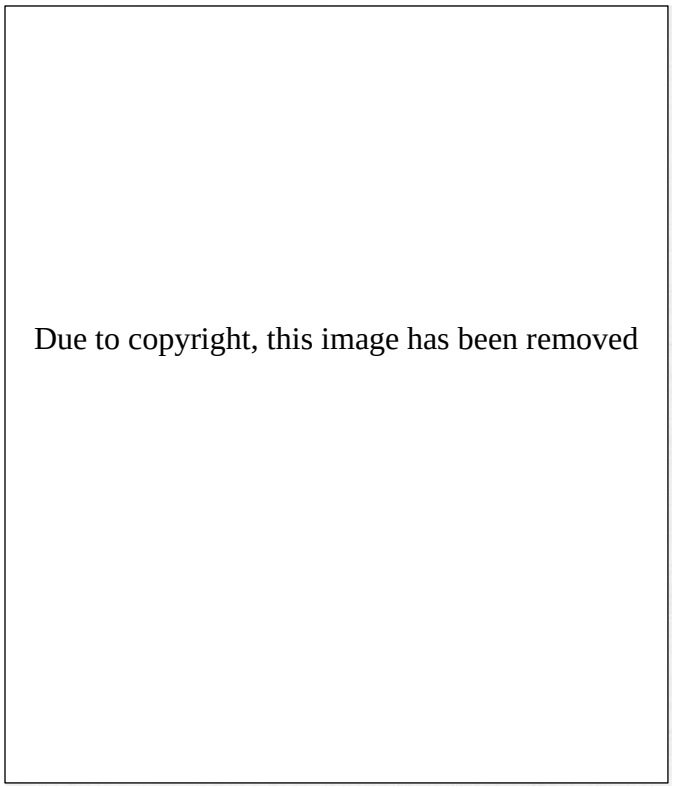
[- - - - - - - -] / [- - - -] Χρυσα.
ζήσασα ἔτη κβ΄, Πρό/κλος ζήσας ἔτη · κε΄.

[ ] Chrysa, having lived 22 years. Proklos, having lived 23 years.

Date based upon the relief and script (Łajtar).

165. Stele fragment. Roman Imperial period.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 2809. Found in Islak Bayir, north of Istanbul on the Bosporus. Only the right upper corner of a stele. Marble. H: 37, W: 33, D: 9cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 112 Pl. 25; Łajtar 2000, No. 272.



Relief field: A fragmentary banquet scene with a bearded man reclining on a *kline*. In front of the *kline* stands a frontal boy, and a table.

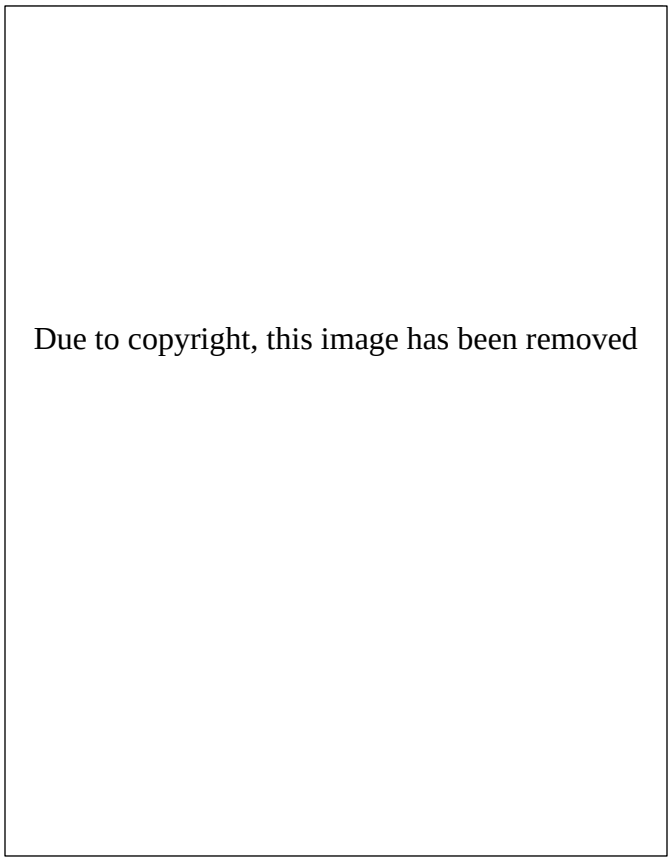
Inscription:

[ὁ δεῖνα] Διονυσίου · ζή<σ>/[ας ἔτη - - -, γυνὴ Ἄ]ⱪκα · ζῇ · υἱὸ<ς> Μα/[- - -] · ζῇ
·

[ ] son of Dionysios, having lived [ ], and Akka his wife, living, and their son Ma[ ], living.

Date based upon the relief and script (Łajtar).

166. Pediment stele with arch, for Zosimos and [ ]la. Roman Imperial period.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4625. Found in Istanbul near Hagia Sophia. Left upper corner broken off. Marble. H: 37, W: 26, D: 6cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 66 Pl. 22; Łajtar 2000, No. 208.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with a man reclining, a woman seated on a block-seat at the left. Two small-scale servants flank the scene, female at the left, male at the left.

Inscription:

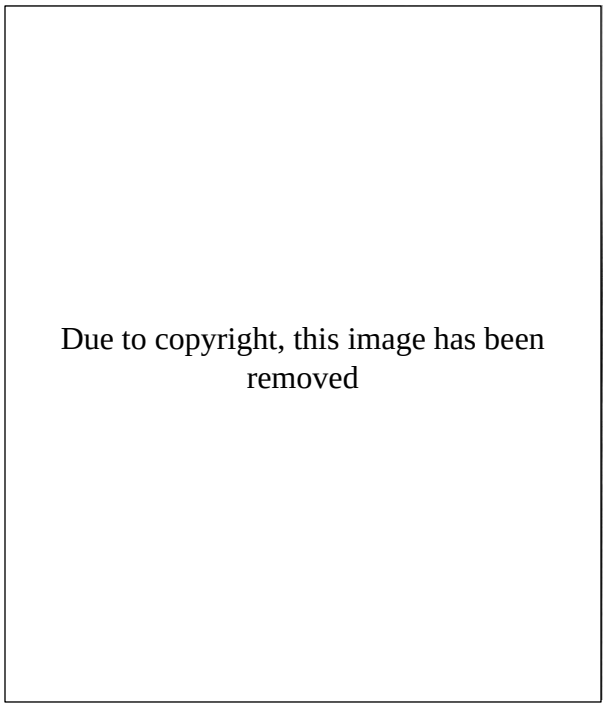
[Ζώ]σιμος β΄ ζῆ. / [. . .]̣λα Ζωσίμου.

Zosimos, son of Zosimos, living. [ ]la (daughter or wife of) Zosimos.

The woman might be the sister, daughter, wife, or even mother of the still-living Zosimos.

Date based upon the relief and script (Łajtar).

167. Stele of Apphusand Timo. Roman Imperial period.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 6100. Found in Saraçhane (Istanbul), together with other fragments from grave stelai (**167**) under the north aisle of the church of St Polyeuktos. Marble. H: 37, W: 35cm.
Literature: Harrison 1986, 166 No. 3; Łajtar 2000, No. 248.



Relief field: A standard banquet scene, with the man reclining, raising a wreath, and the woman seated at left.

Inscription: Five lines are above the relief field, the sixth is below this field.

> [Ἀπ]φους Χαιρέα / Ṇεικατήας ζήσας ἔ/τη / μ/η΄, *RELIEF*
> γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Τειμώ, ζῇ.
>
> *Apphus, son of Chaireas Neikateas (*herkatostys?*), having lived 48 years, and his wife Timo, living.*

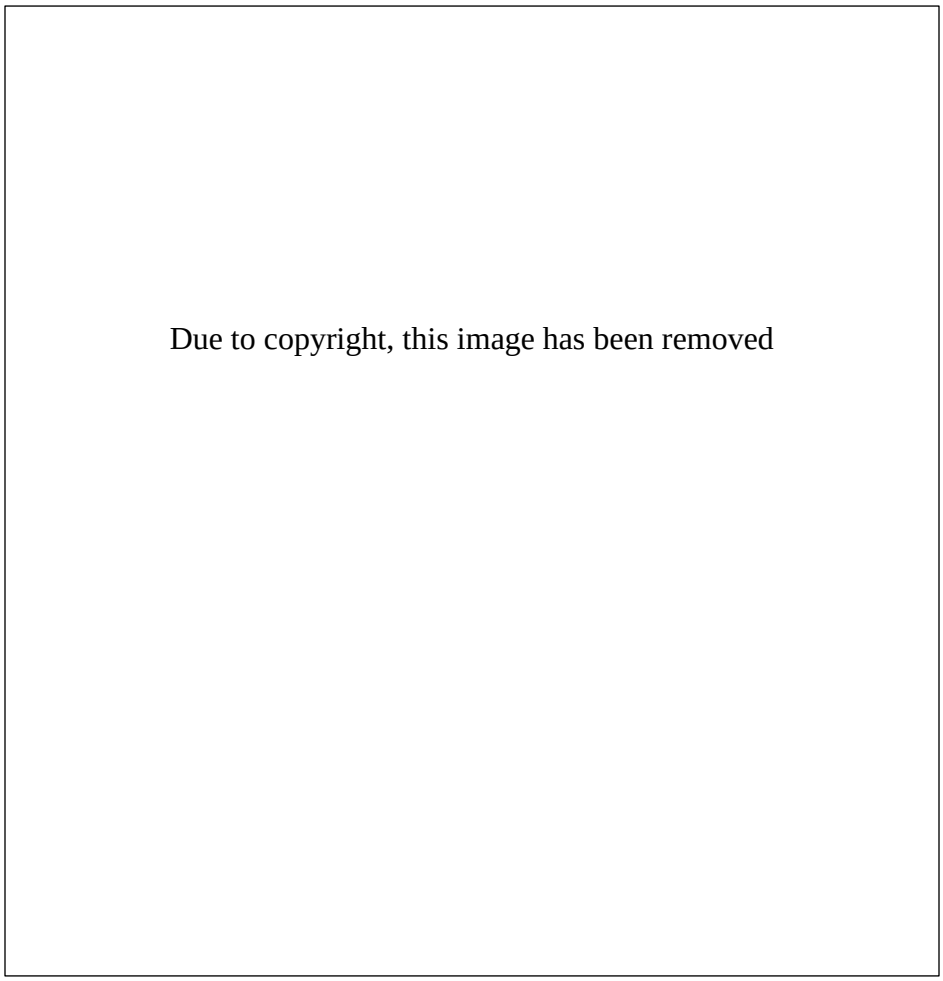
Neikateas here may be the *herkatostys* of Byzantion of which Apphus was a member.

Date based upon the relief and script (Łajtar).

168. Naiskos stele. Roman Imperial period.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 2803. Found in Nişantaş. Lower part of stele missing. Marble. H: 60, W: 60, D: 26cm.

Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 115 Pl. 60.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with a reclining male figure, and a seated veiled woman at the far left. In front of the *kline* stands a tripod table, and at the centre a male frontal standing figure in a *himation*. At the far right stands a small-scale female figure, veiled. This figure is the same size as servants on other scenes, but the clothing and pose are standard for frontal female figures.

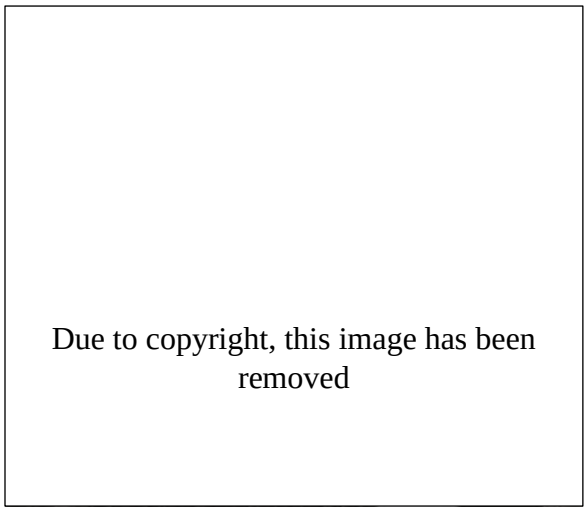
No surviving inscription.

Date based upon the relief (Fıratlı).

169. Stele fragment. Roman Imperial period.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 1563. Found in Yerebatan. Only the upper right corner with frame of the relief field. Marble. H: 17, W: 19, D: 5cm.

Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 116 Pl. 13 (miss-labelled as 11).



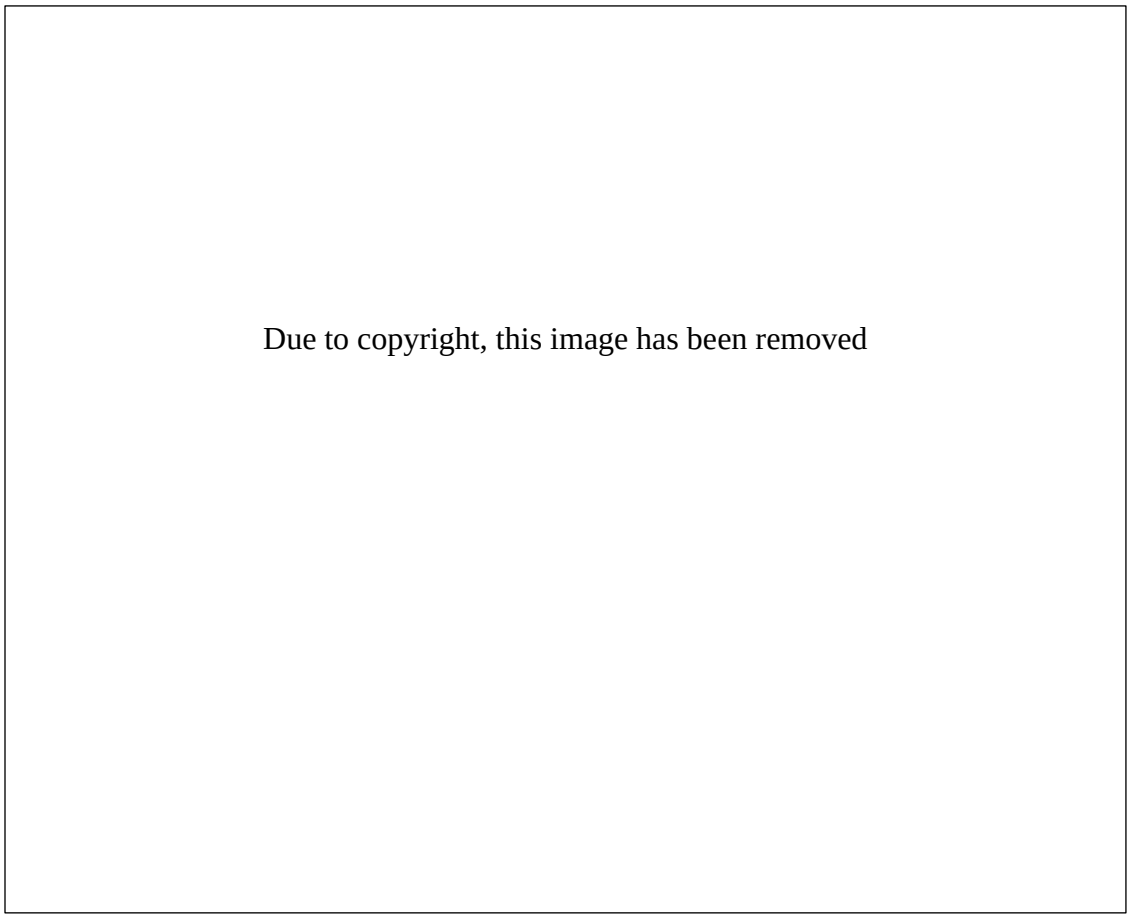
Relief field: The upper corner surviving of the relief shows the upper torso of a reclining male figure.

No surviving inscription.

Date based upon the relief (Fıratlı).

170. Rectangular stele. 1st century BC/1st century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 3910. Found in Şehzadebaşı (Istanbul). Marble. H: 71, W: 70, D: 27cm. Literature: Budde 1953, 476, fig. 16; Fıratlı 1964, No. 185 Pl. 45. Photo by author 2017.



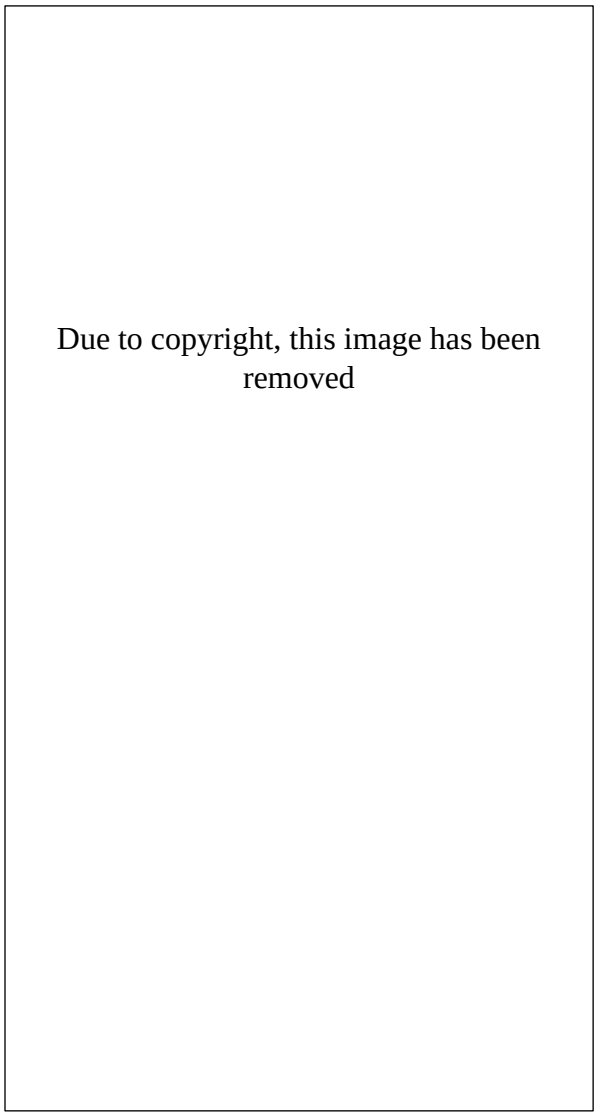
Relief field: A horse-and-rider at the centre, the rider's cloak flying back, his right arm lifted to hold a spear originally, now missing. Below the galloping horse is a dog, looking right to face a boar. At the far right is a snake-entwined tree.

No surviving inscription.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

171. Rectangular stele of Koton. 1st century BC.

Geneva, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. 7308. Found in Byzantion. Some surface damage to the figure, and to the edges of the stele. Grey-brown marble. H: 41, W: 20, D: 7cm.
Literature: PM 193 Pl. 40; SEG 27.330; Łajtar 2000, No. 109.



Relief field: A frontal standing male figure in a typical pose. At the left stands a small-scale male attendant in mourning.

Inscription:

Κόθων Μενεκράτη

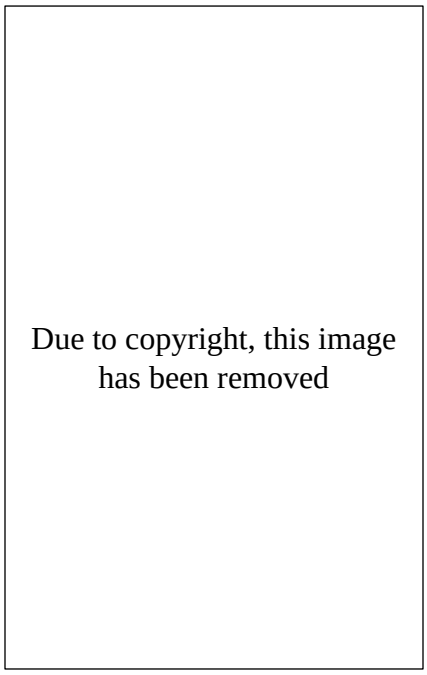
Koton, son of Menekrates.

Date based upon the relief and script (PM).

172. Arch stele of Timeas. 1st century BC.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5810. Found in Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa (Istanbul). Marble. H: 54, W: 30, D: 9cm.

Literature: Fıratlı 1966, No. 243 Pl. 20; Łajtar 2000, No. 113.



Relief field: A frontal standing male figure in a typical pose. In the left corner stands a small-scale male figure in mourning.

Inscription: Fragmentary, above the arch field.

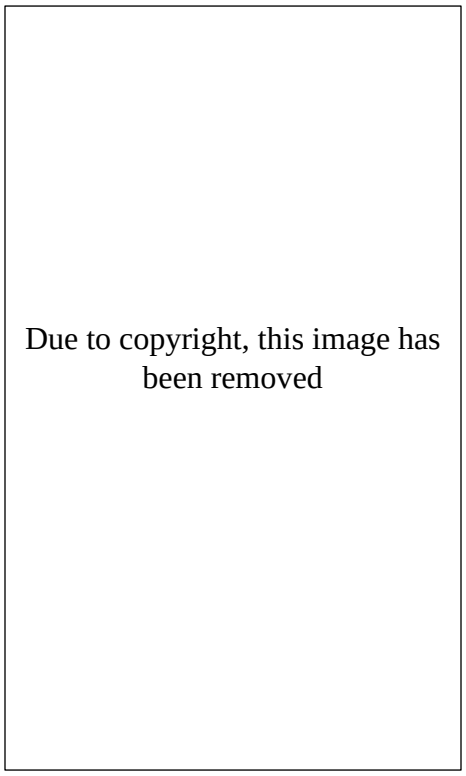
Τειμέ[ας].

Time[as] . . .

Date based upon the relief and script (Łajtar).

173. Pediment stele with arch. 1st century BC.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5782. Found in Istanbul. Broken off above and below the relief field.
Marble. H: 41, W: 23, D: 8cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1966, No. 243a Pl. 20; Łajtar 2000, No. 114.



Relief field: A frontal male standing figure in a typical pose. The remains of a small-scale servant appear in the right corner.

Inscription: Fragmentary.

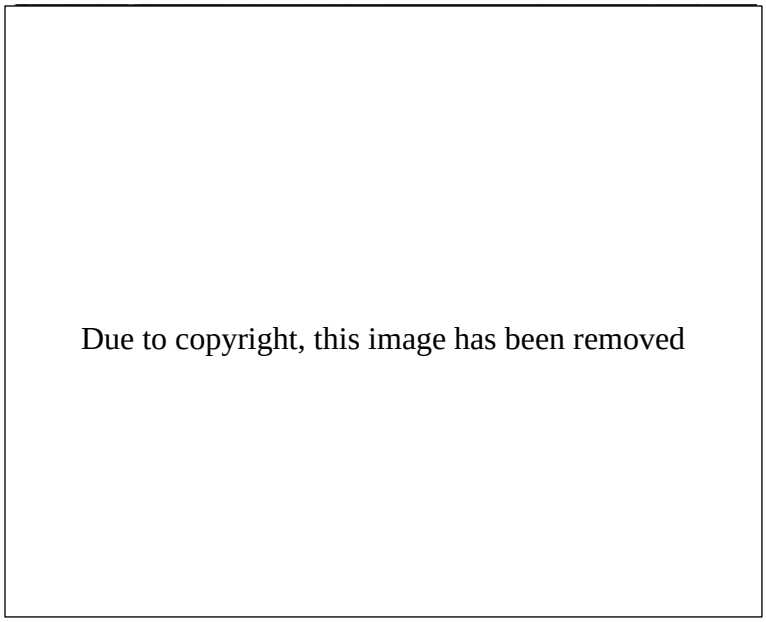
[.].νις Κόλλου.

Date based upon the relief and script (Łajtar).

174. Stele fragment of Kriton. 1st century BC.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5766. Found in Ambarlıköy, west of the Küçükçekmece sea. Broken off above, only the lowermost section of the stele surviving, including the lower part of the relief field. Prokonnesian marble. H: 70, W: 58, D: 15cm.

Literature: Fıratlı 1966, No. 255 Pl. 24; Łajtar 2000, 151.



Relief field: Fragmentary, with only the feet of two standing figures, a female at the right and a male at the left, flanking a statue base on which the feet of a smaller figure survive.

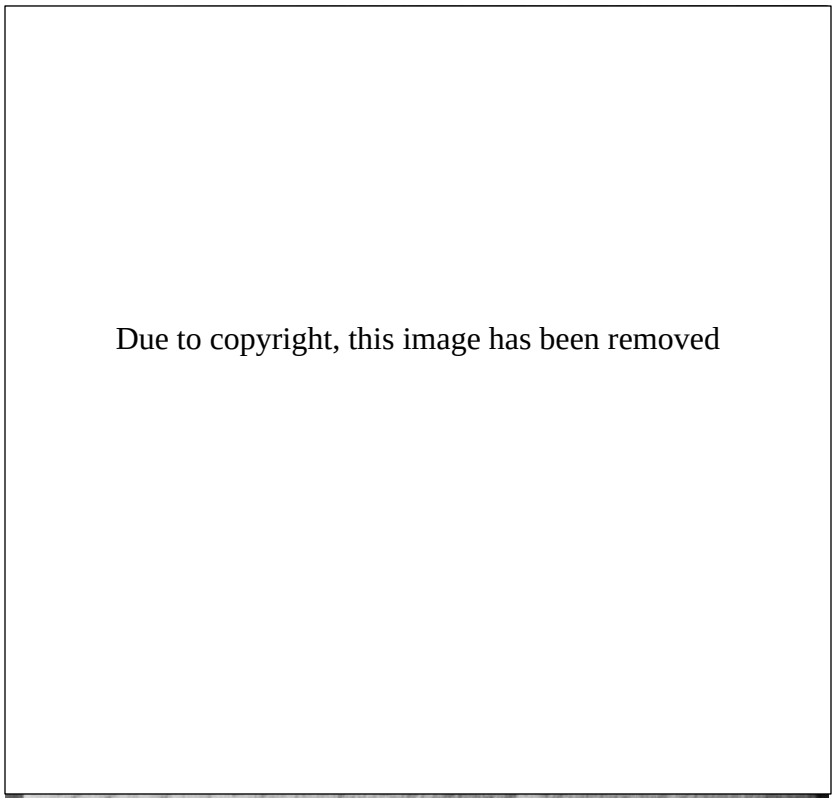
Inscription:

Κρίτων / Ἀπολλω/νίου.

Kriton, son of Apollonios.

Date based upon the relief and script (Łajtar).

175. Naiskos stele with akroteria, of Menandros and Goukousa. Early Imperial.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 2752. Found in a military depot in Saraçhane (Istanbul), near Sultan Fatih.
Light gray marble. H: 77, W: 57, D: 10cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 157 Pl. 38; PM 590 Pl. 92; Łajtar 2000, No. 149.



Relief field: Between Ionic columns, two figures stand frontal in typical poses, a man at the left, and a woman at the right. Two small-scale servants in gestures of mourning appear the edges, a male at the left and a female at the right.

Inscription:

Μένανδρος Μενάνδρου / Γούκουσα Μενάνδρου.

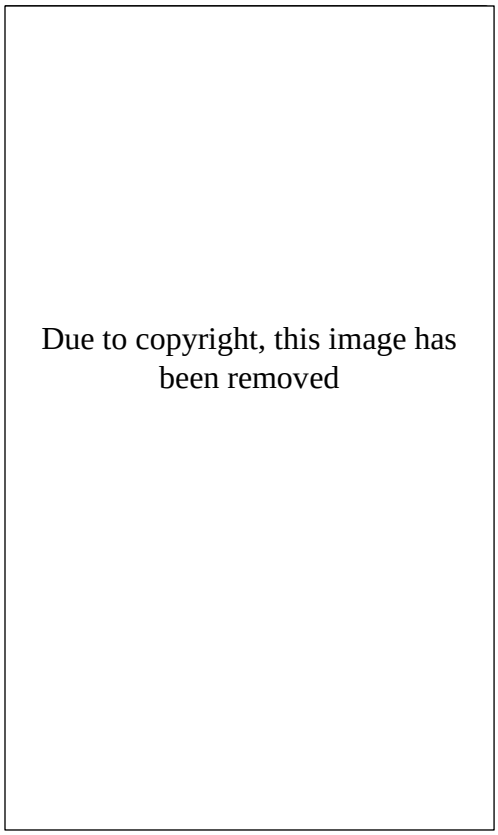
Menandros son of Menandros. Goukousa (daughter or wife of) Menandros.

Date based upon the relief and script (PM).

176. Stele with arch, of Kornelia. Early Imperial.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4235. Found in Siniçirli Han (Istanbul). White marble. H: 35, W: 21, D: 6cm.

Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 216 Pl. 63; PM 757 Pl. 112; Łajtar 2000, No. 141.



Relief field: The scene shows a figure, standing frontal in a *chiton* and mantle, unveiled. She holds what has been identified as a pomegranate in her left hand, and in her right a bunch of grapes. An animal, perhaps a rooster, may be represented below the grapes. At the right, in the corner of the field, stands a small female servant.

Inscription:

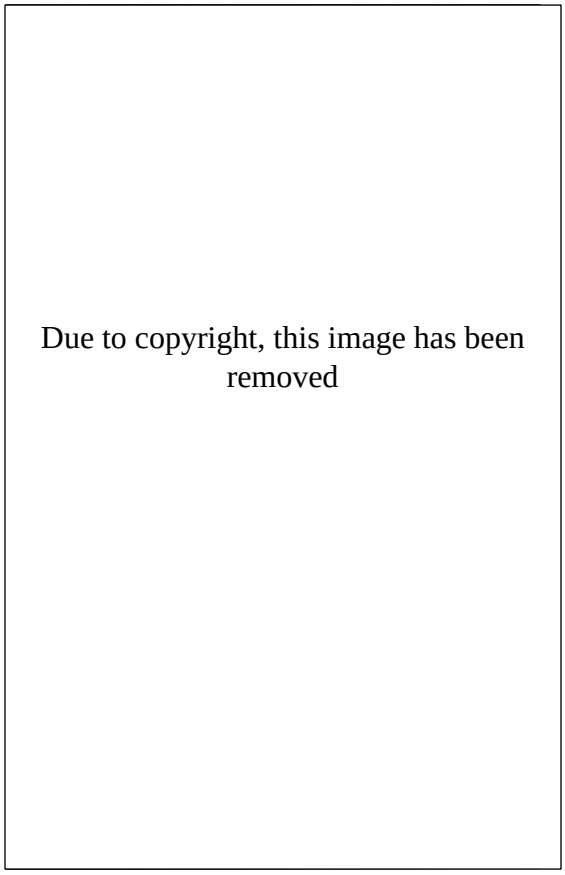
Κορνηλ̣ίᾳ Μ̣αξίμου.

Kornelia (daughter or wife of) Maximus.

Early publications of this stele identified the figure represented as a boy (Fıratlı), and indeed the head of the figure looks male (PM; Łajtar). The clothes, however, are definitely those of a female and in addition the inscription is clearly for Κορνηλ̣ίᾳ as opposed to Κορνηλ̣ίος.

Date based upon the relief and script (PM).

177. Pediment stele with arch, of Protion Aineos. 1st century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5293. Found in Büyük-Çekmece, Anakşa. Marble. H: 64, W: 34, D: 8.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, no. 126 Pl. 30; PM 205 Pl. 42; Łajtar 2000, No. 96.



Relief field: A frontal male figure stands in a typical pose. Flanking this central figure at either edge are two small-scale servants, both in *chitons*, in mourning.

Inscription: Between pediment and arch.

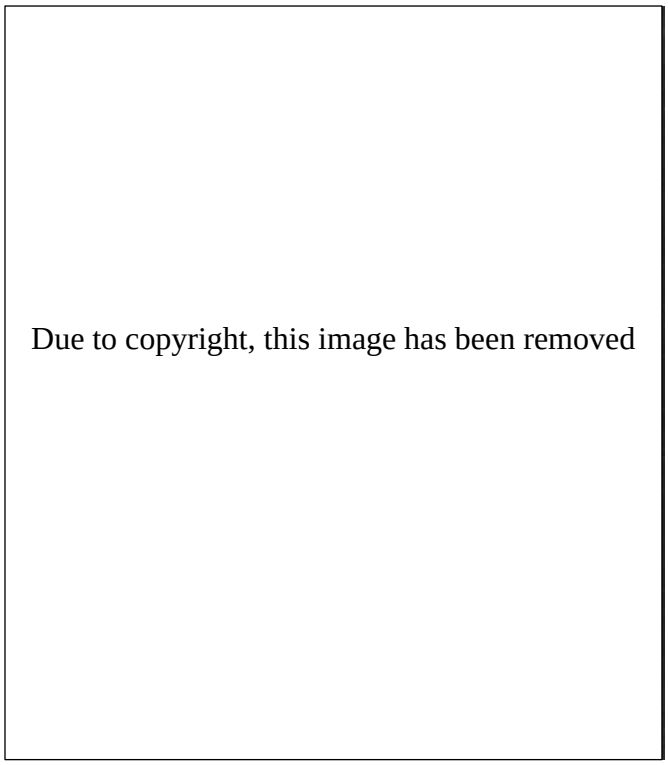
Πρωτίων *vacant* Αἰνήου

Protion Aineos.

The proposed dates for this stele have ranged from the second-first century BC (Fıratlı 1964) to the Flavian period (Pfuhl-Möbius).

178. Pediment stele. 1st/2nd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 935. Found in Gedikpaşa. Top of stele broken off, and bottom altered later, with semi-circular notch. Also, sometime in Antiquity three crosses were carved onto the surface of the stele, one on the pediment, and two in the relief field, including one onto the mantle of the central figure. The letters ΧΣ survive on the right side of the pediment, suggesting ΙΣ would have been on the left side at the time of these Christian additions. White large-grain marble. H: 55, W: 47, D: 9cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 159 Pl. 39; PM 663 Pl. 100; Łajtar 2000, No. 152.



Relief field: The scene shows three frontal standing figures, two women flanking a man. The two veiled women are Herculanean-types. The central figure wears a *himation*, and holds a book roll to his chest. Three small-scale servants also appear in the scene, two column-like female attendants at the edges, and a male standing between the togate man and the woman at the right. All three of these secondary figures are in gestures of mourning.

Inscription:

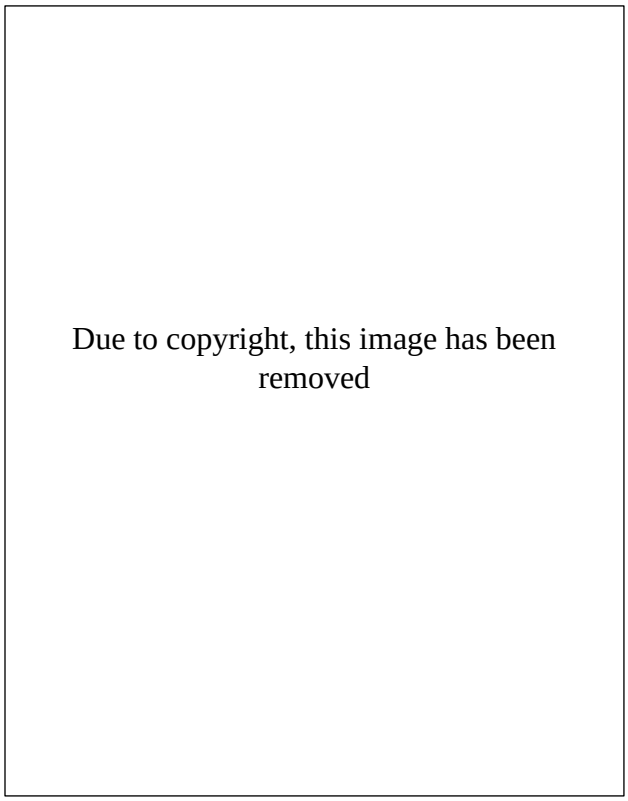
[— — —] τέκνα [— — —] μνήμ[ης χάριν].

There is clear evidence of reuse here, perhaps in a fountain or other water context suggested by the semi-circular cutting for a pipe.

Date based upon the relief (PM).

179. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria*, of Antiochos. 2nd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4927. Found in Istanbul-Beyoğlu, Kalyoncukolluğu. Left *akroteria* broken off. White large-grain marble. H: 66, W: 50, D: 19cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 124 Pl. 34; PM 780 Pl. 115. Photo by authur 2017.



Relief field: Below pediment field with a four-point bloom and palmette *akroteria*, between columns, is the arch field. Here stands a frontal male figure, probably a boy, in *himation*, holding a bird in his right hand, in front of his chest.

Inscription:

Ἀντίοχος . . πιος παροδεί/ταις χαίριν.

Antiochos . . . passersby, farewell.

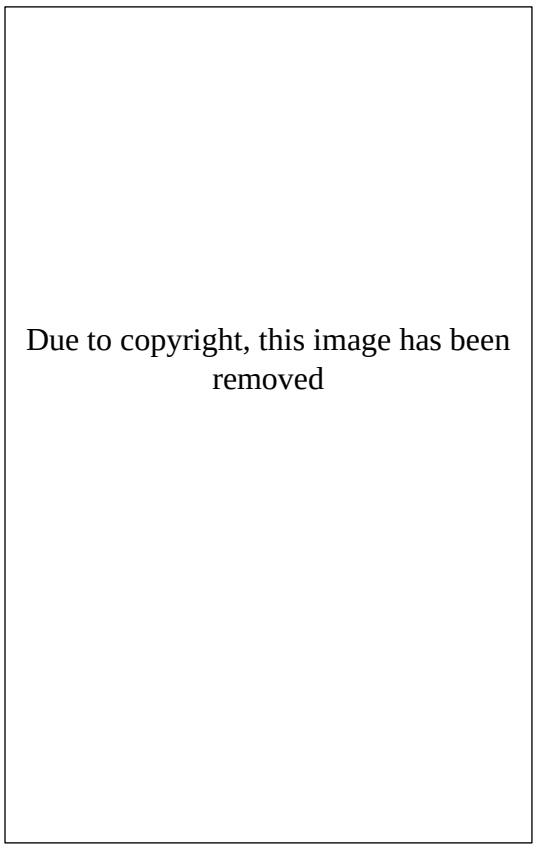
This stele shows considerable emphasis placed upon an ornate architectural frame filled with detail, including the arch with adorned pilasters, the flower-filled (?) spandrels, entablature, four-part flower in the pediment field, and the decorated *akroteria*. While the figure itself is typical and concordant with other figure-types from this area, the decorative frame in which he has been represented stands out and underscores the more public and honorific sphere in which statuesque figures were usually displayed.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

180. Stele fragment. 2nd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 6100. Found in Saraçhane (Istanbul), together with other fragments from grave stelai (**167**) under the north aisle of the church of St Polyeuktos. This fragment is the left lower corner of a stele. Marble. H: 50, W: 29.5cm.

Literature: J. and L. Robert 1977, 301; PM 1238 Pl. 185; Harrison 1986, No. 9 Pl. 277; Łajtar 2000, No. 182.



Relief field: The field shows a gladiator (*murmillo*), looking right, in a loincloth and belt, with greaves on each leg. On his head is a helmet with a wide rim. In his right hand he carries a curved knife (*sica*) and in his left a large rectangular shield.

Inscription:

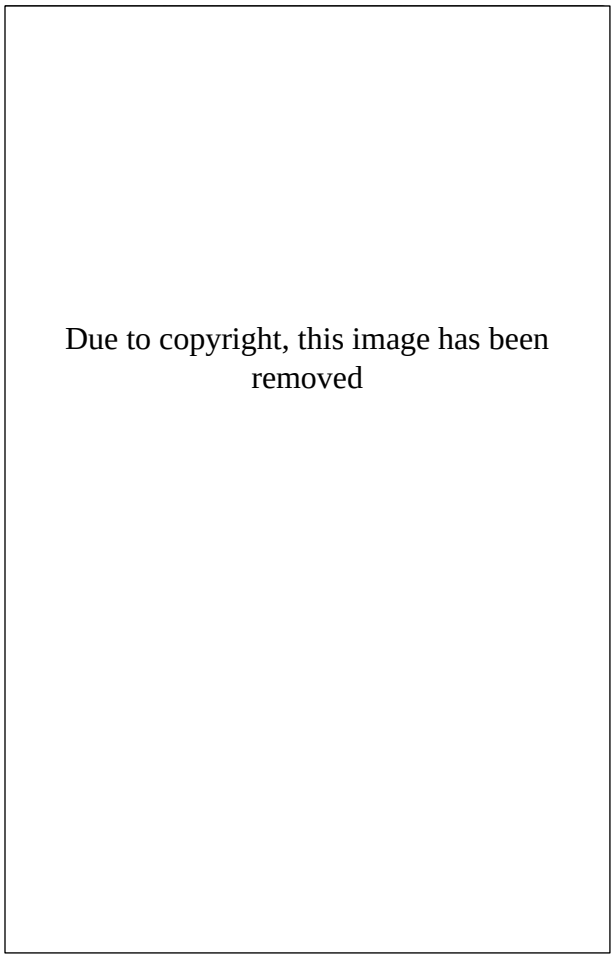
[- - -] / μορμίλλων.

This is one of the few images of a gladiator from Byzantion. Although the inscription does not make it clear, it is probable that this is a funerary stele, as during the Roman period the area west of the ancient polis of Byzantion, near the church of St Polyeuktos, was a necropolis.

Date based upon the relief and script (Łajtar).

181. Pediment stele of Areskousa Gorgia. 3rd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4229. Found in Istanbul-Beyoğlu (Galata). Broken off across the bottom of the relief field. Gray marble. H: 32, W: 21, D: 6cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 144 Pl. 65; PM 402 Pl. 65; Łajtar 2000, No. 131.



Relief field: A small unveiled female figure stands frontal. Her right arm hangs down, while in her left hand she holds a round object. Her hair-style is that of Julia Mammaea, suggesting a date to the first half of the third century. To the left stands a small-scale servant.

Inscription:

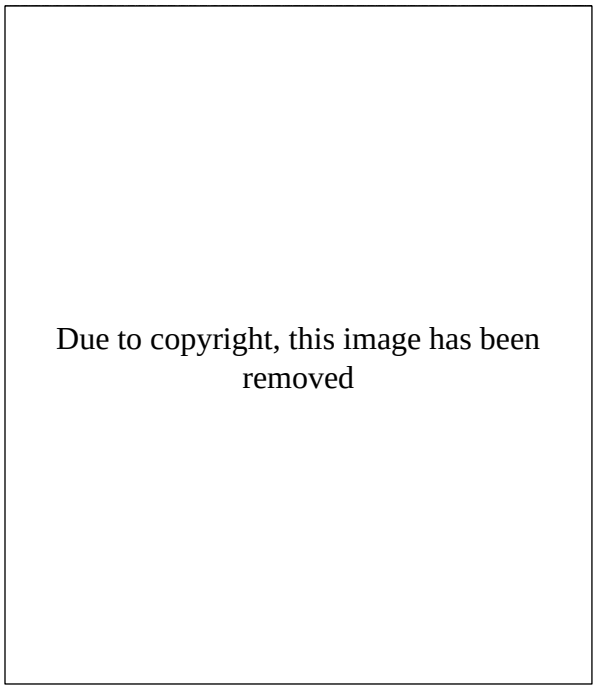
Ἀρέσκουσα Γωργία

Areskousa Gorgia.

The dating of this stele varies, from late Hellenistic (Fıratlı 1964) to the early third century AD (Pfuhl-Möbius).

182. Stele with arch, of Damokratia. 3rd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5689. Found in Sozlıbostanköyü (Istanbul). Upper right corner broken off. Marble. H: 33.5, W: 28.5, D: 7cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1966, Annexe No. 249 Pl. 22; Łajtar 2000, No. 145.



Relief field: A veiled woman stands frontal. In the left corner a female servant stands in mourning.

Inscription:

Δαμοκρατία Γλαυκία θυ[γά]/τηρ.

Damokratia, daughter of Glaukias.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı).

183. Arch stele of Euphronios. Roman Imperial period.

Private collection of Eric Lomnitz (New York). Found, allegedly, by a man in a vegetable garden in the vicinity of the Hippodrome (Atmeydan) (with **147** and **148**, and a fourth of unknown date). Marble. H: 38, W: 23cm.
Literature: Lane 1969, 40 No. 4 (Fig. 4 left); Łajtar 2000, No. 108.



Relief field: A male figure standing frontal in a typical pose, wearing a *himation*. At the left stands a small-scale male servant in mourning.

Inscription:

Εὐφρόνιος Νείκω/νος.

Euphronios, son of Nikon.

See the discussion above (**147**) for the possible connection between this stele and others from the same alleged context.

Date based upon the relief and script (Łajtar).

184. Stele Fragment. Roman Imperial Period.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4280. Found in Balat. Only the left portion of a relief survives, the frame broken or eroded, the upper and lower portions of the stele as well as the right side now missing. Prokonnesian marble. H: 136, W: 66, D: 10cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 161 Pl. 40. Photo by author 2017.

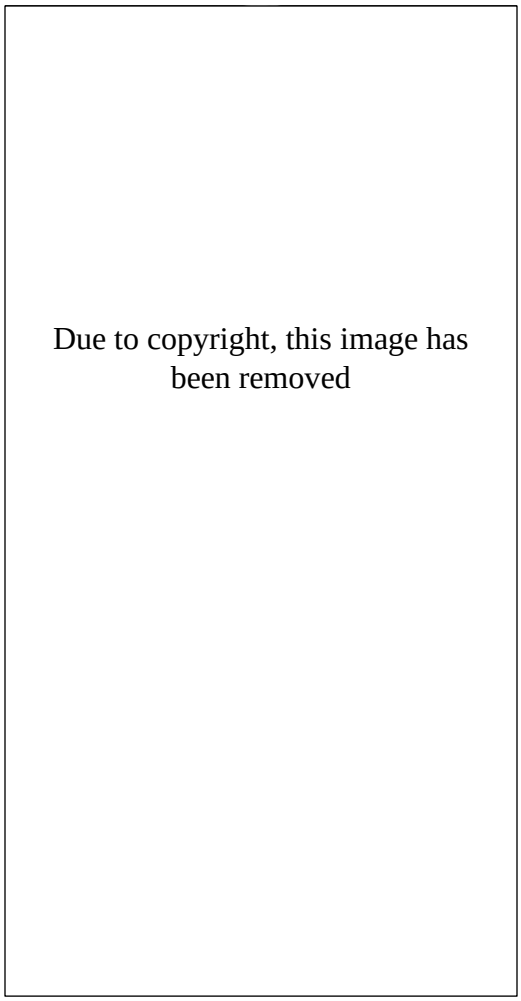


Relief field: The left section of the stele surviving shows two standing women next to a fragmentary male figure in a *himation*. The only surviving face is that of the far-left figure, showing her face tilted slightly to look towards the centre. In front of the women stands a small-scale figure of a boy in a typical pose.

No surviving inscription.

Date based upon the relief (Fıratlı).

185. Stele with arch, of Apollonphanion. Roman Imperial period.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 81.17. Found at a place on the north coast of the sea of Küçükçekmece.
White marble. H: 30, W: 13-16, D: 6cm.
Literature: Sayar 1982, No. 7 Pl. 10; SEG 32, 667; Łajtar 2000, No. 111.



Relief field: A beardless man stands frontal, in typical dress and pose. In the right corner, a male servant stands in mourning.

Inscription:

Ἀπολλοφα/νίων Ἀπολλοφ/αν- *ARCH* -ίων/ος.

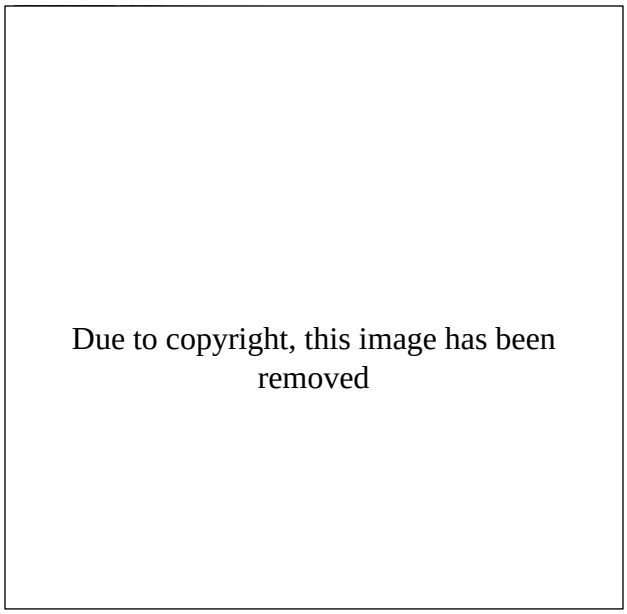
Apollonphanion, son of Apollophanion.

Date based upon the relief and script (Łajtar).

186. Arch stele. 1st century BC.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5688. Upper right corner and lower section of stele broken off. Marble. H: 44, W: 45, D: 16cm.

Literature: Fıratlı Annexe 1966, No. 252 Pl. 23; Łajtar 2000, No. 159.



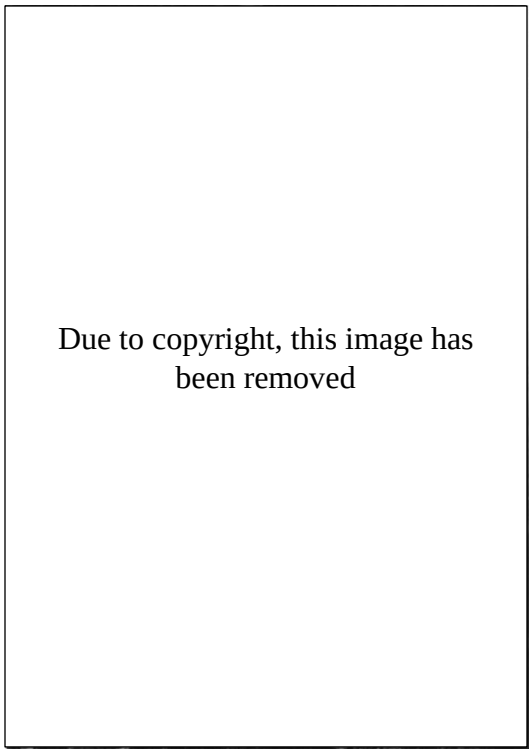
Relief field: A veiled female figure sits frontal on a bench, flanked by two small-scale female servants, the one at right standing in mourning, a casket on the groundline at her feet, the other at left holding a *kalathos*.

Inscription: Fragmentary.

[ ] χαῖρε.

Date based upon the relief (Fıratlı).

187. Pediment stele of Terentylla and Antiphilos. 1st century BC/1st century AD.
Hagia Sophia Museum, inv. no. 389. Found in Koca Mustafa Paşa (Istanbul), Eteymez. Faces are damaged. Fine-grain white marble. H: 53.5, W: 34, D: 7.5cm.
Literature: Fıratlı 1964, No. 178 Pl. 44; PM 1087 P. 163; Łajtar 2000, No. 171.



Relief field: The scene shows two main figures, a veiled woman seated at left on a backless chair, her left hand raised to her mantle, her left clasping the right hand of a frontal boy in a *himation* standing in front of her. Two servants accompany the scene, a female at the left who stand holding a *kalathos*, and a male at the right.

Inscription: The names are placed above the two main figures.

Τερέντυλλα / Σωσιβί{βι}ου
Ἀντίφιλος / Σωσιβίου.

Terentylla (daughter or wife of) Sosibios.
Antiphilos, son of Sosibios.

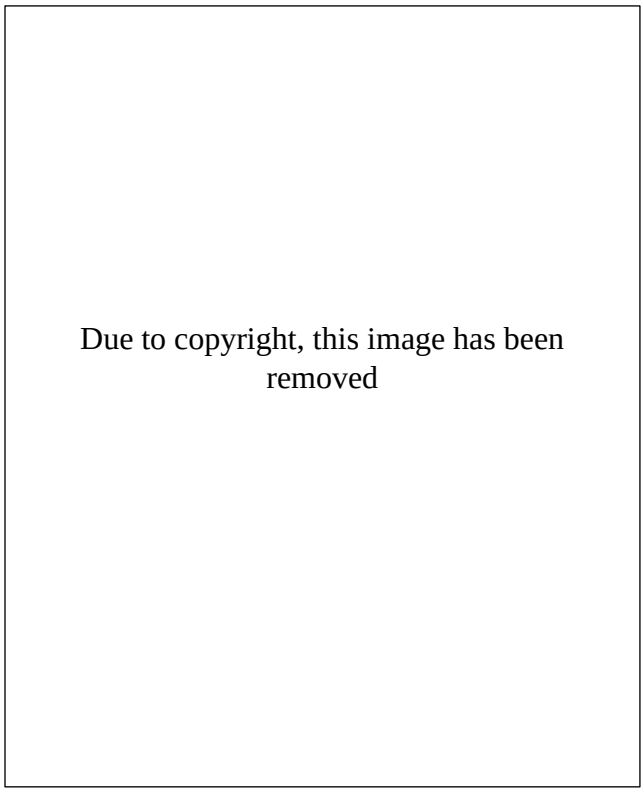
The commemorated pair, as in other instances above, may be siblings or a mother and son. Their kinship accords with the physical contact between the figures in the relief field.

Date based upon the relief and script (Fıratlı; PM).

188. Rectangular stele of Dionysios. Roman Imperial period.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 6308. Found in the village of Tosunköy, near Istanbul. Right lower corner broken. White marble. No measurements recorded.

Literature: Sayar 1982, No. 9 Pl. 11; Łajtar 2000, No. 174.



Relief field: At the left in the field site a veiled woman, on a large (cube-like) seat. In front of her to the right stands a frontal beardless man in a typical pose.

Inscription:

Διονύσις · Εἰρανί/χου · ἐτῶν κε΄ ·

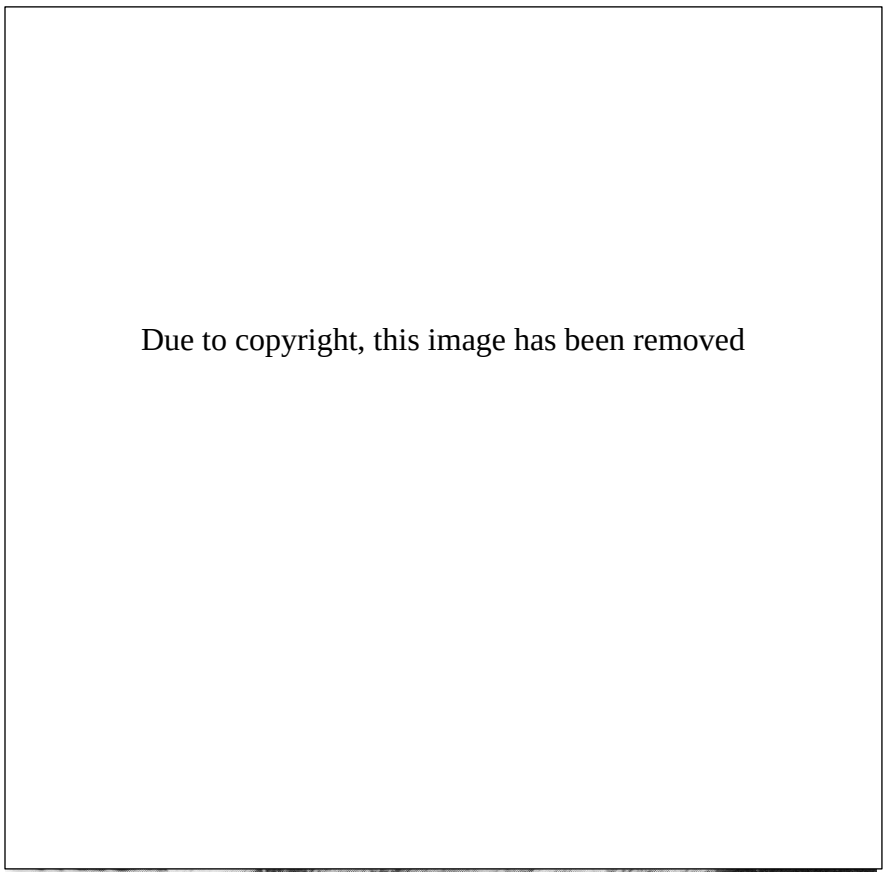
Dionysi(o)s, son of Eiranichos, aged 25 years.

Date based upon the relief and script (Sayer).

189. Stele of Markianos. Roman Imperial period.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 73.101. Found in the village of Bayrampaşa. Stele was reused in a later period, at which point three holes were created through the stele, one near the figure represented, and two through the stele shaft. Marble. H: 32, W: 25-30, D: 3-4cm.

Literature: Sayar 1982, No. 10 Pl. XI; Łajtar 2000, No. 181.



Flat relief: On the upper part of the stele, a nude male figure is shown perhaps swimming, against a rough or unfinished background.

Inscription field:

[M]αρκιανὸς · Θεοφάντ̣ο[υ] / [ζήσ]ας ἔτη κζ΄.

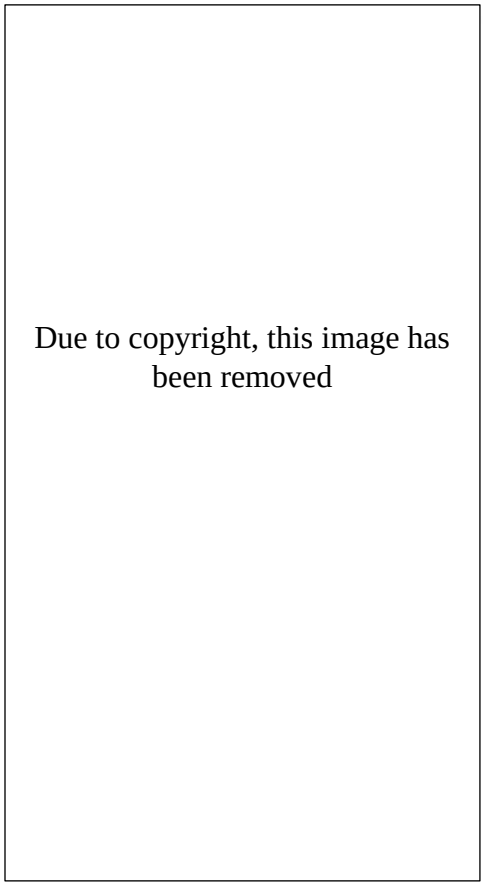
Markianos, son of Theophantes, having lived 27 years.

This is a very unusual representation on grave stelai, and indeed it seems an unusual choice. The inscription, however, leaves no doubt that this is a funerary stele. The scene may represent a personal activity or event for the deceased, or could be a mythological scene (Łajtar).

STELAI WITH UNKNOWN CURRENT LOCATION

190. Naiskos stele with arch, of Theodoros. 2nd century AD.

Unknown. Found in Hasköy. Once in the church of Hagia Paraskevi. Marble. H: 112, W: 91cm.
Literature: PM 172 Fig. 9; Łajtar 2000, No. 120.



Relief field: A bearded man stands frontal in a typical pose and *himation*. He holds a small object in his left hand, perhaps a book-roll. In the right corner of the arch field stands a small male servant, right hand reaching towards the main figure, holding a diptych in his left.

Inscription field: The epigram is divided, the first lines above the arch field, and the majority of the epigram on the shaft below.

Θεόδωρος Δομιτίου, φύσι / δὲ Ἐπικράτους γραμμα/τικός ARCH ζήσας / ἔτη ARCH λς΄
καὶ σὺ πάρος Μούσῃσιν ἐνιπρέψας, Θεόδωρε, / τὴν κοινὴν πάντων ἦλθες ἀταρπ{ιτ}ὸν ἔπι· / πάτρη σοι γένεος Βειθύνιον, ἐν δ’ ἄρ Ἀθήναις / γραμματικῆς τέχνης οὔνομ’ ἔδεξο μέγα· / Βύζαν<τ>ος δὲ πόλει κλέος ἤραο, καί σε θανόντα / μήτηρ ὡς λαγόσιν θήκατο δεξαμένη. / Λούκου<λλ>ος φιλίας τάδε σοι μνημήϊ’ ἔγραψεν, / σῆς γλυκερῆς ψυχῆς κέντρον ἄπαυσ<τ>ον / ἔχων.

Theodoros, adopted son of Domitios, son of Epikrates, grammatikos, having lived 36 years.
You too, now, have gone the way we all go, Theodoros, once a lamp of poetry. Your native homeland was Bithynion (Klaudiopolis), in Athens you made yourself a grammatikos of a great name, in the city of Byzantion you gained fame, and now she has taken you as a mother to herself and has recovered the dead in the lap of her earth. Lukullos gave you this inscription, our friendship a memory. The longing for your sweet soul remains like an ever-burning sting in the heart.

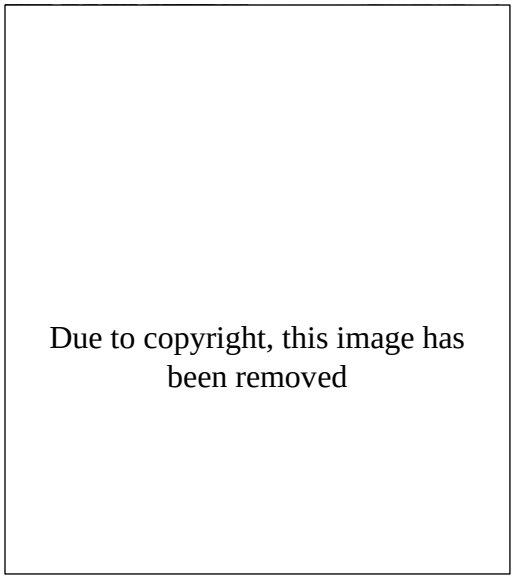
Date based upon relief and script (PM; Łajtar).

C. Mysia and the provincia of Asia

EPHESOS

191. Stele with tenon. 1st century BC.

In Turbalı. Found SE of Izmir. Upper and lower part of stele broken away; upper break through relief field. Blue marble. H: 60, W: 50.5, D: 19.5cm.
Literature: Keil and von Premerstein 1914, No. 163 fig. 66; Peek 1955, 1119; PM 1528 Pl. 220; Meriç *et al*. 1981, No. 3445.



Relief field: The remaining lower section of the relief field shows a banquet scene. A reclining figure is shown on the *kline*, with a tripod table. In front of the couch stand to frontal small-scale male attendants. The figure at the left draws from a large vessel to the left.

Inscription:

> δάκρυα κουριδίη[ι ἀλό]χωι προλέλοιπ᾽ ἀποθνήσκ[ων], / ἐν βιοτᾶι ζωὴν ἐκτελέσας ὀλίην· / οὔνομα δ᾽ εὐσήμως μοι Ἀπολλᾶς ἐστιν, ὁδεῖτα, λείπω δ᾽ ἐν θαλάμοις νήπια δισσὰ τέκνα. / ἀλλά με τὸν τύμβωι κεκρυμμένον, ὦ ξένε, χαίρειν / αὐδήσας παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ ταὐτὸν ἔχων πάριθι.
>
> *I dying abandoned tears for a wedded wife, living having achieved little in life. My name was Spollas, passerby, and I leave in the inner rooms the childhood of two children (?). But sit beside me covered (by) this tomb, stranger, speaking farewell for me bearing the same.*

Date based upon relief and script (PM).

192. Naiskos stele with arch. Late Hellenistic?

Pergamon-Museum (Berlin), no inv. no. recorded. Found in Smyrna, originally from Ephesos. White large-grain marble. H: 71, W: 37, D: 10.5cm.
Literature: Merkelbach and Nollé 1980, No. 2215A.

Relief field: Within an arch field, a veiled woman appears seated at the left, clasping the right hand of a male figure in a *himation* standing in front of her.

Inscription:

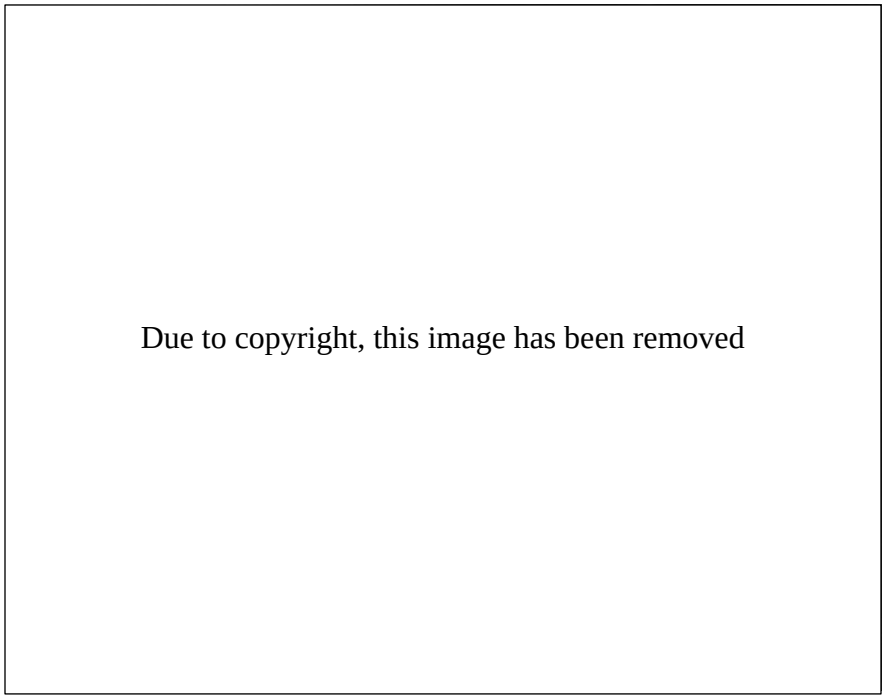
> Ἀσία / Βηρυτία / χρηστὴ / χαῖρε / Κτητὲ / Βηρύτιε / χρηστὲ / χαῖρε.
>
> *Asia, daughter of Berytos, good-natured, farewell. Ktetos, son of Berytos, upright, farewell.*

Although found in Smyrna, the stele probably was originally used in Ephesos (Merkelbach and Nollé).

Date based upon relief and script (Merkelbach and Nollé).

KYZIKOS AND ITS ENVIRONS

193. Naiskos stele of Dionysios, Pammenes, Dionysios, and Theokritos. 1st century BC.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 11. Found in Kyzikos. White marble with gray. H: 66, W: 83, D: 23cm.
Literature: Hasluck 1910, V 108; PM 2016 Pl. 291; Schwertheim 1980, No. 170 Pl. 14; Cremer 1991, KM 6.



Relief field: A banquet scene showing four male banqueters (one bearded) on a *kline*, all resting left arms on cushions, and three holding vessels in their right hands. Two veiled women flank the *kline*, in mirroring poses, both accompanied by a small-scale female servant holding *kalathoi*. A laden tripod table stands in front of the couch, and a tall vessel sits to the right. In front of the woman seated at the left stands a small-scale male servant, facing her, holding an object in his raised right hand. Another male figure, slightly larger in scale but wearing a *chiton*, stands frontal in front of the woman at the right, his hands clasped in front of him. In the background behind the woman at the left is a tree with a serpent entwined in the upper bough.

Inscription:

Διονυσίου τοῦ / Κανδιονος
Παμμένου / τοῦ Νουμηνίου
Διονυσίου / τοῦ Βακχίου
Θεοκρίτου τοῦ / Βακχίου

Dionysios, son of Kandionos. Pammenes, son of Noumenios. Dionysios, son of Bakchios. Theokritos, son of Bakchios.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

194. Stele of Menophilia. 1st century BC.
Louvre (Paris). Found in Kyzikos. Light-gray fine-grain marble. H: 28, W: 34, D: 8cm.
Literature: Hasluck 1910, No. V 203; PM 1813; Schwertheim 1980, No. 339.

Relief field: A banquet scene, with a reclining man. A woman sits at the left, in front of her stands a frontal, smaller-scale male figure in a typical pose and *himation*. Two small-scale servants accompany the scene, a female at the left next to the woman, and a male at the right. A table stands in front of the couch.

Inscription:

Μηνοφίλα / Ἀσκληπιάδου

Menophila, daughter of Asklepiades.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim).

195. Naiskos stele of Artemos. 1st century BC.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4451. Found in Kyzikos. Marble. H: 49, W: 38, D: 13cm.
Literature: Schwertheim 1980, No. 81; Cremer 1991, KSt 46.

Relief field: A typical banquet scene.

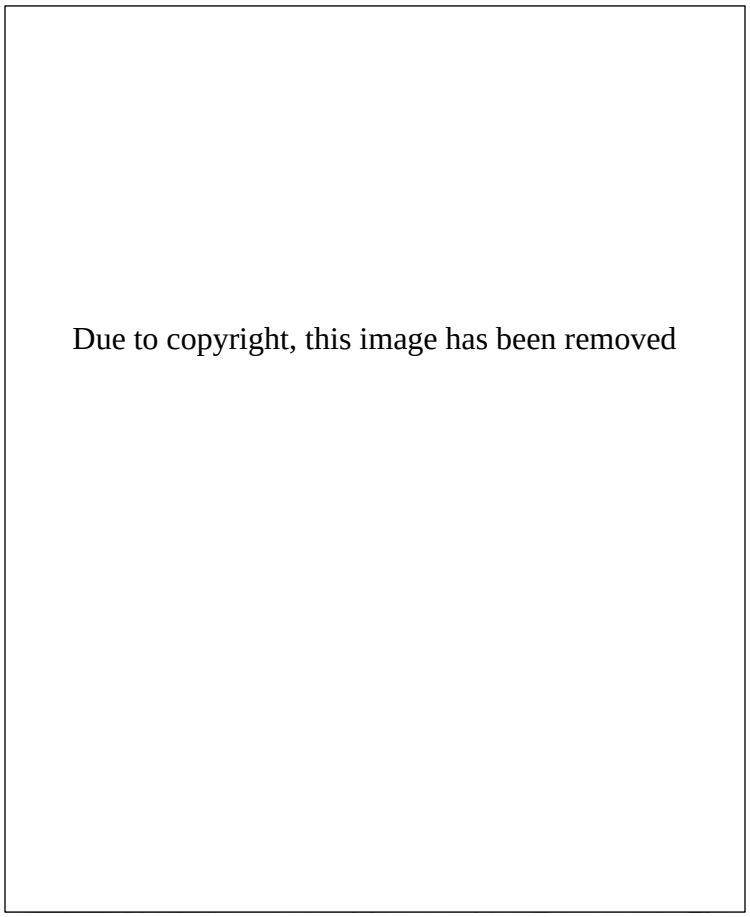
Inscription:

[Ἀ]ρτεμοῦς τοῦ Ἀπολλ[ωνίου]

Artemos, son of Apollonios.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

196. Naiskos stele of Paparion. 1st century BC.
Berlin-Dahlem, DAI. Found in Kyzikos. White marble. H: 51, W: 40, D: 11cm.
Literature: PM 1905 Pl. 274; Cremer 1991, KSt 48.



Relief field: A banquet scene with two men reclining in typical poses. A tripod table stands in front of the couch, to the right of which stands a small-scale male servant, and beyond him a large vessel on the groundline. No women appear in the scene.

Inscription:

Παπαρίων υἱὸς / Μενάνδρου χαῖρε

Paparion, son of Menandros, farewell.

Date based upon relief (Cremer).

197. Stele of Serapion. 1st century BC.
Louvre (Paris). Found in Kyzikos. White marble. H: 37, W: 33, D: 5cm.
Literature: PM 1760; Schwertheim 1980, No. 434; Cremer 1991, KSt 45.

Relief field: A typical banquet scene.

Inscription:

Σεραπίων Παρμενίωνος / χαῖρε

Serapion, son of Parmenionos, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

198. Stele of Menodote. 1st century BC.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 565. Found in Kyzikos. White large-grain marble with gray streak. H: 62, W: 32, D: 9cm.
Literature: PM 1613 Pl. 235; Schwertheim 1980, No. 326; Cremer 1991, MiSt 28.

Due to copyright, this image has been removed

Relief field: A typical banquet scene.

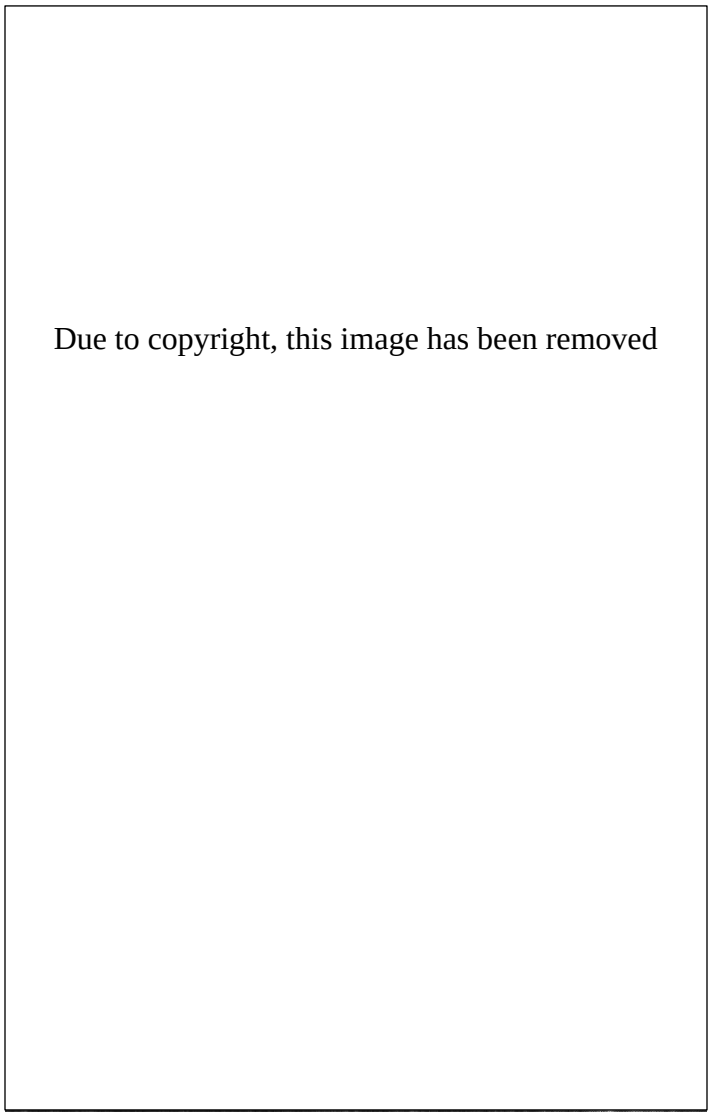
Inscription:

Μηνοδότη / Ἀπολλωνίου / χαῖρε

Menodote Apollonios, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

199. Stele of Theodoros. 1st century BC.
Istanbul Museum. Found in Kyzikos. Marble. H: 77, W: 41, D: 10cm.
Literature: Schwertheim 1980, No. 237 Pl. 18; Cremer 1991, MiSt 29.



Relief field: A typical banquet scene.

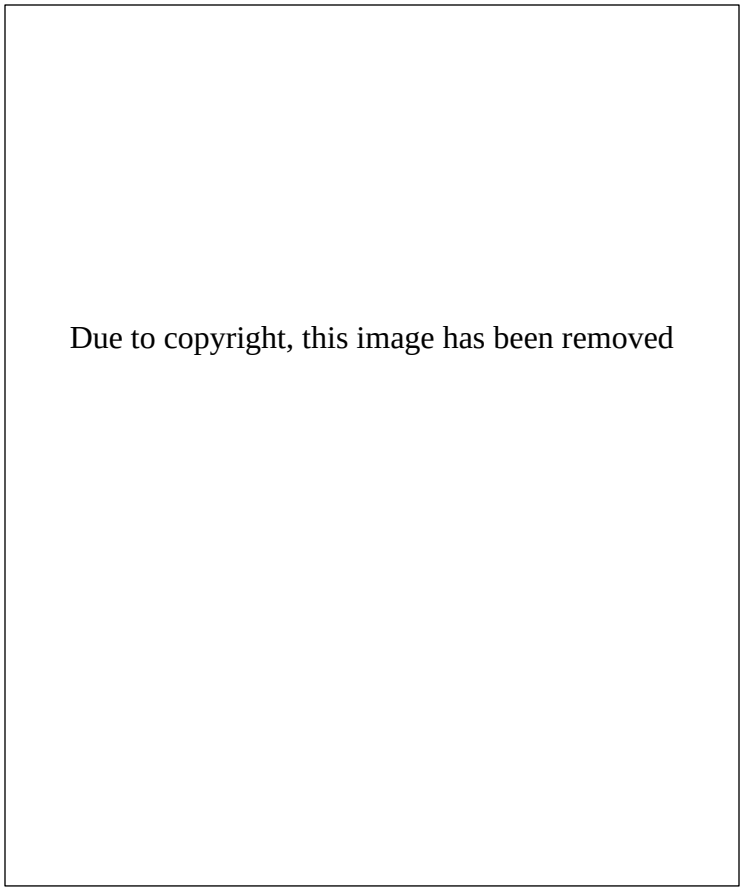
Inscription:

Θεόδωρε Μειδίου / χαῖρε

Theodoros, son of Meidios, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

200. Rectangular naiskos stele of Artemeisia and Eumelos. 1st century BC.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, no inv. no. recorded. Found in Kyzikos. White marble. H: 44, W: 42, D: 20cm.
Literature: PM 1573; Schwertheim 1980, No. 80 Pl. 8; SEG 29.1237; Cremer 1991, MiSt 6.



Relief field: A typical banquet scene. Two small-scale servants accompany the scene, a female holding a *kalathos* at the left next the woman and a male at the right who holds a small vessel above a larger krater sitting at the right, probably for wine.

Inscription:

Ἀρτεμεισίας τῆς / Ἀνδρονείκου
Εὐμήλου τοῦ / Κόδρωνος

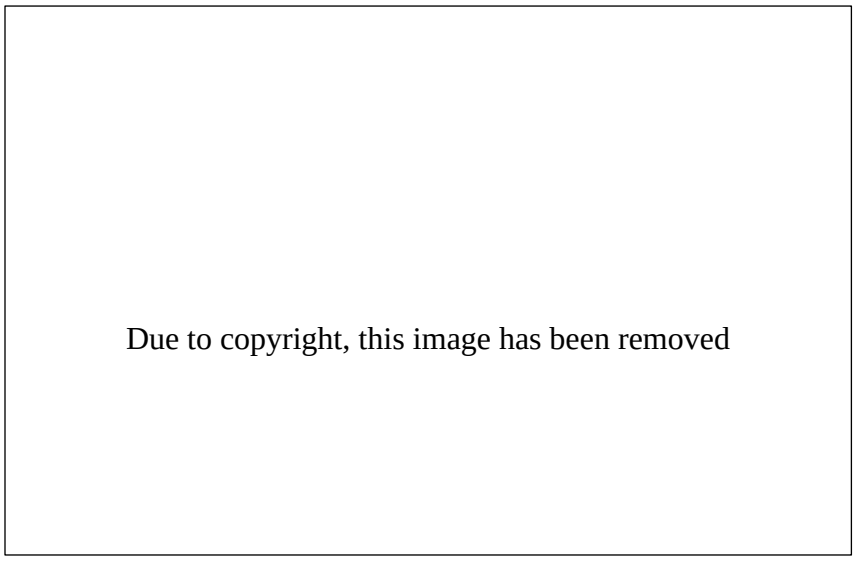
Artemeisia, daughter of Androneikos.
Eumelos, son of Kodronos.

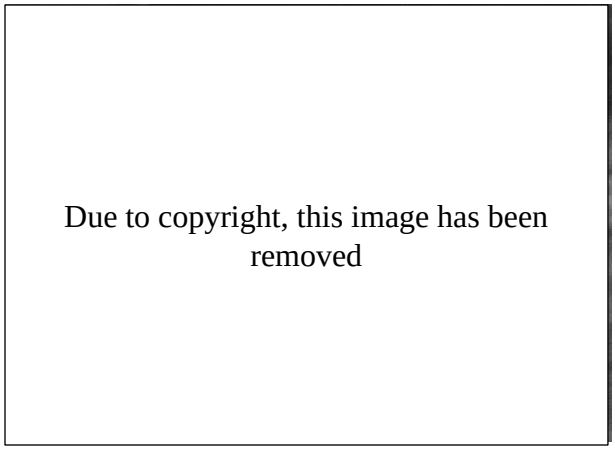
Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

201. Stele fragment, for Meidios. 1st century BC.

Banırma Archaeology Museum (garden), no recorded inv. no. Found in Kyzikos. White marble. H: 53, W: 96, D: 18cm.

Literature: PM 2043 Pl. 297; Schwertheim 1980, No. 295; Cremer 1991, KM 9. Photo by author 2018.





Relief field: A fragmentary banquet scene, showing a male reclining figure, the upper section of a tripod table, and a small-scale servant holding a small vessel above a large, narrow-necked vessel. In the background, in the right corner, a protome of a horse-head looks left towards the banqueter.

Inscription:

[- - -] Μειδίου τοῦ / Μενίσκου.

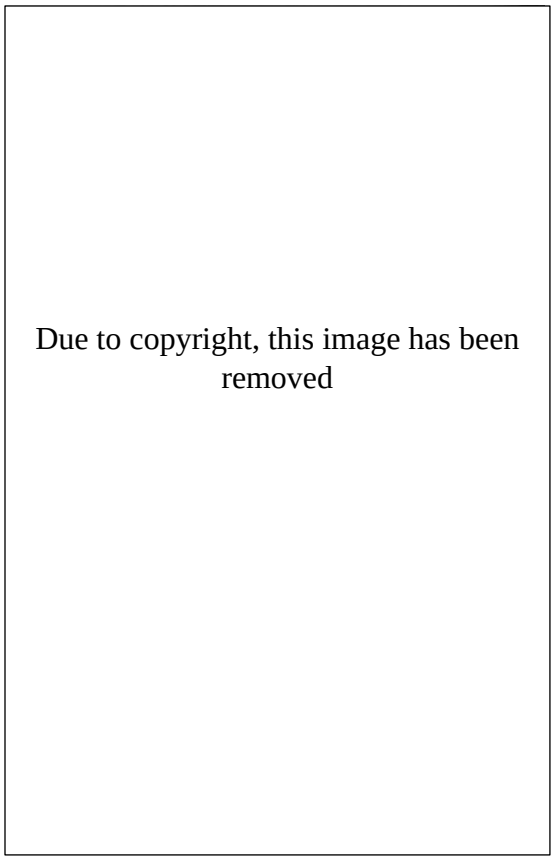
. . . for Meidios, son of Meniskos.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

202. Rectangular naiskos stele of Zotion. 1st century BC.

Collection Tolunay, Bandirma. Found in Kyzikos. Lower part of stele broken off, and upper frame chipped. Marble. H: 69, W: 43, D: 17cm.

Literature: Schwertheim 1983b, 114 No. 9 Pl. 13; SEG 33.1063; Cremer 1991, KSt 31 Pl. 13.



Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with a reclining man, holding a vessel in his left hand, his right resting on his legs. At the left sits a veiled woman, on a block-like seat with a foot-rest, left hand raised to her mantle under her chin, her right crossing the body ("Pudicitia Philista"). A tripod table stands in front of the *kline*, and two small-scale servants attend the scene, a female in mourning at the left next to the block-like seat of the woman, and a frontal male at the right.

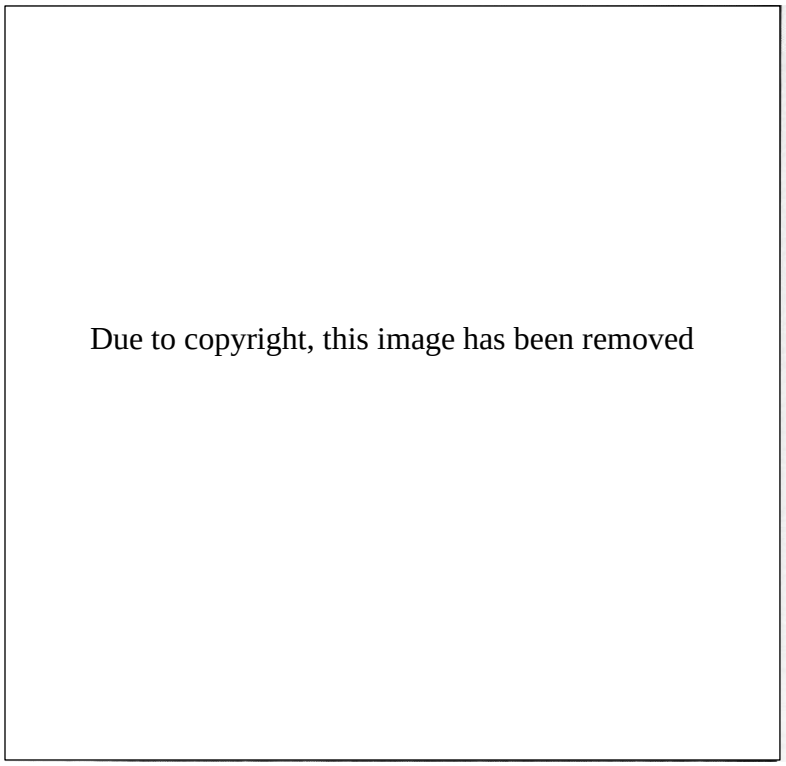
Inscription:

Ζώτιον Μηνοφάνου / χαῖρε

Zotion, son of Menophanes, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

203. Rectangular naiskos stele of Patronos, Patronos, and Aristoneika. 1st century BC.
Collection Tolunay, Bandirma. Found in Kyzikos. Damage to surface of the relief, mainly faces. Marble. H: 52, W: 45, D: 15cm.
Literature: Schwertheim 1983b, 115 No. 12 Pl. 14; SEG 33.1066; Cremer 1991, KSt 32 Pl. 13.



Relief field: Banquet scene with three reclining male banqueters, holding vessels in their left hands. The right hands of two of the figures are concealed, and that of the third holds an object, perhaps from the tripod table. Two veiled female figures flank the scene, seated, in mirroring poses with one hand raised to their mantle, the other resting in their lap ("Pudicitia Philista"). Three small-scale servants attend the scene, a female standing next to each woman (the one on the left holding a vessel, the one at right in a gesture of mourning), and a slightly larger-scale male figure in a *chiton* standing frontal between the woman at the right and the table.

Inscription:

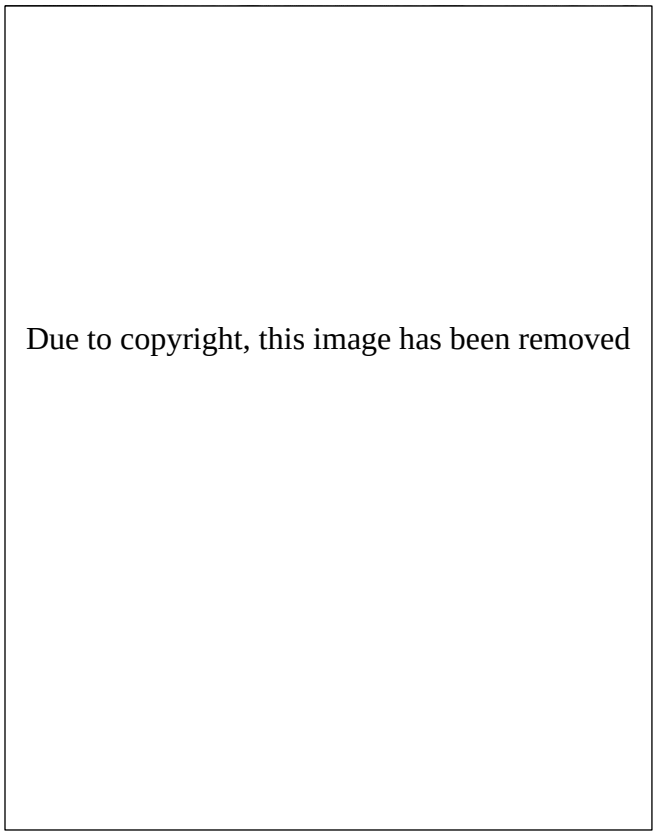
> Καὶ Πάτρωνος / τοῦ Πάτρωνος
> Πάτρωνος τοῦ / Διογένου / καὶ Ἀριστονείκης / τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου
>
> *And Patronos, son of Patronos. Patronos, son of Diogenos, and Aristoneika, daughter of Apollonios.*

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

204. Pediment stele of Athenodoros and Menophanes. 1st century BC.

Collection Tolunay, Bandirma. Found in Kyzikos. Top of pediment and bottom of stele broken off, and damage or erosion to surface of relief. Marble. H: 37, W: 27, D: 5cm.

Literature: Schwertheim 1983b, 112 No. 4 Pl. 12; SEG 33.1058; Cremer 1991, KSt 33 Pl. 13.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with two men reclining, and a tripod table standing in front of the couch. A veiled woman sits at the left, her left hand raised to her veil, her right crossing her body. In front of her stands a smaller-scale frontal male figure in a *himation* and typical pose. At the far right appears a small-scale servant next to a krater vessel.

Inscription:

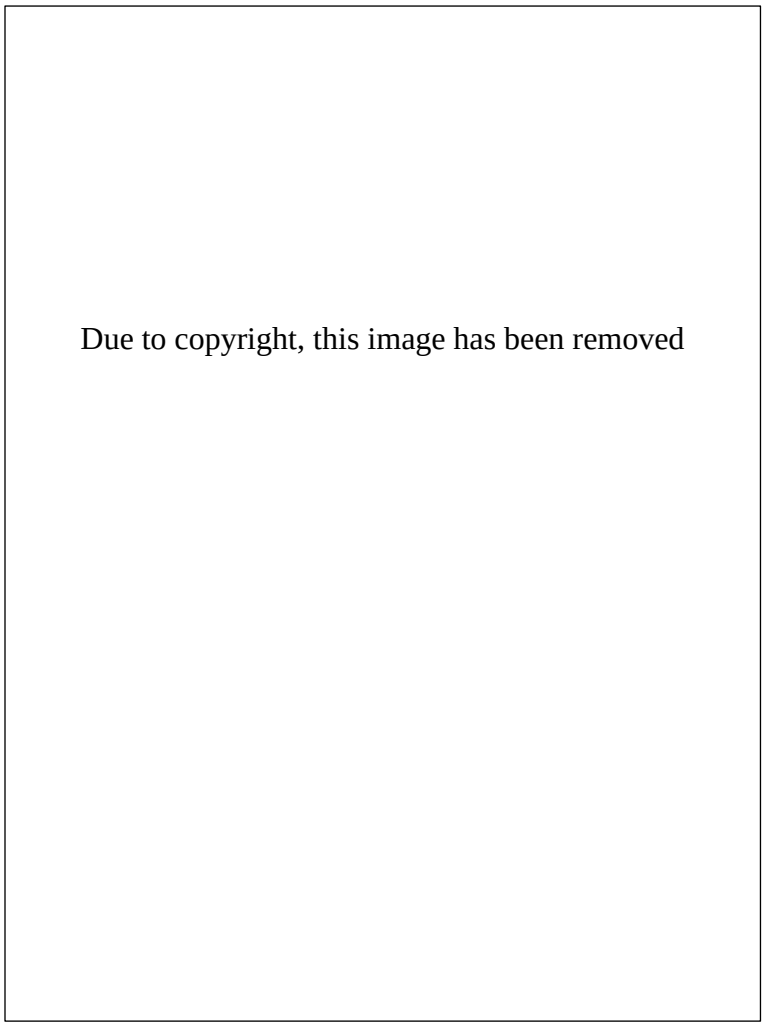
> Ἀθηνόδωρε / Μουσαίου κὲ Μηνοφάνης / χαῖρε κὲ σύ γε, ὦ παροδεῖτα.
>
> *Athenodoros, son of Mousaios, and Menophanes, farewell. And you also, O passerby!*

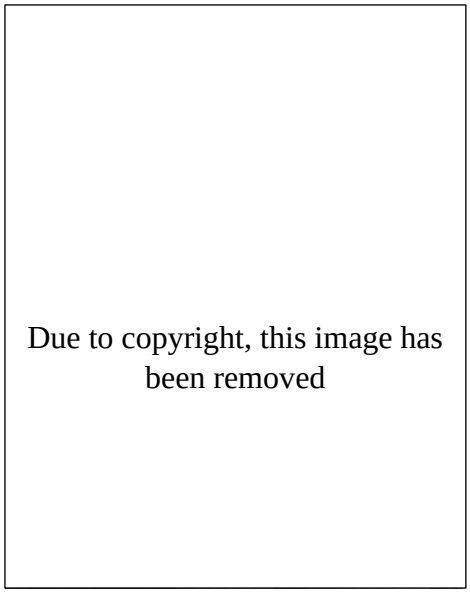
Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

205. Rectangular naiskos stele of Sosthenes. 1st century BC.

Bandirma Archaeology Museum (garden), no inv. no. recorded. Found in Kyzikos. Upper right corner area chipped. Marble. H: 58, W: 44, D: 9cm.

Literature: Schwertheim 1983b, 116 No. 14 Pl. 14; SEG 33.1068; Cremer 1991, KSt 16 Pl. 11. Colour photo 2018.





Relief field: A banquet with two reclining male banqueters. At the left sits a veiled woman, her left hand raised to her mantle on her left shoulder, her right tucked inside the mantle ("Pudicitia Braccio Nuovo"). A low, wider tripod table stands in front of the couch. Two small-scale servants accompany the scene, a female at the left, and a male standing in mourning at the right.

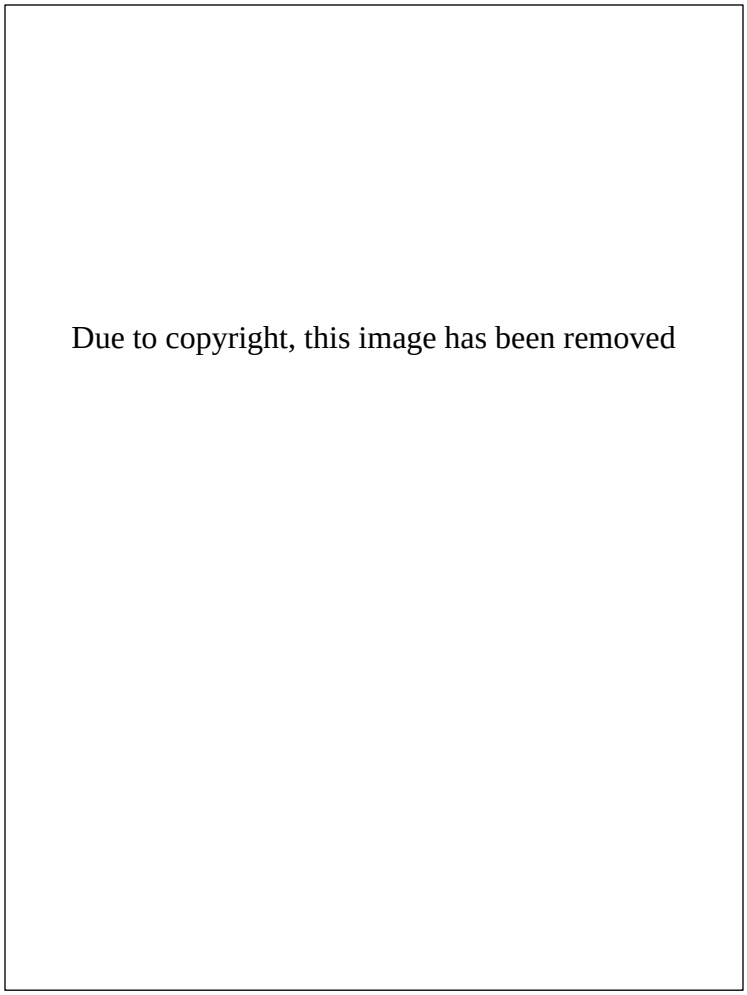
Inscription:

[Σωσ]θένη Τιμοθέου / χαῖρε

[Sos]thenes, son of Timotheos, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

206. Pediment stele of Eubulides. 1st century BC.
Collection Tolunay, Bandirma. Found in Kyzikos. Marble. H: 53, W: 26-30, D: 7cm.
Literature: Schwertheim 1983b, 113 No. 7; SEG 33.1061; Cremer 1991, KSt 23 Pl. 11.



Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with a reclining man against a large cushion, holding a vessel in his left hand. At the left sits a veiled woman, her left hand raised to her left shoulder, her right arm concealed ("Pudicitia Braccio Nuovo"). A tripod table stands in front of the couch, and at the far right stands a frontal small-scale male servant.

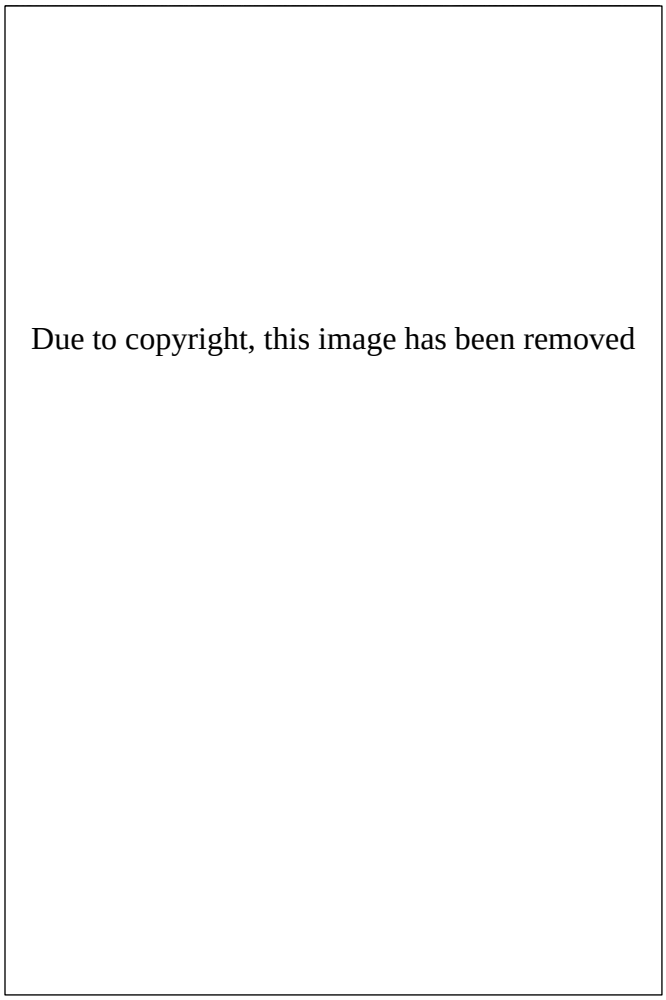
Inscription:

Εὐβουλίδη Ἀγίου / χαῖρε

Eubulides, son of Agios, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

207. Rectangular stele of Menophilos and Sellionis. 1st century BC.
Louvre (Paris), inv. no. unknown. Found in Kyzikos. Some damage to edges, and upper left corner. White large-grain marble. H: 70, W: 44cm.
Literature: PM 1599 Pl. 233.



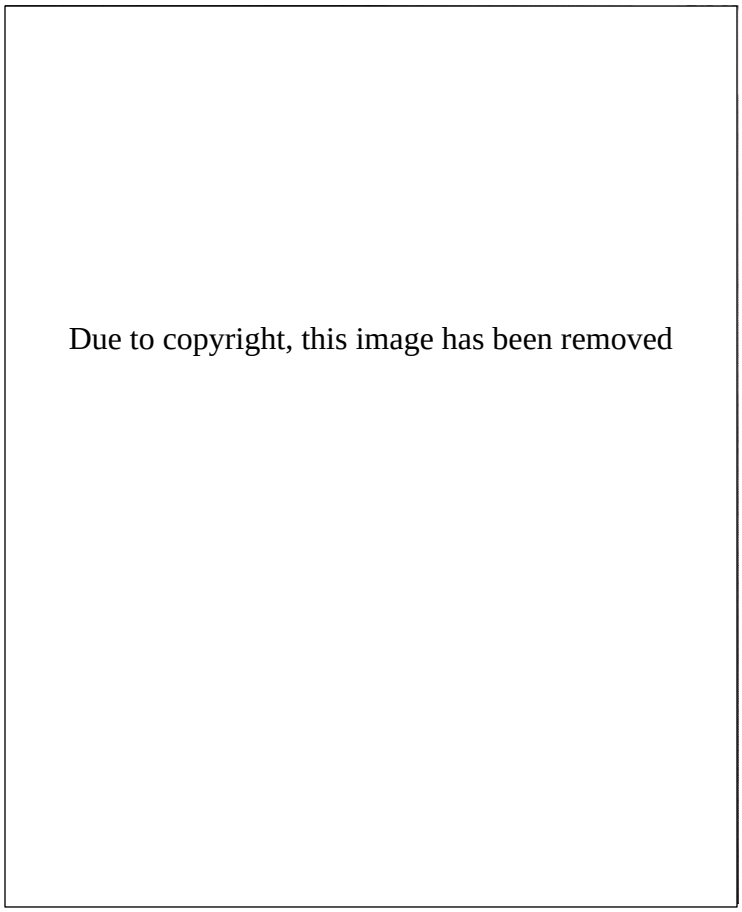
Relief field: A typical banquet scene. Two small-scale servants accompany the scene, a female at the left, a male at the right, both in gestures of mourning.

Inscription:

> Συνέτη τῷ θρέψαντι Μ[η]/νοφίλῳ τῷ καὶ Σελλίων[ι] / τὴν στήλην ἐπέθηκεν / εὐχαριστίας ἕνεκεν / Μηνόφιλε κουρεῦ χαῖρε.
>
> *Sunetes for* threptoi *Menophilos and Sellionis made this stele out of gratitude. Let Menophilos be aided! Farewell!*

Date based upon relief and script (PM).

208. Naiskos stele for Moschion. 1st century BC.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 2217. Found in Kyzikos. Right side damaged and upper right corner broken off. Light-gray large-grain marble. H: 58, W: 45, D: 9cm.
Literature: Hasluck 1910, No. V 217; PM 1926; Schwertheim 1980, No. 366 Pl. 29; Cremer 1991, KSt 21.



Relief field: A banquet scene with two reclining men, and a seated veiled woman. Two servants flank the scene, a female at the left, and a slight larger male at the right, in mourning.

Inscription:

Μόσχιον Μηνοδώρου / χαῖρε

Moschion Menodoros, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

209. Naiskos stele for Metrodoros. Early Imperial.
Louvre (Paris), inv. no. MND 215. Found in Kyzikos. Large-grain marble. H: 43, W: 38, D: 7cm.
Literature: PM 1814.

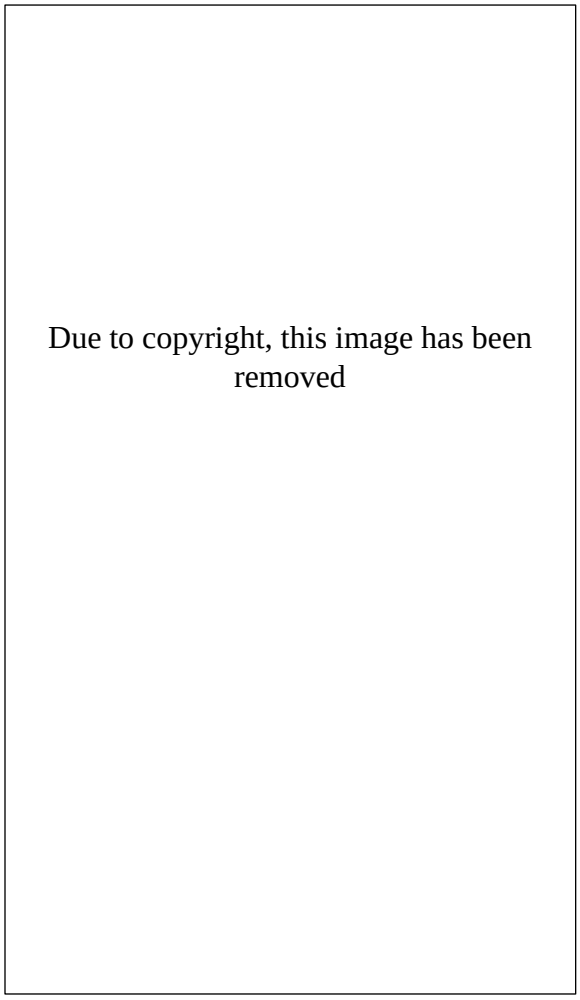
Relief field: A typical banquet scene, but without attendants (PM).

Inscription:

> Μητρόδωρε Μενάνδρου, χαῖρε. κ/αὶ σὺ παροδῖτα χαρίης, ὅτι τ[οῦ]/το τὸ κοινὸν εἶπας ἐμοὶ χαίριν / οὕνεκεν εὐσεβείας.
>
> *Metrodoros, son of Metrodoros, farewell. And you, passerby, will say, that having said this public farewell to me on account of reverence for the gods*.

Date based upon relief and script (PM).

210. Stele for Aulus Vettienus. Early Imperial.
Collection Tolunay (Bandırma). Found in Kyzikos. Lower part of stele broken off, upper right corner damaged, and a diagonal break across lower section of relief field. Marble. H: 85, W: 54, D: 9cm.
Literature: Schwertheim 1983b, 112 No. 5; Cremer 1991, KSt 28 Pl. 12.



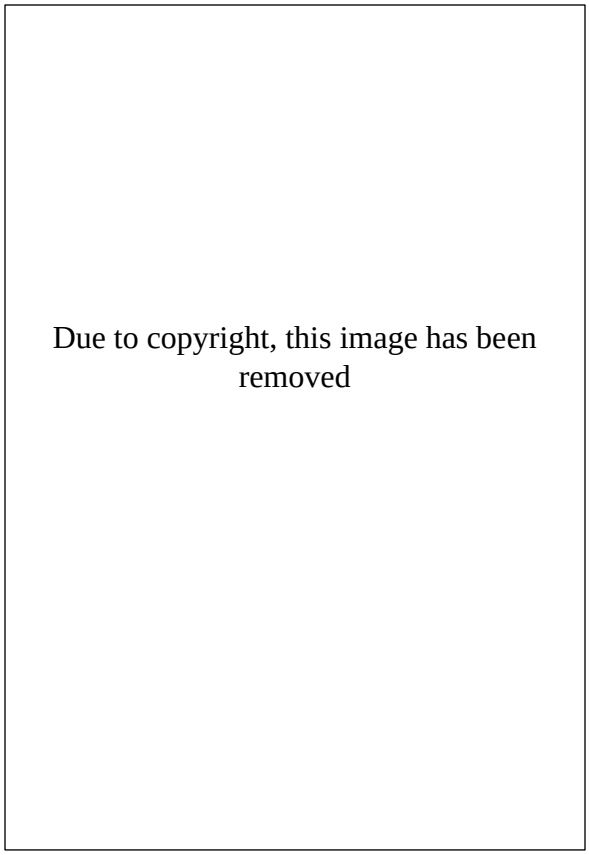
Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with the man reclining, the woman seated, and two servants, the female at the left holding a *kalathos*, the male at the right in mourning.

Inscription:

> Ὑπόμνημα Αὔλου Βετιήνου ὃ κα[τ/ε]σκεύασαν αὐτῷ οἱ υἱοὶ Λόνγος καὶ / Πολλίων μνήμης χάριν.
>
> *Tomb of Aulus Vettienus which his sons Longus and Pollius have provided for him, in memory.*

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

211. Pediment stele of Aritodike, Niklaos, and Alexon. Early Imperial.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. unrecorded. Found in Kyzikos. Marble. H: 67, W: 45, D: 24cm.
Literature: Schwertheim 1980, No. 72 Pl. 6; Cremer 1991, MiSt 32 Pl. 22.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with two male figures reclining. A tripod table stands central in front of the *kline*. Two seated veiled women flank the scene, in the same pose (*Pudicitia*). At the far left appears the remains of a small-scale female servant, perhaps in mourning.

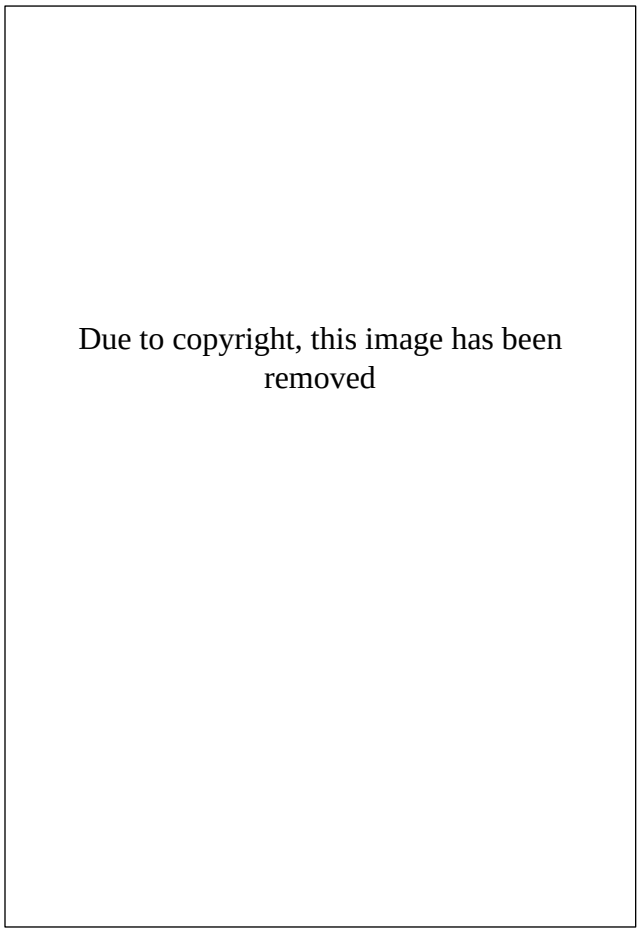
Inscription: Names appear below figures.

[Ἀ]ριστοδίκη / [Ἀ]λέξωνος
Νικόλαος / Ἀλέξωνος
Ἀ]λέξων / Νικολάον

Aristodike, daughter of Alexonos.
Nikolaos, son of Alexonos.
Alexon, son of Nikolaos.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

212. Naiskos stele with *akroteria*, for Neikandros and his wife. 2nd century AD.
National Museum (Copenhagen), inv. no. 4801. Found in Kyzikos. Light-gray marble. H: 60, W: 41, D: 9cm.
Literature: PM 1192 Pl. 179; Schwertheim 1980, No. 373.



Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with the reclining male figure raising a wreath in his right hand from a high-back *kline*. A tripod table with wide legs stands in front of the *kline*. At the left sits a veiled woman on a cube-like seat with foot rest, clasping the edge of her mantle with her left hand, her right in her under her left elbow. Suspended above the figures is a long, tapered trumpet-like object.

Inscription:

Ἑρμᾶς / καὶ Ἔλαινος τῷ ἰδίῳ πα/τρὶ Νεικάνδρῳ καὶ τῇ ματρὶ / μνήμης χάριν.

Hermas and Elainos for their own father Neikandros and their mother, in memory.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim).

213. Stele for Aelia Philemation. 2nd or 3rd century AD.
Museum Verona, inv. no. unrecorded. Found in Kyzikos. Marble. H: 62, W: 37, D: 10cm.
Literature: Hasluck 1910, V 235 A; Schwertheim 1980, No. 10; Cremer 1991, MiK 7.

Relief field: A banquet scene.

Inscription field:

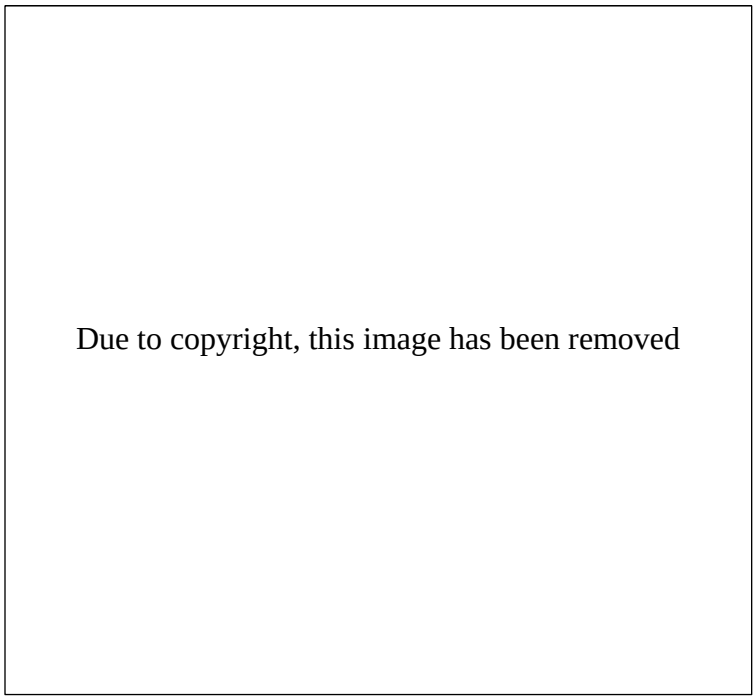
Ὑπόμνημα / Αἰλίας Φιλη/ματίου

Tomb of Aelia Philemation.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

214. Naiskos stele for Dionysodoros. 1st century BC.

British Museum (London), inv. no. 1880, 0504.2. Found in Kyzikos. Lower left corner broken, and the head of the female figure at the left. White large-grain marble. H: 75, W: 80, D: 25cm.
Literature: PM 1187 Pl. 179; Peek 1955, 1851; Schwertheim 1980, No. 507 Pl. 37; Cremer 1991, KN 5. Photo courtesy of British Museum.



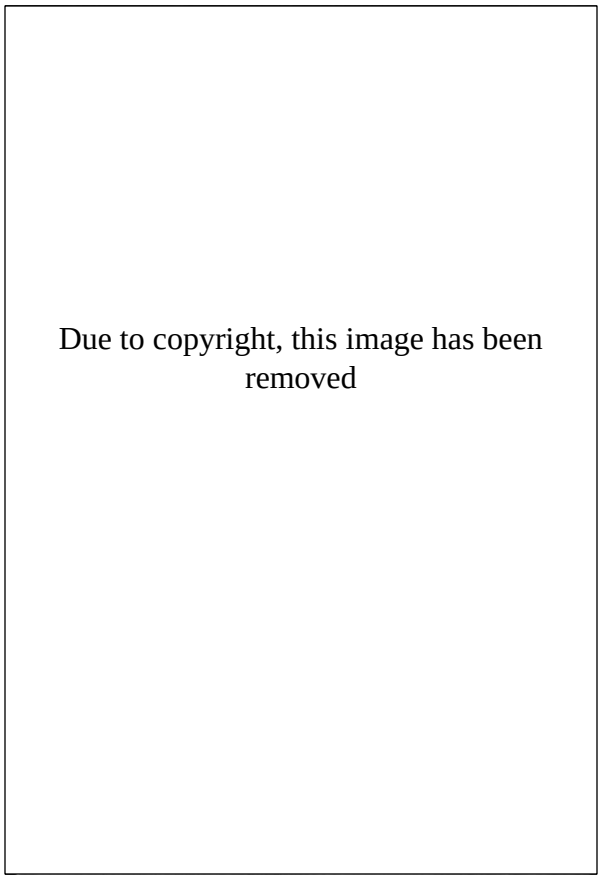
Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Banquet scene, three men reclining on a *kline*. A bench-like table with two legs stands in front. Flanking are two seated veiled women, the left with her left hand on her leg, her right resting behind. The woman at the right is a *Pudicitia*-type. Next to the latter stands a frontal miniature male servant, with a krator almost equal in scale. Opposite, next to the woman at the left, stands an even smaller-scale female servant, holding a wool-basket.
Lower relief: Flat relief, in the lower right corner, showing a ship without masts or rudder.

Inscription:

> Διονυσοδώρου τοῦ / Πυθέου / "Διονυσόδωρε χαῖρε". · "καὶ σύ γε, ὦ φίλε. / τὸ νῦν ἔχον γείνωσκέ με ὧδε κείμενον, / καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλῶς ἐζωκότα, / Λιμναγενῆ γεγονότα, πᾶσι προσφιλῆ".
>
> *Dionysodoros, son of Pytheon. Farewell, Dionysodoros! And you also, O beloved one! Perceive now they carried me having been laid to rest in this way, handsome and virtuous and well-girded, born of Limnagene, beloved by all.*

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

215. Naiskos stele for Bakchios and Meidias. 1st century BC.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 261. Found in Kyzikos. Large-grain white marble with a gray streak. H: 96, W: 53, D: 18cm.
Literature: PM 1452 Pl. 211; Schwertheim 1980, No. 127; Cremer 1991, KS 6.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A banquet scene, with two men reclining, and two seated veiled women in different poses with two small-scale female servants holding a casket. A large tipod table stands in front of the *kline*.
Lower relief: A male figure stands at left in a *chiton* and chlamys.

Inscription: Two inscriptions, the names placed under each male figure in the upper relief field.

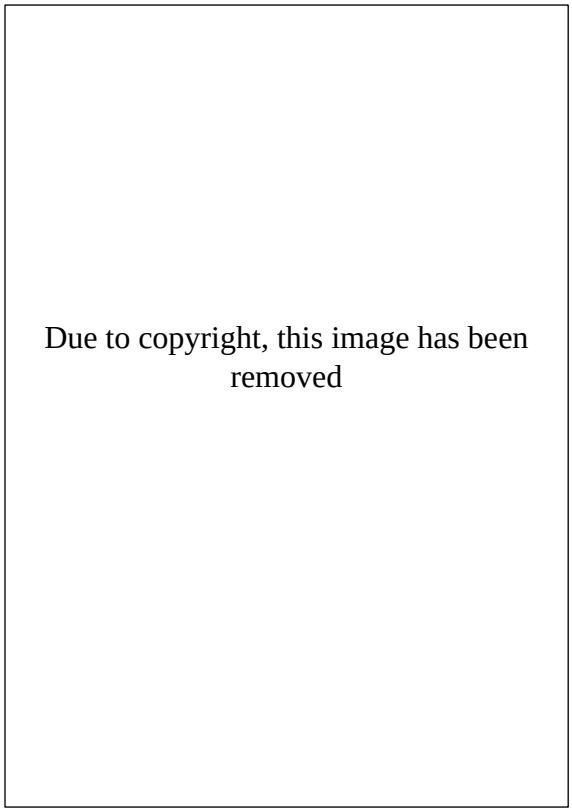
Βάκχιε / Μειδίου / χαῖρε
Μειδία / Ἀπολλωνίου / χαῖρε

Bakchios, son of Meidios, farewell. Meidias, son of Apollonios, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

216. Stele for Apollodorus. 1st century BC.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 3306. Found in Kyzikos. Light-gray marble. H: 82, W: 54, D: 7cm.
Literature: Hasluck 1910, V 25; Peek 1955, 847; PM 1021 Pl. 153; Schwertheim 1980, No. 493 Pl. 34; Cremer 1991, KS 7.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A banquet scene, with two men reclining. A table stands in front of the *kline,* to the right of which stands a small-scale frontal male servant, and two small-scale female servants holding wool-baskets. Two veiled women flank the scene, one with her left hand in her lap, and other with her right hand raised to her breast.
Lower relief: A frontal man stands in a typical pose but with left hand extended a veiled woman seated not on a chair but on the groundline, holding an object.

Inscription:

Ἀπολλόδωρε Θύρσου χαῖρε. / Ὁ πᾶσι θνητοῖς ἄκρισ[τ]ος βίου βραβεύς, / ὁ πικρὸς Ἅδης, ὃς τὰ σεμνὰ βασκαίνει, / Ἀπολλόδωρον ἐγ δόμων ἀναρπάσας / ἔκρυψεν ἐν τάφοισι καὶ γονεῦσι μὲ[ν] / θρήνους ἔλειπεν, ἐγ δὲ ὁμηλίκων χορο[ῦ] / δακρυτὸν Ἅδην εἰς ἀπέστειλεν βίᾳ.

Apollodorus, son of Thurson, farewell! The undiscriminating judge of life for all mortals, keen Hades, who grudges noble things, snatched up Apollodoros from his home and hid him among funeral rites. And for his parents he left behind lamentations, but him he sent away by force from the dance of those of the same age into wept-over Hades.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

217. Stele fragment. Roman Imperial period.
Collection Tolunay (Bandırma). Found in Gebiet (near Kyzikos). Marble. No recorded measurements.
Literature: Schwertheim 1983b, 117 No. 16 Pl. 14; Cremer 1991, KSt 53.

Relief field: A fragment from a banquet scene, showing the upper body of a reclining male figure and the curved end of the *kline*.

Inscription:

[ ]. ου [
καὶ τὰ τ]έκνα αὐτῆ[ς

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

218. Naiskos stele of Trypheros. 1st century BC.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 3859. Found in Endek-Artake (near Kyzikos). Marble. H: 54, W: 41, D: 12cm.
Literature: Schwertheim 1980, No. 464 Pl. 33; Cremer 1991, KSt 38.

Due to copyright, this image has been removed

Relief field: A typical banquet scene.

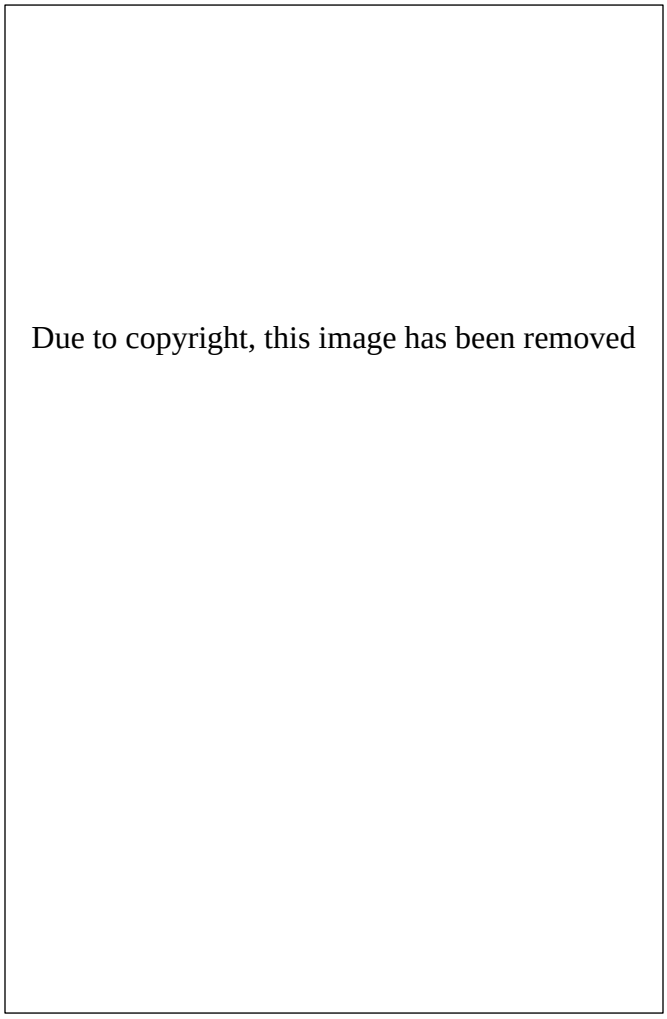
Inscription:

Τρύφερος Τροφί[μου] / χαῖρε.

Trypheros, son of Trophimos, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

219. Stele fragment, of Moschion. Early Imperial.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5356. Found in Endek-Artake (near Kyzikos). Marble. H: 82.5, W: 51, D: 9.5cm.
Literature: Schwertheim 1980, No. 365 Pl. 29; Cremer 1991, KSt 24.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with two male reclining figures, and two seated women flanking the couch.

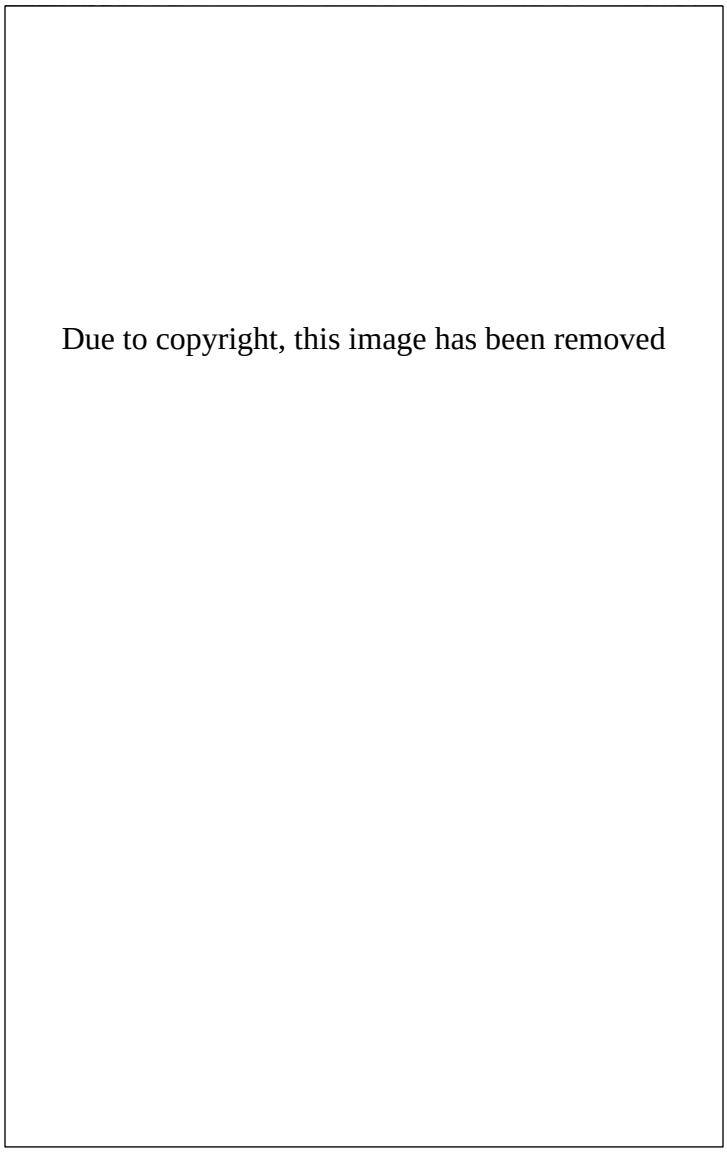
Inscription:

Μόσχιον / Λυκείνου / χαῖρε.

Moschion, son of Lykeinos, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

220. Naiskos stele with arch Aule Moukie. 1st century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 255. Found in Endek-Artake (near Kyzikos). Two pieces, with a horizontal break across the relief field. White large-grain marble. H: 85, W: 50, D: 12cm.
Literature: PM 2110 Pl. 304.



Relief field: A male half-figure in a typical pose.

Inscription:

Αὖλε Μούκιε Μουκίου υἱὲ / Ἑρμόδωρε / χαῖρε.

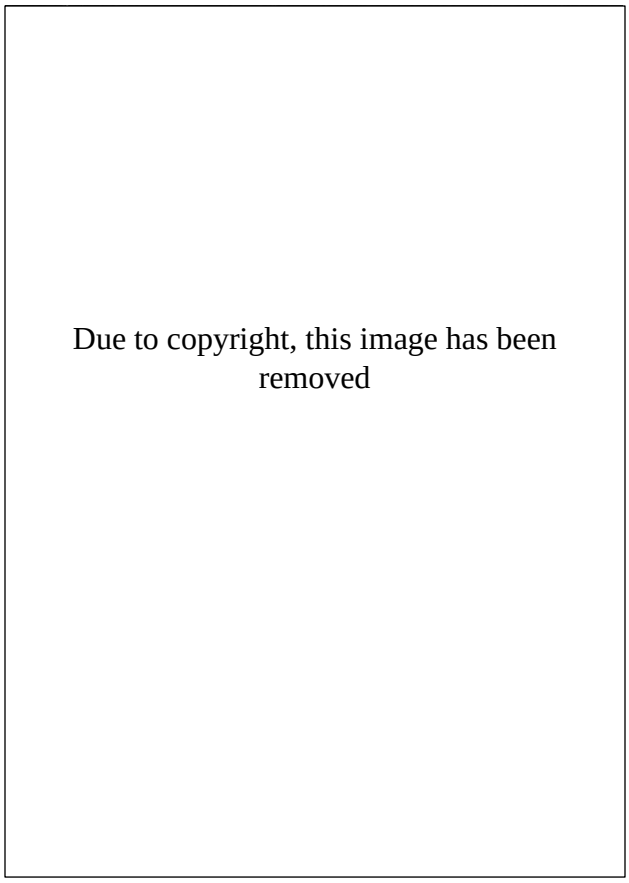
Aule Mouke, daughter of Moukios, for her son Hermodoros, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (PM).

221. Stele of Euprepes. 2nd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 2209. Found in Endek-Artake (near Kyzikos). White marble. H: 44, W: 34, D: 8-10cm.

Literature: Robert 1940, 226 No. 291 Pl. 19; PM 1232 Pl. 185; Schwertheim 1980, No. 206 Pl. 16.



Relief field: A gladiator (*provocator*) stands frontal, with an Antonine hairstyle. He holds a long object in his right hand, and an unknown object in his left.

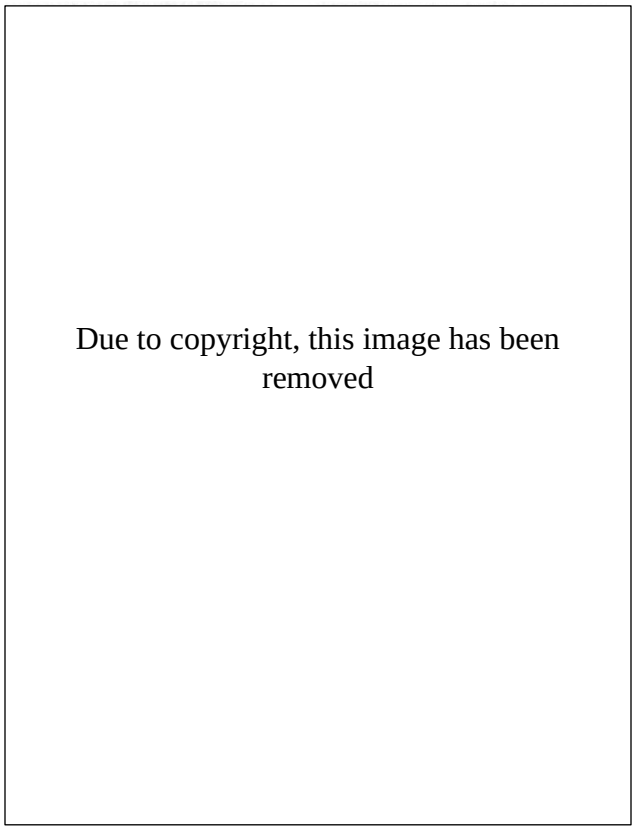
Inscription:

Εὐπρέπης προ[βο]/κράτωρ

Euprepes, provacator.

Date based upon relief and script (Robert; PM; Schwertheim).

222. Rectangular stele of Menelaos. 1st century AD (Augustan period?).
Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), ANMichaelis.91. Found in Kyzikos. Gray-yellow marble. H: 88, W: 67cm.
Literature: Michaelis 1882, 562 No. 91; Hasluck 1910, V No. 195 A; PM 1811 Pl. 310; Schwertheim 1980, No. 317; Cremer 1991, KB 4 Pl. 18.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Two frontal half-figures, at the left a man in a *himation* and typical pose, and at the right a veiled woman. In the centre is a bust of a nude male youth, with ribbons.
Lower relief: Smaller than the upper, depicting a typical banquet scene but with a standing frontal male figure, smaller in scale in a typical pose. At the left sits a veiled woman in a typical pose, and a smaller-scale figure female standing next to the woman's block-like seat. This figure is the same scale as servants in other scenes, but the clothing is not like that employed for these secondary figures. This figure may therefore represent a young child.

Inscription:

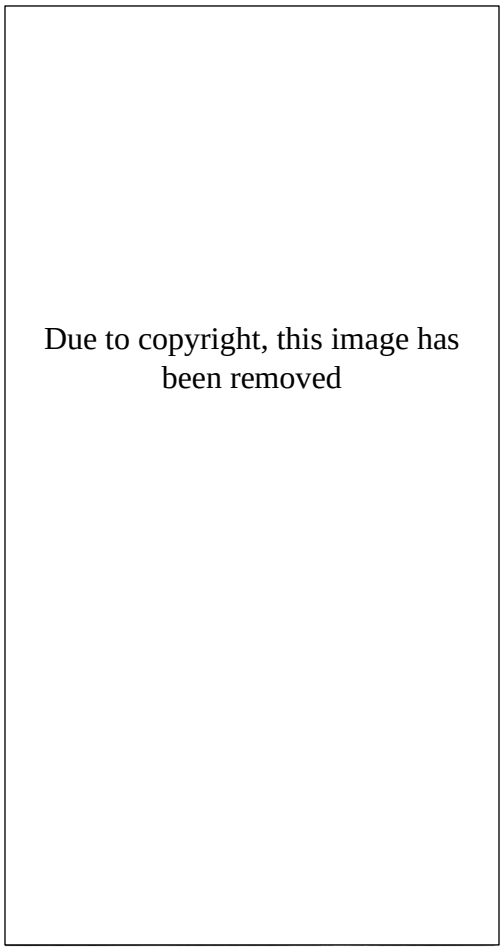
Μενέλαε Μενελάου χαῖρε.

Menelaos, son of Menelaos, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

223. Pediment stele with *akroteria*, for Chrysion and Menekrates 2nd/1st century BC (2nd or 3rd century AD).

Berlin-Dahlem, DAI. Found in Kyzikos. White marble. H: 70, W: 37, D: 10cm.
Literature: PM 936 Pl. 141; Schwertheim 1980, No. 489.



Relief field: A veiled woman sits at the right on a stool with cushion and ornamental legs. She faces left, her right hand raised to her mantle, her left resting in her lap. In front of her stands a small-scale male figure in a *chiton*, holding a flat object in his raised hands.

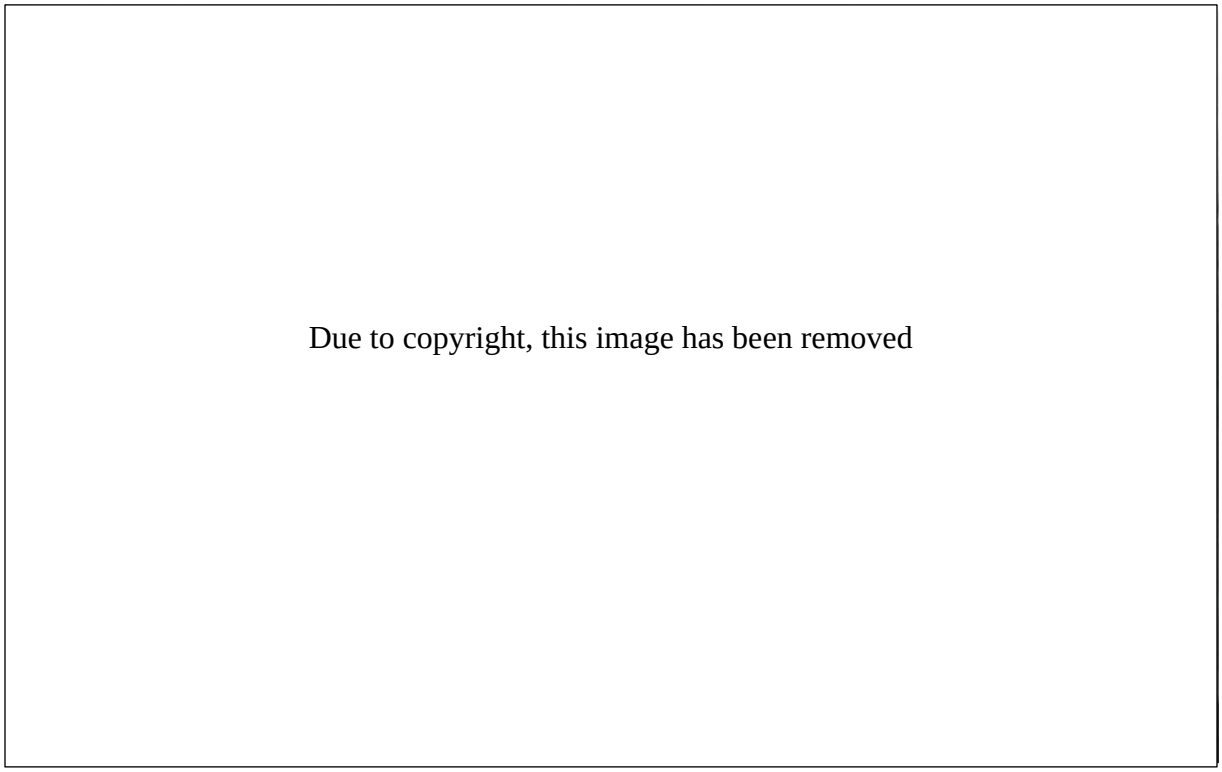
Inscription: Located below an earlier (illegible) inscription.

Χρυσίον γυνὴ Διοδώρου / υἱὸς Μενεκράτης χαίρετε

Chrysion wife of Diodoros, (and her) son Menekrates, farewell.

The relief on this stele suggests it was originally produced in the second or early first century BC, with its original inscription directly below the relief field. The monument was reused in the second or third century AD, based upon the script of the inscription added for Chrysion and Menekrates (Schwertheim).

224. Stele fragment, of Soterichos, Artemon, and Meidias. 1st/2nd century AD (?).
Çanakkale Museum, inv. no. unrecorded. Found in Kyzikos. Only the lower portion of the stele survives, broken off across the upper section of the relief; the frame and figures are damaged. Marble. H: 32, W: 53cm.
Literature: Stark 1874, 375f. No. 9; Hasluck 1910, No. V 269; PM 1390 Pl. 202; Schwertheim 1980, No. 440; Cremer 1991, KH 4.



Relief field: Three horsemen in *chitons* and chlamys ride right, towards a square altar at the base of a tree. The front face of the altar shows a small ram in relief. Behind the altar is the upper body of a small-scale female servant who holds a vessel or basket above her head. Behind her is the tree trunk and the remains of a snake. To the right, next to the altar, stands a veiled frontal female figure who places an offering on the altar with her right hand.

Inscription:

[Σωτ]ήριχε ἥρως, Ἀρτέμων ἥρως, Μειδίας ἥρως.

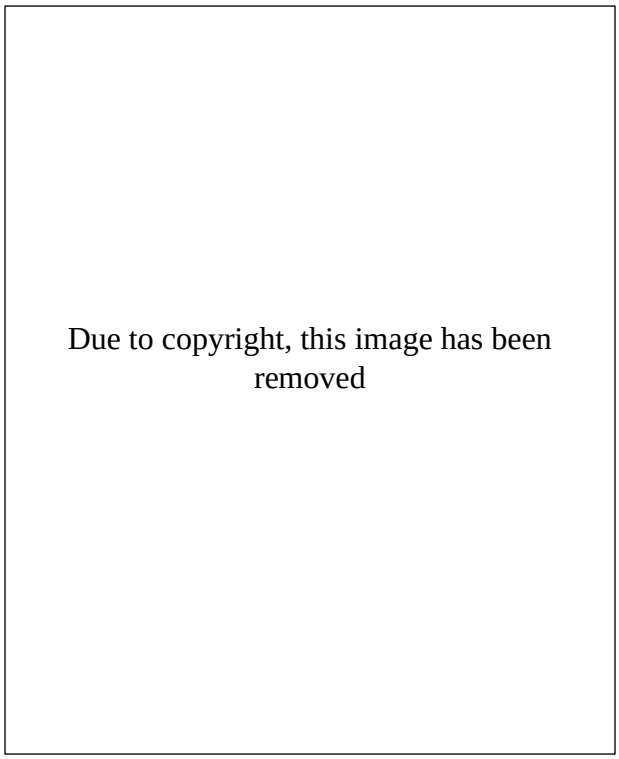
Soterichos, hero, Artemon, hero, Meidias, hero.

Date based upon the relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

225. Pediment stele of Apollonis. Early Imperial.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 263. Found in Kyzikos. Lower left and right corners broken off. Gray marble. H: 54, W: 44, D: 11cm.

Literature: PM 1311 Pl. 193; Schwertheim 1980, No. 475; Cremer 1991, KH 20.



Relief field: At the left stands a horse-and-rider pair, the rider in *chiton* and chlamys. In front of the pair stands a small-scale frontal male figure, in a typical pose and a *himation*. At the right, larger in scale to both, is a seated female figure, veiled, looking left and clasping the edge of her mantle with her right hand, her left holding an object in her lap. Next to the woman stands a small-scale female servant, in mourning.

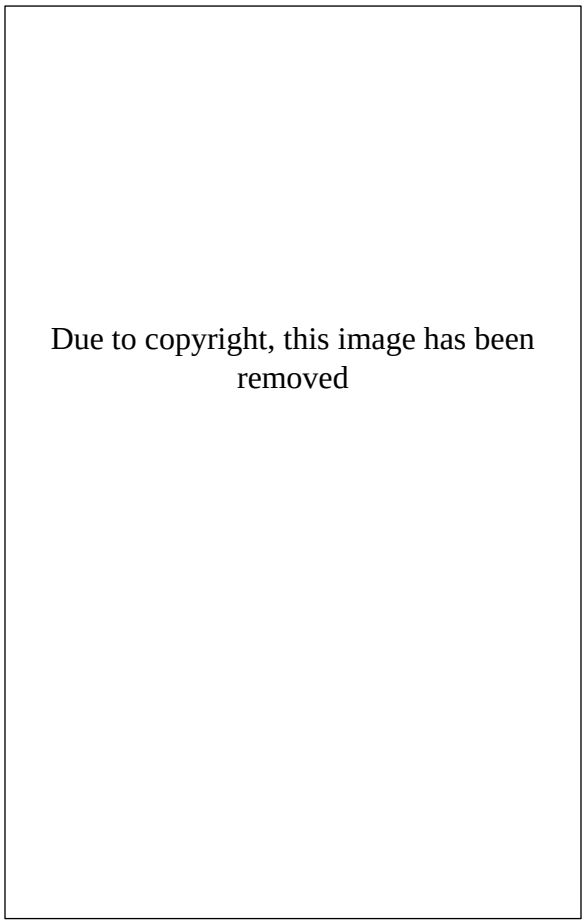
Inscription:

[Ἀπολλ]ωνὶς Φίλητος

Apollonis, son of Philetos.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

226. Naiskos stele with arch and *akroteria*, with tenon, for Murokes. 3rd century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 221. Found in Kyzikos. Upper left corner broken off. White large-grain marble. H: 68, W: 43, D: 5cm.
Literature: PM 1143 Pl. 172; Schwertheim 1980, No. 370 Pl. 29.



Relief field: A male figure in a *girded* chiton stands at the left, looking right, guiding a plow with two oxen, side-by-side. The man holds a *kentron* in his right hand.

Inscription:

Ἁρμονία τῷ ἀδελφῷ / Μυροκεῖ ζήσαντι / κοσμίως ἔτη ιη΄ / μνήμης χάριν.

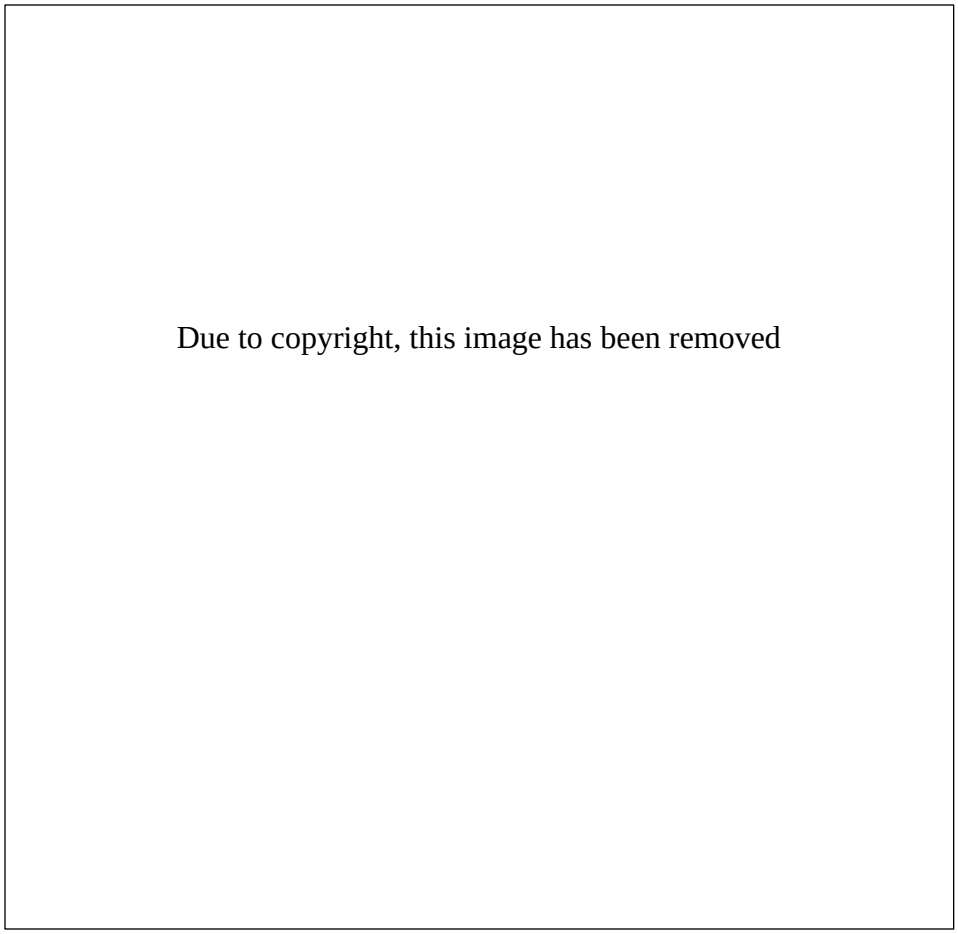
Harmonia for her brother Murokes [?], having lived 18 years, in memory.

The form of this stele, with arch and akroteria, is similar to those found in Prusa and Kestal.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim).

227. Pediment stele. 1st century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 2761. Found in Kyzikos. White small-grain marble. H: 46, W: 30, D: 9cm.
Literature: PM 833 Pl. 175; Cremer 1991, KN 8.

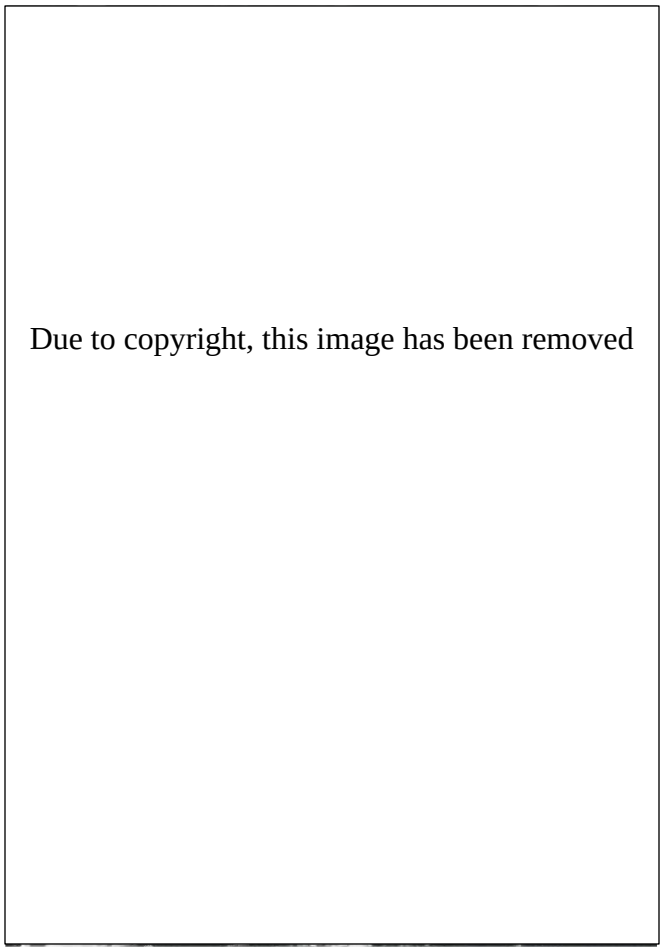


Relief field: A male figure sits at the right, and a smaller-scale male figure sits on a low block at the left in a *chiton*, holding an object over an anvil.

No surviving inscription.

Date based upon relief (Cremer).

228. Stele with arch, for Anpheion. 2nd century AD.
In Erdek-Artake. Found in Kyzikos. Lower part broken off, right and upper parts of frame broken. White marble. H: 36, W: 24, D: 7cm.
Literature: PM 1244 Pl. 186; Schwertheim 1980, No. 22 Pl. 1.



Relief field: A gladiator in a loincloth and high boots stands frontal, with slightly chubby cheeks and curls. His right arm rests on top of a gladiator helmet balanced on an oval shield. His left may have been making an offering over an altar, but this section of the relief is badly damaged.

Inscription:

Ζῆθος Ἀνφεί[ονι] / τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀδελφῶ[ι] / ἐκ τῶν ἰ[δίων - - -]

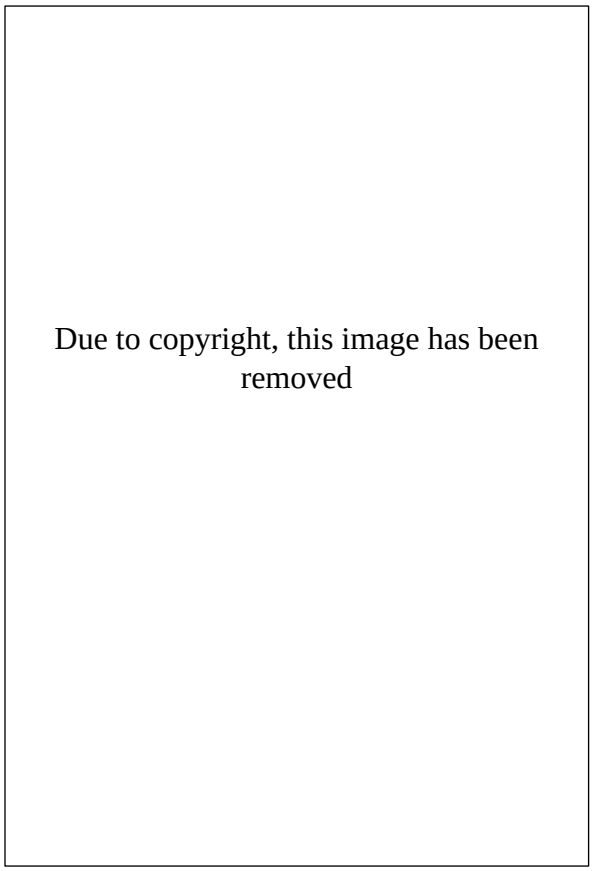
Zethos for Anpheion his own brother, by his own means [- - -].

Date based upon relief and script (PM; Schwertheim).

229. Stele for Eugeros Deidas. 1st century AD.

Unknown. Found in Susurluk-Mana (near Kyzikos). Upper section of stele, and part of frame of relief field, broken away. Marble. H: 64, W: 47, D: 12cm.

Literature: Peek 1955, 476; Robert 1977, 56-57 Fig. 4; Daux 1977, 467-470; Cremer 1991, KB 2.



Relief field: Two half-figures, a veiled woman at the left and a man in a typical pose at the right.

Inscription:

> Εὐγήρως Δείδας ζήσας ὁσίως ὑπὸ θρεπτοῦ / Ἀλβανᾶ εὐσεβέως θάπτομαι ἐν παλάμαις / μνήμην δ᾽ ἀθάνατον θνητῷ βροτὸς ὤπασε δεῖ (γάρ) / τοῖς θρέψασι νέμειν καρπὸν ὀφειλόμενον.
>
> *I, Eugeros Deidas, having lived piously, am being buried by my threptos Albanas with his own hands. Mortal gave to mortal immortal memory, for it is necessary for those that have been reared to pay out the reward that is due.*

Date based upon relief and script (Cremer).

230. Stele for the family of Hermaphilos Stratonos. 2nd century AD.
British Museum (London). Found in Kyzikos. Marble. H: 47, W: 31cm.
Literature: CIG 2015=3693; Hasluck 1910, No. V. 159; Schwertheim 1980, No. 193.

Relief field: A flat relief of a ship under the inscription

Inscription:

> Ὑπόμνημ[α] / Ἑρμαφίλου Στρά/τωνος ὃς κατεσκέ/βασεν ἑαυτῷ ζῶν καὶ / τῇ συντέκνῳ Ἀρκτω/ρίᾳ Ὀνησίνῃ καὶ τῷ ἀν/δρὶ αὐτῆς Ζωσίμῳ Με/νεσστράτου καὶ τῷ ὑῷ αὐτῆς Ζωσίμῳ / Ζωσίμου· τοῖς δὲ λο/ιποῖς ἀπαγορεύω· / εἰ δέ τις τολμή/σει ἕτερον καταθέσται, δώσει ἰς / τὸν φὶσκον Χ α΄
>
> *Tomb of Hermaphilos Stratonos who put up (this) while living for himself and his foster-sister Arktoria Honesina and her husband Zosimos Menesstratos and her son Zosimos, son of Zosimos. I bid farewell to those remaining behind. If anyone other than these undertakes to be buried (here), he will pay the fiscus 1,000 denarii/drachmas.*

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim).

231. Stele of Krispeinos. Antonine period.
Unknown. Found in Kyzikos. Marble. No recorded measurements.
Literature: CIG II.3694; Kaibel 1878, 337; PM 301.

Relief field: The stele as attested depicts a male figure standing in a ship holding an object, perhaps a weapon or a rudder (PM), while under his left arm is a bag or pouch, objects representative of his command (*stolarches*).

Inscription:

> Ἤμην στολάρχης Ποντίων βελῶν ἐγώ, / ἐξηρέτμοις πτέρυξιν ἠγλαισμένος, / ἀνὰ στρατὸν Κρισπεῖνος εὐκλεὴς ἀνήρ· / Ῥάβεννα δ᾽ ἦν μοι πατρίς, ἀρχαία πόλις. / Ἔγνως, τίς ἤμην καὶ πόθεν γένος κυρῶ. / λοιπὸν φυλάσσου, μή τινα ἐνθήσεις τάφῳ, / δίκην τε ὑφέξις παρανόμως / τυμβωρυχῶ[ν] / φίσκῳ τε δώσις Ӿβ καὶ [τ]ῇ πόλει Ӿα.
>
> *I was stolarches of the Pontic darts, taking delight in six-oared wings, throughout the army a famous man, Krispeinos. But Ravenna was my fatherland, (my) city from the beginning. You came to know who I was and I confirm from what place my kin. Well then, keep guard, lest you put in any other in the grave, and if you lawlessly break open the grave you will have to give account and pay both to the fiscus 2,000 (drachma/denarii) and to the polis 1,000 (drachma/denarii).*

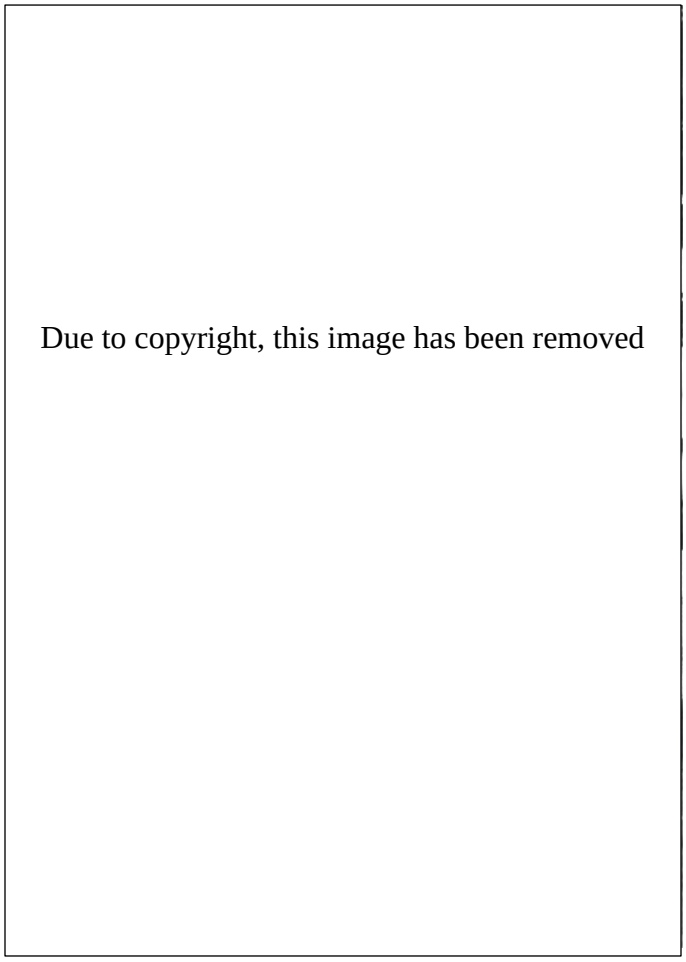
As *stolarches*, he was probably commander of the fleet station for the Pontus, Kyzikos, fleet commander, or squadron commander. The official name suggests more than an armory administrator or artillery officer.

Date based upon relief and script (PM).

232. Stele of Meidios. 1st century BC.

Erdek Museum, inv. no. 30. Found in Kızık (near Manyas). Upper section of stele broken off. Gray-white marble. H: 76, W: 57, D: 13cm.

Literature: PM 1984 Pl. 285; Schwertheim 1980, No. 325 Pl. 25; SEG 29.1270; Cremer 1991, KSt 14.



Relief: A typical banquet scene with two reclining men and two seated women.

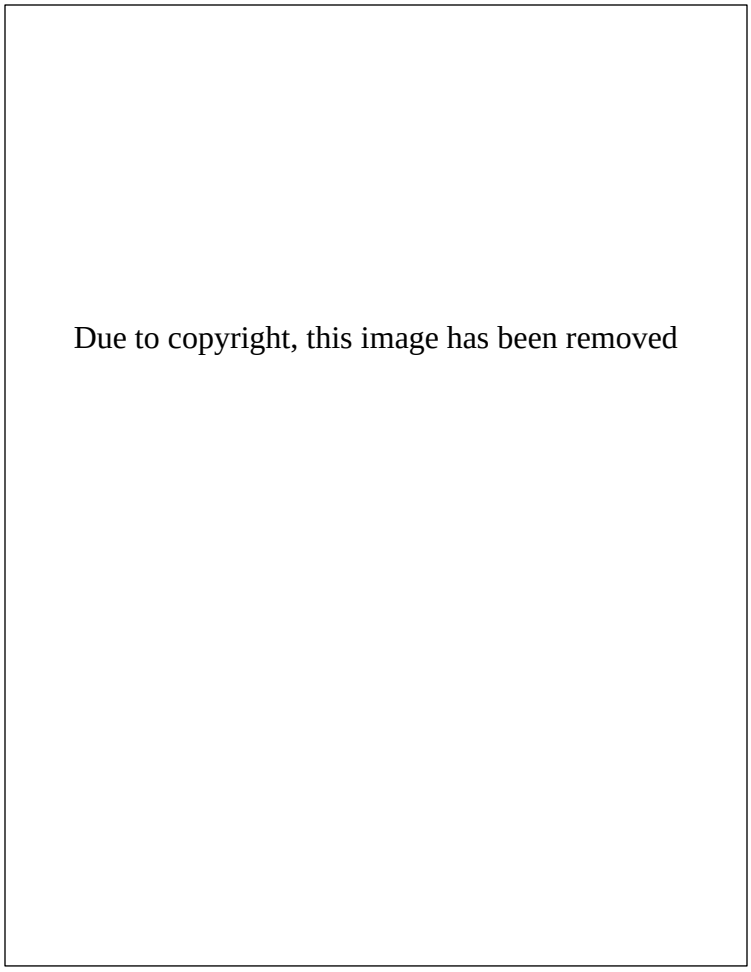
Inscription field:

Μήδηε (=Μήδιε) Φιλοξένου / χαῖρε

Meidios, son of Philoxenos, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

233. Stele of Olympiodoros. 1st century BC.
Erdek Museum, inv. no. 21. Found in Çavuşköy (near Manyas). Marble. H: 49, W: 38, T: 9cm.
Literature: PM 1938 Pl. 279; Schwertheim 1980, No. 381; Cremer 1991, MiSt 8.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with two reclining men, and a woman seated at the left in a typical pose. Two small-scale servants flank the scene, a female holding a *kalathos* at the left, and a male at the right.

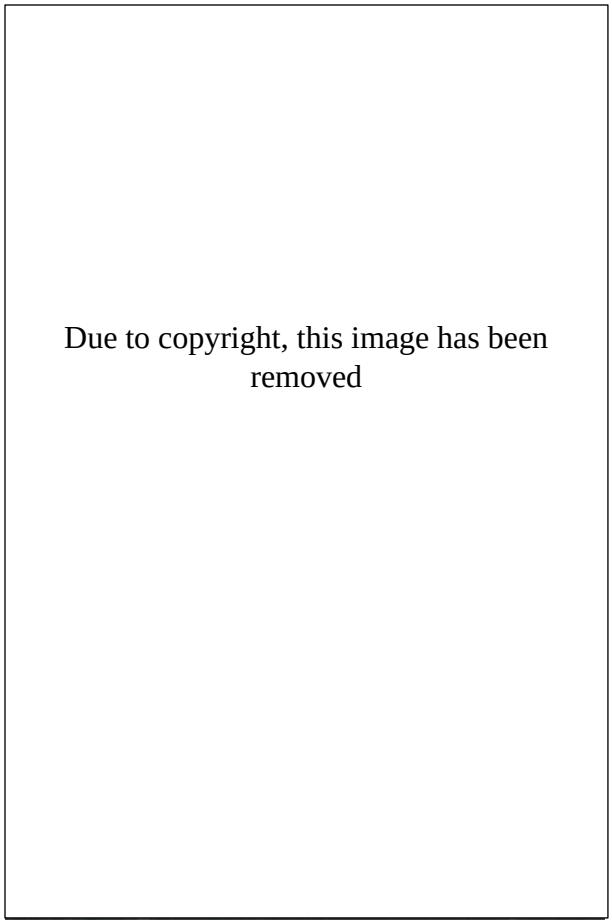
Inscription field:

Ὀλυμπιόδω[ρος] / Ἀπολλων[ίου] / χαῖ[ρε]

Olympiodoros, son of Apollonios, farewell.

Date based upon relief (Cremer).

234. Naiskos stele with *akroteria*. 1st century BC.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2627. Found in Bandırma. Marble. H: 62, W: 41, D: 8cm.
Literature: Cremer 1991, KSt 34 Pl. 14.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with three male figures reclining on a *kline*, all holding vessels in their left hands, and the right hand of the third figure at the left lifted to his head. A tripod table stands in front of the couch, and a veiled woman sits at the left, leaning back slightly, left hand raised to her mantle, her right crossing her body. At the far right stand two slightly smaller-scale female figures (in different scales), the woman at the right unveiled and holding an object, the other facing right and placing both hands of the arm of the woman. Two small-scale servants also appear, a female at the left (in mourning) next to the seated the woman, and a frontal male to the right of the table.

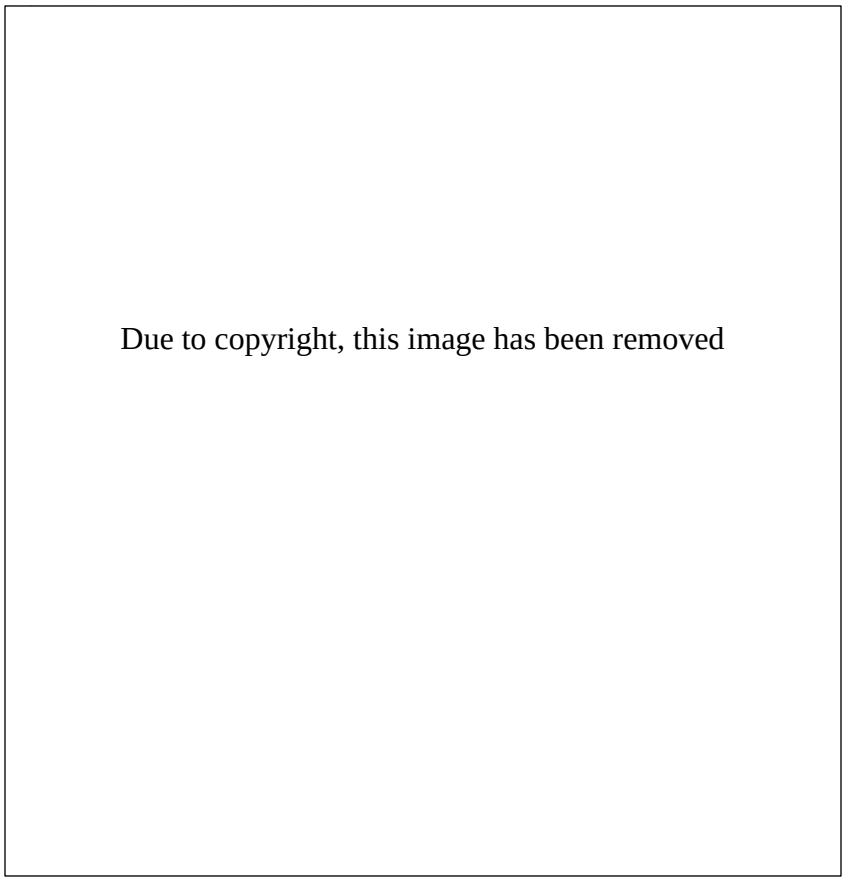
No surviving inscription?

Date based upon relief (Cremer).

235. Naiskos stele of Menandros. 1st century BC.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5138. Found between Bandırma and the Sea of Manyas. Marble. H: 35, W: 38, D: 10cm.

Literature: Schwertheim 1980, No. 304 Pl. 23; Cremer 1991, KSt 10 Pl. 11.



Relief field: A banquet scene, showing a male figure reclining on a *kline*, holding a vessel in his left hand. A low, wide-top tripod table stands in front of the couch, and at the left sits a veiled woman, her left hand raised to her mantle, her right crossing her body ("Pudicitia Braccio Nuovo"). Two small-scale servants accompany the scene, a female at the left, in mourning, and a male at the right of the table.

Inscription:

Μένανδρε Μειδίου / χαῖρε.

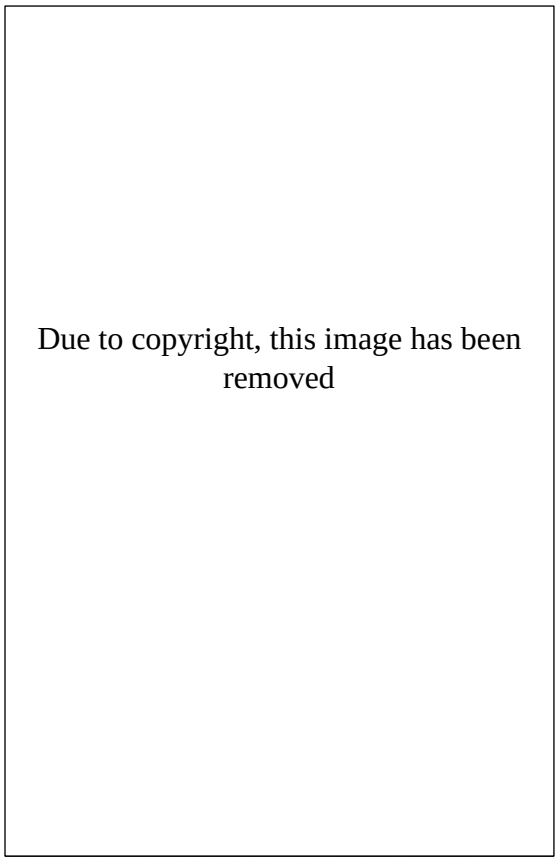
Menandros, son of Meidios, farewell.

Date based upon relief (Cremer).

236. Pediment stele for Asklepiades. 2nd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5410. Found along the road between Bandırma and Manyas. Upper right corner broken. Marble. H: 54, W: 39, D: 9am.

Literature: Schwertheim 1980, No. 93 Pl. 9; Cremer 1991, KSt 42 Pl. 15.



Relief field: A typical banquet scene, with a man reclining, holding a drinking vessel in his left hand, his right resting on his raised knee. A wide tripod table stands in front of the couch. A veiled woman sits at the left on a different style chair, a miniature female servant holding a *kalathos* next to her. In front of the woman stands a smaller-scale male figure in a typical pose. At the far right, equal in height to the table and the *kline*, stands a small-scale male servant.

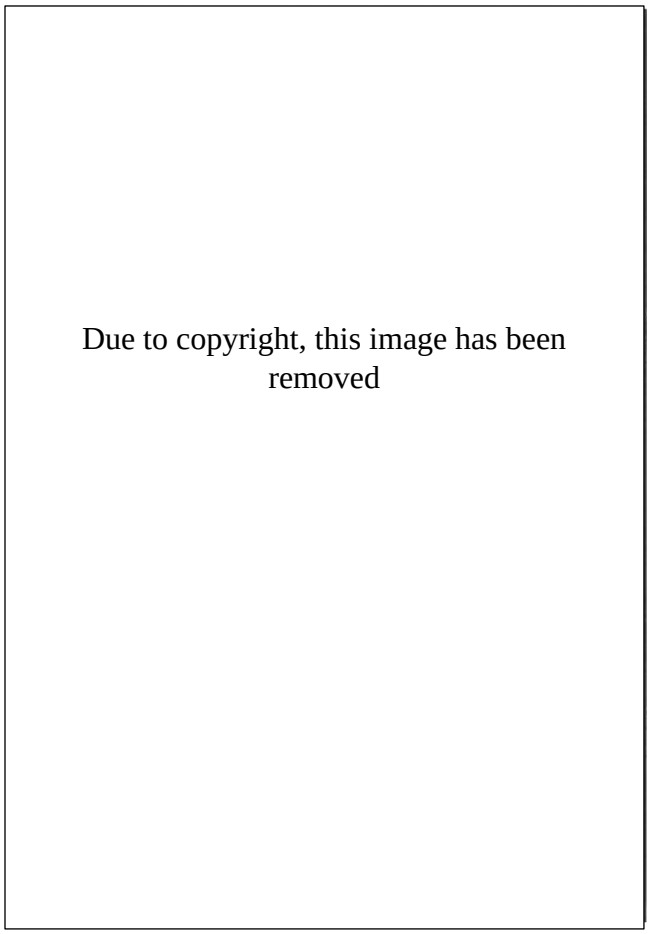
Inscription:

Ἀσκληπιάδης Μάτρονος / χαῖρε

Asklepiades, son of Matronos, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

237. Rectangular naiskos stele of Menekrates and Stratonike. 1st century BC.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 3130 (alt. 2010). Found in the area of the Sea of Manyas. Lower left corner broken off, and right edge chipped. White marble. H: 67, W: 47, D: 20cm.
Literature: PM 1873; Schwertheim 1980, No. 316; Cremer 1991, MiSt 14 Pl. 21.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with a male figure reclining on a *kline*, with two female figures seated on block-like seats, flanking a tripod table. Two servants appear in the scene, a female at the left holding a *kalathos* and a male at the right, standing in mourning.

Inscription:

Μενεκράτης Ἑρμοκρά[τους] / Στρατονίκη / Μενεκρά[τους] / χαίρετε

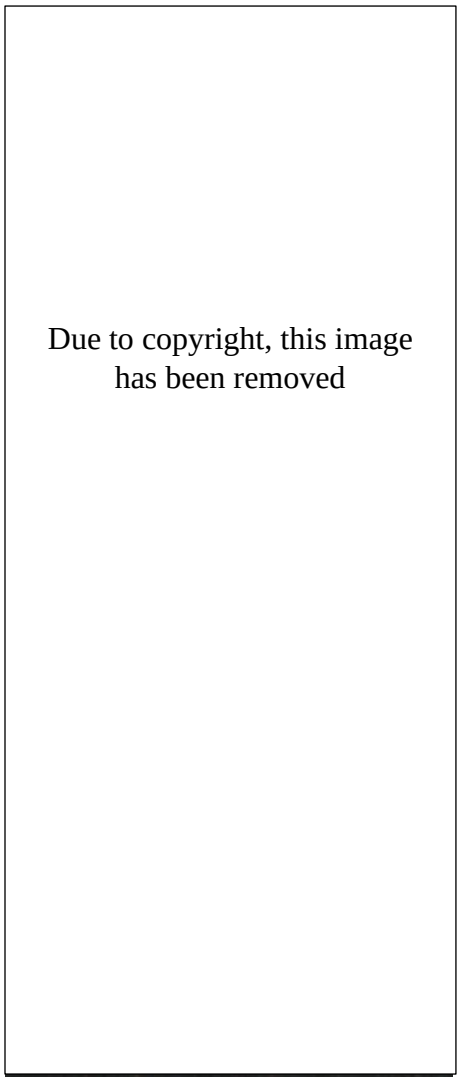
Menekrates Hermokratos, and Stratonike of Menekrates, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (PM; Cremer).

238. Naiskos stele of Papias. 1st century BC.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 4505. Found in Panormos-Bandırma. White marble. H: 130, W: 51-64, D: 13cm.

Literature: PM 1287 Pl. 285; Schwertheim 1980, No. 398; Cremer 1991, KH 14.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A banquet scene with two reclining men, and two veiled seated women.
Lower relief: A smaller field than that above, showing a horse-and-rider pair, looking right.

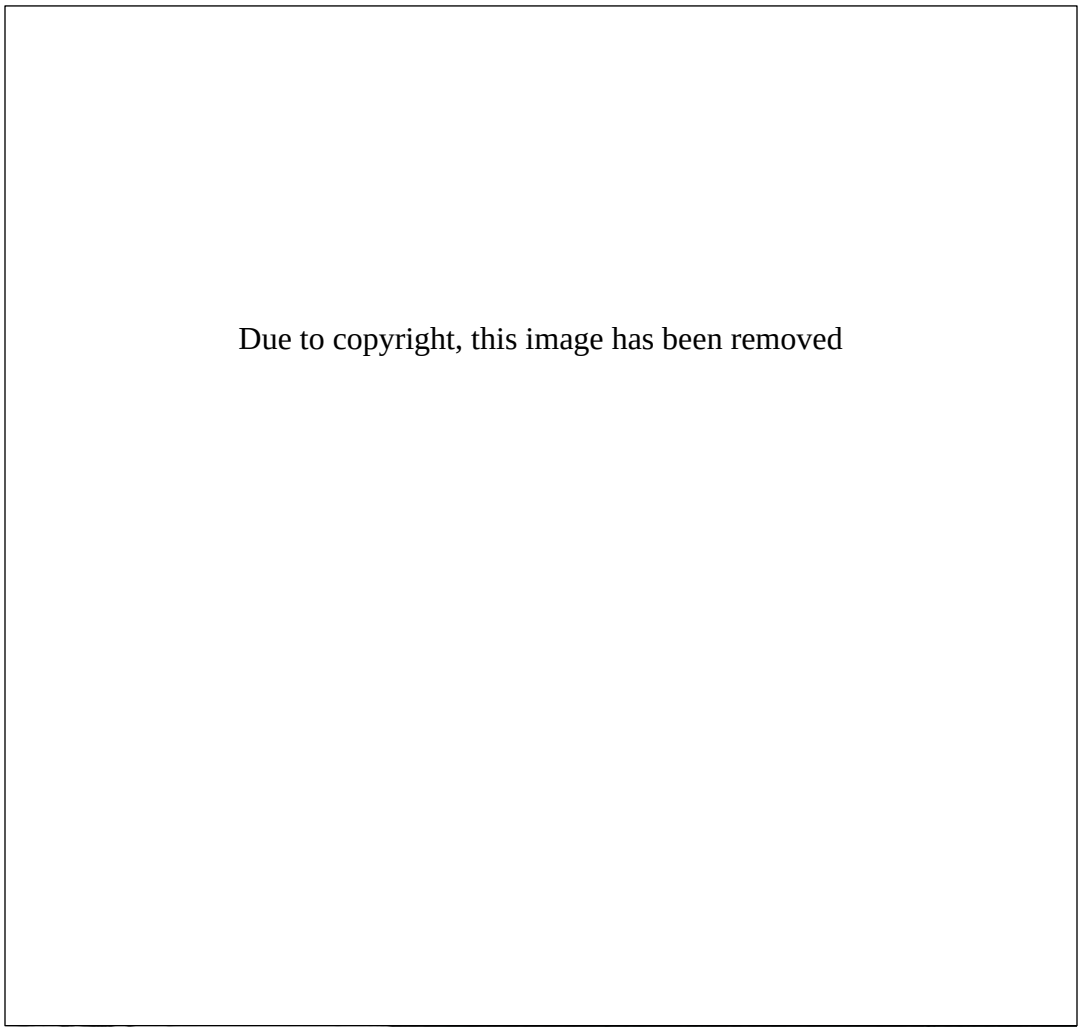
Inscription:

Παπία Παπίου / χαῖρε

Papias, son of Papias, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (Cremer).

239. Stele for Septimia Aurelia Ophelime. 3rd century AD.
Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 3854. Found in Panormos-Bandırma. Marble. H: 36, W: 38, D: 8cm.
Literature: Schwertheim 1980, No. 432 Pl. 31; Cremer 1991, KB 18.



Relief field: A frontal half-figure of a woman.

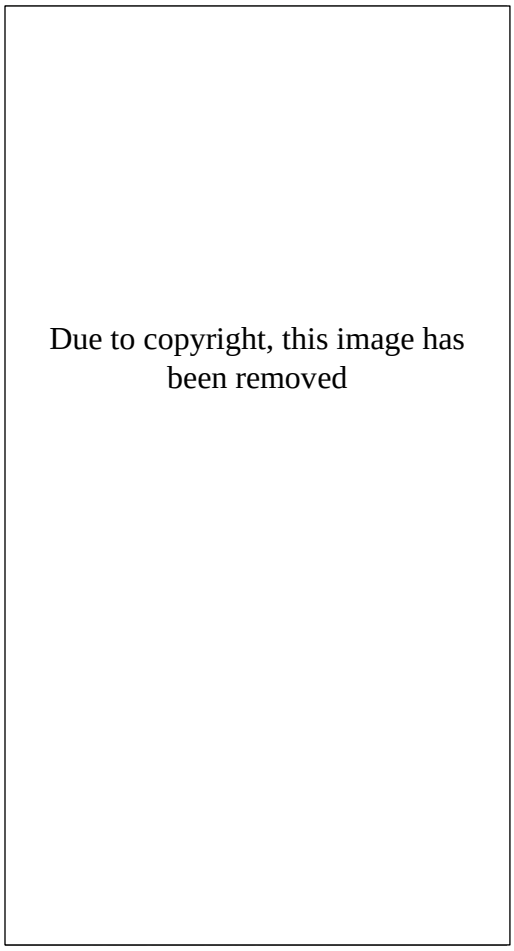
Inscription:

> Ὑπόμνημα / [Σ]επτιμία Αὐρηλίᾳ Ὠ/[φ]ελίμῃ Μᾶρκος Οὐάπι/[ος] Τρόφιμος τῇ γλυκυτά/[τῃ σ]υνβίῳ ζησάσῃ ἔτη με΄ / [μ]νείας [χά]ριν
>
> *Tomb for Septimia Aurelia Ophelime, Markos Ouapios Trophimos for his sweetest wife, having lived 45 years, in memory.*

Date based upon relief, script, and name (Schwertheim; Cremer).

240. Stele of Helene. Early Imperial.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 1100. Found in Bandırma. Upper part of stele broken, including frame around half-figure. The lower right corner is also broken away. White large-grain marble. H: 79, W: 41, D: 11cm.
Literature: Mendel III No. 1044; PM 1604 Pl. 306; Schwertheim 1980, No. 180; Cremer 1991, KB 9.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A female half-figure, veiled, with wavy hair and spiral front locks.
Lower relief: A typical banquet scene, with the man reclining, a wide tripod table in front, and a veiled woman seated at the left in a typical pose. Two small-scale servants flank the scene, a female at left and a slightly larger male at right, both in mourning.

Inscription: Below the upper relief.

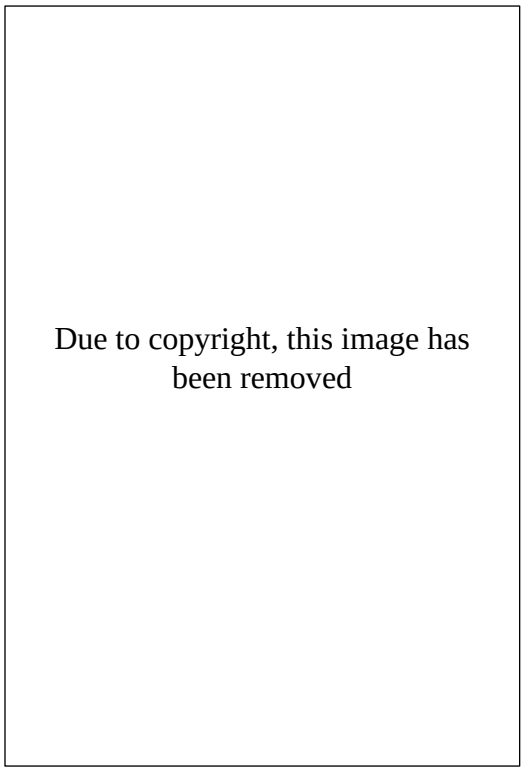
Ἑλένη χαῖρε

Helene, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

241. Stele fragment, for Asklas. 2nd century AD.

Bursa Museum, inv. no. 2007 (alt. 1967). Found in Dedepınarköy-Bandırma (near Kyzikos). Upper portion of stele broken off, break through upper relief field. White large-grain marble. H: 87, W: 57, D: 14cm.
Literature: PM 1042 Fig. 69; Schwertheim 1980, No. 88 Pl. 8; Cremer 1991, KH 3.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A woman appears seated at the right, looking left. She holds a small object in her right hand. Next to her stands a small-scale female servant, holding a chest. To the right are the remains of two male figures, frontal and standing.
Lower relief: At the centre is a horse and rider pair, looking right towards a snake entwined tree, an altar at the foot of the tree. At the far left stands an attendant.

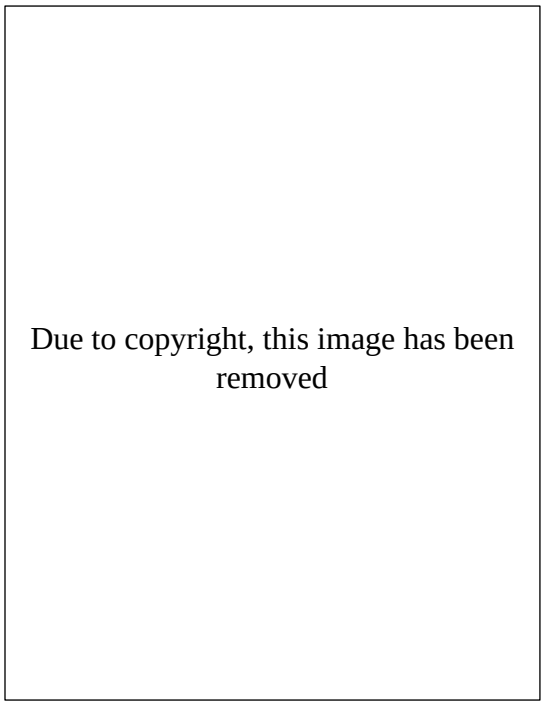
Inscription: Two, under each relief.

> [Δι]αγόρας Διαγόρου καὶ Θεοδότη / Θεοφίλου καὶ Θέων Διαγόρου ζῶντες / τὴν στήλλην κατεσκεύασαν
>
> Ἀσκλᾶς Διαγόρου ἥρος (sic) / χαῖρε
>
> *Diagoras, son of Diagoras, and Theodotes, son of Theophilos, and Theon, son of Diagoras, living, furnished this stele for Asklas, son of Diagoras, hero. Farewell!*

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

GÖNEN

242. Rectangular naiskos stele of Menandros and Apollodotos. Early Imperial.
Gönen Museum, inv. no. 11. Found in Gönen or its environs. Marble. H: 71, W: 63, D: 10cm.
Literature: Schwertheim 1980, No. 303 Pl. 24; Cremer 1991, KSt 27 Pl 12.



Relief field: A banquet scene with two reclining male figures. The man at the right rests his right hand on the left shoulder of the other. A low wide tripod table stands in front of the couch, flanked by two small-scale servants. Two veiled women sit at the edges of the scene, their feet on foot rests, each in a *Pudicitia*-type pose (according to Cremer, the woman at left is a "Pudicitia Braccio Nuovo", and the one at the right a "Pudicitia Philista"). At least one small-scale female servant holding an object stands at the right next to the woman.

Inscription:

Μένανδρε / Διονυσίου / χαῖρε
Ἀπολλόδοτε / Διονυσίου / χαῖρε

Menandros, son of Dionysios, farewell.
Apollodotos, son of Dionysios, farewell.

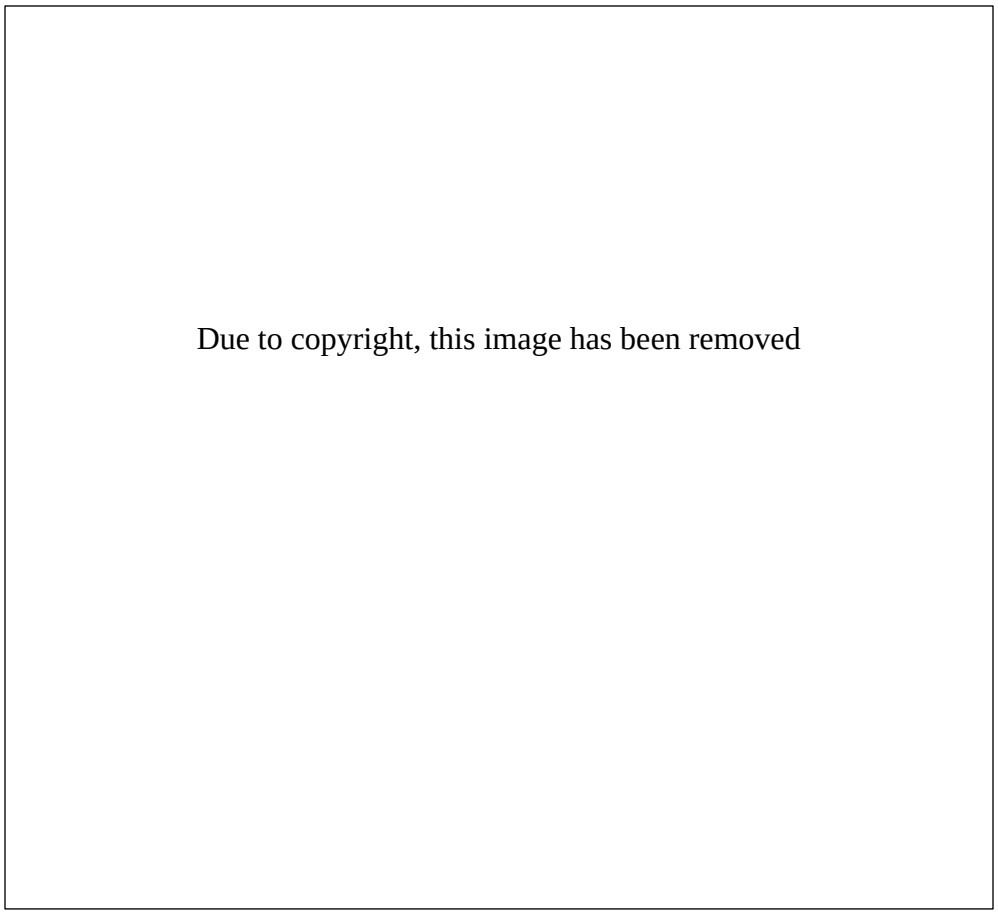
The stele commemorates brothers.

Date based upon relief (Cremer).

243. Rectangular naiskos stele. Roman Imperial period.

Bursa Museum, inv. no. unrecorded. Found in Gönen. Edges of frame damaged. White marble. H: 60, W: 53, D: 9cm.

Literature: PM 1996 Pl. 289; Cremer 1991, MiSt 20.



Relief field: A banquet scene, with three reclining men, in front of which stands a bench-like table on two legs. At the left sits a veiled woman. At the left stands a small-scale male servant, placing items on the table.

No surviving inscription recorded.

Date based upon relief (PM; Cremer).

244. Rectangular naiskos stele of Mikke. Roman Imperial period.
Gönen Museum, inv. no. 25. Found in Gönen. Upper left corner of stele chipped. Marble. H: 57, W: 36, D: 10cm.
Literature: Schwertheim 1980, No. 354; Cremer 1991, MiSt 23.

Relief field: A banquet scene, with a man reclining, holding a vessel in his left hand, and a round object in his right, which almost rests on the knee of the veiled woman seated on a high-back chair at the left. Her left hand is raised to her mantle, while her right rests across her lap (Cremer delineates this as a "Proto-Pudicitia" type), and her feet are on a low foot rest. A tripod table stands in front of the couch, and two small-scale servants accompany the scene, a female holding a *kalathos* at the left, and a male in mourning at the right.

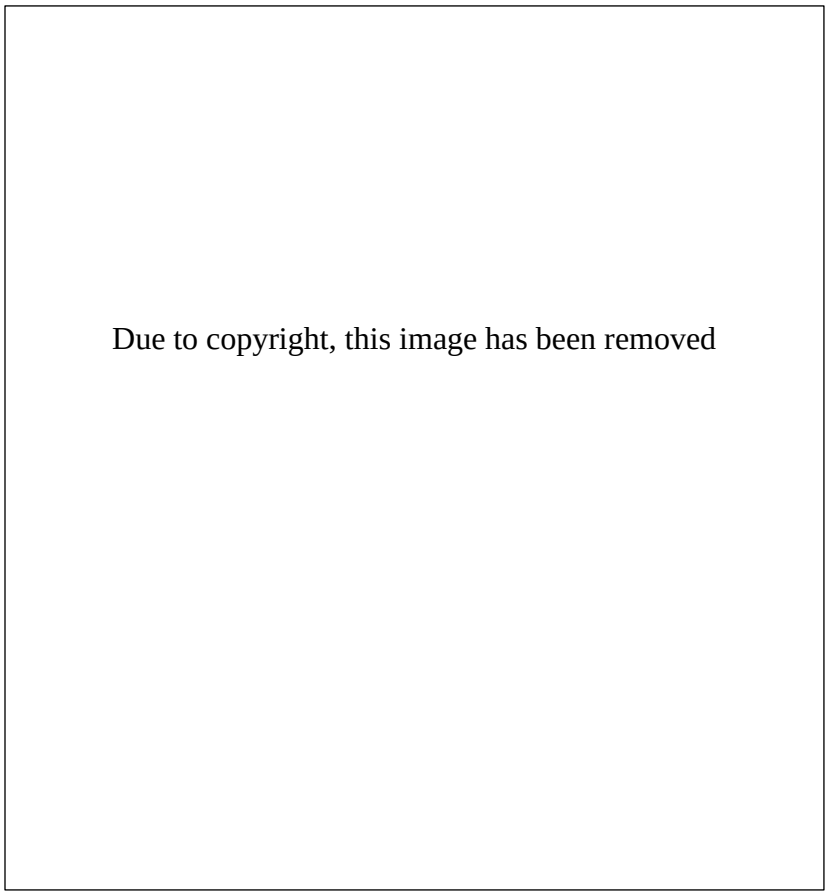
Inscription:

Μίκκη Ζωσίμου / χαῖρε

Mikke, daughter of Zosimos, farewell.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

245. Naiskos stele of Stratonike. 1st century BC.
Bursa Museum, inv. no. 3186 (alt. 209). Found in Gönen. White marble. H: 84, W: 71, D: 12cm.
Literature: Hasluck 1910, V 95; PM 1420 Pl. 206; Schwertheim 1980, No. 149; Cremer 1991, KN 25.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A banquet scene, with two reclining men, one bearded, and two veiled seated women. The woman at the left features a 'Penelope' pose, while the woman at the right is a *Pudicitia*-type. The table in front of the couch is longer, rectangular, and has two legs.
Lower relief: A veiled woman sits frontal on a horse. At the far right stands a male servant, holding the bridle of the horse, and at the far left a smaller-scale female figure.

Inscription:

[- - -] Δημητρίου [- -] ΣΤ [- -] / [- - Μεν]εκλείους ΕΤΕ [- - -]
Στρατονίκη / Μενεκ[λεί]ους

Only one commemorative name survives in its entirety, namely Stratonike daughter of Menekleios.

Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

246. Pediment stele with *akroteria* of Nikephoros and Glykonis. 3rd century AD.

Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 1225. Found in Gönen. Upper left *akroterion* broken away, and some damage to faces of figures. White large-grain marble. H: 126, W: 65, D: 15cm.

Literature: Hasluck 1910, V 219+7; Peek 1955, 1439; PM 2153; Schwertheim 1980, No. 525 Pl. 38; Cremer 1991, MiKSt 10; Merkelbach and Stauber 1998, 74-75.

Due to copyright, this image has been removed

Relief field: Two half-figures, male at the left and female at the right, in typical poses.

Inscription:

Ὑπόμνημα / [Ν]εικηφόρου τοῦ Μοσχίου ὃ [κατεσκεύ]/ασεν ἑαυτῷ ζῶν καὶ τῇ γυναικ[ὶ αὐτοῦ] / Γλυκωνίδι· ἐὰν δέ τις ἐπεμ[βάλῃ πτῶ/]μά τι χωρὶς τῆς ἐμῆς συνχωρή[σεως, ἀποδώ]/σει τῇ πόλει Χ βφ᾽ καὶ ὑπεύθυ[νος ἔσ]/τω τῆς τυνβωρυχίας ἐνκλή[ματος.] / Ὀκταέτους εὐνῆς, εὐκάρπιαν ᾗτ᾽ ἐπένησε / Μοῖρα, τόδ᾽ ἀίδιον μνῆμά σοι ἐργασάμην, / οὐ λήθῃ παραδοὺς τὰ σά μοι φιλέοντι [π]ά[ρε]ισι / κάλλος, ἀκμή, πίστις, σωφροσύνη, σο[φί]α, / ὧν ἔσχον πε(ῖ)ραν Νε(ι)κηφόρος ὡς (ἐν) ὀνείρο[ις·] / δαίμων γάρ σε χερῶν ἥρπασεν ἀερίην.

Tomb of Nikephoros, son of Moschion, which he set up for himself while living and for his wife Glykonis. If anyone making space places any (other) corpse apart from mine, he will pay to the city 2,500 denarii and let him be liable to give an account of the act of disturbing the tomb. Fruitfulness of the eight-year marriage-bed which Moira spun, I made this eternal memorial to you, lest having surrendered you to the welcoming place of oblivion, beauty, strength, faith, sophrosyne, (and) wisdom be present, which Nikephoros possessed in dreams. For a daemon carried you away from (our) hands in the air.

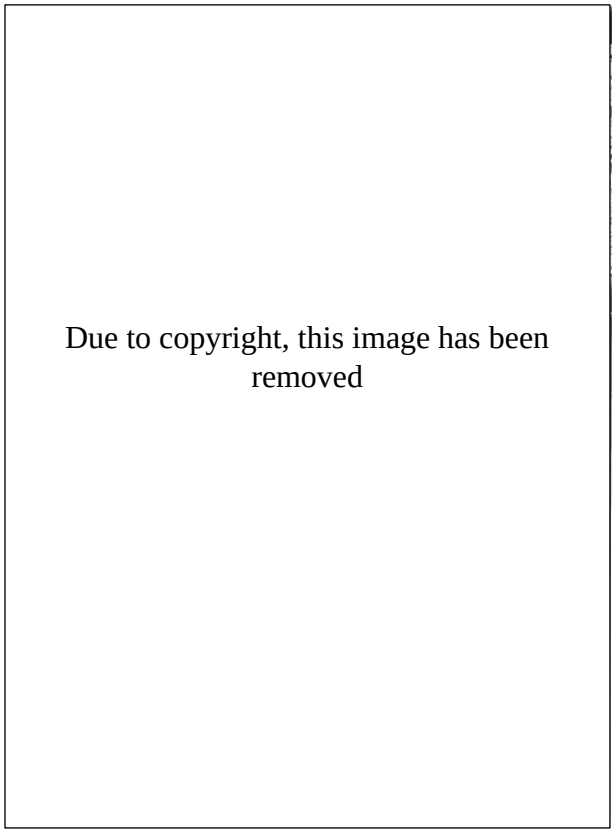
Date based upon relief and script (Schwertheim; Cremer).

D. Lydia

SARDIS

247. Stele of Ammion. 1st (?) century AD.

Manisa Museum, inv. no. 80. Found in Sardis. Upper part of the stele missing. Marble. H: 71, W: 49, D: 11cm.
Literature: Malay 1994, No. 247 Fig. 89.



Relief field: In a recess above the inscription are a seated female figure seated on an ornate seat, leaning slightly on one arm behind her, extending the other towards a smaller-scale female figure standing in front of her holding an object (a box).

Inscription:

Ἄμμιον Ἑρμίππου / γυνὴ δὲ Εὐξένου· / χαῖρε.

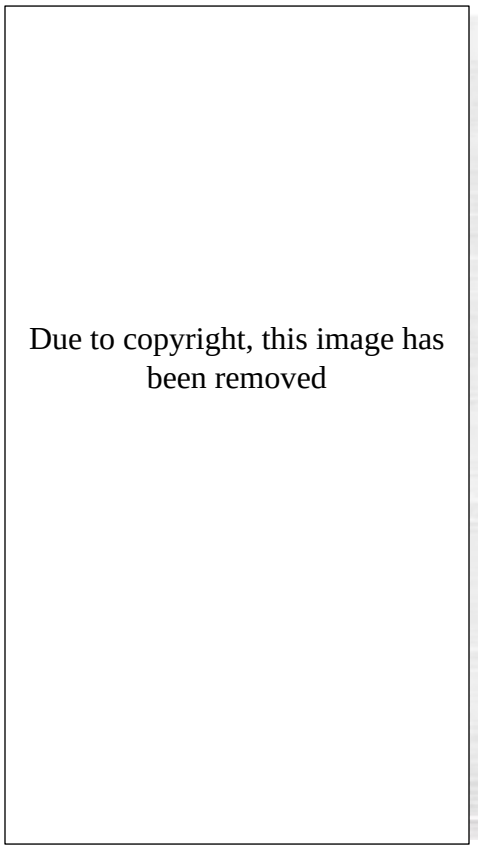
Ammion, daughter of Hermippos, wife of Euxenos. Farewell.

Date based upon script and relief (Malay).

248. Stele with arch, of Nympheros. 2nd century AD.

Manisa Museum, inv. no. 3938. Found in Sardis. Heavy damage to the surface of the relief and background. White marble. H: 95, W: 52, D: 10.5cm.

Literature: BASOR 1970, 40 Fig. 6; Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, No. 143 Fig. 282; Malay 1994, No. 304.



Relief field: A nude male figure stand frontal, holding a weight (?) and javelin. At the right stands a smaller-scale nude male, holding an object in his bent arm. Additional objects in the background include a hoe at the left of the central male and a pair of cylinders suspended in the upper right corner.

Inscription: Below the relief.

Νυμφερως

Nympheros.

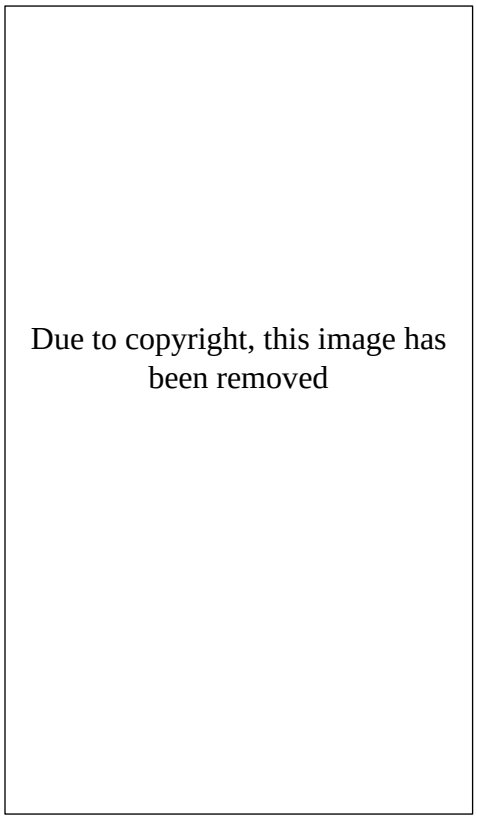
Type and pose like gladiatorial reliefs, and Nympheros a common name for gladiators (Robert 1940, nos. 191a, 300, 301, 302).

Date based upon relief (Hanfmann and Ramage).

249. Stele for Lucius. Roman Imperial period.

Manisa Museum. Found in the area of Yeşilkavak (Sardis). Significant damage to the surface of the stele and the figure. Marble. Measurements unrecorded.

Literature: Malay 1999, No. 134 (Fig.); SEG 49.1681.



Relief field: The arch field shows the remains of a gladiator figure, holding a short sword or dagger in his right hand and a shield in his left.

Inscription:

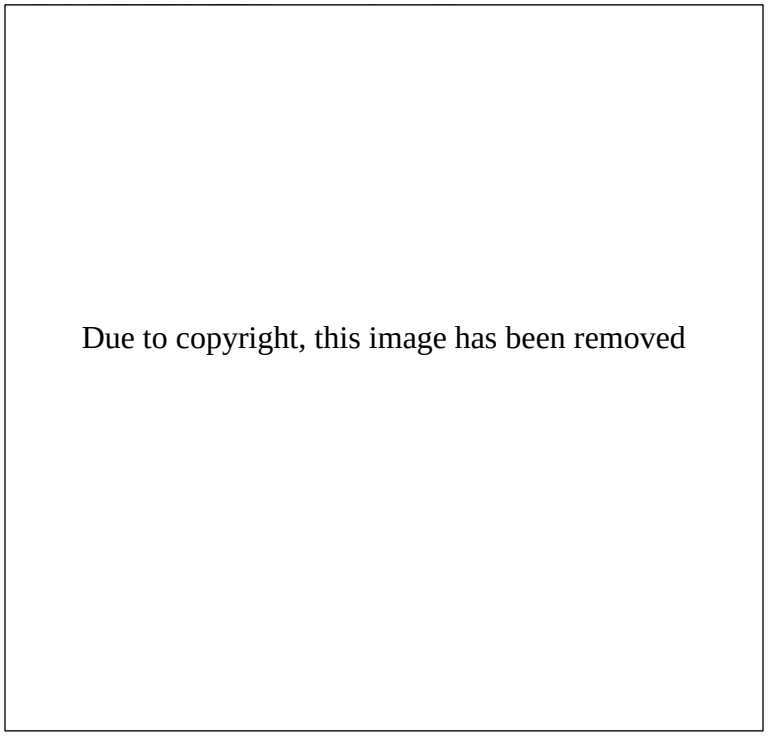
> Γάϊος καὶ Μηνογενὶς Λούκι[ον] τ̣ὸ̣[ν] / ἴδιον υἱὸν βιώσαντα ἔτη κ[.΄] · / [Λ]ούκ̣ιος ὁ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἐνθάδε κεῖμα[ι] / [- - - - - - - - - - τὴν] στήλλην ἀφανίσ / [- - - - - - - - - - - -]ΕΙΝΥΩΝΚΟΛ / [- - - - - - - - - - - - -]Ο.
>
> *Gaius and Menogenes for Lucius his own son having lived 20 years. Lucius handsome and good, laid to rest here [. . .].*

Date based upon relief and script (Malay).

SAITTAI (IÇIKLER/SIDASKALE)

250. Pediment stele with *akroteria*, for Alexandros. AD 94/95.

Unknown. Found in Karaca Ibrahim (area of Saittai, 2 km north of Karyağdi). Lower part of stele broken off. White marble. H: 37, W: 47, D: 8cm.
Literature: Naour 1985, No. 9 Pl. 6; SEG 35.1246.



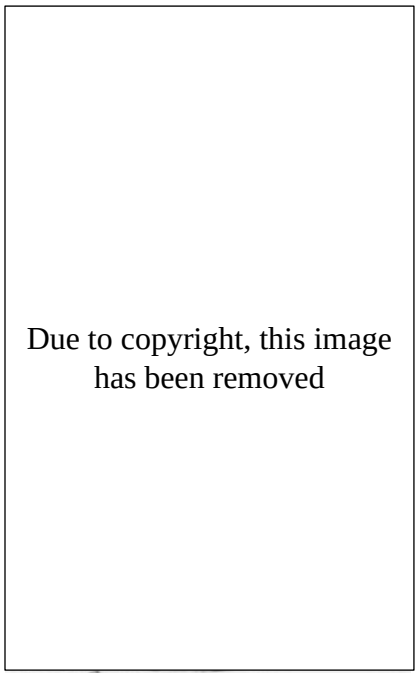
Relief field: Surviving upper portion of a standing male figure.

Inscription field:

> ἔτους - ρ̄ο̄θ̄ - μη(νὸς) -Ξανδ[ικοῦ number] / Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ πα[τὴρ . . .] / ἡ μήτηρ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Ἀλκαῖ[ος . . .] / καὶ Τατια ἡ μάμμη καὶ οἱ συνγενεῖς π[άντες] / [ἐτείμη]/[σαν? vac] / ἐ̣ὶ δέ τις [πο]σαμάρ- / [τη - - - -].
>
> *In the year 179, on the . . . day of the month Sandikos (?), the father . . . (and) mother and Alexandros and Alkaios . . . and grandmother Tatia and all relations (?) honored Alexandros, son of Apollonios. If anyone commits an offence against this […].*

Date given in the Sullen era.

251. Pediment stele for Ktetos. AD 107-108.
Unknown. Found in Cay Köy (area of Saittai). White marble. H: 87, W: 46.4, D: 8cm.
Literature: Naour 1981, No. 16 Pl. 4; SEG 31.1005.



Relief field: At centre stands a horse-and-rider pair, the latter holding a staff in one hand. Flanking are two smaller-scale figures.

Inscription:

ἔτους ρqβ΄ μη(νὸς) / Γορπιαίου Ἀντέ/ρως καὶ Ἄνθουσα / Κτῆτον τὸν υἱὸν / ἐτείμησαν

In the year 192, in the month Gorpiainos, Anteros and Anthousa honored their son, Ktetos.

Date given in the Sullen era.

252. Stele for Alexander. 2nd century AD (AD 108-109?).
Unknown. Found in Saittai (Içikler). Upper section of stele, including part of relief, broken off. White marble. H: 55.5, W: 40, D: 4.5cm.
Literature: Bakir-Barthel and Müller 1979, No. 36; SEG 29.1179; TAM V.1.93.

Relief field: Only the lower legs and feet of three standing figures survive on the fragment.

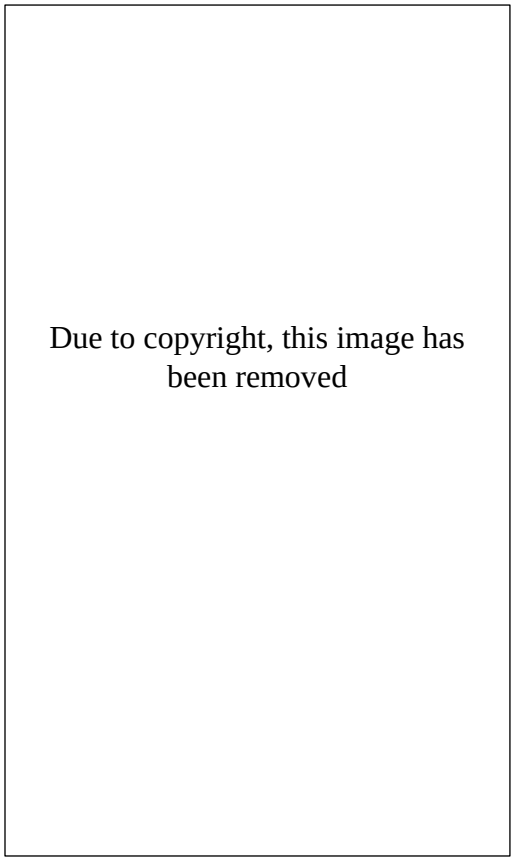
Inscription:

Ἔτους ρqγ΄, μη(νὸς) Δείου δ΄ ἀ(πιούσῃ), Νια Με[νεδή]/μου Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν καὶ Τρό[φιμον] / τὸν υἱὸν ἐτείμησεν καὶ Εὐάρεστος καὶ Π[ολύ]/βιος [οἱ] Ε[ὐτ]ύχου οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ Ἀπολλών[ιος (?) ἐ]/τείμησαν ὁ μήτρως· εἰ δέ τις προ[σαμάρ]/τῃ τῇ στήλλῃ, τὸν Ἀξιοττην[ὸν ἐν] / τῷ ἐκεῖ δωδεκάθην καθήμ[ενον ?] / [ἀ]νεξείλαστον τέκνα τέκν[ων] / ἔξει.

In the year 193, on the fourth day of the month Deios (?), Nia, daughter of Menedemos, honored her son Alexander, also called Trophimos, together with Euarestos and Polybios, brothers of Eutuchos (?), and Apollonios, (Alexander's) maternal uncle. If anyone commits an offence against this stele, may he reckon with (the god Men) Axiottenos seated as implacable judge in the temple of the twelve gods there over children's children.

Date given in the Sullen era.

253. Pediment stele for L. Octavius Glyptos. AD 108/109.
Manisa Museum, inv. no. 1040. Found in Saittai (Içikler). Marble. H: 85, W: 47, D: 5cm.
Literature: TAM V.1.101 (Fig.); Malay 1994, No. 257.



Relief field: Three figures stand frontal, a man, a male child in a short *chiton*, and a woman.

Inscription:

ἔτους ρϙγ΄, μ(ηνὸς) Δύστρου θ΄. Γλαύκη Λ. Ὀ/κτάουιον Γλύπτον τὸν σύμβιον / καὶ Ἀμμία ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ ἐτείμη/σαν. εἰ δέ τις προσαμάρτῃ τῇ στήλ/λῃ, μήτε αὐτῷ θάλασσα πλωτὴ μή/τε γῆ βατὴ μήτε τέκνων σπορὰ / μήτε θεῶν καταχθονίων εἵλεος / τύχυτο.

In the year 193, on the ninth day of the month Dustros. Glauke honored L. Octavius Glyptos her husband, together with Ammia his sister. If any commits an offence against this stele, may neither the sea be navigable for him nor the land passable, nor the begetting of children nor the gods of the underworld be merciful.

Date given in Sullan era.

254. Stele for Glykon and Tryphaina. AD 119/120.
Bergama Museum. Associated with Saittai. Marble. H: 53, W: 40, D: 7cm.
Literature: Malay 1982, No. 4; SEG 32.1225.

Relief field: Three standing (frontal?) figures.

Inscription:

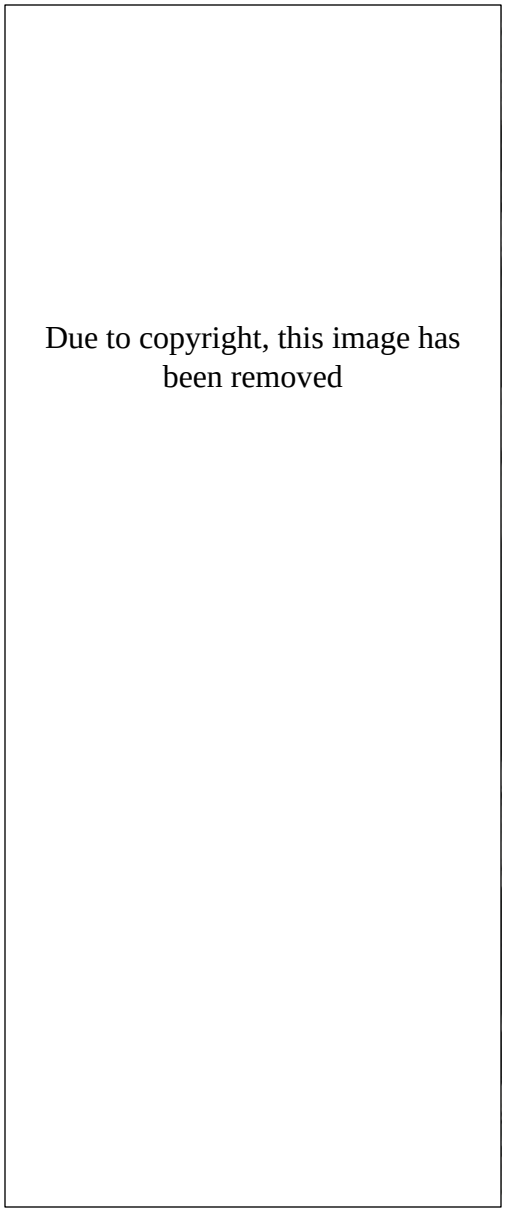
Ἔτους -σδ ᾽- μη(νὸς) Ἀπελλαίου η ᾽· / Ἀμμία Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐτείμη/σεν Γλύκωνα Ποπλίου τὸν / υἱὸν καὶ Τρύφαινα τὴν θρεπτ/ὴν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ ἀδελ/[φός - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

In the year 204, on the eighth day of the month Apellaios (?). Ammia, daughter of Alexandros, honored Glykon, son of Poplios, and Tryphaina, threptos, and/together with Alexandros, brother . . .

Date given in the Sullen era.

255. Pediment stele for Theogenes and Hephaistion. AD 148/149.

Manisa Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5413. Found in the area of Saittai. Marble. H: 117, W: 48, D: 8cm.
Literature: Malay and Petzl 1985, No. 2; SEG 35.1233; Malay 1994, No. 270.



Relief field: Two frontal male figures in typical poses.

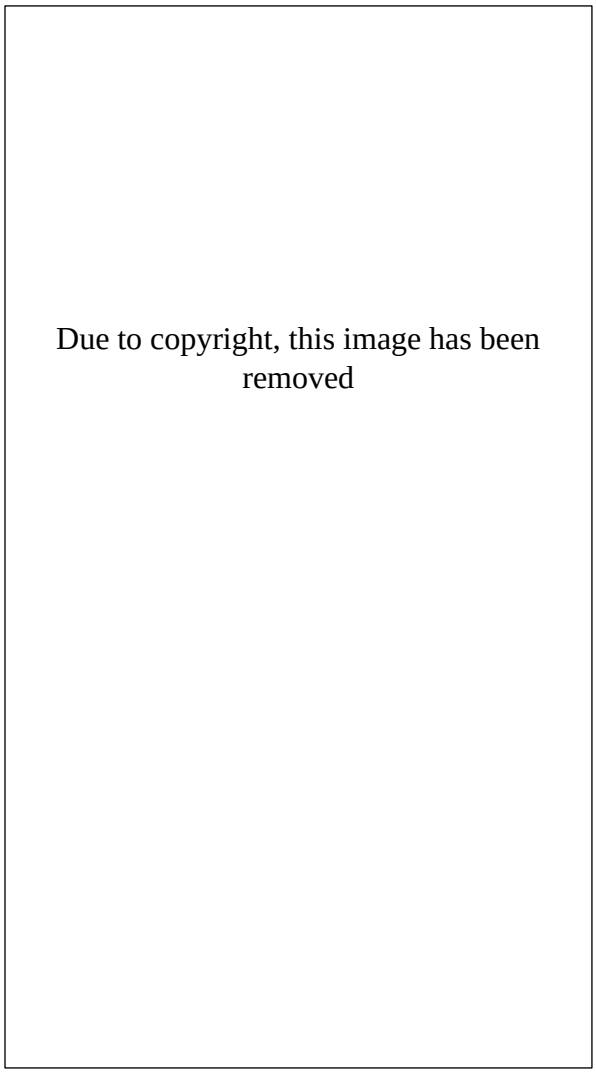
Inscription:

Ἔτους σλγ᾽, μη(νὸς) Δύστρου ε΄ / Θειογένην κατὰ τύμβος ἔχει γηραιόν, ὁδῖτα, / ἱερέα Λαρμηνῆς, εὐσεβίης κανόνα, / ῥώμῃ δ᾽ ἡμιθέοις ἐναλίνκιον ἡρώεσσιν, / τὸν πάσης ἀρετῆς κῦδος ἐνινκάμενον / Υἱὸν ἔχει κατὰ γαῖα χυτὴ κλυτὸν Εὐβούλοιο / βαιὸν ὑπουράνιον Μοιρῶν πάρα νῆμα λαχόντα / Ἡφαιστίωνα, φυὴν ἀγαθὸν καὶ εἶδος ἄριστον, / τὸν πᾶς ἔξοχα τείμα ὅμως νέος ἠδὲ παλαιός, / νοῦς ὅτι οἶ πολιὸς τό τε μείλιχον ἦν ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ / ἠιθέῳ περ ἐόντι· καταστάξασα δὲ λήθην / παιδός ἀφ᾽ ἡλικίην ὑακίνθινον ὥλεσε Κλωθώ, / πρὶν γένυν ἀνθῆσαι μαλακὴν τρίχα· πᾶς δ᾽ ἄρα δῆμος / πένθος κοινώσαντο, ἐπεὶ θάνε σεμνὸς ἔφηβος· / ἀλλὰ γὰρ εὐσεβέων Κυλλήνιος οὐ τέκνα φωτῶν / ῥάβδῳ ἄγων Ἀχέροντι καταστυγίῳ πορθμεύει, / ἀλλ᾽ ὅ γ᾽ ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδίον τρέπει, ἔνθα τε Πλουτεὺς / ὥρισεν ἡρώεσσιν ἐφέστιον ἀκροδίκοισιν.

In the year 233, on the fifth day of the month Dystros, this grave embraced aged Theogenes, passerby, priest of (Thea) Larmene, a model of piety, who equaled by force (?) the semi-divine heroes and who bore the glory of all ability. The heaped-up earth (also) embraces the famous son of Eubolus, who received from the Fates only a short existence in heaven (?), Hephaistion, good in his nature, distinguished in his appearance, honored by everyone, young and old alike, because though still young, he had the wit of an old man and a pleasant manner of speaking. And letting fall down from the child forgetfulness (of) age Klotho made an end of the hyacinthine (one), before the soft cheek blossomed with hair. All the people (demos) shared their suffering when the virtuous youth/Ephebe (?) died. (Hermes) Kyllenios conveys the children of pious men, leading them with his staff, not to hated Acheron but turning them towards the Elysian field, and there Pluteos has appointed (the deceased) to ἀκροδίκοισιν *heroes at home.*

Date given in the Sullen era.

256. Pediment stele for Gemella. AD 169/170.
Manisa Museum, inv. no. 1041. Found in Saittai (Içikler). Marble. H: 91.5, W: 44, D: 6cm.
Literature: TAM V.1.110 (Figure); Malay 1994, No. 284.



Relief field: A frontal standing woman.

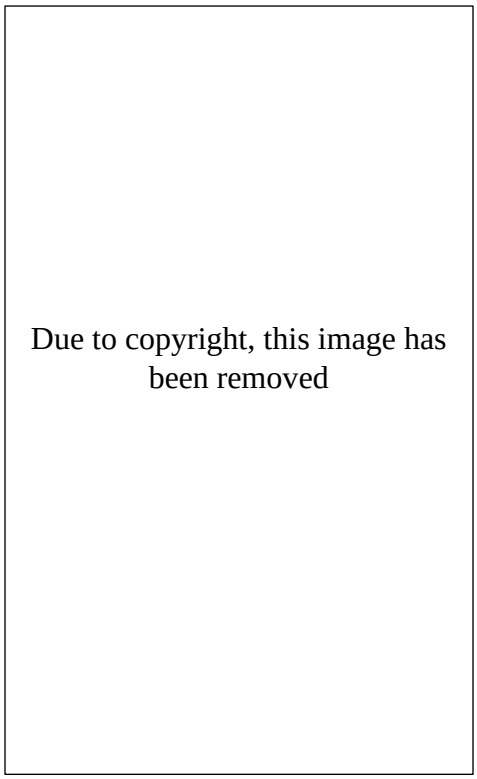
Inscription: Above and below the relief field.

> ἔτους σνδ΄, μη(νὸς) Ὑπερβερταίου γ΄. / Γαις Ῥοβελλεῖνος Ἀγαθό/πους Γεμέλλαν τὴν / ἑαυτοῦ σύνβιον ἐτ/είμησεν.
>
> *In the year 254, on the third day of the month Huperbertaios. Gais Robelleinos Agathopos honored Gemella his own wife.*

Date given in the Sullan era.

257. Stele with tenon for Earinos. AD 179/180.

Unknown. Found in Bortlüce (originally from Melengeçli Menkii, site of an "ancient village," 1 km east of Bortlüce, in the territory of Saittai). Diagonal break through relief field. White marble. H: 94, W: 38-48, D: 7cm. Literature: Naour 1984, No. 2 (Figure); SEG 34.1222.



Relief field: Remnants of a relief showing the lower three legs of a horse.

Inscription:

> κεῖμαι Ἐάρινος Ἀθηναί/ου ὁ πᾶσι θεοῖς μεμελη/μένος, ζήσας ἔτη μ΄ καὶ / πᾶσι φίλοις λύπην ἀφῶν / ἄσπειστον· ἐτείμησεν / Ἐλπὶς ἡ ἰδία σύμβιος με/τὰ Ἐαρείνου τοῦ ὑοῦ καὶ / Ἀλεξάνδρου προγόνου· / ὁμοίως καὶ Ἐαρίνη καὶ / Ῥού/φιλλα αἱ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ οἱ / θρέ/ψαντες ἐτείμησαν· / οὐκ ἤμην κ⟨αὶ⟩ ἐγενόμην, / οὐκ εἰμὶ κ⟨αὶ⟩ οὐ μέλει / μοι· / ἔτους σξδ΄, μη(νὸς) Δαι/σίου.
>
> *Here lies Earinos son of Athenaios beloved by all the gods, aged 40 years and feeling implacable pain for all friends. Elpis his own wife honored him with Eareinos his son and Alexandros* πρόγονος. *His peers and Earine and Rouphilla sisters and foster parents honored (him). I was not and I was, I am not and I do not care. In the year 264, in the month Daision.*

Date given in the Sullen era.

258. Pediment stele with *akroteria*, Apollonides. AD 191/192.
Unknown. Found in Enkecler (area of Saittai). White marble. H: 84, W: 38.5-43.5, D: 8cm.
Literature: Naour 1981, No. 4; SEG 31.1013.

Relief field: A male figure (standing?).

Inscription:

> ἔτους σος΄. μη(νὸς) Δαισίου βκ΄. Μόσ/χιον ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ / αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Ἀρτέμων / καὶ Χρύσανθος ἐτείμησαν Ἀ/πολωνίδην μνίας χάριν vacat / εἴ τις δὲ τῇ στήλλῃ ποσ<α>μάρ/τῃ, περιπέσοιτο ἀώρου συνφο/ρᾷ
>
> *In the year 276, on the twenty-second day of the month Daision (?). Moschion, his wife and his mother, and his brothers Artemos and Chrysanthos honored Apollonides, in memory. If any commits an offence against this stele, may he encounter an untimely death.*

Date given in the Sullen era.

259. Stele for Papiane. AD 194/195.
Manisa Museum, inv. no. unrecorded. Found in Encekler (Saittai). Only the lower part of the stele survives. Marble. H: 55, W: 42, D: 5cm.
Literature: Malay 1994, No. 292 Fig. 101.

Due to copyright, this image has been removed

Relief field: Lower body of a standing female figure, frontal.

Inscription:

ἔτους ·σ·ο·θ·΄, μη(νὸς) · Αὐδναίου ·ε·΄· / Ἄμμιν ἡ θρέψασα, Βάσσος / ὁ σύμβιος σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις / πᾶσιν, Τατιανὸς καὶ Ἰουλια/νὸς ὐ σύντροφυ, Βάσσα ἡ νύμ/φη Παπιανὴν ἐτείμησαν.

In the year 279, on the fifth day of the month Audnaios. Ammion, foster-parent (?), Bassos, her husband, together with all their children, Tatianos and Ioulianos, σύντροφοι, *and Bassa,* νύμφη, *honored Papiane.*

Papiane may be a foster-child, perhaps with Tatianos and Ioulianos. For other inscriptions naming σύντροφοι, see **259**, **271**, **273**, **277**. Bassa, a νύμφη, may be the wife of one of Tatianos or Ioulianos, and/or sister-in-law of Papiane (see Petzl 1990, 60; Thonemann 2013, 132-133).

Date given in the Sullan era.

260. Pediment stele with *akroteria*, Polychronios. 2nd/3rd century AD.
Unknown. Found in Cay Köy (area of Saittai). White marble. H: 92, W: 43, D: 8cm.
Literature: Naour 1981, No. 15; SEG 31.1017.

Relief field: A male figure stands holding a patera.

Inscription:

> Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος Φουριανὸς ἐτί|μησεν Πολυχρόνιον Κρίτωνος τὸν | / φίλον μνήμης χάριν.
>
> *Aurelius Alexandros Furianus honored his friend Polychronios, son of Kritonos, in memory.*

Date based upon relief, script, and Aurelius name (Naour).

261. Pediment stele with *akroteria*, for Glykon. AD 202/203.
Unknown. Allegedly found in Saittai. Marble. Measurements unrecorded.
Literature: Sotherby's Catalogue 1992; SEG 39.1280.

Relief field: Below pediment with carved foliage on the *akroteria* and a disk in the centre of the tympanon, and heart-shaped ornaments in its lower corners, there appears a relief representing a bearded man standing in a *himation* and holding his right hand across his chest.

Inscription:

> Ἔτους σπζ΄, μη(νὸς) Ἀπελ|λαίου γ΄ · Ποπλιανὴ Γλύ|κωνα τὸν σύνβιον, ὁμοίως |Πόπλιος, Λούκις, Γλύκων, ‖ Μηνόφιλος τὸν ἑαυτῶν | πατέρα ἐτείμησαν
>
> *In the year 287, on the third day of the month Apellaios (?). Popliane honored her husband Glykon, together with (?) Poplios, Loukios, Glykos and Menophilos for their own father.*

It is noteworthy that another surviving (non-figured) stele from Saittai, dating three years prior to this one, names the same family in its epitaph (TAM V.1.168A; Petzl 1978, No. 8; SEG 28.921). The earlier stele commemorates a *threptos* and *σύντροφος* Demophilos.

Date given in the Sullen era.

262. Stele for Ioulianos. AD 214/215.

Unknown. Found in Enkecler (area of Saittai). Broken above relief field. White marble. H: 58, W: 41.6, D: 5.8cm.
Literature: Naour 1981, No. 9; SEG 31.1015.

Relief field: A male figure stands (frontal?), holding a staff in his right hand, and in his left a basket with two objects (one of which may be a hoe or a flail for threshing grain).

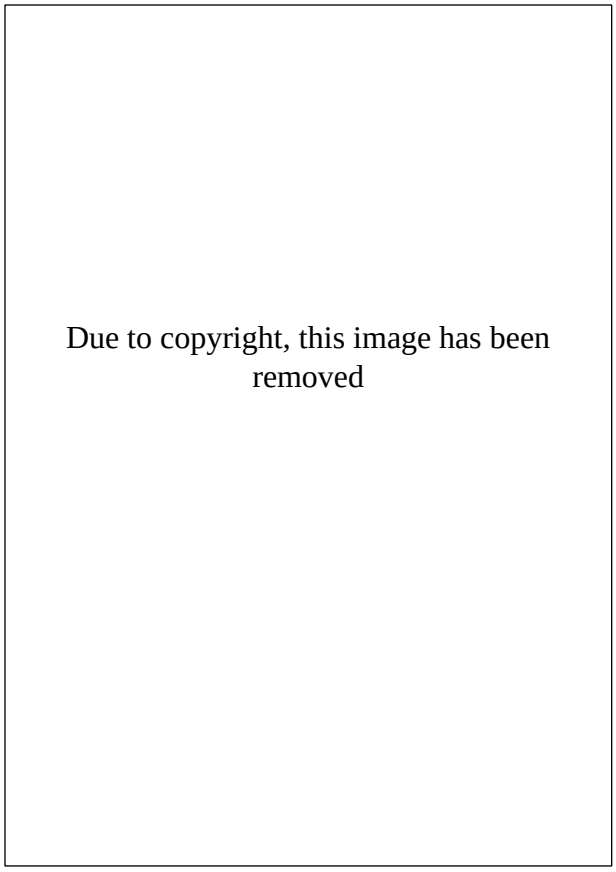
Inscription:

> ἔτους· σϛθ΄, μη(νὸς) Γορπειαίου / Τατιανὸς καὶ Ἀφφιας / οἱ γονῖς ἐτίμησαν· Ἰουλι/ανὸν τὸν ἴδιον υἱόν
>
> *In the year 299, in the month Gorpeiaios. Tatianos and Aphphias, parents, honored their own son Ioulianos.*

Date given in the Sullen era.

263. Stele for Artemidoros. AD 234/235 or 288/289.

Collection of Orhan Asena (Ankara). Found in the area of Saittai. Broken off above and below. Marble. H: 36, W: 21-29, D: 19cm.
Literature: Tek 1995, 93/94 Pl. 13; SEG 45.1640.



Relief field: A standing male, wearing a *chiton*, holding tongs in his left hand over an anvil, a hammer in his left.

Inscription:

Ἔτους τθι΄, μη(νὸς) Ὑπερβερ/τέου η΄, Σωσίας ὁ πατὴρ / κὲ Παῦλα ἡ μήτηρ Ἀρτε/μίδωρον τὸν αὐτῶν ν / ὑὸν ἐτίμησαν μνίας / χάριν· εἴ τις δέ τις (sic) προ/σαμαρτήσετε, ἔξι τοὺ/ς θεοὺς / κεχολῳμένο̣υ̣[ς] - - -.

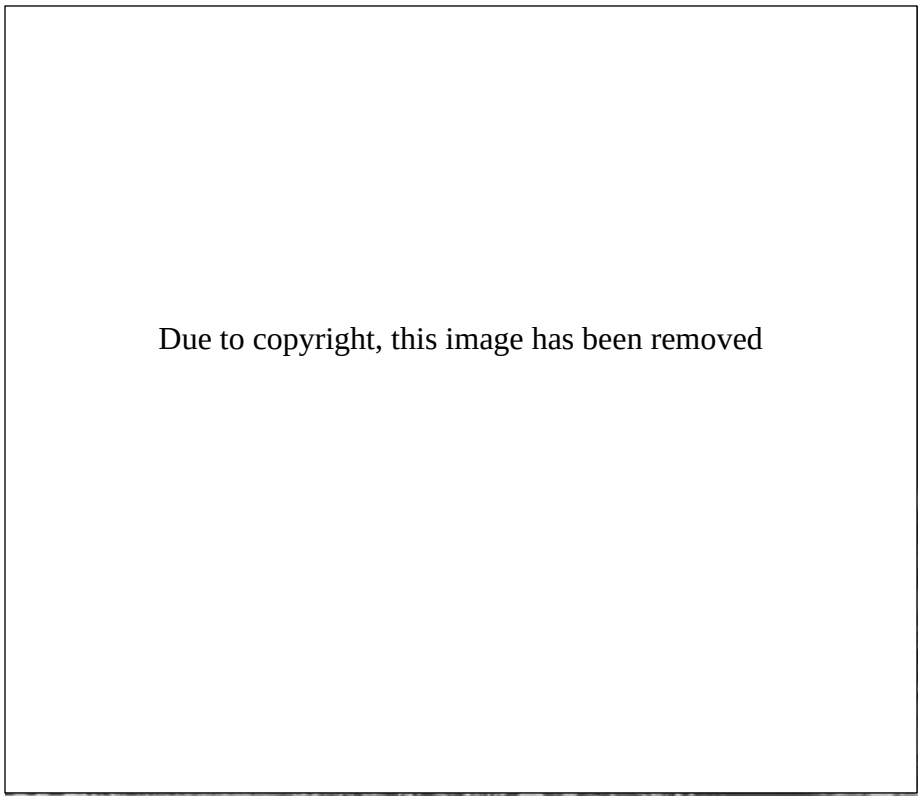
In the year 318, on the eighth day of the Hyperbertaios, Sosias, father, and Paula, mother, honored their own son, Artemidoros, in memory. If any person does wrong (to this stele), the gods should be angry (with him) . . .

Date given in the Sullen era.

264. Stele for Asklepiades. AD 242/243.

Unknown. Found in Gökveliler (southwest of Saittai). Upper part of stele, including most of the relief, broken off. Marble. H: 35, W: 36, D: 3.5cm.

Literature: Herrmann and Malay 2007, No. 49 Fig. 49; SEG 57.1213.



Relief field: The surviving lower section of the field shows the feet of a man and an animal, perhaps a dog.

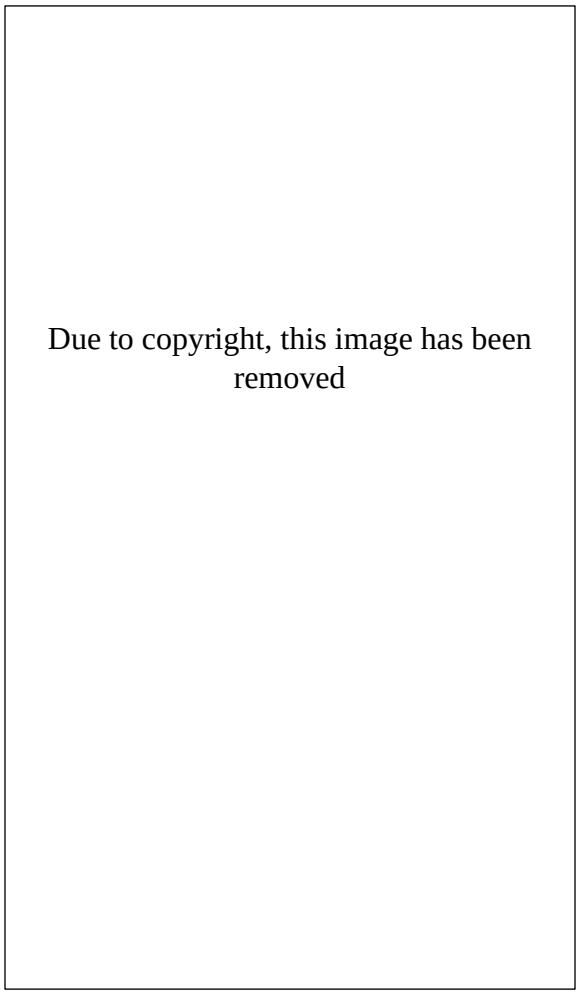
Inscription:

> Ἔτ(ους) τκζ΄, μη(νὸς) Περιτίου ζ΄· / ἐτείμησε Φωσφό/ρος τὸν πατέρα Ἀσ/κληπιάδην σαλτάρι/ον Σε⟨πτ⟩ιμίου Ἰόλλα.
>
> *In the year 327, on the seventh day of the month Peritios, Phosphoros honored his father Asklepiades, steward of Septimius Iollas.*

It may be assumed that by the mid-third century, Septimus Iollas owned one of the large private estates around Saittai, and may be the same person who appears on a coin produced by the city from the time of Philippus (TAM V.1; Herrmann-Malay 2007, 72).

Date given in the Sullen era.

265. Pediment stele for Stratonikos. AD 242/243.
Manisa Museum, inv. no. 419. Found in Sidaskale (Saittai). Marble. H: 64, W: 30, D: 7cm.
Literature: TAM V.1.128 (Figure); Malay 1994, No. 361.



Relief field: Within the niche is a standing frontal male youth in a short, ungirded *chiton*.

Inscription:

> ἔτ(ους) τκζ΄, μη(νὸς) Ἀπελλαί/ου η΄ δ(—). Πολύκαρπος / κ(αὶ) Κράτια ἐτείμη/σαν τὸν γλυκύ<τ>α/τον υἱὸν Στρατό/νικον ζή(σαντα) ἔτ(η) ιδ΄.
>
> *In the year 327, on the eighth day of the month Apellaios. Polukarpos and Kratia honored their sweetest son Stratonikos, aged 14 years.*

Date given in the Sullan era.

266. Stele with tenon for Metrodoros and Glykon. AD 247/248.
Private collection (E.U. Walter, Leutwitz). From area of Saittai. White marble. H: 62, W: 38, D: 7cm.
Literature: Petzl 1998, No. 13 Fig. 18; SEG 48.1469.



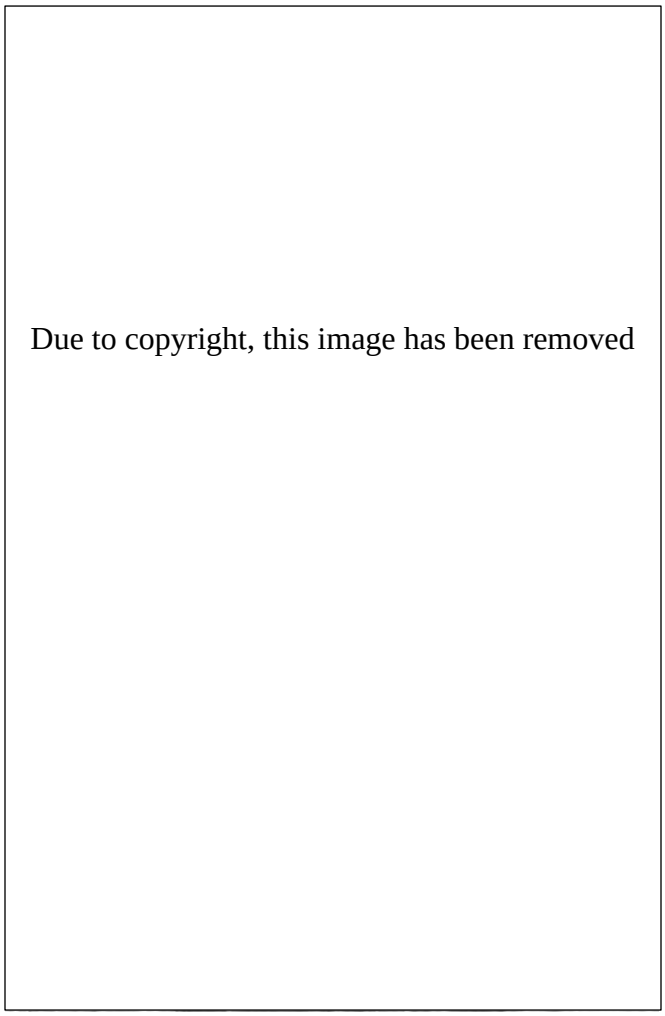
Relief field: Three standing figures, at the left a man clad in a *himation* holding a book-roll, in the middle a man in a *chiton* holding a hammer in his right and a pair of tongs in his left hand, and at the right a woman in a typical pose.

Inscription:

> Ἔτους τλβ΄, μη(νὸς) Ὑπερβερταίου θ΄ · / Ζηνωνεὶς τὸν σύνβιον / Μητρόδωρον καὶ Γλύκω/να τὸν ὑόν, Μητρόδωρος / τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελ/φὸν μνείας χάριν ἐτείμη/σαν vacat
>
> *In the year 332, on the ninth day of the month Hyperber(e)taios, Zenonis honored her husband, Metrodoros, and her son, Glykon, (with) Metrodoros for his father and brother, in memory.*

Date given in the Sullen era.

267. Pediment stele with arch and *akroteria*, for the *bacchant* Apphianos. AD 249/250.
Manisa Museum, inv. no. 412. Found in Sidaskale (Saittai). Marble. Broken in two fragments. H: 70, W: 45, D: 6cm.
Literature: TAM V.1.129; Malay 1994, No. 364 Fig. 127.



Relief field: Below the arch stands a frontal male figure in a *chiton* and cap, both hands raised, holding a staff in his right and perhaps a snake in his left. Six bells are fastened to his body.

Inscription:

> ἔτους τλδ΄, μη(νὸς) Λώου θ΄ / ἀπιούσῃ. Παπιανὴ ἡ μή/τηρ κὲ Μελίτων ὁ ἀ/δελφὸς Ἀπφιανὸν ἐ/τείμησαν μνείας χάριν.
>
> *In the year 334, departing on the ninth day of the month Los. Papiane, his mother, and Meliton, his brother, honored Apphianos, in memory.*

Date given in the Sullan era.

268. Stele for Philoumenos. AD 250/251.
Unknown. Found in Enkecler (area of Saittai). White marble. H: 58, W: 42, D: 6cm.
Literature: Petzl 1978, No. 5; TAM V.1.168; SEG 28.923.

Relief field: A male figure (standing frontal?), who holds a staff in his right hand and a bag.

Inscription:

> Ἔτους .τ.λ.ε., μη(νὸς)· Λώου .δ. Φιλου/μενόν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐτεί/μησαν οἱ γονεῖς κὲ οἱ ἀδελ/φοὶ μνείας χάριν, ζήσαντα / ἔτη .κ.ε.
>
> *In the year 335, on the fourth day of the month Los. Parents and brothers honored Philoumenos, son of Alexandros, in memory, aged 25.*

Date given in the Sullen era.

269. Stele for Stratonikos. AD 252/253.
Manisa Museum, inv. no. unrecorded. Found in Pabuçlu (area of Saittai). Only the lower section of stele, and relief field, survives. Marble. H: 41, W: 42, D: 6.5cm.
Literature: Malay 1999, No. 91; SEG 49.1674.

Relief field: The remains of the field show a standing male figure and a dog (?).

Inscription:

> Ἔτους τλζ΄, μη(νὸς) Πανήμου / η΄ ἀ(πιόντος) or ἀ(πιούσῃ) · Τατιανὸς Παρδαλᾶ / μετὰ τῆς συνβίου / Χαιλιδόνος ἐτίμησαν / τὸν ὑὸν Στρατόνικον / ν μνίας ν χάριν vacat
>
> *In the year 337, on the eighth day of the month Panemos. Tatianos, son of Pardalas, together with his wife, Chailidon, honored their son Stratonikos, in memory.*

Date given in the Sullen era.

270. Stele for Aurelia Iulia. AD 254/255.

Manisa Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 7056. Found in Enkecler (area of Saittai). White marble. H: 57, W: 36.5, D: 6.5cm.
Literature: Petzl 1978, No. 9; TAM V.1.168; SEG 28.924; Malay 1994, No. 374.

Relief inscription: A standing female figure.

Inscription:

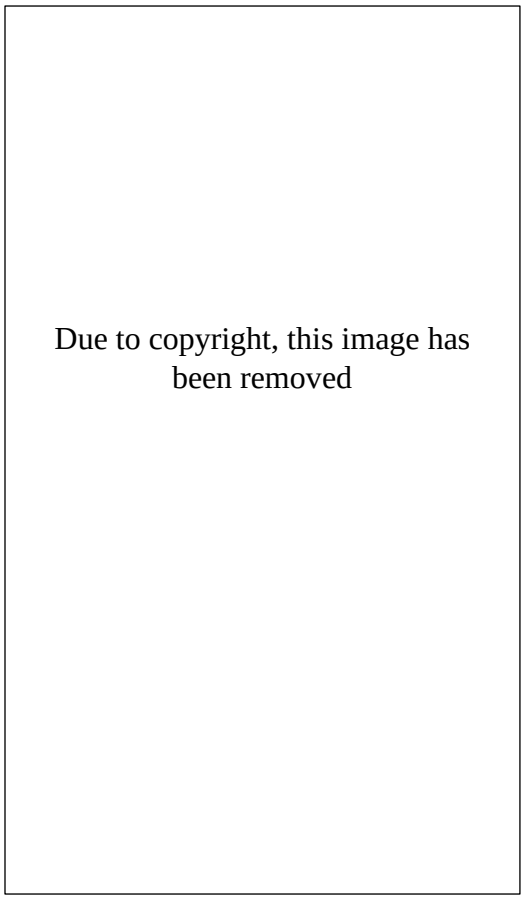
Ἔτους τλθ΄, μη(νὸς) Πανή/μου · Αὐρ. Τρόφιμος / Σεττηνὸς τὴν ἑ/αυτοῦ σύνβιον Αὐρη/λίαν Ἰουλίαν καὶ Αὐρ. / Εὐτυχείων ὁ θρεπτὸ/ς μνείας χάριν ἐτίμησαν

In the year 339, in the month Panemos. Aurelius Trophimos Settenos, with threptos Aurelius Eytycheios, honored his own wife, Aurelia Iulia, in memory.

Date given in the Sullen era.

271. Pediment stele for Asklepiades. Roman Imperial period.

Manisa Museum, inv. no. 1042. Found in Saittai (Içikler). Marble. H: 62, W: 35, D: 6.5cm.
Literature: TAM V.1.131 (Fig.); Malay 1994, No. 396.



Relief field: A male youth, standing frontal in a short *chiton*, holding a sickle and a bunch of grapes.

Inscription:

Ἀσσκληπιά/δης καὶ Ἐλ/πὶς ἐτίμη/σαν καὶ Σω/τηρὶς ἡ σύντρο/φος τὸν ἑαυ/τῶν υἱὸν Ἀσκηπιά/δην μνίας χάριν, / ζή(σαντα) ἔτ(η) θ΄.

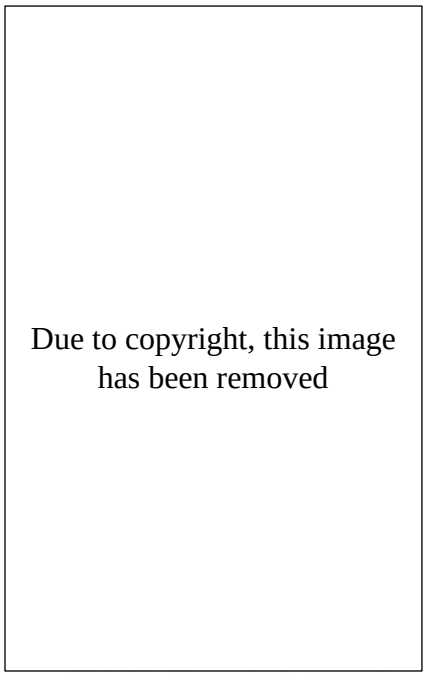
Asklepiades and Elpis together with Sotrepis, σύντροφος, *honored their own son Asklepiades, in memory, aged 9 years.*

For other inscriptions with σύντροφοι, see Saittai **259** and Iaza **273** and **277**.

Date based on relief and script (TAM).

IAZA (AYAZVIRAN)

272. Pediment stele for Menias. Roman Imperial period.
Unknown. Found in Ayazviran (Iaza). Marble. No measurements recorded.
Literature: Malay and Ricl 2006, No. 31 (Fig.); SEG 56.1294.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Inside the pediment field, a lion is shown looking right.
Lower relief: Within a recessed field, two frontal standing female figures are depicted. Two small-scale female servants are shown at the edges, the one at the left holding a casket.

Inscription:

> Ξένων Μηνιάδα Ἑρμογένους / τὴν ἑατοῦ πενθερὰν καὶ Ἀρσινό[η] / Διοδότου ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν [μη]/τέρα ἐτείμησαν· χαῖρε.
>
> *Xenon (honored) Menias, daughter of Hermogenes, his mother-in-law, and his wife Arsinoe, daughter of Diodotos, (honored) her mother. Farewell!*

Date based upon relief and script (Malay and Ricl).

273. Stele for Tatia. AD 170/171.

Manisa Museum, inv. no. 5635. Found in Ayazviran (Iaza). Upper section of stele missing. Marble. H: 73, W: 34.5-43, D: 6cm.
Literature: Naour 1984, No. 15 (Figure); Malay 1994, No. 289.

Relief field: A standing frontal woman.

Inscription:

> ἔτους σνε΄, μη(νὸς) Ἀπελλαίου ς΄, / Τροφίμη Τατιαν τὴν ἑαυτῆς / θυγατέρα ἐτείμησεν· ν ὁμοί/ως ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς Γλύκων τὴν ἑ/αυτοῦ γυναῖκα· Χρυσόγονος / καὶ Φιλεῖνος τὴν σύντροφον / καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος {ς}.ἰδίαν καὶ / οἱ ἴδιοι πάντες ἐτείμησαν· / τελευτᾷ ἐτῶν ην΄.
>
> *In the year 255, on the sixth day of the month Apellaios, Trophime honored her own daughter Tatia. Similarly, Glykon her husband honored his own wife, Xrusogonos and Phileios their* σύντροφον *and Apollonios his own and all their own honored her, aged 58 accomplished years.*

Date based on the Sullan era.

274. Stele for Tyche. 2nd century AD.

Manisa Museum, inv. no. 7058. Found in Ayazviran (Iaza). Upper section of stele missing. Marble. H: 42, W: 38, D: 7cm.
Literature: Malay and Petzl 1985, No. 7 (Figure); Malay 1994, No. 324.

Due to copyright, this image has been removed

Relief field: Two frontal female figures standing in typical poses, the one at the left slightly smaller in scale to the other.

Inscription:

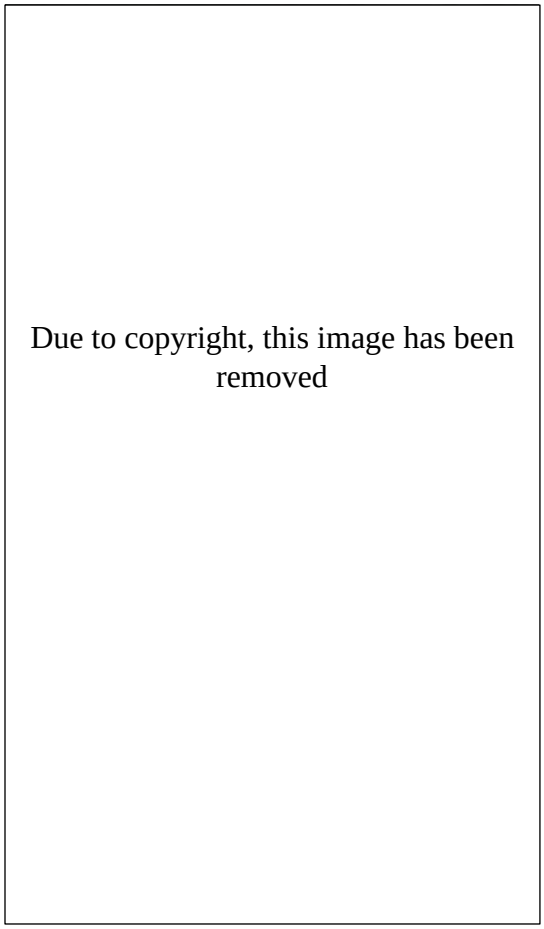
Ζηνᾶς καὶ Θάλλουσα ἐτεί/μησαν Τύχην τὴν ἑαυτῶν θυγα/τέρα.

Zenas and Thallousa honored Tyche their own daughter.

Date based upon relief and script (Malay and Petzl).

275. Stele for Aur. Neikias. AD 223/224.

Manisa Museum, inv. no. 1251. Found in Ayazviran (Iaza). Marble. H: 111, W: 52, D: 9cm.
Literature: TAM V.1.474 (Figure); Drew-Bear 1984, 61-63; Malay 1994, No. 341.



Relief field: A male rider in *chiton* and chlamys, holding a *flagrum* in his left hand.

Inscription:

ἔτους τη΄, μη(νὸς) Γορπιαίου ζ΄. / Ἀὐρ. Νεικίας ὁ δυστυχὴς ἔστ[η]/[σ]εν μνήμην τῷ ὑῷ μου σὺ[ν] / Κλ. Εὐτυχιανῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Αὐ[ρ]. / Νεικίᾳ στρατιώτῃ ἱππικαλης / συνβίωσις· στηρηθεὶς τῶν / συσστρατιωτῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ θ[α]/νὼν ὧδε ἐτέθην εἰς τὰ ἐμ[ά].

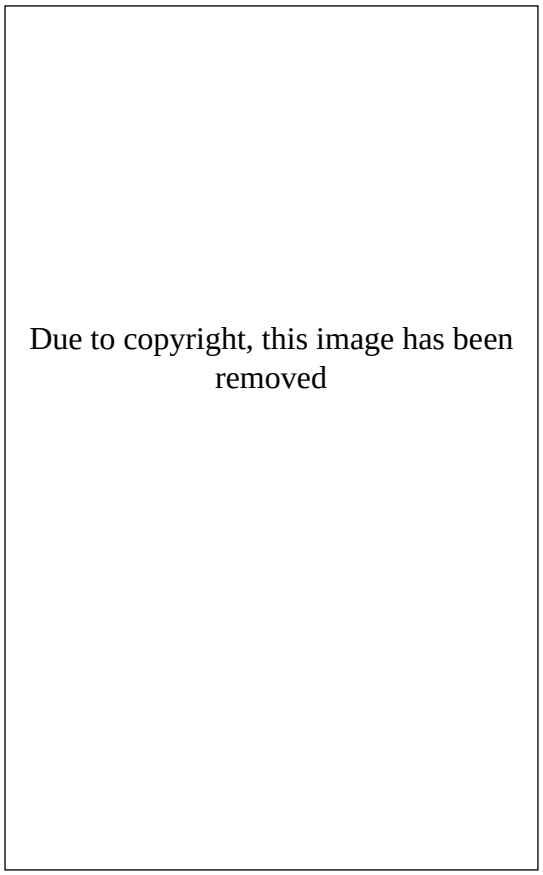
In the year 308, on the seventh day of the month Gorpiaios. Aurelius Neikias the unlucky was honored in memory by my son together with Kl. Eutuxiane his mother for Aur. Neikias, soldier of horses (the cavalry?), her husband. Having been deprived of fellow-soldiers (and) having died in Ephesos I was buried here in relation to my own property [family?].

Ephesos was an important port during the second and third centuries AD during campaigns against the Parthians (Keil 1955, 159-170). It may be that Neikias was among the auxiliary forces stationed here. While Ephesos was where Neikias died, it seems he was buried in his native (?) land.

Date given in the Sullan era.

276. Pediment stele for Trophimos. AD 232/233.

Manisa Museum, inv. no. 399. Found in Ayazviran (Iaza). Marble. H: 112, W: 53, D: 7cm.
Literature: Herrmann and Polatkan 1969, No. 4 Fig. 8; TAM V.1.475; Malay 1994, No. 350.



Relief field: A man holding a staff/kentron stands with two mules.

Inscription:

ἐνθάδ᾽ ἐγὼ κεῖμαι Τρόφιμος ὁ τραφεὶς / εἰς ἄστυ Γολοίδων | κἀμὲ κάλυψε γῆ / ὡς Μοῖρ᾽ ἐπέκλωσ᾽ ἐν Ιαζοις· | τὸν ἴδιον / κόσμησαν ἔθαψαν ἅπαντες, | τεί/μησαν δ᾽ ἀρ᾽ ἐμὲν στήλῃ καὶ γράμ/μασι σεμνοῖς | θρεπτὸν ἑὸν Χροίσα[ν]/θος, ἄνδρα Ἑρμιόνη τὸν ἑαυτῆς. | / τοῦτο γέρας θνητοῖς, μνήμη δὲ / ἐώνιός ἐστιν. | ἔτους τζι΄, / μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου.

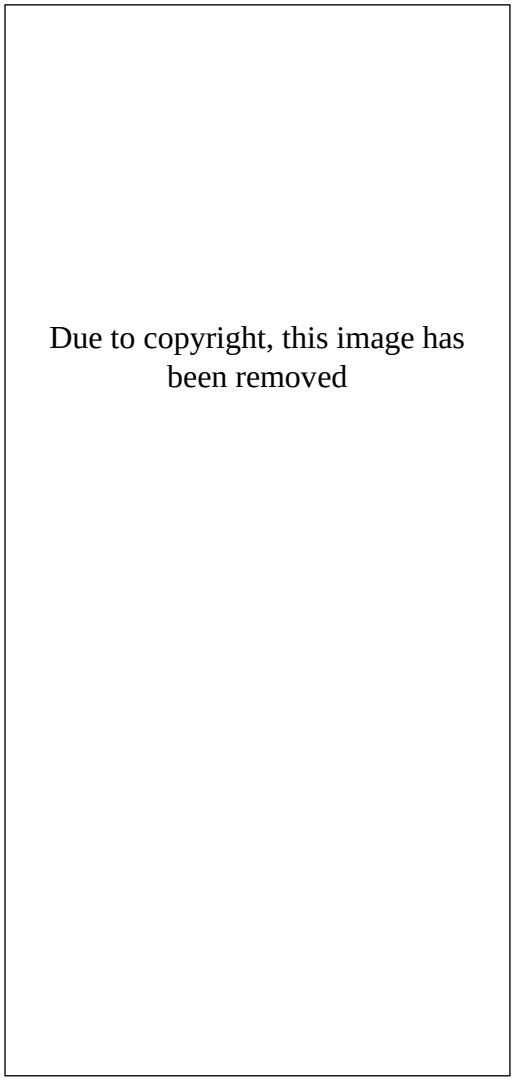
Here I lie, Trophimos, raised in the town of Goloida, earth covered me in Iaza as Fate spun. They all together honored with funeral rites their own (one) honored, then honored me with a stele and solemn inscription, Xroisanthos his threptos, Hermione her own husband. This gift of honour for mortals, and memory is eternal. In the year 317, in the month Artemisios.

Date given in the Sullan era.

277. Pediment stele with *akroteria* and tenon, for Eutychiane. AD 234/235.

Manisa Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5662. Found southwest of Ayazviran (Iaza). White marble. H: 86, W: 36.5-40.6, D: 6cm.

Literature: Naour 1981, No. 20 Pl. 4; SEG 31.991; Malay 1994, No. 353.



Relief field: Below a pediment containing leaves and a circular disk, three frontal standing figures are shown, two women at the left, and a man at the right. All three stand in the same manner.

Inscription:

ἔτους .τ.θ.ι΄. μη(νὸς) Ὑπερβερτέου / .δ.΄ ἀπι(όντος) Αμμιας Κ-Εὔτυχος / οἱ θρέψαντες Κ-Ἀσσκλη/πιδώρα ἡ σύντροφος Κ-Εὐ/πρεπὴς ὁ σύντροφος Κ-Πρό/κλος ὁ σύνβιος Κ-Ἐξοχὴ / Εὐτυχιανὴν ἐτίμησαν / ζήσασαν ἔτη.ι.η΄. μνίας / χάριν

In the year 319 on the fourth day of the month Hyperber(e)taios, Ammias and Eutychos, foster-parents, and Assklepidora, ἡ σύντροφος*, and Eupripes,* ἡ σύντροφος*, and Proklos, husband, and Exoche, honored Eutychiane, having lived 18 years, in memory.*

Eutychiane was given funerary honors by her foster-parents, her school companions (σύντροφοι), her husband, and Exoche who relationship with the family is not specified. The two σύντροφοι could be other foster-children of Ammias and Eutychos, or could be their own children.

Date given in the Sullen era.

278. Pediment stele with *akroteria*, for a woman. AD 234/235.
Unknown. Found in Ayazviran (Iaza). White marble. No measurements recorded.
Literature: Petzl 1978, No. 20; SEG 28.897.

Relief field: A frontal woman is depicted standing.

Inscription field:

> Ἔτους τϑῑ, μ(ηνὸς) Πανήμ/ου κ΄ · Γλύκων ΒΟΥΑ / τὴν γυναῖκα· Εὐπέλασ/στος καὶ Φλαβία οἱ θρ⟨έ⟩ψαν/τες ἐτείμησαν.
>
> *In the year 319, on the twentieth day of the month Panemos. Glykon for his wife . . . . Eupelasstos and Flavia, foster-parents, honored (her).*

Date given in the Sullen era.

279. Pediment stele. AD 235/236.
Unknown. Found in Ayazviran (Iaza). White marble. No measurements recorded.
Literature: Petzl 1978, No. 21; SEG 28.898.

Relief field: A male figure stands frontal, holding a staff in his right hand, and an unclear object in his left (perhaps a bow?).

Inscription:

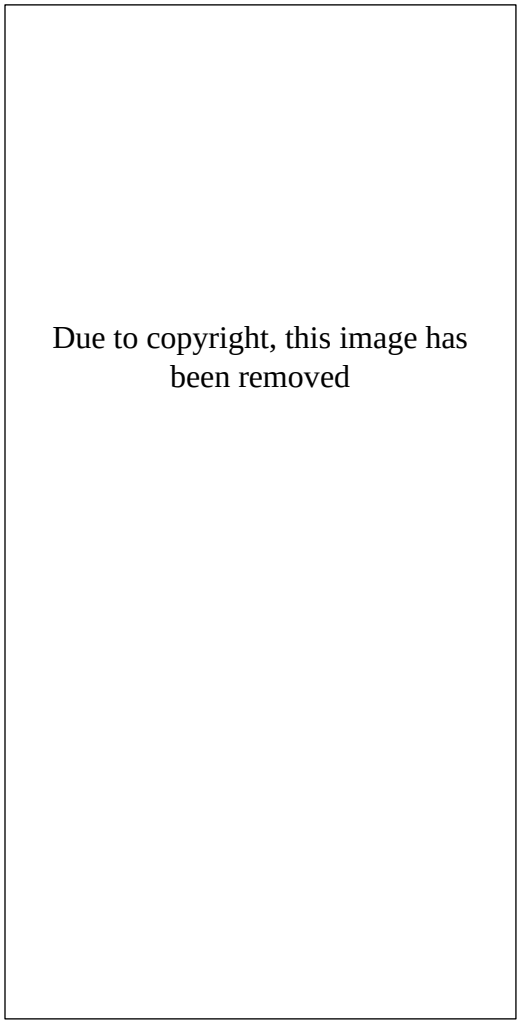
> Ἔτους ·τ·κ· μη(νὸς) Γορπιαίου / [.] Ι…ΣΙΟΣ καὶ Ἀ[κ]μάζω[ν]
>
> *In the year 320, on the . . . day of the month Gorpeiaios. …and Akmazon.*

Date given in the Sullen era.

280. Stele for Ioulianus. AD 240/241.

Manisa Museum, inv. no. 404. Found in Ayazviran (Iaza). Upper section of stele now missing. Marble. H: 97, W: 46, D: 7.5cm.

Literature: TAM V.1.477; Malay 1994, No. 358 Fig. 124.



Relief field: Two frontal standing figures, a female at the right and a male at the left holding a bird and a bunch of grapes.

Inscription:

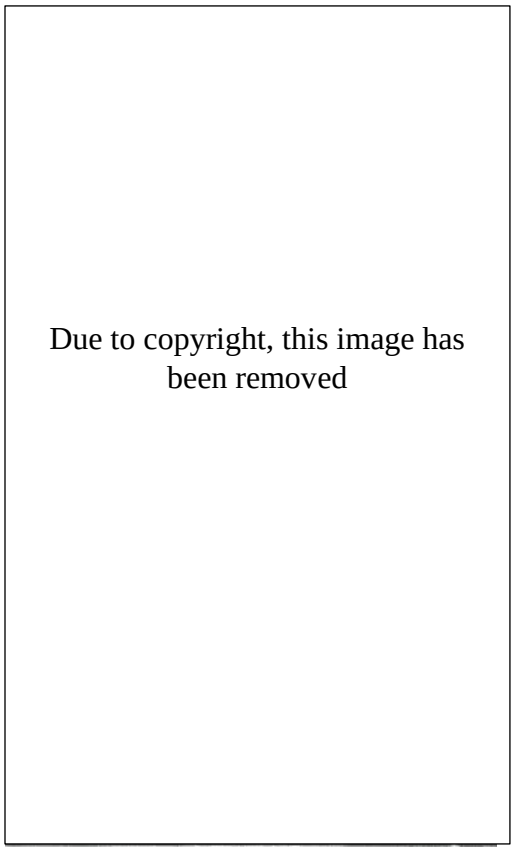
τὸν ἀδαῆ Κύπριδος καὶ ἀλ/λότριον κακότητος | εἵλα/τό με Βρόμιος σὺν Μοίραισιν / τὸν ἑταῖρον, | συνμύστην εἴ/ν᾽ ἔχῃ με χορείαις ταῖς ἰδίαι/σιν. | οὔνομά μοι Ἰουλιανός, / ἔτη δὲ ἔζησα δέχ᾽ ἑπτά. | Ἰου/λιανὸς δὲ πατήρ, μήτηρ δέ / μου Ἄφφιον ἦεν, | οἵ με θανόν/τα τάφῳ καὶ στήλλῃ τῇδε ἐνέ/γραψαν. | Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ πά/τρως καὶ Ἰουλιανὴ ἡ πάτρα καὶ / Διονύσιος ὁ μήτρων καὶ Ἀμμια/νὸς καὶ Στρατόνεικος ἐτείμησα[ν]. / ἔτους τκε΄, μη(νὸς) Περιτίου βι΄.

Ignorant of Kupris and foreign to badness, Bromios (Bacchus) together with the Fates seized me as companion (?), they carried me away as synmystes to the dances. My name was Ioulianus, and 17 years I lived. Ioulianus was my father and Apphion my mother, they (honored) me having died funeral rites and inscribed this stele. Asklepiades the (paternal) uncle and Iouliane the aunt (?) and Dionysios the (maternal) uncle and Ammianos and Stratoneikos honored (me). In the year 325, on the twelfth day of the month Peritios.

Date given in the Sullan era.

281. Pediment stele for Markiane. AD 249/250.

Manisa Museum, inv. no. 401. Found in Ayazviran (Iaza). Marble. H: 105, W: 44.5, D: 7cm.
Literature: TAM V.1.478 (Figure); Malay 1994, No. 363.



Relief field: A frontal standing woman.

Inscription:

κ(αὶ) οἱ θρε/πτοὶ αὐ/τῆς / Ἰουλιανὸς / κ(αὶ) Τατια/νός. / ἔτους τλδ΄, μη(νὸς) Περιτίου / δι΄. Εὐτυχιανὸς καὶ / Βάσσιλλα ἐτείμησαν / τὴν ἑαυτῶν θυγατέρα / Μαρκιανὴν κ(αὶ) Μᾶρκος κ(αὶ) Ἀλέ/ξανδρος οἱ ἀδελφοὶ κ(αὶ) ὁ σύν/βιος αὐτῆς Γλύκων κ(αὶ) τὰ τέ/κνα αὐτῆς Εὐτυχιανὸς / κ(αὶ) Γλύκων κ(αὶ) οἱ σύντροφοι / Εὐχρύσιος κ(αὶ) Τρόφιμος / ἐτείμησαν μνείας / χάριν.

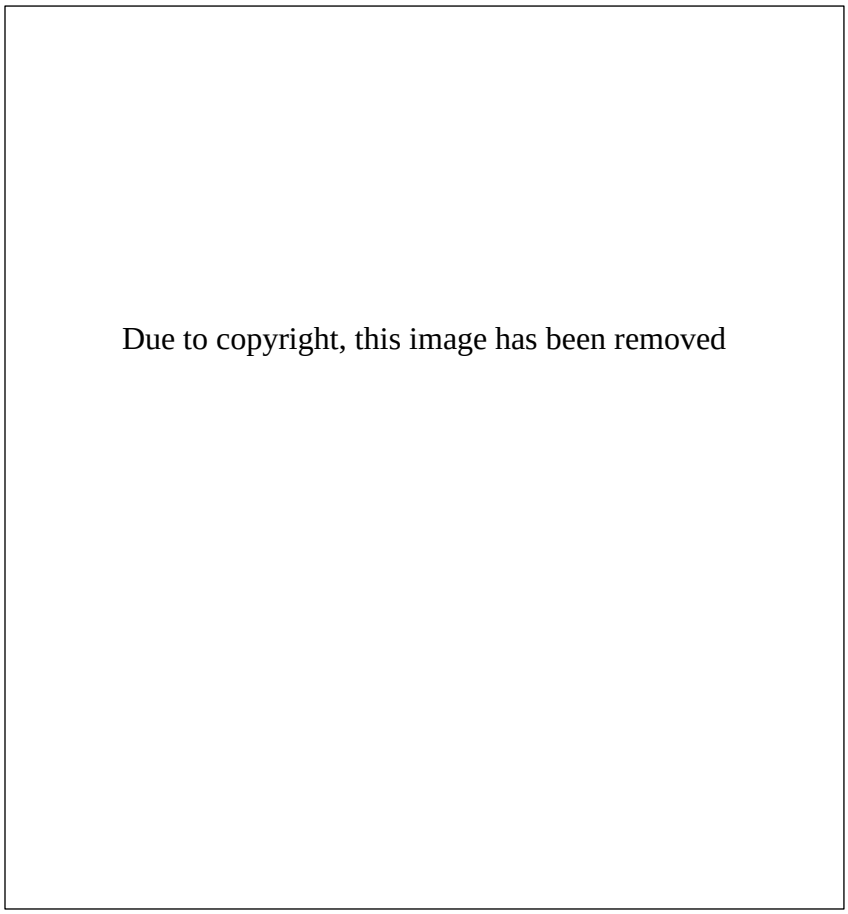
And the (her?) threptoi Ioulianos and Tataianos. In the year 334, on the fourteenth day of the month Peritios. Eutuzianos and Bassilla honored their own daughter Markiane together with Markos and Alexandros her brothers and her husband Glykon and her children Eutuxianos and Glykon and σύντροφοι *Euxrosios and Trophimos honored her, in memory.*

Date given in the Sullan era.

282. Stele for Ammianos. AD 250/251.

Manisa Museum, inv. no. 428. Found in Ayazviran (Iaza). Upper section of stele missing. Marble. H: 50, W: 37, D: 6cm.

Literature: TAM V.1.479 (Figure); Malay 1994, No. 371.



Relief field: A male and a female figure, both block-like in rendering, stand frontal.

Inscription:

> ἔτους τλε΄, μη(νὸς) Περιτίου / λ΄. Καρκοφέρουσα ἡ μήτηρ / καὶ Βάσσα ἡ ἀδελφὴ Ἀμ/μιανὸν ἐτείμησαν.
>
> *In the year 335, on the thirtieth day of the month Peritios. Karkopherousa, mother, and Bassa, sister, honored Ammianos.*

Date given in the Sullan era.

283. Stele with *akroteria*, for Attikos and Capitolina. AD 253/254.
Manisa Museum, inv. no. 396. Found in Ayazviran. Marble. H: 94, W: 43, D: 7cm.
Literature: TAM V.1.480 (Figure); Malay 1994, No. 373.



Relief field: Inside an arch-in-pediment field frames with columns entwined with vines, a male and a female figure stand frontal in typical poses.

Inscription:

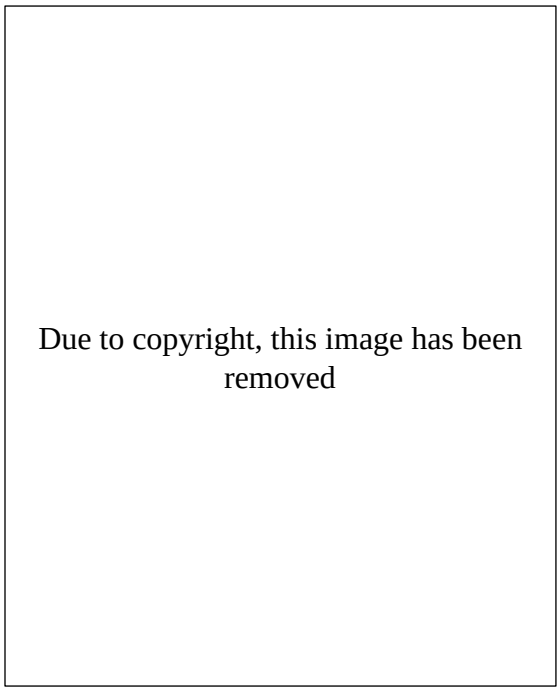
> ἔτους τλη΄, μη(νὸς) Δύστρου ζ΄ ἀ(πιόντος). / Αὐρ. Ἀττικὸς καὶ Ἑρμογένης / ἐτείμησαν τὸν πατέρα Ἀττι/κὸν καὶ τὴν μητέρα Καπετωλεί/ναν καὶ οἱ ἔγονοι αὐτῶν Γλύκων / καὶ Ἀττικὸς καὶ ἡ νύνφη / αὐτῶν Τατιας μνίας / χάριν.
>
> *In the year 338, having departed on the seventh day of the month Dustros. Aur. Attikos and Hermogenes honored their father Attikos and their mother Capitolina together with their* ἔκγονοι *Glykon and Attikos and Tatias* νύνφη, *in memory.*

Date is given in the Sullan era.

284. Stele for Poplikia and Aur. Iouliane. AD 260/261.

Manisa Museum, inv. no. 5419. Found in Ayazviran (Iaza). Upper part of stele missing. Marble. H: 66, W: 50.5, D: 7cm.

Literature: TAM V.1.481 (Figure); Drew-Bear 1979, 313; Malay 1994, No. 380.



Relief field: Only the lower right corner of the scene, showing an altar.

Inscription:

> [—]ΔΙ / [—]Υ / [—]ον / οὐ τὸ θανῖ[ν] / [λυπηρόν, ἐ]πὶ τόδε πᾶσιν / [πέπρωτ]ε, | ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἡλικίης / [καὶ γον]έων πρόταιρον. | κῖμαι / Ποπλικία Ποπλικιανοῦ καὶ / Ἰουλιανῆς ῥόδον ἐρχόμε/νον νέον ἄνθος, | τέσσαρις / καὶ δέκα{ι}τον ἔτο{υ}ς πληροῦ/σα νέας ἐνθάδε κῖμε. | μὴ κλε͡/ε πατήρ, μὴ κλεῖ͡ με μηδὲ σὺ / μήτηρ· | οὐδὲν ὤφελός ἐστιν / δάκρυα πὸς θάνατον. | Αὐρ. Ποπλι/[κ]ιανὸς καὶ Αὐρ. Ἰουλιανὴ οἱ γονῖς Αὐρ. / Ἰουλιανὴν τὴν ἑαυτῶν θυγατέ/ρα μετὰ τῶν ἰδίω<ν> μνίας χάριν ἐ/τίμησαν. ἔτους τμε΄, μη(νὸς) Ἀρτεμισί/ου δ΄.
>
> *[…] not painful to die, this for all has been fated, but before time of life and before the parents. Here lies Poplikia daughter of Poplikianos and Iouliane as a rose being near a youthful flower, having completed 14 youthful years she lies. Let not the father weep, nor the mother for me. Aurelius Poplikianos and Aurelia Iouliane parents honored their own daughter Aurelia Iouliane together with her own, in memory. In the year 345, on the fourth day of the month Artemision.*

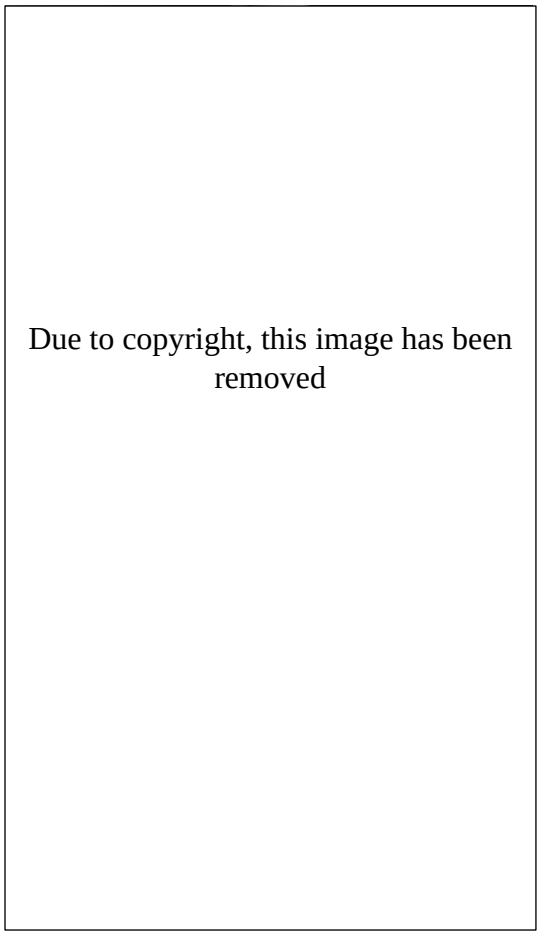
Date given in Sullan era.

E. Galatia

ANKYRA

285. Pediment stele with *akroteria*, for Callidromos. 2nd c. AD.

Found near the Temple of Augustus. Kale Depot (Ankara). Grey-white limestone. H: 71, W: 31-38cm.
Literature: Jerphanion 1928, 270 No. 45; Peek 1931, No. 133; Robert 1940, 138 No. 89; PM 1249 Pl.186; Mitchell and French 2012, No. 149.



Relief field: Below a pediment containing a carved wreath, there is a gladiator, shown as a *retiarius*, moving to his left, a net over his shoulder, holding a trident upright in his left and a dagger in his right hand. In front of him, below the trident, is a dog. Seven additional wreaths are depicted, six in the field behind the figure, and one above in the inscription.

Inscription:

[X]αίρετε παροδεῖται. / Καλλείδρομος / Ἀσειανὸς / ὁ θρ/ασὺς / ἐν σταδίοις / πρῶτος πάλος / ῥητιαρίων ὄγδοον / πυκτεύων Μυρῶν / τέλος ἔσχον· / οὐδεὶς γὰρ θνητῶν / Μυρῶν μείτυν ἐξέφ/υγεν.

Greetings, passersby! Callidromos from Asia, the bold warrior in the stadiums, first in rank of the net-throwers, in combat for the eighth time I met the end decreed by the Fates. No mortal has evaded the web of the Fates.

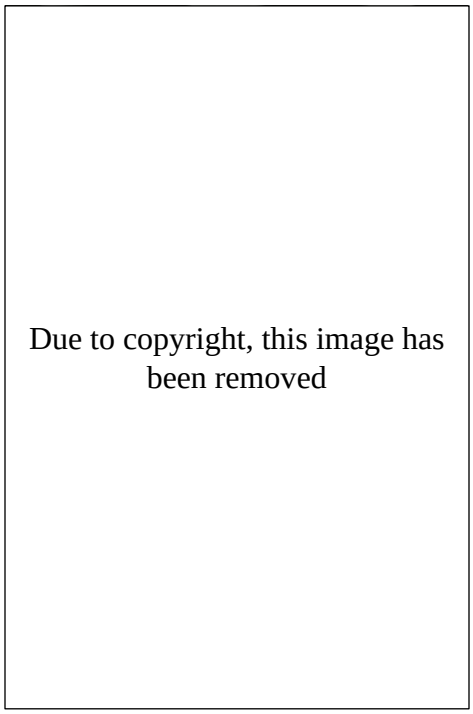
The seven victories of the retiarius are represented by the wreaths within the relief field, before his death in the arena, probably in Ankara. The inscription is unusual in identifying his origin from a province, namely Asia, but as Callidromos had slave-status, he likewise had no citizenship.

Date based upon relief and script (PM; Mitchell and French).

286. Pediment stele with *akroteria*, for Peitheros. 2nd century AD.

Ankara Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 3025. Found near the Ankara railway station (1927). Marble. H: 50, W: 31, D: 16cm.

Literature: Jerphanion 1928, No. 44 Pl. 119 no. 3; Peek 1931, 134 No. 22; Robert 1940, No. 88; PM 1219 Pl. 182; French 2003, No. 70; Mitchell and French 2012, No. 151.



Relief field: Below a pediment field with a central boss in relief, within a sunken panel is shown a gladiator moving right, wearing helmet, armour, greaves, and carrying a short sword in his right and a square shield in his left hand. In front of him, in lower relief, are a wreath and a palm-branch, while another wreath is shown at his feet.

Inscription:

> Οἶσκός μοι πατρίς· / Μεσσηνία / Πειθέ/ρωτει ἐκ / τῷ(ν) ἰδί/ων / [μ]νή/μης χάρ[ιν].
>
> *Oescus was my homeland. Messenia (set up this monument) for Peitheros, at her own expense, in memory.*

Oescus is located at modern Gigen on the Danube in northwest Bulgaria and was the site of a fortress garrisoned by the *legio V Macedonica*, which may have received recruits from Ankyra (Mitchell and French). Naming a specific city as *patris* is uncommon, but here is made the most prominent and legible element of the inscription, perhaps because the place would have known to inhabitants of Ankyra.

Date based upon relief and script (PM; Mitchell and French).

KINNA

287. Stele fragment of Aur. Dido, Demetrios, and Dades. 3rd century AD.
In the wall of house on the north side of the village of Yaraşlı (Kinna). The upper and right-hand sections of the relief field broken off. White limestone. H: 72, W: 58, D: 42cm.
Literature: MAMA XI.234 (Figure).

Due to copyright, this image has been removed

Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Within the pediment (?), there appear the remains of three half-figures, a veiled woman at left and two men. The figure at the far right is fragmentary.
Lower relief: Below the inscription, between two pilasters, are incised, from left to right, a wool basket sitting atop a chest, a spindle and distaff, and a handeled mirror. Below this, on the shaft of the stele, are depicted an incised *oinochoe*, a *skyphos*, and a *pelike*.

Inscription:

Αὐρη(λία) Διδω ζῶσα κ[ὲ φρο]/νοῦσα ἑατῇ κὲ ἐ̣ί/ῳ̣ Δημητρίου κὲ ἀ/{α}νδρὶ Δαδῃ ἀνέστ/{τ}ησεν μνήμης / χάρ⟨ι⟩ν.

Aurelia Dido, while still living and in her right mind, set this up for herself and her son Demetrios and her husband Dades, in memory.

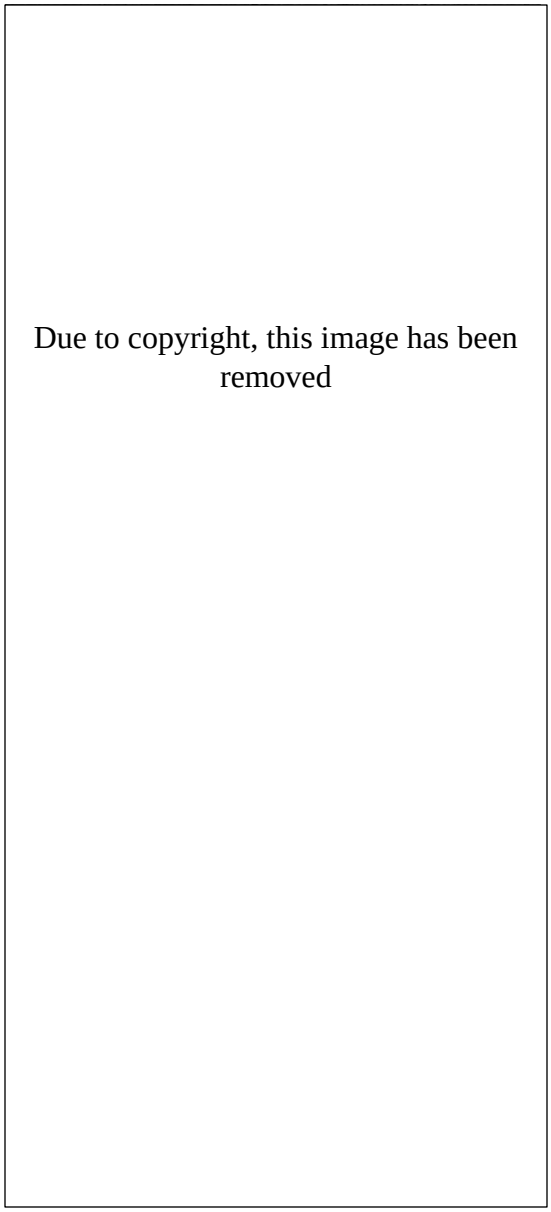
The names Dido and Dades are indigenous names, characteristic of Lykaonia and Phrygia (Zgusta 1964, 140-141, 147-148; RECAM II.115, 254; Drew-Bear and Naour 1990, 1927-1928).

Date based upon relief and script (MAMA).

288. Stele for Kyrion and Kyrille. 4th century AD.

Kulu (Kinna), in a lane. Also found here. Broken off at the top, including part of upper relief, and the bottom, with a rough back side. Inscription field also damaged with a cut from later reuse as a door threshold. White limestone. H: 123, W: 42-52, D: 35cm.

Literature: MAMA XI.230 (Figure).



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Within the pediment, now broken, the remains of two half-figures, male at the left, a veiled female at the right. Both appear in a typical pose, with their respective right arms in arm-slings.
Lower relief: Below the inscription on the shaft is an incised tripod table with a *skyphos* on top.

Inscription:

Πατρο]κλῆς / κ̣α̣[ὶ Ἰα]νουά/ριο[ς] κ̣αὶ οἱ / συνκ̣ληρο/νόμοι ἀνέ/σθησα[ν] π̣α̣τρ̣ὶ / Κυρίω⟨νι⟩ / (?) κ[αὶ μη]/τρὶ Κ⟨υρί⟩λλ̣ης, / Θεοῦ δούλ[η].

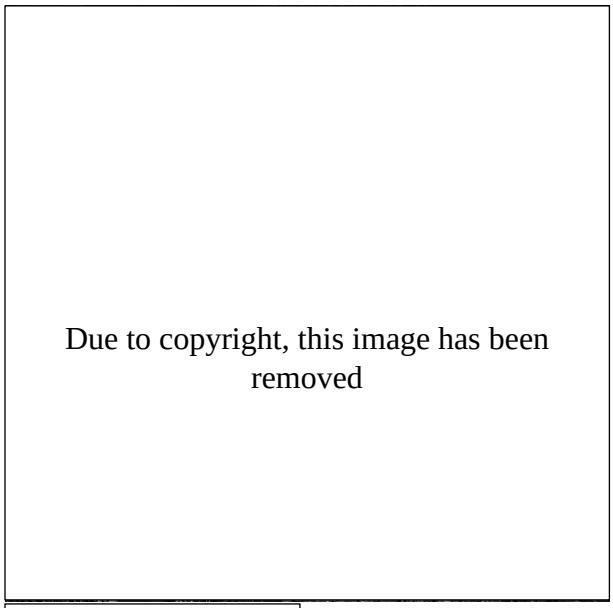
Patrokles and Ianuarius and their co-heirs set this up for their father Kyrion (?) and their mother Kyrille, servant of God.

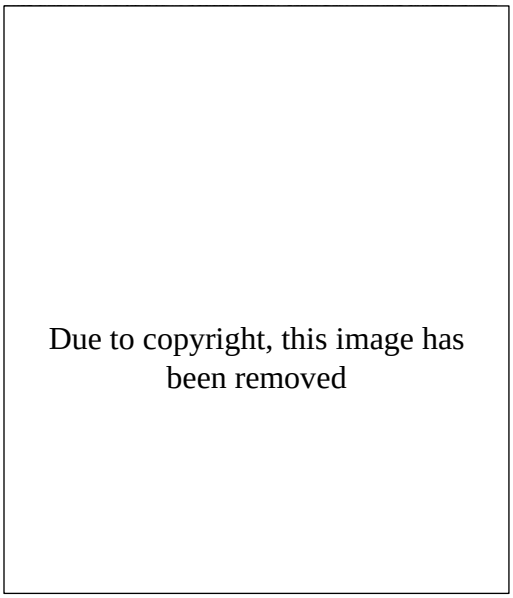
The phase "servant of God" is characteristic of Christian funerary epigraphy in this region (MAMA). This figured stele is thus the first considered in this study which definitively commemorates a Christian.

Date based upon relief and script (MAMA).

289. Stele for Urbana. Roman Imperial period.

In an "old cemetery" half an hour south of the village of Karakilise (Karacaören), near Kinna. Broken into two pieces, along a diagonal break across the shaft. White limestone. H: 190, W: 60-76cm.
Literature: Calder 1910, Nos. 10-11 (lines 1 and 2 of inscription only); RECAM II 304-305; MAMA XI.245 (Figures and reconstruction).







Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Within a circular field set inside a rectangular-shaped 'pediment', four half-figures are evident. Three are shown together in the upper section of the field, with two men at the left and a veiled woman at the right, all in typical poses. Below these appears a slightly smaller half-figure, badly preserved.

Lower relief: On the stele shaft, between decorative mouldings, appears a central arched aedicula, originally with a figure perhaps, above an incised sickle, spindle-and-distaff, pruning knife, and plough.

Inscription:

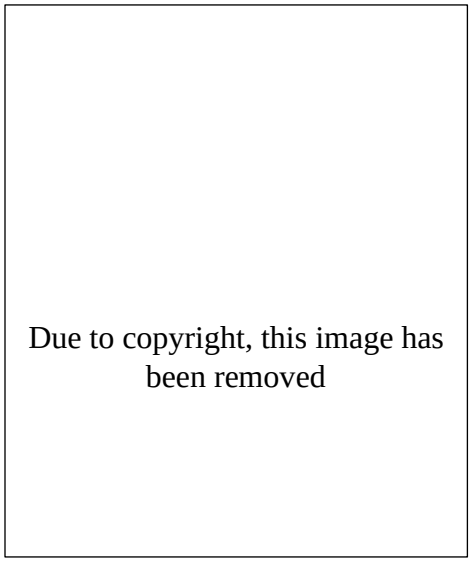
> Αττας Δαδεως Ὀρβάνᾳ [τ]ῷ Ν[-] / ΣΕΙΣΑΚΟΛΟΥ καὶ Ὀρβάν⟨η⟩ς τέκν[ῳ] / ἀνέστησεν / αὐτὸς καὶ τῇ / συνβίου μου / [σὺν (?) ἑ]αὐτῆς τέ/*vac.* κνῳ / ΑΝ[.]Α[. . . .]ΤΗ / ΤΗΔΙ[. . . .]Ι / Συ/σινίᾳ τὰς θυγατέ/ρας Κλωδίᾳ· / τις / σορὸν ἀνίξει / Ὀρβάνης, ὄλετρον.
>
> *Attas son of Dades, for Urbana, the child of... and Urbana, he set this up himself, and for my wife [along with?] her child... [and for?] Sisinnia, the daughter(s?) Clodia; whoever opens the tomb of Urbana, destruction.*

The relationships represented in this inscription are difficult to reconstruct, due to the state of preservation and perhaps the illiteracy of the mason (MAMA). As currently reconstructed, the stele was set up by one Attas, son of Dades, for his wife Urbana and his step-daughter. The interpretation of the two other female names, however, remains unclear.

Date based upon relief and script (MAMA).

290. Stele fragment with arch pediment, for Tyrannos and Asklepia. Roman Imperial period.

Still in a wall within a yard in the village of Canımana (Kinna). The upper, lower, and right-hand sections are broken off. Limestone. H: 80, W: 52cm.
Literature: MAMA XI.251 (Figure).



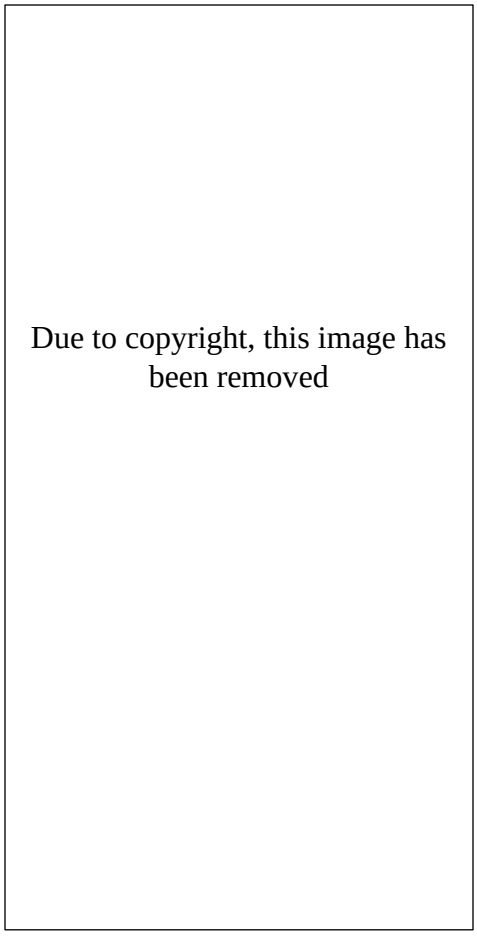
Relief field: Within arched pediment, two half-figures are shown, male at the left and veiled female at the right.

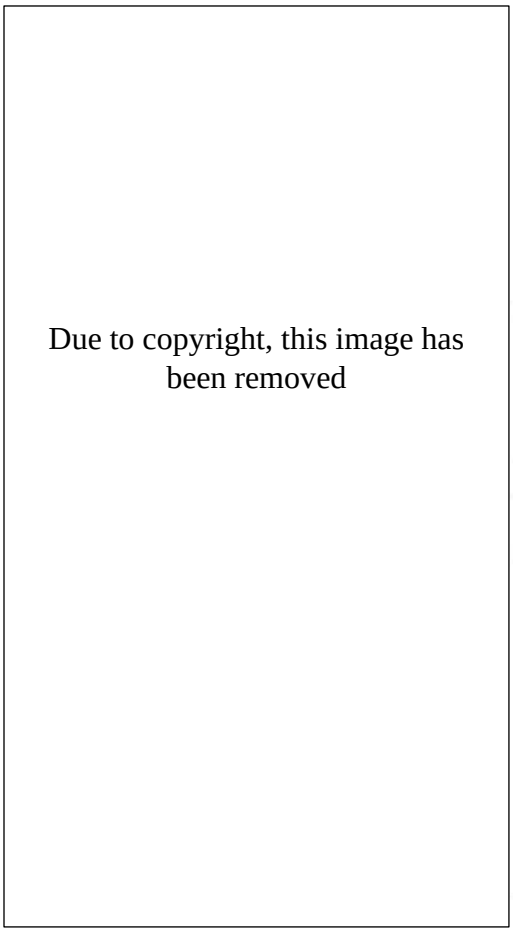
Inscription:

> [Ἀ]σκλη̣[πιὸς Τυρ]ά̣[νν]ο̣υ̣ [πατρὶ ἰδίῳ] / Τ̣υράννῳ γλυ̣[κυτ]άτῳ κα[ὶ μητρὶ] / ἰδίᾳ Ἀ̣σ̣κληπίᾳ̣ ἀνέστ[ησεν - - - - - - -] / μ̣ν̣ήμ[ης χάριν].
>
> *Askle[pios son of Tyrannos] set this up [for his own] sweetest [father] Tyrannos, and for his own [mother] Asklepia..., in memory.*

Date based upon relief and script (MAMA).

291. Stele for Asklepios, Kyrilla, Appas, and Pollio. Roman Imperial period.
In a fountain in Canımana (Kinna). Left side under water. Grey limestone. H:153, W: 72-80, D: 44cm.
Literature: Macpherson 1958, 160; RECAM II.299; MAMA XI.252 (Figures and reconstruction).





Relief field: Within the arched pediment field are shown four half-figures, perhaps three male and one female, all in typical poses.

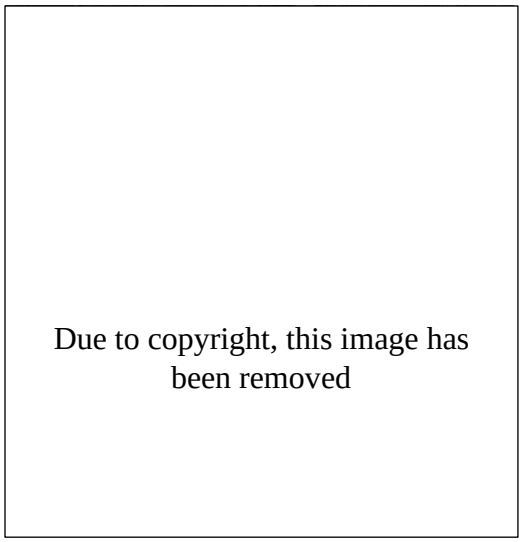
Inscription:

> Ἀσκληπιὸς κὲ Κειρίλλα Μομιου ζῶντε⟨ς⟩ κὲ / προνοῦ̈ντες ἔστησαν ἑα/τῆς κὲ ὑοῖς Αππᾳ 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.*

Date based upon relief and script (MAMA).

292. Stele. Roman Imperial period.

In the cemetery in Canımana (Kinna). Upper section, including part of relief field, broken off. Mouldings on shaft face defaced. Grey limestone. H:173, W: 73, D: 43.
Literature: MAMA XI.253 (Figure).



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Within an arch-shaped field appear two half-figures, a veiled woman at the left and a man at the right, both in typical poses and attire.
Lower relief: On the shaft, originally enclosed by decorative mouldings, are the incised representations of a collection of objects. At the top appears a chest with a lock-plate, a handled-mirror, an *oinochoe* and *skyphos* set on a tripod table. In the middle are a *pelike*, a spindle and distaff, and a bill-hook. Finally, at the bottom, are a horse and ox-team yoked to a plough.

Inscription:

[- - - - - - - - - -]/[- - - - - - - - - -] / μνήμης χάριν.

. . . . . *in memory.*

Date based upon relief and script (MAMA).

KERPIÇ

293. Stele with arch for the family of Aur. Manes. After AD 212.

Unknown. Found in Kerpiç. Upper section broken away, and relief defaced. White marble. H: 130, W: 49-72, D: 28cm.

Literature: Calder 1911, 139; MAMA VII.407; Macpherson 1958, No. 190; RECAM II.368.

Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Inside the arch pediment, two smaller-scale figures stand frontal between two larger-scale women, holding hands.
Lower relief: Lower on shaft, there is an incised wool basket setting on a chest, a vessel on a tripod table, and a single-handled vessel.

Inscription:

> Αὐρ. Μάνης Ἀντωνείνο̣/υ ἰδίᾳ̣ συνβίῳ Απφῃ κὲ θυγα̣/τρὶ Λαλᾳ̣ κὲ ἐγγόνοις Μά/ρκῳ κὲ Δουδᾳ̣ [μνήμ]ης χάριν / ἀνέστη<σ>εν. τὶς δὲ / φρονεῖ ξεῖν<ος> ἀνὴρ μνημ/οσύνης ἕνεκεν.
>
> *Aurelius Manes, son of Antonius, set up this (monument) for his wife Apphe, his daughter Lala, and his grandchildren, Marcus and Douda, in memory. […]*

Date based upon relief, script, and Aurelius name (RECAM).

294. Stele with arch. Roman Imperial period.
Unknown. Found in Kerpiç. Material not recorded. H: 152cm (width and depth not recorded).
Literature: Calder 1911, No. 59; Calder 1926, No. 59; Friedrich 1932, No. 59; Haas 1966, No. 59; RECAM II.369.

Relief field: Inside an arch pediment are shown four (standing frontal?) figures.

Inscription: Upper part of inscription defaced.

— — — / κακ[ουν] αδδακετ / γεγρειμεναν ε/γεδ[ουτ] ιος ου<τ>αν.

Date based upon relief and script (RECAM).

295. Pediment stele for Panmousos, Baba, and Aklepios. Roman Imperial period.
Unknown. Found in Kerpiç. Upper section broken off. Material not recorded. H: 132, W: 52, D: 40cm.
Literature: Calder 1911, No. 60; Calder 1926, No. 60; MAMA VII.406; Friedrich 1932, No. 60; Haas 1966, No. 60; RECAM II.370.

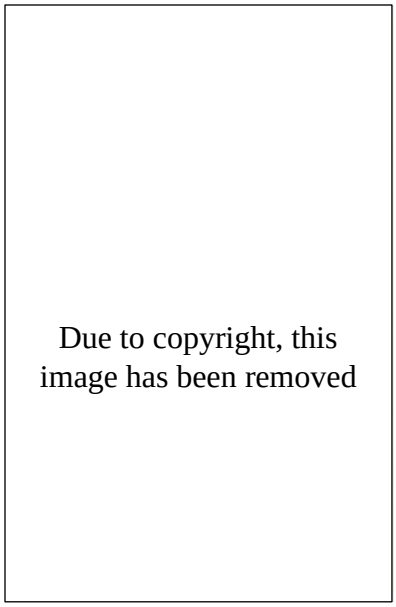
Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Inside the pediment, a woman stands between two men.
Lower relief: Below the inscription are a collection of incised objects, including a pruning hook, a double-handled vessel, a tripod table, a single-handled vessel, an axe, a wool basket on top of a chest, a comb, a door-knocker, a keyplate, a yoke, and a plough.

Inscription:

> [Π]άνμουσος Ἀ[σκ]/ληπιὸς καὶ Βαβα / υἱῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ κα/ὶ ἑατοῖς ζῶντε/ς ἀνεστήσαμε/ν· Δεῖος τε καὶ Μ/άνης ἀδελφῷ ἀ/ώρῳ μνήμης / χάριν. ιος νι σαν / κακουν αδ[δα]κε / μαν καὶ γεγ[ρε]ιμε/ναν εγεδου / τιος ουταν.
>
> *Panmousos Asklepios and Baba set up this (monument) for their son Asklepios and for themselves, still living. Deios and Manes for their prematurely dead brother, in memory.*

Date based upon relief and script (RECAM).

296. Stele with pediment for Ge and Leukios. After AD 212.
Unknown. Found in Kerpiç. Broken above. Material not recorded. H: 93, W: 58, D: 40cm.
Literature: Calder 1924, No. 6; MAMA VII No. 417 Pl. 24; RECAM II.371.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: A woman stands frontal at the left, and a frontal man at the right in a short tunic, with a winnowing fan.
Lower: Below the inscription, a collection of objects, a wool basket on a chest, a vessel on a tripod table, above two oxen feeding from a "barrel."

Inscription:

> [Α]ὐρ. Καλλικράτης Γῆ ἰδίᾳ συν[βίῳ] / καὶ πατρὶ Λευκίῳ ἀνέστησε [μν]/ήμης χάριν.
>
> *Aurelius Kallikrates set up this (monument) for his wife Ge, and for his father Leukios, in memory.*

Date based upon relief, script, and Aurelius name (RECAM).

297. Stele fragment. Roman Imperial period.
Built into the stairs of a house. Found here, in Kerpiç. Upper section and left side broken off, across relief field. White marble. H: 85, W: 23-45, D: 13cm.
Literature: MAMA VII.409; Macpherson 1958, No. 192; RECAM II.373.

Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Fragmentary, due to break, but shows the remains of the legs of a standing male figure.
Lower relief: Below inscription there is shown a vessel on a tripod table, a wool-basket on a table, and a spindle-and-distaff.

Inscription:

> Διοτρέφης / Μάνου καὶ / τούτου τέ/[κν]α Ῥουφεῖνα / θυγάτηρ κ<α>ὶ / ὑοὶ Νουνας καὶ / [..]ασος καὶ Αν/τω(νε)ῖνος σὺν τῷ / πατρὶ Μουνᾳ Ιω/[δ]εως μνῆς χά/ριν.
>
> *Diotrphes, son of Manes, and his children - his daughter Rufina, and sons Nounas and [---] and Antonios with his father Mounas, son of Iodes, in memory.*

Date based upon relief and script (RECAM).

298. Stele for Hadriane, Mikkalos, and Onesimos. Roman Imperial period.
Unknown. Found in Kerpiç? Material not recorded. H: 84, W: 44, D: 29cm.
Literature: MAMA VII.414; RECAM II.378.

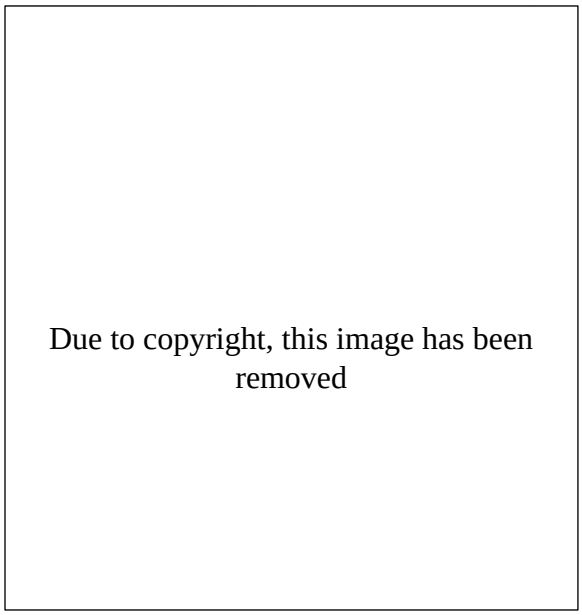
Relief field: Inside the pediment are shown three frontal standing figures, a man, a smaller-scale male figure, and a woman.

Inscription:

> Ἀδριανὴ Μικ/κάλῳ [ἀ]νδρὶ καὶ / Ὀνησίμ[ῳ υἱ]ῷ / καὶ ἑα[υτῇ ζ]ῶ/σα μν[ήμ]ης / [χ]άριν.
>
> *Hadriane for her husband Mikkalos, for her son Onesimos, and for herself, still living, in memory.*

Date based upon relief and script (RECAM).

299. Stele for Masa, Sisa, and Da. Roman Imperial Period.
Unknown. Found in Kerpiç. Broken diagonally at the top, and across the bottom below inscription. Material not recorded. H: 54, W: 64, D: 30cm.
Literature: MAMA VII.415 Pl. 25; RECAM II.379.



Two relief fields:
Upper relief: Inside aedicula, three women are shown standing frontal, the two at the left clasping hands.
Lower relief: Below the inscription appear two sets of spindles-and-distaffs.

Inscription:

> Χρηστὴ Μασᾳ μητρὶ καὶ / Σισᾳ ἀδελφῇ καὶ Δᾳ Νανα / [ἀδε]λφῇ μνήμης χάριν.
>
> *Chryste for her mother Masa, and Sisa her sister, and her sister Da, daughter of Nanas, in memory.*

The family structure here appears to be three sisters Chryste, Sisa, and Da, daughters of Masa and Nanas, but this is not certain.

Date based upon relief and script (RECAM).

300. Pediment stele for Ioulite, Papas, and Kousou. Roman Imperial Period.
Unknown. Found in Kerpiç. Broken below. Grey marble. No measurements recorded.
Literature: Macpherson 1958, 154 No. 193; RECAM II.387.

Relief field: Inside pediment, two standing figures.

Inscription:

Φρ(ού)γει Ἰουλίτῃ / καὶ Παπᾳ πατροποη/τῷ καὶ Κουσῳ υἱῷ / μνήμης χάριν.

Frugi for Ioulite and his step-father Papas and his son Kousou, in memory.

Frugi is a Roman *cognomen*, which occurs elsewhere in the region (cf. MAMA XI.225 from Kinna, where a terminating sigma is added to the name).

Date based upon relief and script (RECAM).

301. Pediment stele for Neikomache. Roman Imperial period.
Unknown. Found in Kerpiç. Grey marble. H: 102, W: 40.
Literature: Macpherson 1958, 155 No. 107; RECAM II.389.

Relief field: Standing female figure appears in the pediment.

Inscription:

Ὀνήσιμος / Νεικο[μά]/χῃ γλυκυ/τάτῃ συμ/βίῳ μνή/μης / χάριν.

Onesimos for his sweetest wife Neikomache, in memory.

Date based upon relief and script (RECAM).

302. Pediment stele for Kaliope. Roman Imperial Period.
In house wall (Kerpiç). Found in Kerpiç. White marble. H: 58, W: 36.
Literature: Macpherson 1958, 155 No. 196; RECAM II.388.

Relief field: A female half-figure appears in the arch-shaped pediment, bordered by tendril decoration. At the lest is a wool-basket, and at the right a spindle-and-distaff.

Inscription:

Μάνης γυναικὶ Καλιό/πῃ μνήμης χάριν.

Manes for his wife Kaliope, in memory.

Date based upon relief and script (RECAM).