

# Funerary and votive monuments in Graeco-Roman Cilicia: Hellenistic, Roman and early Byzantine examples in the museums of Mersin and Alanya

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*In memoriam David French, who played an extensive role in the study of ancient Anatolia*

## Abstract

In this contribution, 13 previously unpublished grave and votive monuments are analysed, plus two boundary markers. These monuments, housed in the museums of Mersin and Alanya in Cilicia in southern Asia Minor, are both artistic and epigraphic documents. Most of them were made in this region, but three were imported from Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Pisidia and the island of Delos, as can be deduced from their iconography. These new examples from Cilicia and eastern Pamphylia offer insights into the different concepts of *μνημα* or *μνημεῖον* (memorial) popular in Hellenistic and Roman times throughout Asia Minor.

## Özet

Bu makalede daha önce yayımlanmamış 13 adet mezar ve adak anıtı ile iki adet sınır taşı incelenmektedir. Güney Anadolu'daki Kilikia Bölgesi'nin Mersin ve Alanya Müzeleri'nde saklanmakta olan bu eserler hem sanatsal, hem de epigrafik belge niteliği taşımaktadırlar. Bu eserlerin çoğu Kilikia Bölgesi'nde yontulmuşlardır; betimlemelerinden anlaşıldığı üzere üç adet eser ise Antiokheia epi Orontes, Pisidia ve Delos'ta üretilmiştir. Kilikia ve Doğu Pamphylia Bölgeleri'nden tanıtılan bu yeni örnekler, Hellenistik ve Roma Dönemleri'nde Anadolu'nun tamamında yaygın olan *μνημα* ya da *μνημεῖον* (anıt) kavramının farklı açılardan irdelenmesini sağlamaktadırlar.

During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Cilicia, on the southeastern coast of Asia Minor, was in close cultural and social contact with the Near East, especially Syria, Cyprus, Phoenicia and Egypt, as well as with the wider ancient Greek and Roman worlds (fig. 1). Up to now, the idiomatic character of Graeco-Roman Cilicia has received only limited attention through archaeological and historical research (for a recent study, see Pilhofer 2006). This article is devoted to an analysis of 15 largely unpublished late Classical(?), Hellenistic, Roman and early Byzantine stone monuments in the local archaeological museums of Mersin and Alanya in ancient Cilicia (fig. 2). Most are grave steles.

Funerary steles with reliefs and inscriptions were one of the most common sepulchral markers in Asia Minor over many centuries; they were displayed in a prominent location either outside or within a tomb, often on the

façade. Their primary purpose was the commemoration of the deceased; the concept of memory was fundamental in ancient Greek and Roman thought. Many ideas related to death and the afterlife did not include great expectations for the deceased. Deification in terms of transformation into a hero/heroine was one way to ease the bad fate of death (Laflı, Bru 2016a: 103).

In approaching this topic, the first task will be to describe and discuss the monuments one by one. From this we will gain a better understanding of the meanings of the inscriptions and reliefs, including basic visual strategies as well as continuities or changes over time in commemorating death. The most important issues in the study of steles are their structure, iconography, text and chronological and geographic distributions. The article concludes with an assessment as to whether the steles reflect any idiomatic characteristics of Graeco-Roman Cilicia.



Fig. 1. Map of Turkey showing locations referred to in the text, including museums in Cilicia and elsewhere in Turkey. Underlining indicates the existence of a local museum (© S. Pataci).

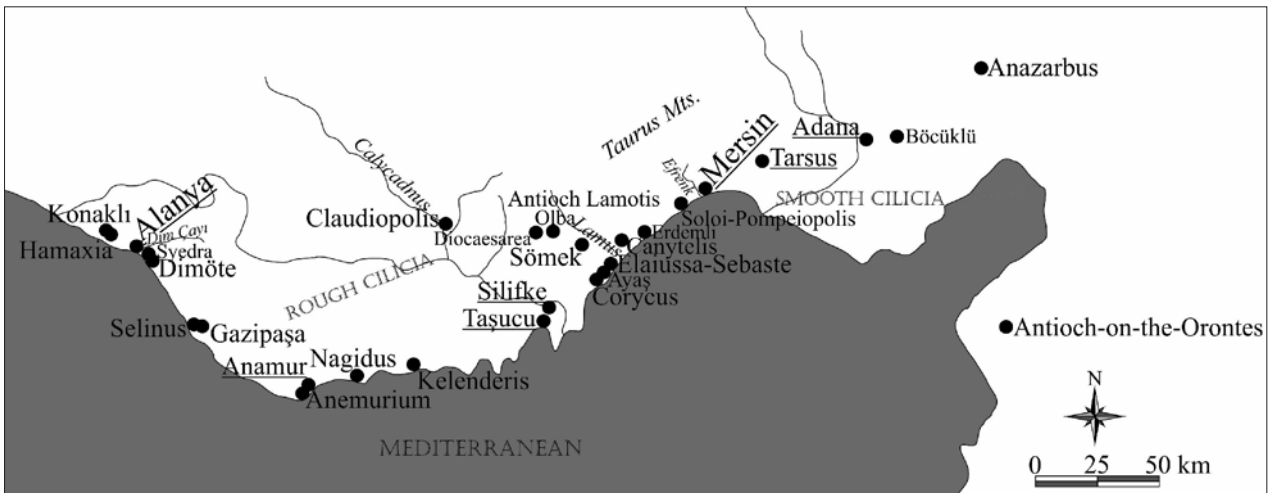


Fig. 2. Map of Cilicia showing locations referred to in the text, including museums. Underlining indicates the existence of a local museum (© S. Pataci).

This study is based on the surviving steles kept in two local museums in Cilicia; but their number is relatively small. Although some catalogues of local sculptural collections have appeared previously (for example Karamut 1995), the steles and other stone monuments from the

museums of Mersin and Alanya are either still unpublished or scarcely known in scholarly literature. The Museum of Alanya has an extensive collection of Roman funerary art, including at least ten altars (some of them miniature), a round altar, several sarcophagi, ossuaries and freestanding

sculptures, most of which are limestone and produced locally. A votive stele, a votive altar and a grave niche housed in the Museum of Alanya have, to be sure, been fully discussed in the course of epigraphic and archaeological investigations by J. Nollé, S. Şahin and C. Vorster in the early 1980s (Nollé et al. 1985: pls 18–20, figs 3, 9d–10c); they are therefore excluded here. Elsewhere, grave steles held at the museums in Hatay, Tarsus and Anamur in southern Anatolia have been studied by the present author in collaborations with J. Meischner and E. Christof (Laflı, Meischner 2008; Laflı, Christof 2014; 2015a; 2015b). This current paper on the steles and other stone monuments from Mersin and Alanya is an addition to these former papers, as it is our intention to publish all the Cilician monuments one by one.

The stone monuments housed in the museums of Silifke and Tarsus have been extensively studied and published by S. Durugönül, including some steles (Durugönül 2013; 2016a). The epigraphic research conducted by M.H. Sayar since the mid 1980s has not yet been published, and so his conclusions regarding the inscribed steles located in the museums of Mersin and Alanya are not known. A couple of Greek inscriptions held in these museums have been published in a sporadic fashion (for example Ateş 2000). The late antique to early Byzantine epigraphic survey of the Cilician museums conducted by G. Dagon and D. Feissel is especially valuable (Dagon, Feissel 1987).

As regards the museums under consideration here, the Museum of Mersin was established in 1978 and opened its collections to the public in 1991 in the eastern wing of the Mersin Cultural Centre next to the Opera Hall. A new museum building is currently being constructed in the Yenışehir district of the town. The Museum of Alanya was founded in 1967 and reopened following refurbishment in 2012. Both museums have extensive collections with numerous finds from Cilicia and elsewhere.

This analysis of the material held in Mersin and Alanya focuses on eight funerary steles (nos 1–5, 10–12), two votive steles (nos 6, 13), one votive altar (no. 7), one altar or architectural element reused as a stele (no. 8), a possible grave lid or architectural element (no. 9) and two boundary stones (nos 14, 15). Nine of these (nos 1, 5, 8–10, 12–15) are kept in the Museum of Mersin; the remaining six (nos 2–4, 6, 7, 11) are housed in the Museum of Alanya. Thirteen of these stone monuments are unpublished; nos 8 and 13 have been previously published. The monuments cover a chronological range from the mid to late fourth century BC to the late fifth century AD. Most of the steles are made of limestone; only nos 2–5 and 11–12 are of good-quality marble. Nos 1, 3–7, 10 and 12–15 bear inscriptions in Greek; the others (nos 2, 8, 9, 11) are uninscribed.

A limestone monument in the garden of the Museum of Alanya ('46' is written in pencil on the piece) with an inscription with a [μνή]μης χάριτι in lunate sigma obviously had a funerary function, as it displays a banquet scene with a *kline* and five figures (fig. 3). It is, however, not certain whether this tall fragment of local workmanship (maximum height ca 61cm, maximum width ca 72cm, thickness ca 16cm, height of letters ca 4cm) should be assigned as a stele; it is, therefore, not included in this study. A well-known limestone monument housed in the Museum of Mersin (inventory no. 99.10.7; height ca 62cm, width ca 42cm, thickness ca 23cm, height of letters ca 3.5cm) is also excluded from the present study since it is already well-published. This is an undecorated votive niche with a two-line inscription on its upper moulding, dedicated by a certain Menas to Athena Oreia (figs 4, 5). This dedication was found by Sayar during his Rough Cilician survey in 1994 in Paşabeyli in the northern part of the chora of Elaiussa-Sebaste, and reads Ἀθηνᾶ Ὀρειᾶ | Μηνᾶς (Sayar 2004: 456; Şahin 2009: 224, n.29). The epithet 'Oreia' means 'mountain dweller', and the cult of Athena Oreia is attested in Cilicia extensively (on her cult in Cilicia, see Sayar 1999a: 135, 154; 2004; Borgia 2003; Şahin 2009: 223–27; Parker 2016: 84). The square letters allow the monument to be dated to the end of the third century AD. The present article thus completes a catalogue of all the steles held in these two museums.

Most of the stone monuments in this article were acquired from non-archaeological sources by the respective museums and their provenances are thus only roughly determinable. Specifically, most were found by chance in the second half of the 20th century and brought to the local museums without secure provenances. The absence of documentation about their find locations and positions in



Fig. 3. Funerary monument, Museum of Alanya (photo C. Küncü, 2006).





Fig. 4. Votive niche from eastern Rough Cilicia, Museum of Mersin (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



Fig. 5. Votive niche from eastern Rough Cilicia, Museum of Mersin (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

burial contexts hampers archaeological research in terms of burial practices, burial cults and the precise dating of the steles. It seems that the steles now held in Mersin mainly originated in Soloi-Pompeiopolis, a large Greek, Roman and Byzantine harbour site (and modern-day

Viranşehir), ca 11km west of Mersin in the municipality of Mezitli, which in turn is a part of the Greater Mersin area of Smooth Cilicia. Soloi was colonised by Doric settlers from Rhodes during the late eighth to early seventh century BC and during the Classical and Hellenistic periods the inhabitants of Soloi were very cosmopolitan; a number of the residents were Athenian (Keen, Fischer-Hansen 2004: 1220). The site was destroyed in the first century BC and rebuilt by Pompey the Great in 66/65 BC (Pilhofer 2006: 34). A preliminary report on the Turkish excavations conducted at Soloi-Pompeiopolis since 1999 notes sculptural finds, but no steles were recovered (Tül Tulunay 2005). The finds from Soloi-Pompeiopolis treated in this present article do not originate from the current excavation project. The necropoleis around Soloi-Pompeiopolis are less well known, and none of them has been excavated to date (Laflı 2004: 81; Durukan 2015). The most important of these is Kuyuluk, a site ca 3km north of Soloi-Pompeiopolis with numerous types of especially late Classical to early Hellenistic burials. Due to the lack of evidence, many questions regarding the placement of the steles in these necropolis sites remain unanswered. In southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria some steles were fortunately documented in situ (among others, see Griesheimer 1997: 190–91, figs 29–30).

The provenance of the steles housed in the Museum of Alanya must presumably be the various small sites around Alanya and Gazipaşa, i.e. on the border between western Rough Cilicia (Cilicia Trachaea) and eastern Pamphylia.

As three Classical steles from Soloi demonstrate, high-quality marble steles were known in Cilicia by at least the middle of the Classical period; these would have been imported from Greece and the Aegean, possibly after their completion (von Gladiss 1973–1974; Hermary 1987: 227–29, no. 23 bis, pl. XII; Dagron, Feissel 1991: 332, no. 23 bis, 337, no. 3; Merkelbach, Stauber 2002: 207, no. 19/11/01; Özgan 2008: 893). Similar Classical steles have been found on Cyprus (Hermary 2009: 155, nn.13–14; on the steles of Cyprus in general, see Pogiatzı 2003) and in northwestern Syria (Özgan 2008: 893, n.15). During the Iron Age there was already a local tradition of steles in Cilicia (cf. a late Hittite to Iron Age stele from Böcükli near Adana in eastern Cilicia: Çambel 1996). Some further late Hittite to Iron Age steles from Cilicia are also known in the museums of Tarsus and Adana (Durugönül 2016a). The number of Hellenistic and Roman grave steles is small across the whole of Cilicia. They are known from the necropolis of Anemurium (Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1971: pl. 50, nos 1, 2), where they bear common forms and subjects, and are dated generally to the second and third centuries AD. A few other steles and sepulchral monuments are known from Soloi-Pompeiopolis (Dagron, Feissel 1987: 57–64, nos 24, 25; Ateş 2000; Merkelbach,

Stauber 2002: 207–32) and Corycus (Durugönül 2016b). Even the number of steles in Tarsus, a large cosmopolitan urban settlement with foreign and indigenous populations in Roman Cilicia, is surprisingly small (Laflı, Christof 2015a: 123). Two sites in western Rough Cilicia with extensive necropoleis, Kelenderis and Nagidus, where systematic excavations have been carried out, have also not provided much evidence in terms of funerary steles. Votive steles from Cilicia are also very few, even though the number of altars is large (Kırdemir-Diler 2001). From the early Hellenistic period onwards, Antioch-on-the-Orontes seems to have been one of the few sites in the eastern Mediterranean where a strong stele tradition existed (Laflı, Christof 2014: 161). It is interesting to note a corresponding scarcity of steles in Pamphylia and Lycia. Recently, only five funerary steles were reported from Side, of which two were figured (Adak et al. 2015: 108–11, nos 16–20). By contrast, the Roman Imperial sites of Mysia, Phrygia and Pisidia in western Asia Minor had a rich stele tradition (on the grave monuments of Roman Phrygia, see Kelb 2013).

### The Graeco-Roman funerary and votive monuments from Mersin and Alanya

1. Late Classical or Hellenistic pedimental stele (figs 6, 7)  
*Location.* Museum of Mersin; inventory no. 01.1.2.

*Provenance.* The stele was acquired by the museum together with no. 5 in 2001 from a local dealer from Kuyuluk and could be associated with the late Classical to Hellenistic necropolis in the chora of Soloi. As stated above, Kuyuluk, ca 3km north of Soloi and 13km northwest of Mersin, is a known necropolis area in the territory of Soloi with numerous Classical and Hellenistic rock-cut chamber tombs (Hild, Hellenkemper 1990). A further, unpublished rock-cut chamber tomb of the fifth to fourth century BC was discovered in Kuyuluk in February 2013 and found to contain numerous lekythoi and Phoenician amphorae.

*Material.* White, light, soft, micaceous and porous limestone with small fossil shells.

*State of preservation.* The right acroterium is missing; a horizontal crack traverses the middle of the stone. Otherwise it is very well-preserved.

*Measurements.* Maximum height ca 74cm, width ca 37cm, height of base ca 7cm, thickness ca 7cm, height of letters ca 2cm.

*Description.* A naiscoid stele with a pediment having two acroteria on the ends, another in the middle and a lug at the bottom for insertion into a base. There are traces of red paint on the letters and elsewhere on the surface. The stele would have been decorated by a painted scene, which, apart from some traces of colour, has completely disappeared. Chisel marks on the front surface.

*Inscription* (fig. 7). The worn inscription consists of two (secondarily?) inscribed columns with three names in each that stand at the bottom of the stele.

A	B
Σώτειρα	Παρμενίων
2 Σπέρμιος	Σπέρμιος
Κρήσα	Κρής

*Translation* A: Soteira daughter of Spermis, of Crete; B: Parmenion son of Spermis, of Crete.

*Epigraphic comments.* Σπέρμιος is the genitive of a so far unattested personal name Σπέρμις, which could be idiomatic to Classical and Hellenistic Crete. It survives only as a name of a month, Σπέρμιος, in Hellenistic Crete (Chaniotis 1996: no. 55A–B; 116 BC). Also, a certain Σπέρμιος, a usurper in Lydia, is mentioned in a fragment of Nicolaus of Damascus (fr. 44 Jacoby; cf. *LGPN* VA). ‘Parmenion’ is a fairly common name in the fifth and especially fourth centuries BC. This stele is one of the very rare pieces of evidence for Cretans in Cilicia.



Fig. 6. No. 1: late Classical or Hellenistic funerary stele, Museum of Mersin (photo C. Küncü, 2006).





Fig. 7. No. 1: inscription (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

*Comparanda.* This kind of grave stele, made of soft, porous limestone, is rather rare in Asia Minor, even though in Greece the majority of Classical grave reliefs were made from a soft, fine limestone. Typologically, the closest parallels to this example are early Hellenistic steles from Cyme in Aeolis (Ürkmez, Adak 2015), pedimental steles from Boeotia (Bonanno Aravantinos 2014: 298–99, no. 6, fig. 39; second century BC?), the stele of Lissos from Kerameikos in Athens (Posamentir 2006: no. 29) and a limestone stele of the mid fifth century BC from Kurupelit, Amisus (Lafli, Meischner 2015: 72, fig. 6).

*Date.* Typologically, the stele is very simple, and so it is difficult to date. In light of the shape of the letters sigma, pi and omega, it could be dated across a wide chronological range between the mid fourth and second centuries BC. Its closest parallels, from Cyme, have been dated to 350–200 BC (Ürkmez, Adak 2015: 47–48).

## 2. Funerary stele of a warrior (fig. 8)

*Location:* Museum of Alanya; inventory no. 1322. On my last visit in October 2016 this piece was no longer on display.

*Provenance.* The stele was acquired by the museum from a local dealer in Alanya without any indication of its find-spot.

*Material.* Fine- to medium-grained, whitish-yellowish marble.

*State of preservation.* The stele is broken diagonally above the figures' heads, beneath the level of a possible missing pediment. The heads and hands of the central figure and the servant are missing. Surfaces, especially in the centre of the stele, are worn, yellowed, rounded and chipped.

*Measurements.* Maximum height ca 74cm, width ca 37cm, thickness ca 8cm.

*Description.* The rectangular stele is framed by pilasters. The main figure stands on the left, dressed in a short cuirass and holding a lance. A baldric crosses his upper body, where his sword is fixed. Part of a round shield appears behind him in the background. In front of the

warrior there is a seated veiled woman, who looks up at him. This is simply a farewell scene (*dexiosis*). On the left edge, as a companion to the warrior, is a short, naked slave, facing the scene, who carries something in front of his body. The composition aims at the heroisation of the deceased as a warrior. The warrior shakes hands with the seated woman, and this follows a rather rare iconographic scheme (Laube 2006: 46–47, pl. 16, figs 3, 4). For the figure of the warrior, compare an earlier wall painting from a tomb in Palatitsa/Vergina (Laube 2006: 46, pl. 16, fig. 5). Compare also the grave naiskos from the beginning of



Fig. 8. No. 2: funerary stele of a warrior, Museum of Alanya (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

the first century from Hamaxia (Sinekkalesi), on which the son of Trebemis, Kilaramos, stands on a plinth and is depicted as a warrior in armour (Bean, Mitford 1962: 191, no. 7, fig. 34a–c; Nollé et al. 1985: 132, no. 9, 137–46, appendix 2, pls 19–20; Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998: 110, Hamaxia 25a–c; Hoff, Townsend 2013: 4–22, nn.4–28, 60; *SEG* 35.1413; also Laube 2006: pl. 17, figs 3, 4).

*Date.* The figures being shown in three-quarter view, with much open space above, confirms the dating of the stele to the Hellenistic period, most likely to the second century BC (cf. Pfuhl, Möbius 1979: 481, no. 2001, pl. 288; from Cyzicus, today in the Museum of Çanakkale, second century BC).

### 3. Funerary stele of a young man (fig. 9)

*Location.* Museum of Alanya; inventory no. 1681. On my last visit in October 2016 this piece was no longer on display.

*Provenance.* The place of production could be Delos, based on style.

*Material.* Fine- to medium-grained, white marble.

*State of preservation.* The stele is broken diagonally into two parts. Most surfaces are heavily weathered, yellowed, worn and rounded. There are scratches on the background.

*Measurements.* Height 62cm, width 33cm, thickness 6cm, height of letters ca 2.5cm.

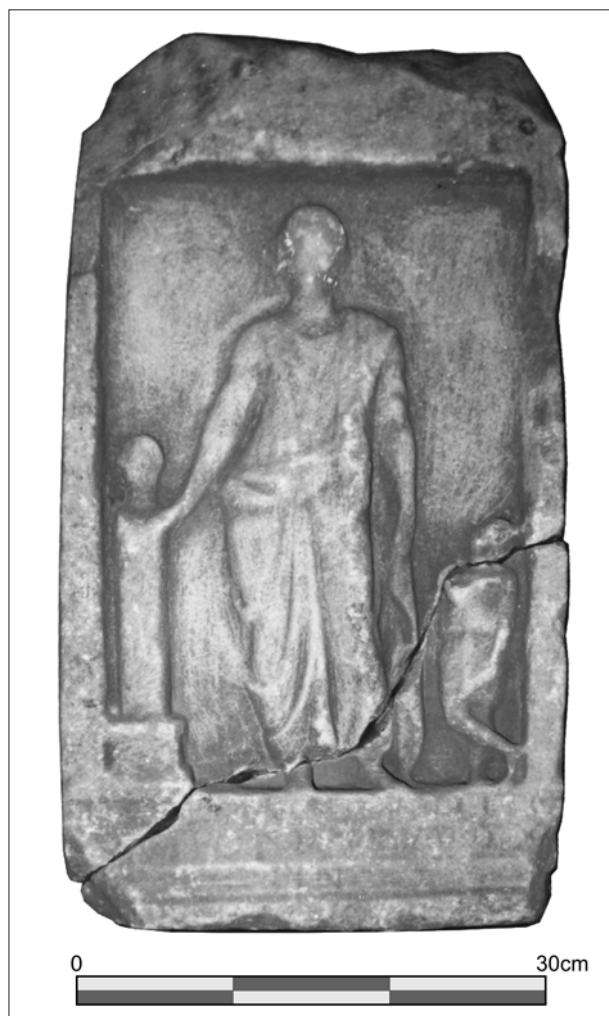
*Description.* The simple rectangular stele bears a trapezoidal picture field that narrows toward the top. The main figure is a frontal standing man with his weight on his right leg. He is clothed in a *chiton* with a *himation* and with his right hand he touches a youthful herm standing on a moulded pedestal. With his hanging left hand he grasps the garment which has differentiated folds. His posture is intended to emphasise youthfulness. To his left is a small, standing servant in a short *chiton* who gazes upwards at the main figure. His legs are crossed and his right arm traverses his body.

*Inscription.* On the frame below the relief are three lines of an almost completely defaced Greek inscription, ending with the well-known formula  $\mu\eta\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\varsigma \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu$ .

[-----]  
 2 -----]O[-]M[-----]  $\mu\eta\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\varsigma \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu$

*Translation.* ... in memory.

*Comparanda.* The representation is common on Hellenistic steles from Delos (Pfuhl, Möbius 1977: pl. 30, no. 132) and is very similar to that on a Delian tombstone, now in the Museo Maffeiiano in Verona, dating to the middle Hellenistic period, i.e. 150–130 BC (Couilloud 1974: 157, no. 300, pl. 58; Schmidt 1991: 68, 147, fig. 47). The deceased youth is heroised as an athlete beside a herm,



*Fig. 9. No. 3: funerary stele of a young man, Museum of Alanya (photo C. Küncü, 2006).*

a common symbol of athletic training in Greek gymnasia (for Hermes honoured in the Hellenistic gymnasium, see Aneziri, Damaskos 2004: 248–50; Masségli 2015: 107), and also through the full clothing which characterises an ‘honourable Greek citizen’ (Schmidt 1991: 147). The servants, generally slaves, shown surrounding a Greek citizen underline the featured individual’s elevated social status in ancient Greek society. The servant, clad in a short *chiton*, stands with his legs crossed, his right arm crossing his body to his left shoulder, gazing upwards to capture the glance of his master. This way of rendering a servant figure is very common on Hellenistic grave reliefs and the servant’s body language adds some sense of grief to the scene. For a discussion of the presence of slaves and the body language of slaves, see Fabricius 1999: 230–32; Masségli 2015: 184–204; on the gazing upwards of slave figures, see Masségli 2015: 194–95.

*Date.* Based on the subject and narrative style, this stele should be dated to the second half of the second century BC.



#### 4. Funerary stele with a *dexiosis* scene (figs 10–14)

*Location.* Museum of Alanya; inventory no. 836.

*Provenance.* The district of Bakılar which is located ca 1km south of Gazipaşa and 2km east of Selinus.

*Material.* White, coarse-grained, local limestone.

*State of preservation.* The stele has been broken horizontally, but is now restored. Any acroteria are missing. The head of the figure to the right is destroyed. There are some cracks on the right-hand column and dark-red corrosion across the whole surface.

*Measurements.* Maximum height 130cm, maximum height of the pediment 21.4cm, height of each column 91cm, height of the plinth 11.4cm, width of the plinth 99.4cm, thickness of the plinth 15.6cm, thickness of the stele 20.6cm, height of letters 3.6cm.

*Description.* The design of this stele consists of a temple-like order, i.e. large fluted columns (diameter 12.3cm) crowned by composite capitals and a pediment, which is elaborately decorated with the head of Medusa in the centre, flanked by spiral tendrils and foliage (fig. 12). Usually, this type of architectural design houses a relief scene with figures, worked in high relief. For similar architectural details on a stele, see Pfuhl, Möbius 1977: 126, no. 357; 1979: 428–29, no. 357b, pl. 257 (found in Bayındır, Izmir, now in the Archaeological Museum of Izmir, inventory no. 3562, second century AD), no. 558, pl. 327, no. 2318 (from Rhodes, third century BC), 85–86, pl. 31, no. 137 (from Erythrae, now in Munich, first century BC), 91, pl. 35, no. 158 (from Smyrna, now in the Izmir Museum of History and Art, inventory no. 1241, second half of the second century BC).

Here, the space for a figural scene is reduced to a rather small rectangular picture field (height 51cm, width 42cm) which recedes deeply (fig. 13). Remains of erasures above the picture field lead to the conclusion that there was originally a figured relief scene here, which was later completely erased. The many chisel marks on the antae support this assumption. The picture field itself might well be of a later date than the stele's sumptuous architectural detail. Here, two figures are shown in *dexiosis*, united by the clasping of their hands. On the left side is a standing woman and on the right a standing man. On Greek and Roman *dexiosis* steles, farewell scenes are often recognised by the characteristic hand-clasp gesture where the deceased is usually depicted seated while the wife/husband, a servant, a relative or a child is standing in front of him/her. For a similar scene of a man and a woman unified in a *dexiosis* scene, see Pfuhl, Möbius 1977: 192–93, no. 256 (from Samos?, Vathy, AD 130), no. 708, pl. 106 (but both figures are more frontal). More often, men are linked in *dexiosis* with a seated rather than a standing woman (Pfuhl, Möbius 1977: pls 159–66). The characteristic hair

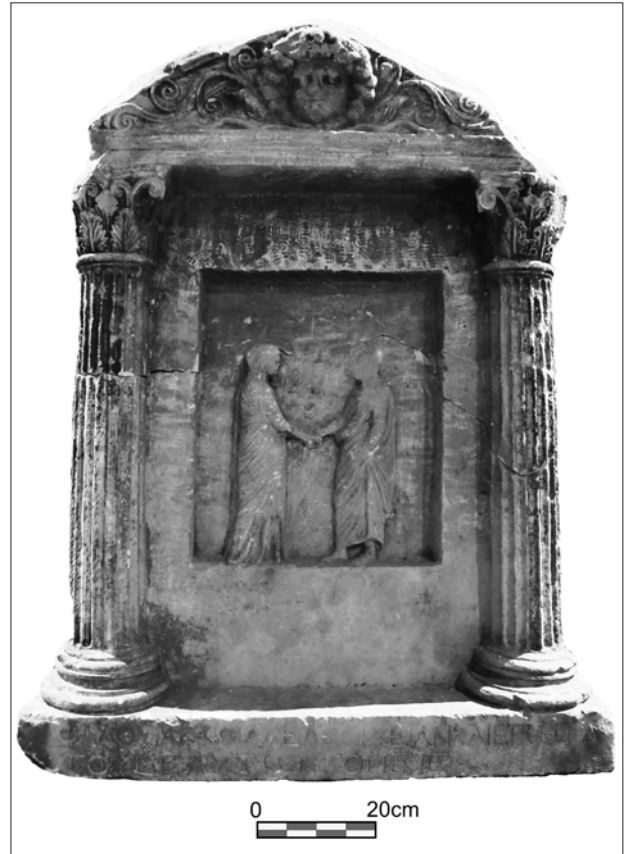


Fig. 10. No. 4: funerary stele with a *dexiosis* scene, Museum of Alanya (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



Fig. 11. No. 4: side view (photo C. Küncü, 2006).





Fig. 12. No. 4: detail of top (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



Fig. 13. No. 4: detail of relief (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



Fig. 14. No. 4: inscription (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

knot of the woman is visible under the veil that covers her head. The undecorated parts and sides of the stele are marked by a claw chisel (fig. 11). As regards its workmanship and style, this piece is similar to two altars in the garden of the Museum of Alanya (inventory nos 1.9.93, 2.9.93).

*Inscription* (fig. 14). Two lines on the plinth below the columns. Some alphas have broken crossbars and some have no bars. Sigmas are square and omegas are cursive.

Φλαουία καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Χείαν καὶ Ἔρωτα  
2 τοὺς ἐαυτῶν γονεῖς

*Translation.* Flavia and her brothers (honour) Cheia and Eros, their parents.

*Epigraphic comments.* The personal onomastic Φλαουία, a variant of the *nomen* Flavia, is very common in Asia Minor (Ferrary 2008: 257). Χεία (= Χῆα, ‘woman of Chios’) is an attested female name (for example Zgusta 1964: 532, no. 1641). Χεία and Ἔρωσ are declined here with the accusative case, confirming that they are the parents, honoured by Flavia and her brothers.

*Date.* The date of the iconographic composition differs from the date of the inscription. For the former, the late Hellenistic to early Roman period can be suggested. In Asia Minor, the name Flavia points almost certainly to a date no earlier than the late first to early second century AD, whereas square sigmas could indicate a date as late as the late second or third century AD. The date on the museum’s label is third century AD.

5. *Funerary stele of a reclining male banqueteer* (figs 15–17)  
*Location.* Museum of Mersin; inventory no. 01.1.1.

*Provenance.* The stele was acquired by the museum together with no. 1 in 2001 from a local dealer from Kuyuluk; thus the original provenance is likely a necropolis area in the territory of Soloi. Judging by its style, it might have originated from Antioch-on-the-Orontes; however, it is disproportionately tall and narrow compared to the steles of Antioch. Alternatively, it could be the product of Cilician workmanship under the influence of the Antiochene style.

*Material.* White, fine- to medium-grained marble with some vertical grey veins and porosity.

*State of preservation.* The right corner of the base is broken. There are fresh breaks on the right side as well as on the right acroterion. There is partial dark-red corrosion on the surface. Otherwise, it is well-preserved.

*Measurements.* Maximum height ca 149.2cm, maximum width ca 50.2cm, thickness ca 14.0cm, height of letters ca 3.5cm.

*Description.* The top of the stele is a pediment decorated with a shield in relief in the centre and acroteria in the middle and at the edges. At the bottom of the stele is a tenon for fixing it to the ground.

The picture field shows a reclining banqueting hero, resting on his left side on a *kline* and filling the space available. He wears a *chiton* and a cloak, and reclines from right to left, resting his elbow on thick pillows. The sympiasist is, as usual, depicted as an older man. Here he holds a bust of a male or a book scroll that alludes to education and



Figs 15 and 16. No. 5: funerary stele of a reclining male banqueter, Museum of Mersin (photo P. Grunwald, 2006).

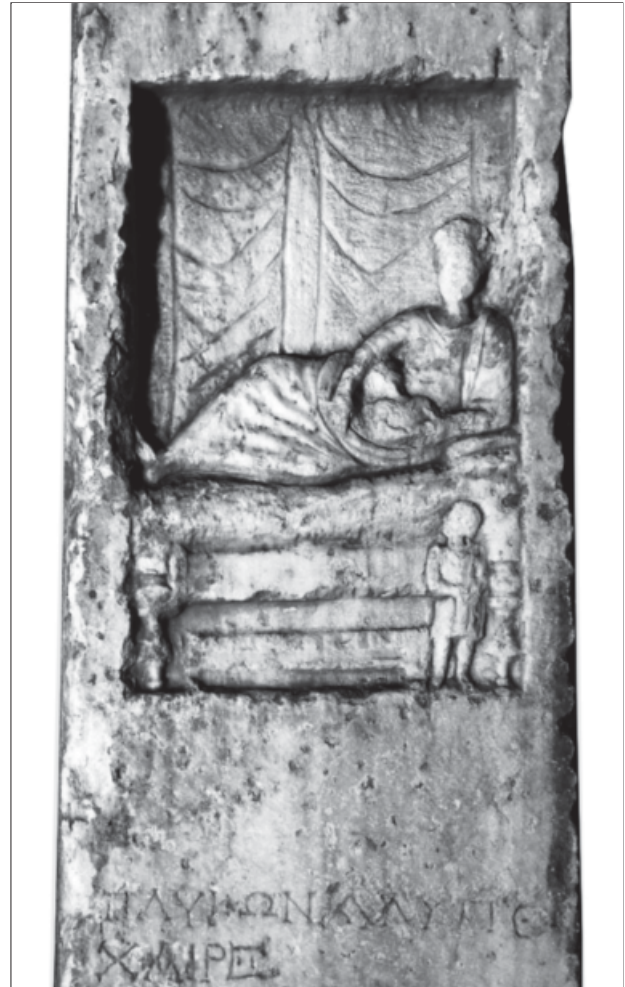


Fig. 17. No. 5: detail of relief and inscription (photo P. Grunwald, 2006).

knowledge (Fabricius 1999: 254; Masséglia 2015: 104–05). The depiction of this banquet scene includes a large footstool instead of the usual three-legged table. The narrow legs of the *kline* are rendered carefully and show a particular sequence of decorative elements. Similar furniture legs can be observed at other Hellenistic find-spots, especially in Greece (Vermeule 1966: 108–09, fig. 20; Paspalas 2000: 543, fig. 10; Andrianou 2006: 237, figs 7–8).

On the right is a clothed male servant, standing frontally with crossed hands, who looks up at his master. Behind the man a curtain hangs suspended from three large poles. The background is covered by the curtain with transverse folds. There is much vacant space above the figure. A similar curtain is depicted on a grave stele of the first century BC from Antioch-on-the-Orontes (Lafli, Meischner 2008: 157, no. 18).

Funerary banquet scenes (*Totenmahlreliefs*) were very popular and widely distributed in southern Asia Minor in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Archaeological research has shown that the symposium as well as the reclining-man motif derives from the ancient Near East, as

demonstrated by the relief from the palace of Assurbanipal at Nineveh in the British Museum (Fehr 1971: 7–9, pl. 1) or the symposium scene illustrated at Matthäus 1999/2000: 46. In these examples, the reclining man is interpreted as a nobleman at a banquet, presented as such in order to stress the high social status of the deceased, according to the eastern perception. Banquet scenes of this type are also common on the rock reliefs of Rough Cilicia (Iacomi 2013: 277, 281, fig. 2). This particular grave stele, with its stiffer rendering, corresponds perfectly to the late Hellenistic funerary steles known from Antioch-on-the-Orontes. In the first century BC the characteristics of this type of stele are the rectangular format with some height and the depiction of a single figure reclining on a *kline*. For further literature regarding the tradition of grave steles in Antioch-on-the-Orontes, see Lafli, Christof 2014: 173–74.

*Inscription* (fig. 17). Two lines below relief scene. Alphas have broken crossbars.

Γλόκων ἄλυπε  
2 χαῖρε



*Translation.* Glykon, who caused grief to no one, hail!

*Epigraphic comments.* The inscription contains the name of the deceased, Γλύκων, followed by the standard formula of the Antiochene, Zeugmene and northern Syrian steles, ἄλυπε χαῖρε, which represents a positive virtue, ‘causing grief to no one’ (Crowther 2013: 206, 216–17, nn.89–91). The personal name Γλύκων is well-attested throughout the Greek and Roman worlds (for example in a second- to third-century AD inscription from Side: Calderini et al. 1920: 29; Ferrary 2008: 252, n.20, 253, 259, 271, n.63; Adak et al. 2015: 105, no. 12, l.1).

*Date.* The workmanship of the stele is unpretentious and the figure modelling is rather cursory; these are features typical of late Hellenistic steles from Antioch (Lafli, Meischner 2008: 160, no. 23, fig. 23). This indicates that the stele should be dated to around the first century BC. Its inscription should be dated to the same period on the basis of the shape and style of the ‘suspended’ omega. The quality of this type of scene declines noticeably during the Roman Imperial period.

6. Votive stele to the god Men (figs 18–20)

*Location.* Museum of Alanya; inventory no. 114 (written in pencil on the right edge of the piece: fig. 19).

*Provenance.* Its style suggests a probable origin in Pisidia.

*Material.* Creamy, hard, porous, coarse-grained limestone.

*State of preservation.* Apart from some small irregularities, the stele is complete and well-preserved. The right side of Men’s face is damaged. A fissure running across the relief field from upper right to lower left indicates a break in antiquity. There are some missing chips as well as cracks in the fissure and on the back of the stele.

*Measurements.* Maximum height 34.7cm, width 20.2cm, maximum thickness 13.4cm, height of letters in l.1 3.8cm, height of letters in l.2 3.2cm, height of letters in l.3 2.8cm.

*Description.* In a naiskos flanked by Doric pillars is a frontal standing male dressed in a short *chiton*, wearing boots and holding a spear in his raised left hand and a libation bowl in his right hand. There are two crescents: one at his neck and one on top of his head. The iconographic clarity permits a secure identification of Men (for the sparse cultic evidence of Men in Cilicia, see Pilhofer 2006: 81, n.112). To the rear right side of the scene is a bull of unidentifiable variety whose face is turned toward the viewer (an adult zebu bull, i.e. a *bos indicus*?; for a



Fig. 18. No. 6: votive stele to the god Men, Museum of Alanya (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

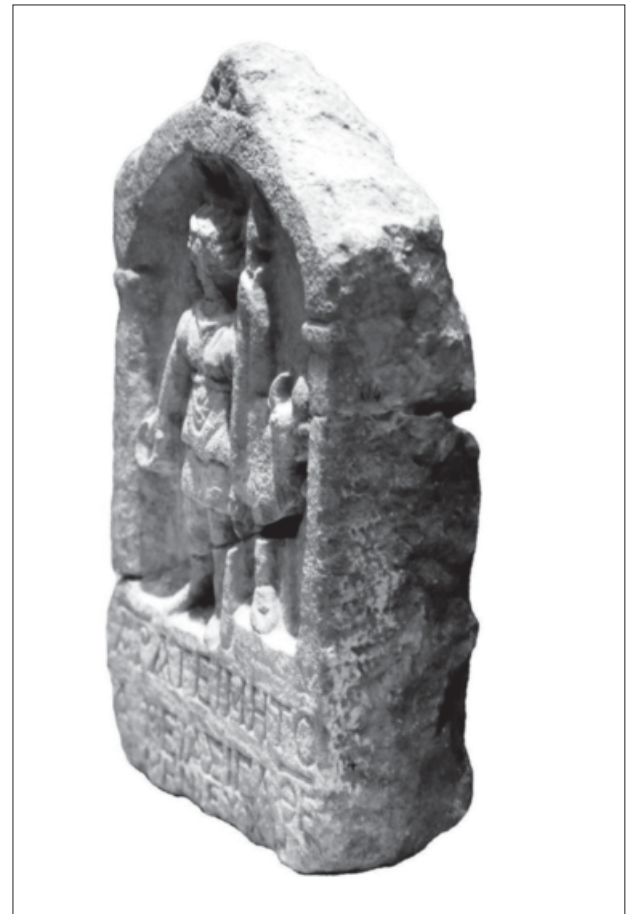


Fig. 19. No. 6: side view (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



similar bull face, see Mühlenbock et al. 2015: 29, fig. 3). The iconography of the god Men, to whom the vow is addressed in the inscription, is depicted here in a familiar form for Roman Asia Minor (Vollkommer 1992), but with small variations. Here, he has no Phrygian cap and the additional second crescent on top is a rather uncommon feature. Sometimes Men is accompanied by animals, in this case by a bull, which probably represents, besides many other possible associations, the god's power. For a similar bull on a Men stele from the environs of Kula in Maeonia-Lydia, dated to AD 235–236, see Lane 1970: 51, no. 2, pl. VIb (= Lane 1971: 1, no. 50, pl. 22). The inscription shows that a bull was to have been offered to the god Men by the dedicator. Because he could not realise this intention, the god consented to accept the stele instead. Therefore, the bull on the stele can be viewed as a substitute for the intended sacrifice (see also Labarre 2010: 35–36 for Men and the bull).

It is quite usual in the ancient Greek and Roman worlds for a god rather than a human worshipper to be shown with a phiale for libation, as here. There are several current modes of thought regarding the depiction of gods conducting libations, such as a desire to emphasise the intermediate sphere between gods and men, or the willingness of the gods to hear the prayers of men, or, more generally, divine essence and power (Simon 2004: 242–44). According to a fairly recent interpretation, this feature visualises the reverence that should be accorded to the god by his followers (Huet 2015: 150). The undecorated areas and sides of the stele have been worked with a claw chisel.

*Inscription* (fig. 20). The main field of the stele contains a scene in relief above a three-lined inscription, in which two lines have widely spaced large letters. Although the scene is clear enough, the reading of the first two lines as a votive to Men is problematic; a possible interpretation is as follows:

A(ὐ)ρ(ήλιος) Ατείμητο(ς)  
 2 [Λ]Α[Τ]ΡΕΙΑΣΙΣΑ θε(ῶ)  
 Μηνὶ εὐχί[ν].

*Translation.* Aurelius Ateimetos, on being cured set down my vow to the god Men (see below).

*Epigraphic comments.* There are two hastae over the αρ in l.1 and θε in l.2. In l.1 an upsilon makes a ligature with the rho at the bottom of the rho which composes A(ὐ)ρ(ήλιος). According to A. Blanco-Pérez, the commonly omitted Αὐρ. reflects a local epigraphic habit in Roman Asia Minor that tended to use this reduced form with a preponderance of Greek or native names (Blanco-Pérez 2016: 273, nn.17, 18). In l.2 it is not possible to make satisfactory sense of [λ]α[τ]ρείας ἴσα, 'equal things of worship'. In the case that there is a possible malformed



Fig. 20. No. 6: inscription (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

epsilon in (ε)ἴσα where the mason carved a sigma, the reading of l.2 could be ἰα[τ]ρεία (ε)ἴσα θε(ῶ), as translated above. The fact that its form is different from the second rectangular sigma in l.2 could indicate uncertainty on the part of the letter-cutter. Alphas are also of two types: in l.1 the alphas have a broken crossbar and in l.2 they are of the usual form with a straight crossbar.

*Date.* The framing and style of the relief is similar to one from Keçili in Pisidia, dated roughly to the second to third century AD (Smith 2011: 143, R5, 145, fig. 7). Here, however, the square sigma in l.2 indicates a date in the first half of the third century AD. Also, it is commonly believed that the Roman *nomen* Aurelius points to a date after AD 212, i.e. after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* by Caracalla; according to Blanco-Pérez, the 'Aurelian evidence' can provide 'a reliable tool for the study of the period, following both Septimius Severus' and Geta's deaths in ... 211' (Blanco-Pérez 2016: 279; also Feissel 2016).

7. *Votive altar depicting the abduction of Kore by Pluto* (figs 21–28)

*Location.* Museum of Alanya; inventory no. 1.10.93.

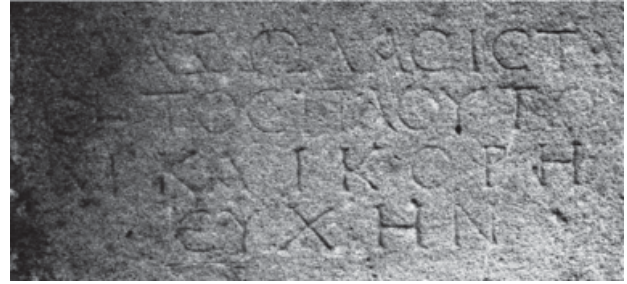
*Provenance.* Found in 1993 in Konaklı (formerly known as Telatiye or Şarapsa), a coastal district 11 km west of Alanya, i.e. in the ruins of ancient Augea (or Aunesis). This large altar could be an indication of a local shrine (a plutonium?) or a temple in this area (for Pluto and Kore?).

*Material.* Grey, hard, very porous, coarse-grained, local limestone, similar to serpentine. This kind of limestone was commonly used for Roman and early Byzantine sculpture and architectural mouldings in Rough Cilicia. A grave altar for Iate held at the Museum of Alanya was created from the same type of limestone (inventory no. 13.11.79; Nollé et al. 1985: 132–35, no. 10, pl. 20, fig. 10a–c = SEG 35.1420) and was found in Dimöte Köyü east of Alanya, near Dim Çayı, which was possibly 'the port of Hamaxia' (Bean, Mitford 1962: 187).

*State of preservation.* The most obvious damaged elements include the quadriga, the head of Pluto, the head of the warrior and his left leg, some parts of the serpent as well as the right-bottom corner of the inscribed side. There are small cracks and scratches in several places. The surface is partially yellowed. Otherwise the piece is well-preserved.



*Fig. 21. No. 7: votive altar depicting the abduction of Kore by Pluto, Museum of Alanya (photo C. Küncü, 2006).*



*Fig. 23. No. 7: detail of inscription (photo C. Küncü, 2006).*



*Fig. 22. No. 7: inscription (photo C. Küncü, 2006).*



*Fig. 24. No. 7: relief showing Demeter's search for Kore (photo C. Küncü, 2006).*





Fig. 25. No. 7: relief showing Demeter's search for Kore (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



Fig. 26. No. 7: relief showing the infernal quadriga (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



Fig. 27. No. 7: relief showing serpent/dragon and warrior (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



Fig. 28. No. 7: relief showing serpent/dragon and warrior (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



*Measurements.* Height 128.2cm, height of upper moulding 28.7cm, height of lower moulding 25.3cm, width 64.7cm, width of upper moulding 78.7cm, height of letters in ll.1–3 3.4cm, height of letters in l.4 4.6cm.

*Description.* A large monolithic altar with upper and lower mouldings. On the top, two volutes ending with acroteria in the middle and on each corner (height 11.5cm). The top of the altar displays marks of a column with a diameter of 46cm (fig. 21). Three sides bear relief decoration, with a maximum thickness of 4cm.

The first relief (height 63.2cm, width 69cm), on the rear, shows the search of Demeter for her daughter Kore (also known as Persephone or Proserpina), who was abducted by Pluto (Hades) as she picked flowers (figs 24, 25). These two episodes connected to Kore's abduction by Pluto – i.e. Demeter's search and Kore picking flowers – are combined here into one scene. A kalathos in the left corner of the scene is very distinctive. Demeter's cloak flows from her shoulders which, like her facial features, is clearly carved. Depicted as a mature, possibly diademed woman, Demeter has a sinuous hairdo, parted in the centre and pulled back in a knot. Speed and urgency in her restless search are indicated by the movement of her wind-blown garments behind her shoulders. Demeter sought her daughter day and night, as is indicated here by the two tall torches in her hands.

The relief on the left side (height 57.9cm, width 70.3cm) shows the infernal quadriga, from which Pluto snatched Kore, plunging through the Bay of Cyan into his subterranean realm (fig. 26). In this representation, Pluto is not depicted in strictly canonical fashion.

The relief on the right side (height 60.2cm, width 54.2cm) depicts a serpent or dragon in front of a naked warrior with a shield at his right side (figs 27, 28). The warrior is elevated on a ledge.

In Greek mythology, Kore, the daughter of Zeus, becomes the queen of the underworld after being abducted by Pluto, the god-king of the underworld, and she has a double function as both a vegetative and chthonic goddess (Lindner 1988: 399). The actual abduction of Kore by Pluto, the central narrative of the story, is indicated on this altar by the overturned kalathos. In other iconographical examples of the kidnapping scene, the unwillingness of Kore in light of Pluto's violence is emphasised (Lindner et al. 1988: 370); this is not reflected on the Alanya altar. In fact, all the figures on all three sides are linear and schematic, with no detailed features, attributes or expressions. Their outlines and proportions are roughly designed and not particularly expressive. Accordingly, this appears to be a local work of the Rough Cilician-Pamphylian border region around Alanya.

*Inscription* (figs 22, 23). On the plain front side there is a short votive inscription in four lines with widely

spaced letters. Sigmas are lunate and alphas have broken crossbars. The inscription is shallow and worn.

Ουαξολασις Τά-  
2 σητος Πλούτω-  
νι καὶ Κόρη  
4 εὐχήν.

*Translation.* Ouaxolasis, son of Tases (made the dedication) to Pluto and Kore, fulfilling a vow.

*Epigraphic comments.* During the Roman period the divine couple Pluto and Kore were invoked together in several religious inscriptions in southern Asia Minor. In l.1 there is a new Anatolian name, Ouaxolasis (Ουαξολασις), without accentuation, as this name is not Greek. For a parallel, cf. Ουαξαις, as a female name in Isauria (Zgusta 1964: 392, no. 1141-1), or Ουαξαμως, as a male name in Isauria-Cilicia (Zgusta 1964: 392, no. 1141-3). Some epichoric names were used in the Tauric regions for both males and females (Milner 2004: 73; and cf. Masas in no. 10 below). The name Tases (Τασης) is already attested in Cilicia (Zgusta 1964: 494, no. 1516-2). The genitive Τασητος appears also in Pamphylia (Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896: 140, no. 232). Τασητος is known in a papyrus from AD 198/9 (Van Minnen 2009: 203, no. 21).

*Comparanda.* For the theme, see Lindner 1984 and Güntner 1997, without direct parallels. Compare a votive altar with depictions of Pluto and Kore from Pisidia (Polat-Becks, Metin 2014). The grave altar for Iate in the Museum of Alanya, mentioned above, displays similarities not only in material but also in terms of style.

*Date.* Based on the subject and the iconographic style, the stele should be dated to the second century AD. The well-cut letters are compatible with a date in the same century, but it is difficult to narrow the dating more precisely.

8. *Altar or architectural element, reused as a funerary monument* (figs 29–31)

*Location.* Museum of Mersin; inventory no. 09.7.1.

*Provenance.* Found by Sayar in 1997 in the district of Kızıldağ, ca 28km northwest of Erdemli in the rural area to the south of the Taurus mountains. It was knocked over, but not far from its original place of use. Kızıldağ seems to have been a part of the chora of Elaiussa-Sebaste (now the Merdivenlikuyu district of the village of Ayaş) and is located ca 5km northeast of Elaiussa-Sebaste. According to Sayar, the artefact belonged to an open-air, cultic, rock-cut podium with stairs in Kızıldağ, where numerous other examples of activity associated with the cult of Hermes have been recorded (Sayar 1999b: 414; also Hicks 1891: 232, no. 13, 237, no. 20; Pilhofer 2006: 178, A13a, 201, A137, 224, B74).



Fig. 29. No. 8: altar or architectural element, reused as a funerary monument, Museum of Mersin (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



Fig. 30. No. 8: side view (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



Fig. 31. No. 8: detail (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

*Material.* White, hard, porous, coarse-grained, calcareous, local limestone. The whole monument was carved from a rock face.

*State of preservation.* The right edge of the niche, the bottom edge of the figure's tunic, his head and two legs are badly damaged; some of the damage is fresh, the result of a sledgehammering in 1997 (Sayar 1999b: 414). The surface is extremely eroded, weathered, rounded, greyed or yellowed and partially encrusted.

*Measurements.* Height ca 220.2cm, maximum width ca 52.3cm, maximum thickness ca 40.3cm.

*Description.* An altar or an architectural element like a pillar or a base, with upper and lower mouldings on three sides; it was probably recycled as a funerary monument. The secondary usage was accomplished by carving a simple aedicula on the front side to show in deep relief a standing male warrior, dressed in a short (and belted?) *chiton* and holding an upright spear in his raised right hand. In his left hand, the figure holds at waist height an indistinct object, perhaps the hilt of a sword; this is a very well-known gesture among the rock-cut reliefs of eastern Rough Cilicia. Based on his military equipment, M. Durukan suggests he was a soldier (Durukan 2006: 67); but this type of heroic male figure is very common on the rock-cut reliefs of this region (figs 32, 33; Durugönül 1989: 204, 211–13, 219, 221, 236–38, 241, 243, figs 5, 11, 12, 13, 19, 21, 36–37, 41, 43).

Two attributes are depicted in association with the warrior on either upper side of the narrow naiskos (fig. 31). First, on the right side is a *kerykeion*, a long and thin staff entwined by two serpents. This is a chthonic attribute of Hermes, a feature often shown in his left hand. According to the archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic evidence the cult of Hermes was very popular in Rough Cilicia (Pillofer 2006: 79, n.104, 66, n.54; for a Hermes stele in Alanya, see Nollé et al. 1985: 126–27, no. 3, pl. 18, no. 3). Several architectural structures and other archaeological finds have depictions of *kerykeia*, Herakles' clubs, thunderbolts, shields and swords, which are all considered cultic symbols in the territories of Olba in eastern Rough Cilicia (Durukan 2006: 64–65). Thus, Zeus was identified by the inhabitants of the Olba region by the thunderbolt, Hermes by his *kerykeion*, Herakles by his club and the Dioscuri by their *piloi*, as they preferred symbolic to written labels for the identification of their deities. During the Hellenistic and Roman periods the *kerykeion* was especially common in the region of Olba as a cultic symbol of Hermes (Durugönül 1989: 142–43; Durukan 2006: 66–68, figs 3–11). Not only buildings, but also tombs bear what is obviously a *kerykeion* as a symbol indicating a relationship with the cult of the deceased. As a chthonic escort of newly deceased souls from earth to the afterlife, Hermes performed the role of psychopomp in several parts of Helle-

nistic and Roman Asia Minor, including Olba (for instance, a rock-cut relief with a tentatively identified *kerykeion*-bearing Hermes has been noted in the necropolis area of Kimistene in Paphlagonia: Lafli, Christof 2012: 20, fig. 34).

The second attribute, in the upper-right corner above the niche is a sculpted wreath or crown, which could represent the victory of the eternal spirit over death heroically or as a circle of eternal life. This wreath has been interpreted by Sayar and Durukan as a crescent (Sayar 1999b: 413; Durukan 2006: 67, 69), which is understood as a cultic symbol for Men or Selene in the Olba region and is a common attribute on funerary steles from Cilicia Pedias (Çalık 1997: 90).

There are many chisel marks on the remainder of the surface. It is unclear whether the monument was originally polychromic, as paint only rarely survives on Cilician rock-cut reliefs.

This type of stele is unique both in Roman Cilicia and northern Syria, as it is a virtually portable monument. The sculpted cultic niche depicts a male, monumentally heroised in a previously unknown type of monolithic funeral monument for an open-air sanctuary in the Olba region. As stated above, the rock-cut warrior-in-naiskos design is a very popular local phenomenon in eastern Rough Cilicia. Such rock-cut reliefs were carved on rock faces individually or in groups, and are numerous in the territories of the cities of Olba-Diocaesarea, Corycus, Elaiussa-Sebaste, Canytelis and Antioch Lamotis which make up the 'Olba region', an area located between the rivers Lamus (Limonlu) in Erdemli and Calycadnus (Göksu) in Silifke in eastern Rough Cilicia. Since the end of the 19th century these rock-cut reliefs have been examined by E.L. Hicks, J. Keil, A. Wilhelm and R. Heberdey, as well as S. Durugönül (Hicks 1891; Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896; Keil, Wilhelm 1931; Durugönül 1989); the dating and art historical contextualisation of the reliefs are, however, still problematic.

*Comparanda.* Pfuhl, Möbius 1977: 117, pl. 54, no. 302. A rock-cut relief from Efenk with a depiction of a warrior (fig. 32) and an inscription, located ca 2km north of Sömek, ca 30km northeast of Silifke, and another from Yeniurt in the chora of Olba, 26km northwest of Erdemli (fig. 33), are also very similar in terms of posture, clothing, outlining style and workmanship (Hicks 1891: 260, no. 36; Keil, Wilhelm 1931: 98, no. 111; Durugönül 1989: 47–48, 103, 150 and *passim*).

*Date.* Most such rock-cut reliefs with similar depictions, rarely accompanied by inscriptions, are dated generally between the second and third centuries AD (among others, for the date of the Athena relief and its inscription at Sömek in Silifke, see Durugönül 1989: 50–51, 128–37). A 1.8m-high rock-cut relief in the necropolis area of Corycus presents a frontal warrior holding a lance





Fig. 32. Rock-cut relief from Efrek depicting a warrior (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



Fig. 33. Rock-cut relief from the district of Yeniuyurt in the chora of Olba depicting a warrior (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

with his right hand and a hanging sword with his left. The nature of the short *chiton* folds that converge obliquely at the waist is similar to those here. Stylistically, Durugönül dates this relief in the first century AD (Durugönül 1989: 28, 100, 103). Our example, with its roughly executed and schematic garments, should be dated to the second century AD or slightly later.

*Reference works.* Sayar 1999b: 413–14, 419, figs 7–8, 420, fig. 9; Durukan 2006: 67, n.28, 81, fig. 12.

#### 9. A panel with Medusa head (figs 34, 35)

*Location.* Museum of Mersin; no inventory no.

*Provenance.* Registered and labelled as ‘surface find from Soloi-Pompeipolis’.

*Material.* White, hard, coarse-grained, local limestone.

*State of preservation.* The figure’s nose and lips are severely damaged. There are two fresh, deep vertical scratches on both cheeks, and several other fresh cracks on the surface, which is worn, weathered and browned. Otherwise, the panel is intact and well-preserved.

*Measurements.* Maximum height ca 50.8cm, maximum width ca 44.0cm, maximum thickness ca 12.2cm, thickness of plinth ca 4.0cm.

*Description.* A square, thin panel filled with a bold Medusa portrait (33.8cm × 23.7cm). Here, a youthful, smooth-cheeked Medusa, lacking defined irises in the eyes, has a turbulent ‘Baroque’ hairstyle with snake-like locks. A well-preserved knot is attached immediately under her chin to indicate intertwined snakes. Two irregular bulges on top of her head do not resemble the wings common among Medusa images.

The Gorgoneion, the head of the monstrous Medusa beheaded in mythical times by Perseus, featured prominently in Archaic Greek temples and tombs due to its apotropaic function. Although its popularity waned in the Classical period, a revival of its use on tombs and buildings in Hellenistic times provided inspiration for Roman artists (Floren 1977: 5). During the Roman period, Medusa was represented with a realistic human form. She is shown with thick, turbulent locks blowing forward and grazing her cheeks, as in the examples from Aphrodisias, Side and Leptis Magna (Sturgeon 2004: 78). She is one of the most popular and enduring figures of the funeral sculpture of Roman Cilicia, and is variously portrayed on steles, sarcophagi and other types of burial monuments as an apotropaic symbol averting evil (Er 1991: 119).



Fig. 34. No. 9: panel with Medusa head, Museum of Mersin (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



Fig. 35. No. 9: side view (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

The tradition of applying sculpted heads and busts to architectural elements was strong in Roman Asia Minor. They were applied in various locations, including the pediments, friezes, capitals, coffers and acroteria of structures as diverse as temples, libraries, propylaia, gymnasia, baths, arches, stoas and theatres. In most cases, the precise subject matter, which is equally varied, was related to the purpose or symbolic intent of the building. The traditional association of the bust of Medusa with temples was strong, as demonstrated at Didyma, Pergamum, Aezani and Side (for the use of Medusa's head as part of the architectural decoration of Roman buildings at, among other sites, Didyma and Side, see Paoletti 1988: 149, nos 45, 46, pl. 107). A Medusa frieze, for instance, is located in the smaller peristyle Roman temple at Side in Pamphylia (Mansel 1963: 80–81, fig. 61). But she is also represented on the entablatures of baths; large heads of Medusa, Herakles, Perseus and the Minotaur were situated on the consoles of the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias (now in Istanbul: Mendel 1914: nos 497–501) and on the porticoes of a hall in the Severan forum in Leptis Magna, Libya (Ward-Perkins 1948: pl. 9, nos 3–4; Bianchi Bandinelli et al. 1966: figs 115–18). In Rome, Medusa masks occur on the soffit of the architrave of the Forum of Nerva (von Blanckenhagen 1940: 39, 40, pl. xiii). Therefore, it seems likely that there are two options for use of the Medusa panel from Soloi-Pompeiiopolis: it was either a door that closed the entrance of a rock-cut chamber tomb (not common in Cilicia) or it was associated with a civic Roman bath, as is the case at Aphrodisias.

*Date.* S. Pülz dates the Medusa heads in the colossal Temple of Apollo at Didyma to the Hadrianic period (Pülz 1989: 47–52, 136–37, 144–45). Based on stylistic and iconographical comparisons with Medusa heads of the second century AD, this local work should also belong to the second century AD, most probably to the first half of the century.

*10. Funerary stele with four inscribed tabulae ansatae* (figs 36–43)

*Location.* Museum of Mersin; inventory no. 00.21.1.

*Provenance.* The stele was registered and labelled as 'found in Kaleköy' when it was acquired by the museum in 2000. The district of Kaleköy is located ca 6km northeast of Mezitli, ancient Soloi-Pompeiiopolis, and ca 9km northwest of Mersin (on the archaeological finds from Kaleköy, see Lafli 1995: 29; 2004: 87). The craftsmanship, iconography, epigraphic content and onomastics of this stele make it very probable that it was brought from northern Syria (Zeugma) to Cilicia. The text and its cultural setting also point toward a region at the intersection of southern Anatolia and northern Syria where the ancient Greek language was 'universally' in use.





Fig. 36. No. 10: funerary stele with four inscribed tabulae ansatae, Museum of Mersin (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



Fig. 37. No. 10: side view (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

*Material.* At Zeugma, rock-cut tombs were carved into the thick, embedded limestone and the area was rich with limestone sources appropriate for sculpture (Karaca 2008: iv). The characteristic Zeugmene limestone is white to beige, soft, chalky, brittle, fine-grained, fossiliferous, calcareous and contains chert nodules. Lithologically, this stele, carved from beige, soft, chalky limestone, is typical of the Zeugma area.

*State of preservation.* Except for the head and left wing of the eagle on the upper part, the stele is almost intact and well-preserved. Some letters are damaged. There are some

fresh scratches on the surface, which is partially weathered and yellowed.

*Measurements.* Maximum height ca 116.3cm, width ca 54.1cm, thickness ca 16.2cm; height of basket on the top ca 28.8cm, width of basket on the top ca 22.2cm; height of eagle ca 22.2cm, width of eagle ca 20.2cm; height of basket on the stele ca 22.2cm, width of basket on the stele ca 15.5cm; *tabula ansata* A ca 13.3cm × 13.3cm, height of letters ca 1.2cm; *tabula ansata* B ca 8.8cm × 12.4cm, height of letters ca 1.2cm; *tabula ansata* C ca 6.6cm × 15.5cm, height of letters ca 1.1cm; *tabula ansata* D ca 16.8cm × 43.1cm, height of letters ca 1.4–1.6cm.



*Description.* The upper edge of this thick and massive stele is decorated by an almost freestanding wool basket (*kalathos*) on the left and on the right by a handsomely carved eagle with spread wings whose body, feet and right wing are still preserved. The eagle stands upright, frontally, with folded but partially open wings swept back together. The wings are outspread with the tips curving down and meeting behind the tail. The detailing of the feathers on the wings and chest plumage is accomplished by incised lines. On the main front and upper part of the stele is a trapezoidal niche. It is inserted not quite centrally, widens toward the top and depicts in relief a second wool basket. Like the first basket, this also represents a natural wicker basket. On either side and under this basket are three *tabulae ansatae* with four lines of inscriptions each, executed in a very irregular manner. Below, a six-line inscription covers the whole width of the stele and is also framed by a *tabula ansata*. Further below are another two inscribed lines. A short distance below this last inscription the stele was levelled off and provided with a lug at the bottom for insertion into a base.

At Zeugma, most of the funerary steles display symbolic eagles and baskets, which generally signify the gender of the deceased (Wagner 1976: 157, 167, 173–75). In funerary iconography, the eagle, ἀετός in Greek and *aquila* in Latin, was the bird of Zeus and a symbol of strength and immortality. The eagle appears mostly on the gravestones of men, but there are cases of female names being included on reliefs with eagles (Gibson 1979: 272). With regards to the eagles of the Zeugmene steles, J. Wagner suggests a relatively profane meaning of ‘heroisation of the dead man’ (Wagner 1976: 158, nn.139, 140). In the funerary sculpture of the Greek and Roman Near East, female figures tend to hold attributes appropriate to the private, domestic sphere, such as a spindle and distaff, keys, children or a calendar. A wool basket appears, however, on those female gravestones which do not bear portraits or figures. Both the basket and the eagle could represent souls, ascended to heaven, as the soul was thought to take the form of an eagle after death (on the Zeugmene steles, see Lafli 2017). As both basket and eagle elements appear here, it is possible that the stele was dedicated to several persons of different genders.

*Inscriptions* (fig. 38). The epigraphic content of the stele – separate texts framed in *tabulae ansatae* – is typical for northern Syria and eastern Cilicia. The texts themselves are narrowly spaced and some letters are illegible. The style of lettering is also typical of northern Syria. Textually and chronologically, all four texts in *tabulae ansatae* are consistent with each other. Orthographically, the most distinctive letter of the inscriptions is alpha, which is similar to the alpha of the Greek uncial lettering style. Sigmas and epsilons are lunate and omegas are cursive.

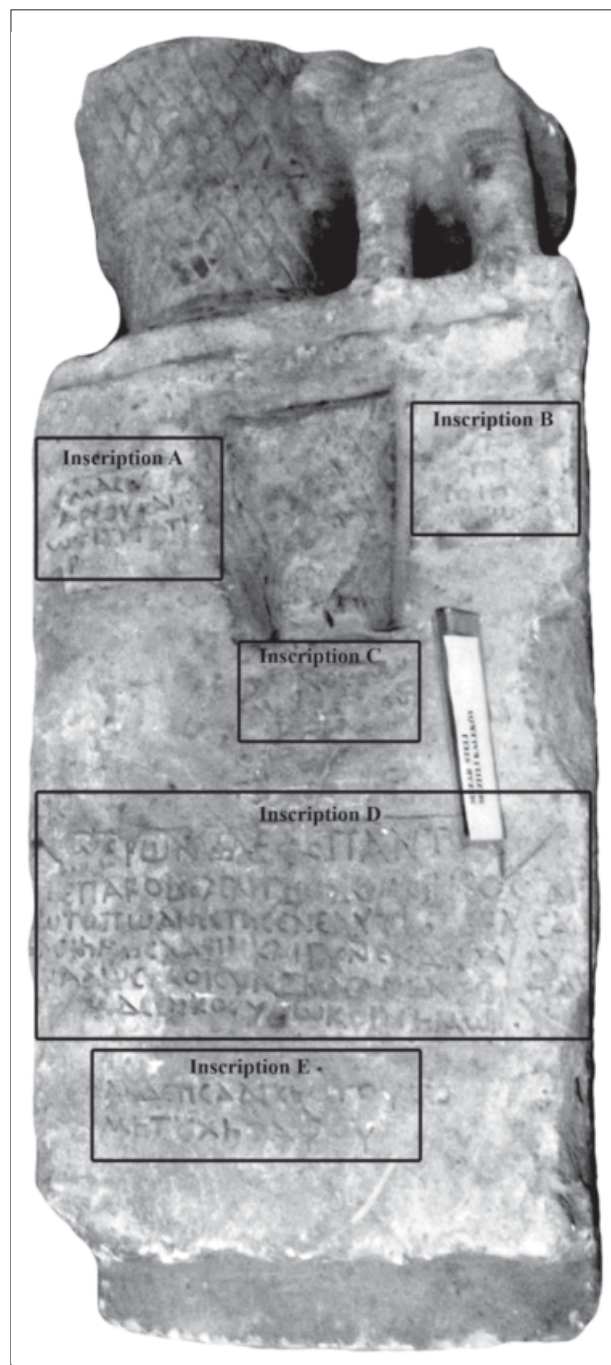


Fig. 38. No. 10: locations of inscriptions (photo C. Küncü and Gülseren Kan Şahin, 2006).

*Inscription A* (fig. 39). This inscription is not completely clear. It sits in a *tabula ansata*, to the left of the wool basket.

- Μάσας  
 2 Ἀρσοῦ καὶ Π-  
 ωτι τυγάτη-  
 4 ρ

*Translation.* Masas, daughter of Arsos (or Arsas) and Pote(?).

*Epigraphic comments.* The personal name Μάσας originates from Pisidia/southern Phrygia (from Termessos: Heberdey 1941: no. 68 = *SEG* 6.625) and Lycia (southern Taurus, for example from Arneae: Kalinka 1944: no. 778; cf. Zgusta 1964: 301, §875-76 masculine names, and 300, §875-72 feminine names). This name is also attested in an inscription from the late third to early fourth century AD, found in 2013 in Sariuşağı near Kaman in Galatia (now in the Museum of Kaman-Kalehöyük: Lafli, Bru 2016b: 234–35, no. 10, l.11). Furthermore, a Μασους is documented in Elaiussa-Sebaste in Cilicia Trachaea: *LGPN* VB. Originally, Masas was an older and quasi pan-Anatolian personal name. A masculine Masa is known in cuneiform Hittite, together with some compounds, for example /*Masamuwa*/ (with *-muwa* = ‘strength’: Laroche 1966: 115, nos 770–71), as well as in hieroglyphic Luwian on seals (/*Masamuwa*/, identical, but phonetically written in extenso: Poetto 1983: 185–86, no. 1). According to M. Poetto, Masa might be connected with the ethnicon ‘Masa’, although a link with the Hittite animal name *masa-* (= ‘locust’) cannot be excluded, as other zoonyms are known (Poetto 1983: 186, n.4).

The name Ἀρσος, by contrast, is new to Zeugma and uncommon elsewhere; but an Ἀρσους or Arsou, a rather Semitic name in the Near East and Syria, exists in *IGLS* 5: 2569 (from Emesa, modern Homs in Syria).

The most interesting name in inscription A is the daughter’s, Πωρι, which is the genitive case of an indigenous but previously unknown female name. A form of the name, Potteis, is attested in Lycia and Pisidia (Zgusta 1964: 438, §1295-2), a geographical origin which corresponds with that of the name Μάσας. The name Πωτας may come from the same root, which is known in Cilicia Trachaea (Bean, Mitford 1970: 228).

Using tau instead of theta for the word θυγάτηρ is quite regular in funerary texts, especially those from Galatia, Phrygia and Lycaonia (for an example from Amorium, see Calder 1956: 284). However, in specific reference works on the origins of θυγάτηρ, the form τυγάτηρ does not appear (Kloekhorst 2011).

*Inscription B* (fig. 40). The inscription sits in a *tabula ansata*, to the right of the wool basket.

- [–]ΥΤΟ ἔ-
- 2 [α]ῦτόν ἔ-
- ποίησε[ν]
- 4 Ἀντίωχος

*Translation.* Antiochus made it for himself(?).

*Epigraphic comments.* As in inscription D, the only name in inscription B is Antiochus, who made (paid for) the monument and bears a distinctive Greek name that was popular in southern Anatolia as well as northern Syria from



Fig. 39. No. 10: inscription A (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



Fig. 40. No. 10: inscription B (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

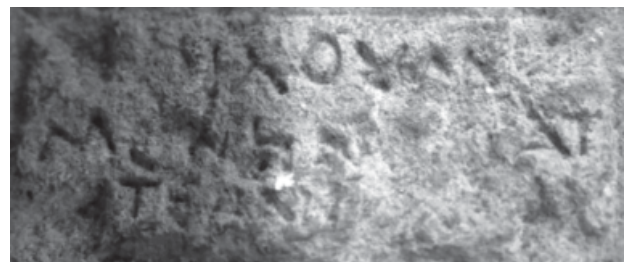


Fig. 41. No. 10: inscription C (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

the Hellenistic period onwards. This use of the accusative for dative is common in epitaphs from Asia Minor (Brixhe 1987). The spelling Ἀντίωχος, a variant of the name Ἀντίοχος, exists in Anazarbus (Sayar 2000: no. 506), on an *ostrakon* from Claudianus Mons in the eastern desert of Egypt (Bingen et al. 1997: 337, no. 5; AD 125–175) and in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus from Egypt (*P.Oxy.* XXXVI: no. 2715, l.18; now in Oxford, AD 386).

*Inscription C* (fig. 41). This is the main central text in *tabula ansata*, immediately below the wool casket. It is heavily damaged.



Φίλου {μ}-  
 2 μένην [τυγ]α {τ}  
 τέρην.

*Translation.* (For) Philoumene his daughter.

*Epigraphic comments.* The accusative ending in nu in l.3 is a noted variant of θυγατέρα. The stone-cutter initially wrote mu and tau at the ends of l.1 and l.2, but perhaps he decided later that the names should be divided by syllables (Φίλου-μένην and [τυγ]α {τ}-τέρην). Thus, he repeated the letters at the beginnings of l.2 and l.3.

*Inscription D* (fig. 42). This is a six-lined inscription in *tabula ansata* in the centre of the stele (D) with two further lines (inscription E) below.

χερῶν βλέφε πάντο-  
 2 τε παρόδε Αντίωχος Βινβος ιδ[ί]-  
 φ τόπω ανέστησεν ἐαυτῶν ἐρμέα (or Ἑρμέα)  
 4 μνήμης χάριν καὶ γυνεῖκαν μου  
 καλῶς μοι συνζήσασαν ἀνεθήκ-  
 6 α δὲ ἐν κοτύλῳ κοιν<ῶ> ἡμῶν

*Translation.*

Look here joyfully always  
 2 passer-by, Antiochus Binbos set up on  
 private land our own herm (or Hermes)  
 4 because of memory, and my wife,  
 who lived with me well, I have buried  
 6 in our common urn/grave

*Epigraphic comments.* The text seems to contain poetical elements. χέρων in l.1 is a variant of χαίρων (cf. *IGLS* 2: no. 443 from the region of Antioch, fourth century AD; *IGLS* 5: no. 2482 from Homs, Syria). παροδε in l.2 is a variant of παροδίτα. The name Antiochus Binbos is attested for the first time. γυνεῖκαν in l.4 is a variant of γοναίκαν. For the use of γυνεῖκαν, cf. inscriptions from Ioulia Gordos in Lydia (AD 159–160: Hermann 1981: no. 727, l.6), Silandos in Lydia (AD 186–187: Hermann 1981: no. 61, l.2) and Thessaly (ca AD 150–200: *SEG* 46.641, l.3). For ἀνεθήκ|α in ll.5–6, meaning ‘have buried’, see *LSJ* s.v. ἀνατίθημι II; incorrectly of burial, *OGI* 602 (from Jaffa, Israel). The meaning of κότυλος/κότυλον in l.6 must be associated with funeral usage.

*Inscription E* (fig. 43). This is a two-lined inscription which consists of a classical funerary imprecation to protect the tomb (*taphos*) against injustice. It is inserted some distance below the *tabula ansata* of inscription D.

[ἐ]άν δέ τις ἀδικῆ [-] τοῦτο  
 2 μὴ τύχη τάφου.

*Translation.* If anybody harms this tomb, let him not receive burial.

*Epigraphic comments.* δέ τις in l.1 could also be δεψίς. ἀδικῆ in l.1 could be ἀδική[ση], an aorist subjunctive, as in the case of τύχη.

*Comparanda.* Typologically, with its baskets and eagle on the upper edge, there is no direct parallel for this stele in northern Syria.

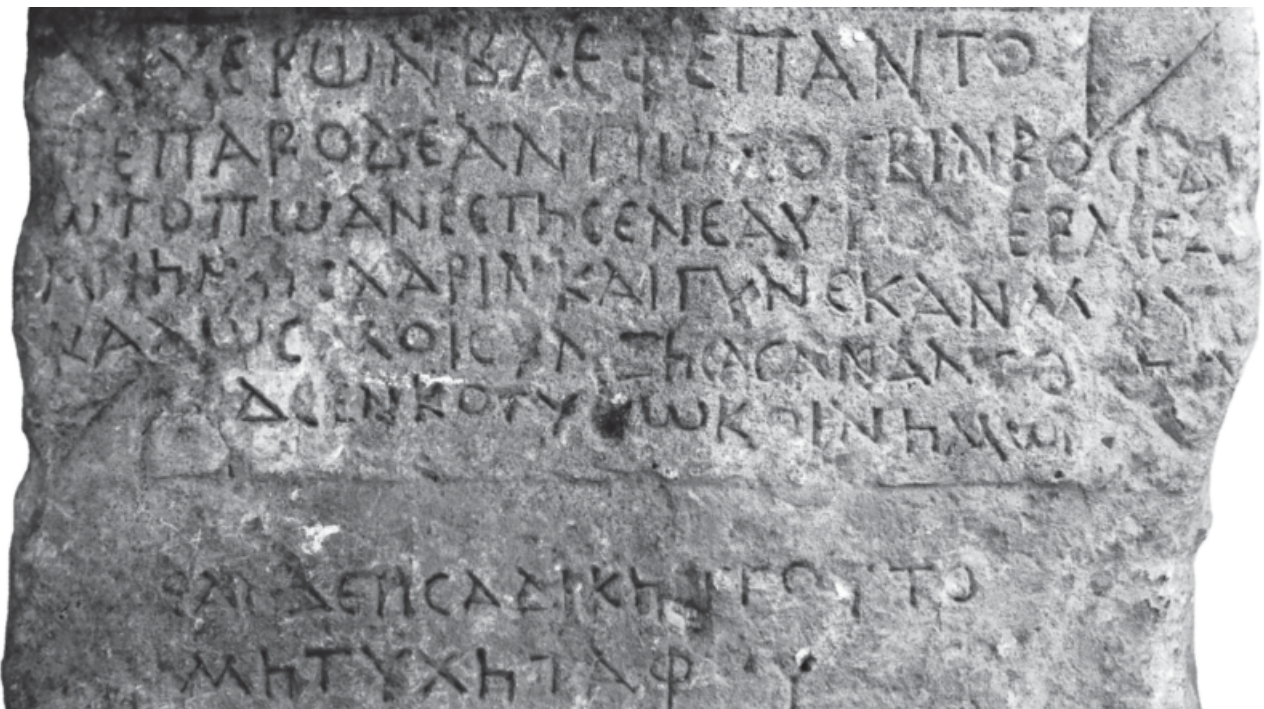


Fig. 42. No. 10: inscriptions D and E (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



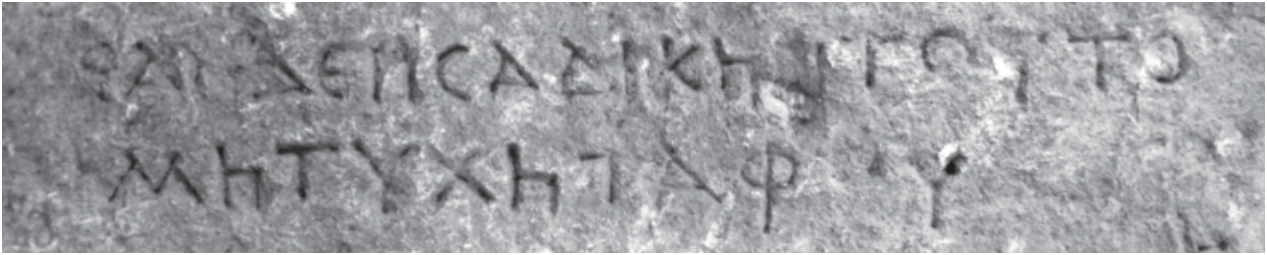


Fig. 43. No. 10: inscription E (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

*Date.* Both baskets are in the typical style of Zeugmene/northern Syrian workmanship of the mid second to mid third century AD, more precisely to AD 150–250 (for similar examples, see Wagner 1976: 197–98, 207, 228, nos 43, 60, 98, pls 34, 37, 44). But the script and textual content seem to be rather later, i.e. from the end of the third to the beginning of the fourth century AD.

*11, Family stele with a modern inscription (fig. 44)*

*Location.* Museum of Alanya; inventory no. 3.02.02. On my last visit in October 2016, this piece was no longer on display.

*Provenance.* Probably from western Rough Cilicia/eastern Pamphylia or Pisidia.

*Material.* Yellowish, coarse-grained marble.

*State of preservation.* Very well-preserved, except for some missing chips on the edges. Originally, a line of a probably Greek inscription was incised on the frame beneath the figures, labelling the individuals shown; but, as the surface is worn, it is now illegible. A modern date ('1946') has been inscribed on the pedestal.

*Measurements.* Maximum height ca 41.2cm, width ca 21.0cm, thickness ca 12.3cm.

*Description.* This is an arched stele with acroteria in the centre and at the corners, and simple block capitals. To the left in the arched segment is an eagle with outstretched wings seen in rear view, standing on a base line and moving to the right. In the main scene is a group of three long-robed, mature figures, facing the viewer: a bearded man in *himation*, a physiognomically identical younger man in the same guise and elevated on a step, and a seated woman, veiled and heavily draped to her ankles. Their features are heavy-set and are iconographically stereotypical. As gestures tend to reveal the affinity of the figures depicted with the deceased, this stele probably shows a family of father, son and mother. The representation of this family, partly in the form of statues, reminds us of the practice of conferring official honours to people by erecting statues in a central place in town (Fabricius 1999: 83). The base lines of the three figures differ, as the middle figure and the female figure are elevated on a step. The heads of the figures are too large in comparison with their bodies, the result, perhaps, of more attention having been

paid to the portrait-like facial features. The eagle is entirely in line with the general tone of the composition.

*Comparanda.* The stele displays a very similar workmanship and iconographic style to the Pisidian examples, especially those of the area around the territory of ancient Tymbrida in Aksu (Bru 2015: 168–71, 174, figs 2–10a, 12) and in the area of İslamköy around Seleucia Sidera



Fig. 44. No. 11: family stele with a modern inscription, Museum of Alanya (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

(Iversen 2015: 57–58, no. 50; second to fourth century AD). A similar iconographic style of figures and clothing can be seen on a frieze originating from western Rough Cilicia, now in the Museum of Anamur (Laflı, Christof 2015b: 194–95, no. 17, fig. 17).

*Date.* The haircuts, the frontal poses of the figures and the rough rendering of the garment folds all indicate a date in the late second to early third century AD.

12. *Fragment of a grave stele depicting a funerary banquet* (fig. 45)

*Location.* Museum of Mersin; inventory no. 98.19.1.

*Provenance.* The stele was acquired in 1998 and perhaps originated from Phrygia or Mysia.

*Material.* The creamy, sugary, fine-grained marble of a good quality differs from other Cilician marble artefacts; perhaps it is from a Phrygian or Mysian source.

*State of preservation.* The right-bottom corner of the stele, comprising less than one-third of the whole stone, is preserved. The right edge of this preserved part is damaged, so that only half the inscription, a small portion of its base and the two lower figures are preserved; the heads of the figures in the second row and the middle of the scene are not preserved. The lug at the bottom is only partially preserved. The surface is partially browned and chipped; otherwise it is well-preserved.

*Measurements.* Maximum height ca 78.8cm, maximum width ca 49.2cm, thickness ca 9.7cm, height of letters ca 2.6–2.8cm.

*Description.* It seems clear that this was a funerary banquet scene, with the fragment depicting an accompanying woman who sits separately on a chair. All the scenery is rendered schematically in horizontal rows. On the right edge of the fragment is a column with an Attic base and next to it a seated, adult woman, in three-quarter view, who is heavily draped to the ankles. Her left hand is outstretched to the shoulder of a small child, standing in front of her. Her seat, a chair with a backrest, is a common type found in reliefs of this sort; it appears with exactly the same framing on a late Imperial grave relief from Prusa ad Olympum, now in the Museum of Bursa (inventory no. 2082; Pfuhl, Möbius 1977: no. 931, pl. 140). The child holds a bunch of grapes with his right hand and carries an unidentified pet in the crook of his left arm. The child's legs are rendered to suggest the vivid motion of youth, as might be typical for a teenager. Ahead of him is a cock, a common child's pet, not in relief, but incised (for similar furniture and pets, see Pfuhl, Möbius 1979: 473–74, pl. 283, no. 1973; from the region around Attuda and Colossae in Phrygia, modern Sarayköy and Honaz, now at the Archaeological Museum of Izmir, inventory no. 244, late Roman). The physiognomies of both figures, with their almond eyes, fleshy noses and small lips, are similar and



Fig. 45. No. 12: *fragment of a grave stele depicting a funerary banquet*, Museum of Mersin (photo P. Grunwald, 2006).

lend them a charmingly naive expression. The wig-like hairstyles of the seated woman and the child are also typical for this type of stele. Some details may have been polychromatic. The seated woman stretches her free hand toward the end of a couch behind, on which are preserved the upper bodies of at least two recumbent, unidentified figures in heavy drapery with no attributes; they are reclining on a *kline*, as is usual for a *Totenmahlrelief*.

At the very bottom of the stele is a roughly chiselled and partially preserved lug, ca 5.5cm high, projecting ca 4cm in front, which served to insert the stele into a base. The smooth back of the stele preserves saw marks.

*Inscription.* The main area of the stele is occupied by a framed relief. Below the scene, immediately under the frame and above the lug, there is an inscription of three lines.

- [- - - Φι?]λώτας τῷ πατρὶ  
 2 [- - -]ω κὲ τῷ πάτρωνι [- -  
 [- - - μνήμης χάρι?]ν.





Fig. 46. No. 13: votive relief bust of Agathe Tyche, Museum of Mersin (photo C. Küncü, 2006).



Fig. 47. No. 13: side view (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

*Translation.* Philotas – in memory of his father ...os and of his patron ...

*Epigraphic comments.* In l.1, Φιλώτας is one of the most common onomastics (see, among others, Mari 2001: 244; an inscription from Eretria: Calderini et al. 1920: 32; Vidman 1966: 269, l.4); other possibilities for this name include Κωλώτας and Μολώτας, which are less attested (Schmidt 1868: 20, n.\*). In l.2, the stone-cutter wrote initially παρὶ by mistake, but he corrected iota to omega. It is also possible that the upper curve of the rho belongs to a vertical hasta. In l.2 there is a ligature on κἔ.

*Comparanda.* For a similar relief from the region of Apamea Myrlea, now at the Museum of Bursa, inventory no. 1624, see Pfuhl, Möbius 1979: 452, pl. 270, no. 1879; third century AD.

*Date.* A sense of elegance is created through the logical and clear drapery arrangements of the figures. The style of the drapery folds indicates a date in the mid Roman Imperial period, probably the early third century AD.

### 13. Votive relief bust of Agathe Tyche (figs 46, 47)

*Location.* Museum of Mersin; inventory no. 91.16.1.

*Provenance.* The stele was acquired in 1991 from a dentist in Mut (Claudiopolis in the Cilician-Isaurian border region).

*Material.* Creamy, coarse-grained, porous, local limestone.

*State of preservation.* Completely intact and well-preserved.

*Measurements.* Height ca 33.0cm, maximum width ca 54.0cm, thickness ca 14.4cm, height of letters ca 2.8cm.

*Description.* The relief portrays a female bust in frontal pose against a shell-shaped roundel with a thick suspending festoon or swag of leaves held by an annular ring on either side. The bust, placed in the upper, central section, is draped

in typical Graeco-Roman dress, the thick ridges of which descend diagonally to the centre of the body. The woman is carved in high relief and her dominating central position is expressive. Her physiognomy consists of large, almond-shaped eyes, a large, fleshy nose and small lips. Her hair is styled in thick stranded locks. Her most striking attribute is a turreted, low crown or conical *polos-modius* resembling the *corona muralis* that is a typical attribute of Tyche. This type of headdress is also associated with the Anatolian Cybele, a mother and earth goddess whose cult was very popular in the Cilician-Isaurian border region (for a votive stele of Cybele from Claudiopolis, see Laflı, Christof 2015b: 189–90, no. 11, fig. 11; for an unusual votive stele from the Museum of Tarsus with Cybele or Leto at the top, see Laflı, Christof 2015a: 133, no. 9, fig. 9 – note that the phallus representation below Cybele is wrongly interpreted as a ‘portrait bust of a female’; for cults in Rough Cilicia in general, see Mitford 1990). Nonetheless, this is clearly a depiction of Agathe Tyche (Good Fortune). In ancient Greek and Roman city cults Tyche/Fortuna was the presiding tutelary deity who governed the prosperity and destiny of a city (Matheson 1994: 19). During the last quarter of the fourth century BC, Agathe Tyche became a goddess in her own right in the Greek world, and during the Hellenistic as well as Roman period representations of this non-Olympian deity were numerous in Asia Minor (for instance, on an altar from Miletus, now in the Archaeological Museum of Izmir: Herrmann et al. 2005: 194, no. 1310, pl. 31). Representations of Tyche are also known on extant Graeco-Roman coins and sculpture from Cilicia (Imhoof-Blumer 1898: 161, 162, 166, 169, 179–80, nos 2, 6a, 15, 26–27, 54, pls 12.2, 12.14, 13.2, 13.21; Stansbury-O’Donnell 1994: 57–58, 62, n.16; Meyer 1999; Laflı, Feugère 2006: 28, 42, nos 49–52, 88–89, figs 20–21; Wright 2008: 118–20, 124–25, figs 11–15; Andrade 2011: 128, figs 3–4). This limestone block, with its rustic and schematic relief, might have been used as a decorative slab in a shrine of Agathe Tyche in Claudiopolis.







Fig. 50. No. 14: inscription (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

During the late Roman to early Byzantine period this type of boundary marker was set up between the territories of the cities and churches of Cilicia, and, given the nature of the inscription, this example could have belonged to a church. Several examples are known from Cilicia, among others, one from Işıkkale, ca 10–15km northeast of Seleucia on the Calycadnus, was built into the pavement of a road (*SEG* 48.1793). Another is known from the gorge of Lamus (Hicks 1891: 260, no. 35). Examples also come from beyond Cilicia, for instance from Eudoxias (modern-day Holanta in Sivrihisar) in Galatia Secunda (Macpherson 1972: 223, no. 6, fig. 6).

*Date.* The characteristic textual features of the inscription indicate a date in the fifth to sixth century AD.

15. *Early Byzantine boundary marker of a χωρίον* (fig. 51)  
*Location.* Museum of Mersin; inventory no. 03.30.1.

*Provenance.* The stone is said to have been brought from Mersin in 2003. A more precise find-spot is not known.

*Material.* Reddish, coarse, ubiquitous, local limestone with a porous and rough surface.

*State of preservation.* There are some cracks on the bottom; otherwise, the marker is well-preserved.

*Measurements.* Height ca 31.2cm, maximum width ca 49.5cm, thickness ca 21.3cm, height of letters ca 4.0–5.7cm.

*Description.* An irregular cube-shaped boundary stone, perhaps made from reused material. There are chisel marks below.

*Inscription.* There is a three-lined inscription whose large and widely spaced letters were deeply carved. Epsilons are lunate and omega is cursive. Alphas have broken crossbars. In l.1 the stroke protruding from the omicron is the result of damage.

- Ὅριον χω(ρίου) [or χ(ωρί)ω] τοῦ  
2 Καλάθου,  
ἐλευθέρου.

*Translation.* Boundary stone of the land-plot of Kalathos, (land) of free status.

*Epigraphic comments.* A similar boundary marker, beginning with ὄριον χω(ρίου), is already known from near Tarsus in Cilicia (Dagron, Feissel 1987: 77–78, pl. 17, no. 33). As in Tarsus, this χωρίον or land-plot is identified by the name of its owner (or former owner), Κάλαθος. To date, this is an unattested personal name in Cilicia, but it is known in Strobilos (Aramea, Çiftlikköy) in Bithynia (Corsten 1987: no. 112, l.4).

In l.3, the horizontal stroke above the final omicron would usually be considered an abbreviation of ἐλεύθερο(ν). However, since this adjective cannot be related to ὄριον, the reading ἐλευθέρο(ν) is preferable, provided that we admit a misreading of the abbreviation in the manuscript, copied by the stone-cutter. If the Tarsian inscription mentions a χωρίον ιδιόκτητον, this new boundary stone marks the limit of a χωρίον ἐλεύθερον, belonging to free tenants, as opposed to imperial property. The same sort of land is also mentioned in an inscription from Hadrianopolis in Paphlagonia (*SEG* 35.1360, ll.14 and 18: ἐπ' ἐλευθερ(ικῶ)).

*Comparanda.* A similar boundary marker, beginning with ὄριον χω(ρίου), is known from Tarsus in Cilicia (Dagron, Feissel 1987: 77–78, pl. 17, no. 33).

*Date.* Comparison with the cited boundary marker from Tarsus leads to a date of ca AD 350–400.

## Conclusions

It is, of course, not possible to draw elaborate conclusions about the nature of Cilicia from just these 15 stone monuments. Nonetheless, some generalisations drawing on earlier publications of Graeco-Roman sculpture from Cilicia will be attempted here. Three of the stone monuments presented above were acquired from beyond Cilicia (nos 6, 10 and 12), but the rest were used in Cilicia during classical antiquity.

The main types of Graeco-Roman funerary monuments in Cilicia were steles, altars, sarcophagi, ossuaries, tondo reliefs in the form of *imagines clipeatae* and freestanding statuary. For Cilicia, it is not possible to establish whether the use of such funerary monuments was a matter of personal choice, economic possibility or simply fashion. During the Roman period, Cilicia saw widespread use of imported sarcophagi from Phrygia, Proconnesus, Attica and Rome, but also of locally produced sarcophagi. These costly items were used and have been found chiefly in urban centres. In rural locations in various parts of Rough Cilicia, some monument types, such as altars, appear in great numbers with some variation. The tradition of erecting grave reliefs started at the end of the fifth century BC in Cilicia and continued to the beginning of the fourth century AD. Funerary monuments from the Roman period are more numerous than those of previous periods, with the majority belonging to the second and third centuries AD. The *Pax Romana* allowed greater degrees of cultural exchange between the various communities of Cilicia as well as between the provinces of Asia Minor and Rome itself. But, as stated above, the number of steles found in Cilicia is low.

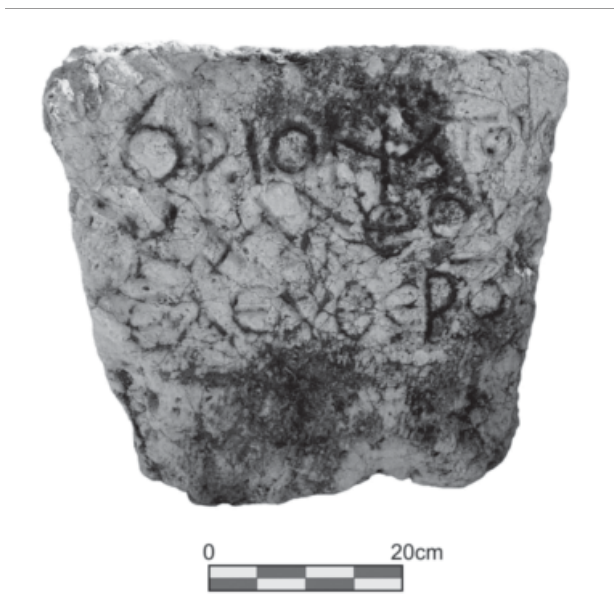


Fig. 51. No. 15: early Byzantine boundary marker, Museum of Mersin (photo C. Küncü, 2006).

The heroisation of ordinary people was a characteristic funerary practice in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor, and this reflects beliefs about the afterlife. According to A.D. Rizakis and I. Touratsoglou, the dialogue between the *τεθνηκότας* (deceased) and the *περιόντας* (living) through these steles may reflect the belief that the dead retained a memory of their social and familial relations (Rizakis, Touratsoglou 2016: 131). These steles may, therefore either heroize the deceased or they may embody symbolic values.

The most characteristic architectural form of grave stele in Hellenistic and Roman Cilicia is the pedimental variety. Steles with figural representations imitating popular Graeco-Roman prototypes, such as steles with a pedimented niche or naiskos steles, are fewer in number than non-figural examples. Those steles without inscriptions are especially difficult to date with any certainty as the unclear picture of stylistic development in Cilician sculpture and the absence of comparanda inhibit chronological and stylistic classification. From the early Hellenistic period until the end of the mid Roman period, steles displayed a typological continuity. The inscribed funerary steles presented here do not include a date of any identifiable local era; we are dependent therefore on other less accurate methods to provide a chronology for these monuments.

Judging from the preserved steles, the Cilician iconography is not clearly distinguishable from that of the wider Greek and Roman worlds. Despite the relatively small number of figural grave reliefs that have been found in Cilicia, study of the figures and motifs found on figural grave reliefs reveals a range of subjects, symbols and features which reflect a well-established Graeco-Roman tradition. The various themes concern the departure of the warrior (no. 2), the prowess of the deceased expressed in terms of their athletic (no. 3) and civic strengths (nos 4, 11) and the heroisation of the deceased through the use of imagery of the funerary banquet (nos 5, 12) or by narrating paradigmatic destinies of mythological figures (no. 7). The standard Graeco-Roman iconographic repertoire appears frequently in Cilicia, and the ideals reflected in these steles are valid for large parts of contemporary Hellenistic and Roman civilisation across the rest of the eastern Mediterranean. During the Hellenistic period, the most important subjects of these steles were athletes, citizens, warriors and specific activities like the *dexiosis* and banqueting scenes which were made visible by different narrative codes. With the arrival of the Roman period, some of these formulae remained valid, such as the reclining hero (as in no. 12), but new visuals were added too; for example, the representation of multiple family members, one beneath the other or side-by-side, either standing or seated (no. 11). Toward the late Roman to early Byzantine period the symbol of the Christian cross and Christian religious prayer forms prevailed (no. 14).



Although figural representations and subjects in Cilicia are closely related to corresponding Graeco-Roman exemplars, certain local differences and alterations can be detected that reflect local perceptions and habits. These can be seen, for example, on no. 8 in the monumentality of the warrior representation, which is similar to the rock-cut reliefs of the Olba region, as well as in the symbolism of attributes, such as the *kerykeion*-and-wreath combination, which was very popular in eastern Rough Cilicia. On these monuments, bodily features are emphasised with less attention is paid to portrait-like features (nos 7 and 11 being exceptions). Most of the faces depicted in these monuments have a vacant expression and the particular features of Imperial portraits and contemporary hairstyles are not observed. Some funerary monuments from Antioch depict deities with the deceased (Laflı, Meischner 2008: 148, no. 4, fig. 4), a combination which is not popular in Cilicia.

The discovery of Attic steles of the Classical period at Soloi indicates that ready-made marble steles reached Cilicia by the fifth century BC. These high-quality marble steles of Greek origin underscore the commercial links between the Greek mainland, the Aegean islands and Cilicia during the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

Judging by their workmanship and style, some of the Hellenistic grave steles may not have originated in Cilicia, but came from Delos (no. 3) and Antioch-on-the-Orontes (no. 5); they were, however, used in Cilician tombs. So we may assume that they were imported into Cilicia either by local Cilicians or by immigrants from those places.

Cilicia had neither a marble industry nor any local quarries and was consequently reliant on marble imports (on sculpture, see Çalık 1997: 101–03; on architecture, see Spanu 2013: 99, 101–103, especially n.19). With an abundance of available limestone, however, especially in Rough Cilicia (Bent 1890: 447), at least some of the limestone monuments were presumably quarried locally. This suggests the existence of local workshops and regional artistic production in Graeco-Roman Cilicia (Laflı, Christof 2015b: 202–03). From the signature on a grave altar of late from Dimöte (see no. 7), we learn the name of a local stone mason (τεχνίτης), Titos, the son of a fourth-generation stone mason, Diomedes, who was active in western Rough Cilicia during the third century AD (Lochmann 2004; on τεχνίτης, see Nollé et al. 1985: 134–35). Based on this inscription, A. Çalık Ross assumes a possible local statuary workshop in the area of Dimöte near Hamaxia and Syedra in western Rough Cilicia (Çalık 1997: 85–86). Accepting this as supporting evidence, we may conclude that some of the steles from western Rough Cilicia must certainly be local Cilician products.

Graeco-Roman steles have been found throughout Cilicia, but a tendency toward conventional and provincial design on steles in certain parts of Roman Cilicia, such as

western Rough Cilicia and northeastern Cilicia, can be traced (compare the characterisation of ‘north Anatolian’ funerary steles during the Roman period: French 2011: 3–4). It is possible that these limestone steles were carved for the Roman population of Cilicia as an alternative to honorary statues. Both the marble and limestone Cilician steles would benefit from petrographic and chemical analyses in order for more precise and scientifically based conclusions to be reached (compare an attempt at a determination of marble sources: Demirkıran 2010). Some grave reliefs preserve traces of paint (for example no. 1), which suggests that some representations were at least partially painted; perhaps paint, now vanished, was added to highlight garments, objects, hair and facial features.

The small number of examples presented here, mostly with short texts, is insufficient evidence on which to base a discussion of the general funerary epigraphic characteristics of Cilicia during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Only a few Cilician funerary monuments have inscribed texts, and, for the most part, these texts seem to play only a supporting role to the imagery. Greek was the main language of the funerary texts from Cilicia. Edessa, however, was the first urban centre in the Roman east where Greek became a minority language in funerary monuments in favour of Aramaic-Old Syriac (Laflı 2016). There are almost no known bilingual texts among the funerary monuments from Roman Cilicia, and Latin funerary texts are rarities. The most common formula of funerary inscription in Graeco-Roman Cilicia consists only of the name and patronym of the deceased. This basic format was in use during the Hellenistic period, while during Roman times the dominant type of textual expression was the dedicatory epitaph that lists the name of the deceased in the dative and the name of the dedicator in the nominative. In Hellenistic Cilicia, relatively simple formulae were used, whereas Roman-period texts were expanded to include additional data that illuminate the relationship between the dedicator and the deceased, the reason for the dedication and the age and cause of death. From our inscriptions, it is very obvious that personal names did not follow a definite rule in Cilicia. During the Hellenistic period, the invocation ‘farewell’ (χαίρε) came into use, becoming more popular between the first and fourth centuries AD.

Given their places of origin, such as Attica, Rhodes, Delos, Antioch or elsewhere, these stone monuments reflect the cosmopolitan character of the deceased in the historical, social and geographic contexts of Graeco-Roman Cilicia. Onomastically, several personal names with various origins demonstrate a cosmopolitan population in Hellenistic and Roman Cilicia, and the cultural identity of the region was influenced by the broader cultural environment. Our example no. 1, for instance,

offers evidence of the demographic relationship between Crete and Cilicia during the Classical to Hellenistic period. Obviously, during Hellenistic and Roman times, Cilicia had intensive maritime relationships with the rest of the eastern Mediterranean and was under strong nautical, rather than terrestrial, influence.

### Notes and acknowledgements

To allow for the study of these objects at the museums of Mersin (formerly İçel) and Alanya, several authorisations were issued by the Turkish General-Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums between 2001 and 2007. Documentation was undertaken in June 2006.

I wish to thank, in alphabetic order, Ilias N. Arnaoutoglou (Athens), Hadrien Bru (Besançon), Eva Christof (Graz), Denis Feissel (Paris), Peter Grunwald (Berlin),

Gülseren Kan Şahin (Sinop), Cem Küncü (Ankara), Guy Labarre (Besançon), Christopher Lillington-Martin (Oxford/Reading), Stella Miller-Collett (Bryn Mawr), Sami Patacı (Ardahan), Massimo Poetto (Milan), Nicolay Sharankov (Sofia) and David W. Tandy (Leeds) for their archaeological and epigraphical revisions of the text. During my museum studies in 2006 Jutta Meischner (Berlin) was also present, and I would like to thank her for her support. C. Küncü assisted me in the Museum of Mersin in 2006, for which I wish to offer sincere thanks. I am also grateful to the editors of *Anatolian Studies*, especially Roger J. Matthews (Reading) and Gina Coulthard (BIAA), and to the anonymous peer reviewers of my article for their critical reading, evaluation and input into my manuscript. Their detailed and searching feedback has greatly improved the text.

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