

İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ EDEBİYAT FAKÜLTESİ

**GÜNEY-DOĞU AVRUPA  
ARAŞTIRMALARI DERGİSİ**

**2-3**

1973 - 1974

EDEBİYAT FAKÜLTESİ BASIMEVİ

1974

## SOME MOTIFS ON ANATOLIAN AND BALKAN TOMBSTONES\*.

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The strong links between the Anatolian and Balkan provinces of the Roman Empire constitute a familiar theme. The economic and strategic ties have been well studied by E. Gren, the religious briefly by Ch. Picard and now in greater detail in the series edited by M.J. Vermaseren<sup>1</sup>. My object here is to draw attention to some Balkan tombstones which exhibit motifs common in Phrygia and neighbouring districts. In some cases it has been possible to link the appearance of the motifs directly with the presence of people of Anatolian origin. In others, the source of the motif remains unclear.

### *Doorstones.*

Tombstone of L. Fabius from Tilurium<sup>2</sup> (J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (London, 1969), pl. 13; *Bollettino di Archaeologia e Storia dalmata* (Split) XXVI (1903) no. 3321); according to Wilkes, a legionary from the colony of Conana in Pisidia. The lower part of the stone consists of a four-panelled door. Above is the field containing the inscription, flanked by spirally-fluted columns supporting a triangular pediment with foliate acroteria.

The door-motif is the most characteristic of Phrygia and is found in all areas apart from the hellenized upper Maeander valley and Cibyratis<sup>3</sup>. The latter was never culturally, only administratively part of Phrygia<sup>4</sup>.

The name of the Pisidian colony was Comama, not Conana. The names of the two cities are confused in manuscripts<sup>5</sup>, but there seems no reason to assume a mistake here. Comama lay in south-western Pisidia (see accompanying map), where the door-type tombstone is as yet unattested. Conana, on the other hand, lay between Sagalassos and Apollonia at Gönen<sup>6</sup>. Doorstones are well-attested in the Apollonia region, although not at Gö-

nen itself<sup>7</sup>. Fabius, therefore, had a tombstone made, the lower part of which corresponded to a style familiar in his homeland, while the upper part was much more in the style of the area in which he died (cf. Wilkes, *op. cit.*, pl. 18). Another legionary veteran from Conana is known from Delminium (*CIL* III Suppl., 9733).

Another doorstone preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Split, along with the above, belonged to C. Longinus, a legionary veteran from Amblada. It was in Kizilca, near Amblada, that A.S. Hall found a doorstone built into the wall of a village house. Another example is known from nearby Bademli (*Anat. St.* XVIII (1968) p. 84, b and pl. XIX a, Kizilca, and p. 70, no. 11 and pl. VI c, Bademli). These are the most southerly doorstones known, but are not totally isolated. Other examples from around Beyşehir Gölü are *MAMA* VIII, 344 from Kak Dede, 362 from Donarsa and J.R.S. Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor* (Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, III, 1884-5) p. 217 from Bahtiyar and «Çetincağcaşar».

These examples lie in or near the Cillanian Plain, said by Strabo (XIII, 629) to have a mixed phrygian and pisidian population. Confirmation of the existence of a Phrygian element in the population is provided by *CINPhr* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum*, most recently published in O. Hass, *Die Phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler* (Sofia 1966)) 26, 27 and 94 from Şarkikaraağaç. Communications in the plain around Beyşehir Gölü are fairly easy, and the Amblada doorstones may be seen as southern outliers of Phrygian culture, if not population (Strabo XII, 570 describes Amblada as bordering on Phrygia and Caria; cf. L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*<sup>2</sup> (Paris 1962), p. 214, adn. 2).

Conana is described by Ptolemy V, 5, 4 as lying in «Phrygia Pisidia» along with Seleuceia, Vetus Beudos, Baris, Lysinia and Cormasa. It is not clear how far this is intended to be an ethnic or cultural description. Phrygian population and influence, to judge by *CINPhr* 25, 28, 29, 37, 93 and 95 and the doorstones (viz. adn. 7) seem in the main not to have spread South of the valley running North-Eastwards from Uluborlu (Apollonia) into Hoyran Gölü. Conana must for the moment be regarded as being at most another possible outpost of Phrygian culture».

*Horseshoe-arc (Hufeisenbogen).*

Stele from Blače near Skopje, crowned by a horseshoe-arch containing

a funerary-feast scene<sup>8</sup> (*JOAI* XLIV (1959), Beibl. 211, pl. 105; *Spomenik* (Beograd) XCVIII (1941-8), no. 428).

Stele from Nikjup (near Nicopolis ad Istrum). Below, recessed field containing inscription. Above, horseshoe-arch containing rosette surrounded by wreath. The top of the stele is not visible in the photograph. The tombstone of Gaius, son of Nicanor, of Nicaea. This is perhaps a doubtful example. The line of the arch continues almost vertically downwards instead of curving in. (*IGB* II, no. 690).

Stele from Sofia (Serdica). Similar to the above, but the arch is certainly of the horseshoe type and contains the bust of a man. Above, a crude triangular pediment and side acroteria (*IGB* IV, no. 1957; here 2).

The horseshoe-arch was a common motif in the West of Phrygia. In the Acmonia region it is frequently found surmounting doorstones and containing a variety of domestic objects (numerous examples in *MAMA* VI). In the Altın Taş valley and between Kütahya and Çavdarhisar it may surmount either a doorstone or a stele containing a full-length relief of the deceased, and contain two lions confronted, an eagle or busts<sup>9</sup>. (*BCH* XXXIII (1909) pp. 284 ff.; *JHS* XVII (1897) p. 279, no. 33; *JRS* XV (1925) pp. 141 ff.; XVIII (1928) pp. 26 ff.; *JOAI* XXX (1937), Beibl. 48 ff.). Examples are also known from Lydia (Herrmann and Polatkan, p. 50, no. 7, pl. VI, 14; pp. 51-2, no. 9, pl. VI, 15; Herrmann, p. 46, no. 39, pl. XII, 1, all from Kula), Isauria (*SERP*, p. 8, no. 1, p. 11, no. 2, p. 12, no. 3) and Cilicia (Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *The Necropolis of Anemurium* (Ankara, 1971), pl. LI, 2). The motif is also found on three «Asiatic» sarcophagi (Ferrari, p. 70, pl. 25, 3 from Nicaea; p. 67 at the Museo delle Terme, Rome (provenience unknown), illustrated Cumont, p. 314, fig. 58; *SERP*, pp. 59 ff., no. 33, pl. VII, the «Sidamaria» sarcophagus; here 3).

This type of arch is later found in church architecture in Anatolia (see J. Strzygowski, *Kleinasien. Ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 29-31). It is not clear whether this arch as a decorative feature on tombstones was derived from contemporary architecture. If so, the adaptation to decorative use could have happened independently in different parts of the Empire. Cumont, p. 237, fig. 58 and possibly fig. 59 illustrates examples from Léon, the base of Legio VII Gemina, in Asturia. No members of this legion from Anatolia, or the eastern part of the Empire in general, are known (list of origins of members of this legion in *RE* XII, 1641 sv. Legio).

*Domestic objects.*

Tombstone of G. Aemilius Viator and his wife Valentina from Odessus (*IGB I*<sup>2</sup>, no. 175 bis; here 4); a member of Leg. XI Claudia. Relief of funerary-feast within temple-façade. On pilasters, open hands at top; below, on left pilaster, mirror and comb.

The haphazard scattering of objects drawn from daily life over tombstones (mainly doorstones, but also altars and stelai) is typically Phrygian<sup>10</sup>. However, quite a few examples are known from Lydia (listed K-P, *I Reise*, p. 73, no. 153 and *II Reise*, p. 65, no. 135), Bithynia (*RA* (1879) I, pp. 208-9; F.K. Dörner, *Reise*, nos. 104, 147, 179; idem, *Inschriften*, nos. 134, 135), Pontus (*Studia Pontica III*, nos. 30, 35c, 35e, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44a, 47, 50, 61a, 71a, 77, 86a, 87, 90, 156, 222, 263), Lycaonia (*MAMA VIII*, nos. 161, 166, 167, 168, 198; *SERP*, pp. 35 ff., no. 13, pp. 42-3, no. 19, p. 50, no. 26).

It is possible that Aemilius had contact with people from these areas while in the army. *CIL III*, 971 from Dacia records a veteran of Legio XI whose home was Amasia. This man, like Aemilius, was probably discharged while the legion was stationed at Durostorum. However, we also know of immigrants from Heraclea Pontica and Nicomedia at Odessus (*IGB I*, 223, 110 bis, 112, 139, 144; 209 bis) and from Amasia and Zela at Serdica (*IGB IV*, 1912; 1930). The presence of further immigrants from Amasia and Zela at Odessus seems inherently likely. Any of these immigrants, but especially those from the last two places, could have been familiar with the motif<sup>11</sup>. On the other hand, the Bithynian examples and the immigrant from Heraclea Pontica can be brought into relation with the belief that the land between Bithynia and Heraclea was Phrygian (E. Meyer, *Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staten in Kleinasien* (Leipzig 1925)), providing another possible avenue.

*Arched aedicula on altar or stele.*

In his article in *Numen* (1957), Ch. Picard illustrated (pl. III; here 5 a and b) two stelai from Skopje. In the upper part of the field, one of them (pl. III, right: the other is broken above, but was probably similar) has an arched aedicula containing two figures. Such an arrangement is well-attested in Phrygia, eg. *MAMA I*, nos. 54, 122, 127, 138, 161, 261, 276 (Kadın

Han); 35, 58, 108, 265 (Ladik); 79 (Saray Önü); 219 (North of Dokuz Devrent Han); 266 (Meydanlı); 300 (Atlandi; here 6); 309 (Kolu Kissa); 356 (Çeşmeli Zebir); 391 (Hüsrev Paşa Han); VII, 251 (Gözören); 278 (Peribeyli); 297 (Amorium); *MAMA* VIII, nos. 15 and 24 (Hatunsaray) are similar.

The motif is such a simple one that the parallelism may be accidental. On the other hand, the appearance of a stylised tree, associated with Attis, on the Skopje stelai may make an Anatolian origin possible.

#### *Plough and oxen.*

Funerary stele from, Şeica Miča, district of Sibiu, Rumania (*Römer in Rumänien*, ed. O. Doppelfeld (Köln, 1969), p. 255, G 137, pl. 86; *CIL* III, 967). Three registers survive. In the middle one, a man guiding a plough drawn by two oxen. Such scenes from everyday life are rare on Dacian tombstones (R. Florescu and L. David-Teosu in Doppelfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 and 255), but common in Phrygia and the Hellespontine area. The motifs of the horseman and the funerary-feast, which occupy the top and bottom registers respectively, together with the form of the multi-register stele, also have their origins in the Hellespontine area<sup>12</sup>. I cite the Anatolian examples showing plough and oxen, although the reliefs showing a plough alone cannot really be separated from these: *MAMA* I, 149 (Şar Ören); 340 (Çeşmeli Zebir); VI, 362 (Olucak); VII, 32 (Osmancık), 489 (Kötü Uşak), 537 (İnsuyu); Haspels, nos. 103, 104 (Akoluk); *JRS* XV (1925), pp. 141 ff., nos. 129, 148, 165 (Kütahya); XVIII (1928), pp. 21 ff., nos. 240 (Zemme), 244 (Altın Taş); *JOAI* XXX (1937), Beibl. 49 ff., nos. 54, 59; 61, 63, 64 (Kütahya); *BCH* XXVI (1902), p. 231, no. 15 (Konya Museum); XXIV (1900), p. 385, no. 38 (Çengiler, North of Iznik Gölü); XXXIII (1909), pp. 290 ff., nos. 47, 48, 52 (valley of Altın Taş); *Ath. Mitt.* XXV (1900), p. 470 (Murat Dağ); XXVII (1902), p. 267 (Yalova); F.K. Dörner, *Inscripfen*, no. 136 (Küreklerköy, near Bursa) K-P, *I Reise*, no. 55 (Philadelphia); G. Mendel, *Musées Impériaux Ottomans. Catalogue des Sculptures Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines*, III (Constantinople 1914), p. 309, no. 1074 (Cyzicus); L. Robert, *Collection Froehner. I, Inscriptions Grecques* (Paris, 1936), p. 60. (near Cyzicus); Firatli, nos. 63, 64 (Byzantium)<sup>13</sup>. The last two examples are probably the earliest of the series (first century B.C.-first century A.D.).

*Vine and ivy decoration.*

The vine or ivy tendril growing out of a two-handled vessel depicted at the bottom of a stèle and covering the frame surrounding the inscription was a widespread funerary motif in Europe<sup>14</sup>. According to A. Mócsy, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior* (Amsterdam / Budapest, 1970), pp. 102, 129, 138, it was one of the distinguishing features of the Upper Moesian stèle<sup>14</sup>. (See a Lower Moesian example from Doppelfeld, op. cit., pp. 2667, G 182 and pl. 87).

In Anatolia, on the other hand, tendril decoration appears only rarely on the minor funerary monuments outside Phrygia<sup>15</sup>. The coastlands in particular appear to have clung to plain forms of stèle or *cippus*, the stelai sometimes decorated with garlands. In Phrygia, the motif appears on two funerary altars dedicated to Zeus Bronton (*MAMA V*, 134, Avdan; *Ath. Mitt.* XXV (1900), p. 437, no. 61 (5 kms. from Boya Tokat, on the Sarī Su), on the pilasters of a doorstone at Eskişehir (*MAMA V*, 40), and by the side of an arched niche on a monument at Bağlıca (*MAMA I*, 413). Examples from western Galatia are provided by *Ist. Mitt.* XVIII (1968), p. 229, fig. 4 and pl. 72, 1 and 3 from Germa.

However, none of the Anatolian examples reproduce the motif exactly. In two of the cases, we have altars instead of stelai. In all the others except one of the Germa examples (pl. 72, 3), which is a marble slab, not a stèle, and not necessarily from a funerary structure at all, we have two-usually plain-vessels. The motif on the Zeus Bronton funerary altars may be directly derived from that on the votive altars of the same god<sup>16</sup>. The vine or ivy tendril without a vessel appears frequently on the pilasters of Phrygian doorstones and stelai of the Altın Taş type. A further number of these stones with arched pediments have tendril decoration in the spandrels.

Thus, while we have a general likeness between the Balkan and Phrygian monuments, emphasised by the apparent absence of the motif from the minor monuments of the rest of Asia Minor, we do not have a sufficient correspondence in details to postulate any direct connexion.

In their study *Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones* (Lund 1957), P.M. Fraser and T. Ronne distinguished three types of tendril decoration (wave scroll, spiral scroll, running flower scroll) and discussed East Greek architectural examples. All three types are to be found in Phrygia. The ma-

for Anatolian monuments from which the Phrygian examples are derived must be identified before any further links with Europe can be discussed.

FOOTNOTES.

1 Erik GREN, *Kleinasien und der Ostbalkan in der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der römischen Kaiserzeit*. (Uppsala, 1941); Charles PICARD, «Observations archéologiques en Yougoslavie», *CRAI* (1954) pp. 70 ff.; *idem*, «Sur quelques documents nouveaux concernant les cultes de Cybèle et d'Attis : des Balkans à la Gaule», *Numen-International Review for the History of Religion*, IV (1957), pp. 1 ff.; *Etudes Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales*, publiées par M. J. VERMASEREN, (Leiden, 1961-).

2. The presence of the «door» type of tombstone in Dalmatia and its introduction there by Anatolian soldiers was noted by E. LINCKENHELD, *Les Stèles funéraires en forme de Maison chez les Médiomatriques et en Gaule* (Paris, 1927), p. 117 (Cumont, p. 213, adn. 1). This work was unavailable to me at the time of writing.

3 On the distribution of doorstones, see *MAMA* V, pp. XV-XVI, and P. LAMBRECHTS, *Antiquité Classique XXXVIII* (1969), p. 144. J.R.S. STERRETT, *Epigraphic Journey* (Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens II, 1883-4), p. 225, mentions seeing the impression of doorstones in the core of the walls of Konya. Konya was not mentioned in the *MAMA* discussion.

4 On the incorporation of Cibyratis into the *conventus* of Laodicea, see A.H.M. JONES, *The cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*<sup>2</sup>, (Oxford, 1971), p. 64. on the population of Cibyra, see Strabo XIII, 4, 17.

5 See B.M. LEVICK, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford, 1967), p. 182, adn. 2.

6 W.M. RAMSAY, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (Supplementary Papers of the Royal Geographical Society, IV, London, 1890), p. 400. Supported by L. Robert, *CRAI* (1948), pp. 401-2.

7 eg. *MAMA* IV, 218 (Küçük Kabaca); 240, 252 (Büyük Kabaca); 245, 246, 252, 256, 257, 262 (Yaztu Viran); 247, 259, 260 (Alcibar); 261 (Güreme).

8 On the motif of the funerary-feast, see below, adn. 12.

9 Numerous new examples from the rock-cut tombs of the Roman period in the Phrygian Highlands are illustrated in Haspels, II, *passim*.

10 On the development of the display of domestic objects on Phrygian tombstones, see F. NOACK, *Ath. Mitt.* XIX (1894), pp. 329 ff..

11 No examples of domestic objects on tombstones are recorded in *Studia Pontica III* from Amasia itself, but no. 156 comes from its territory.

12 Discussion in Firatlı, pp. 16-17. Further on the motif of the funerary-feast *ibid.*, pp. 20-22.



13. Further unpublished examples from Chalcedon are mentioned by Firath, p. 17 and adn. 4. Some more scattered examples are added, and the significance of the motif is discussed, by L. Robert in Firath, p. 170.

14. Another characteristic noted by Mocsy was the arched niche, frequently supported on short pilasters. This feature also appears on some Phrygian stelai, but until the examples of the latter have been assembled and an attempt made to date them, no links between the two groups can be usefully discussed. As in the case of tendril decoration, the similarity between the two groups is emphasised by the absence of such stelai from other parts of Asia Minor.

15. Tendril decoration on a votive stele from the *hieron* of Mên near Pisidian Antioch, *Anat. St.* XX (1970), pl. IV (b) 2 -hardly outside the area of Phrygian cultural influence! I leave out of consideration p. xli the «vine in pot» motif claimed as Christian by Calder, *MAMA* IV, p. XI; VII. Here, as in their curses on grave-violators, the early Christians may have slightly altered a pagan motif familiar to them for their own purposes.

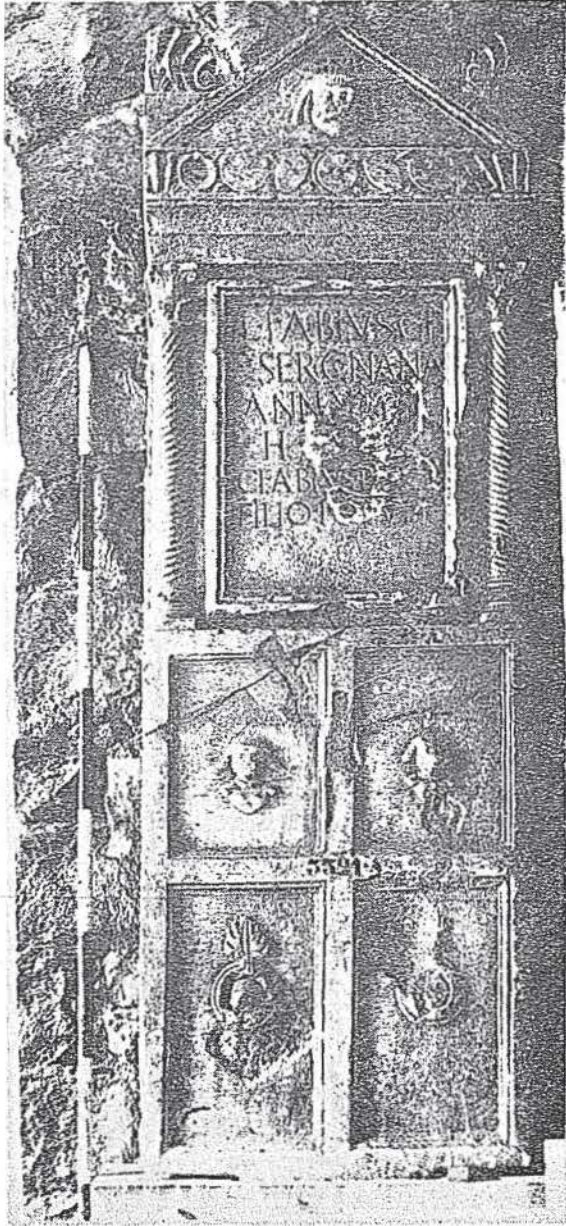
16. Such a motif would seem appropriate to a god frequently prayed to  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\ \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\omega}\nu$  and  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\ \beta\omicron\acute{\omega}\nu$  (*MAMA* V, 124-126; 152-3); cf. also *IGRR* IV 521, a prayer to Zeus (not qualified here as Bronton) for rain.

#### ABBREVIATIONS.

The abbreviations used are those suggested in *AJA* LXXIV (1970), pp. 3 ff. Works cited only once have their titles given in full. The following additional abbreviations should be noted:

Cumont:	Franz Cumont, <i>Recherches sur le Symbolisme Funéraire des Romains</i> (Paris, 1942).
F.K. Dörner, <i>Inschriften</i> :	F.K. Dörner, <i>Inschriften und Denkmäler aus Bithynien</i> ( <i>Istanbuler Forschungen</i> 14; Berlin, 1941).
F.K. Dörner, <i>Reise</i> :	F.K. Dörner, <i>Bericht über eine Reise in Bithynien</i> (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 75. Band, 1. Abhandlung, Wien, 1952).
Ferrari:	Gloria Ferrari, <i>Il Commercio dei Sarcofagi Asiatici</i> (Rome, 1966).
Firath:	Nezih Firath, <i>Les Stèles Funéraires de Byzance Gréco-Romaine</i> , avec l'édition et l'index commenté par Louis ROBERT, (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul; Paris, 1964).

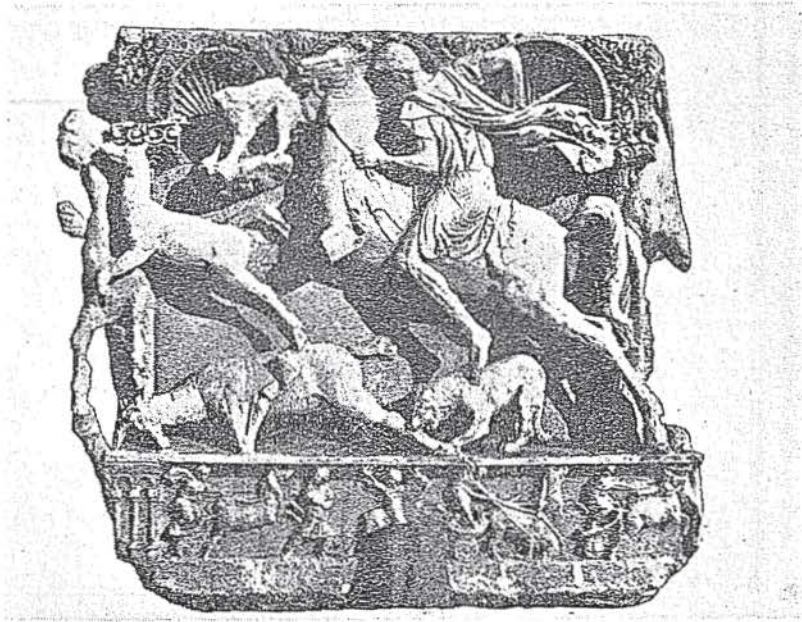
- Haspels : C.H. Emilie Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia, Sites and Monuments*, vol. I text; vol. II plates (Princeton University Press, 1971).
- Haspels II :
- Herrmann : Peter Herrmann, *Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien* (Öst. Akad. d. Wiss., ph. Kl., Denkschr., 80. Bd., Wien, 1962).
- Herrmann and Polatkan : Peter Herrmann und K.Z. Polatkan, *Das Testament des Epikrates und andere neue Inschriften aus dem Museum von Manisa* (Öst. Akad. d. Wiss., ph. Kl., Sitzber., 265. Bd., 1. Abh., Wien, 1969).
- IGB : *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, ed. G. Mihailov (Academia Litterarum Bulgarica, Institutum Archaeologicum, Series Epigraphica 5, 6, 7, 9, 10; Sofia, 1956-1966. Vol. I reprinted 1970).
- K-P, I Reise : J. Keil und A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aeolis ausgeführt 1906* (Öst. Akad. d. Wiss., ph. Kl., Denkschr., 53. Bd., 1. Abh., Wien, 1911).
- K-P, II Reise : J. Keil und A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine Zweite Reise in Lydien ausgeführt 1908* (Öst. Akad. d. Wiss., ph. Kl., Denkschr., 54. Bd., 2. Abh., Wien, 1911).
- SERP : *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ed. W.M. Ramsay (Aberdeen University Studies Vol. XX, 1906).
- Studia Pontica III* : *Studia Pontica III: Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie*, Publiées par J.G.C. Anderson, F. Cumont, H. Gregoire (Bruxelles, 1910).



1 — «*Dalmatia*» pl. 13. from Tilurium.



2 — IGB IV, 1957. Sofia/Serdica.



3 — *SERP* pl. VII. The Sidamaria sarcophagus.



4 — *IGB* I<sup>2</sup>, 175 bis. Odessus.



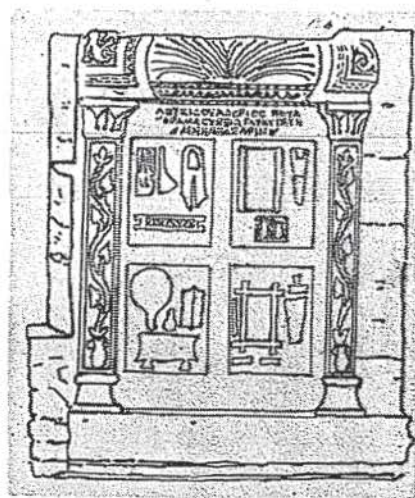
5a — *Numen IV*(1957), pl. III.



5b — *Numen IV*. (1957), pl. III.



6 — MAMA I, 300.



8 — MAMA V, 40. Eskişehir.



7 — Stele from Dulghecu, near Constansta. Doppelfeld, *Römer in Rumänien*, G 182, pl. 87.

