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## An Archaeology of Emptiness. Haymana or the Prairie in Roman and Byzantine Times

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## ABSTRACT

### **An Archaeology of Emptiness. Haymana or the Prairie in Roman and Byzantine Times**

Lucy Audley-Miller – Stephen Mitchell † – Philipp Niewöhner – Ali Vardar – Levent Egemen Vardar

This paper presents the findings of an extensive survey in and around the modern town of Haymana in Galatia, central Turkey. The area is not known for any major ancient city, and the finds would seem to represent Roman and Byzantine life in rural Anatolia. An outstanding funerary relief of the Saokondarios family appears to be the earliest discovery and to represent the ancient Galatian dynasty of that name. Numerous later Roman tomb stones are also carved with figural reliefs, some in the shape of doorstones. A cave tomb of Pelagia was later engraved with Christian symbols and the attribute *martyr* added to the deceased's name, suggesting that she was likened to, or identified with, the homonymous Diocletian martyr. Larger, communal cave cemeteries likely date from the Byzantine period. Early Byzantine architectural sculpture was probably employed in churches that are also attested by liturgical furnishings. The Hellenistic/Galatian hilltop fortification of Güzelcekele was rebuilt in later Byzantine times. Several other small and medium-sized hilltop fortifications with or without Galatian routes would also seem to have been (re?)built during the Byzantine period. The same is in evidence for several cave houses, some of which relate to the fortifications. The much larger fort of Taburoğlu Kalesi appears to have been newly built against the Arab invasions and could be identifiable with the *bandon* of Aphrazeia.

## KEYWORDS

Galatia, architectural sculpture, liturgical furnishings, epigraphy, funerary monuments, hilltop fortifications

# An Archaeology of Emptiness. Haymana or the Prairie in Roman and Byzantine Times

## Introduction

1 In the later 20<sup>th</sup> century, when Turkish cities were mainly connected by coaches and small roads, the long journeys would often be interrupted in the middle of nowhere because a passenger got off, gripped a large suitcase, and walked off into the emptiness of the central Anatolian steppe<sup>1</sup>. The perplexed city dweller would ride on in amazement similar to that of many earlier travellers through vast empty spaces, the Mongolian grassland, the Middle East steppe, the African savanna, or the American prairie, to name but a few regions where a stranger might be surprised by local population in the most unlikely places. Henceforth, the stranger would look at the landscape with different eyes and start to recognize cultural properties where before everything had seemed monotonous and empty.

2 Archaeology rarely facilitates the same experience, as archaeologists would normally appear on the scene only after, and in response to, the discovery of monuments, when the perception of emptiness had already been replaced by that of a cultural landscape. A recent survey of the Haymana region in western central Anatolia was an exception to this rule in so far as the survey was not prompted by any particular discovery<sup>2</sup>. Rather, it came about as a section of the larger project to survey the complete environs of [Ankara](#)<sup>3</sup>. The latter was motivated by an interest in Hellenistic/Galatian fortifications that feature prominently elsewhere in the surroundings of Ankara<sup>4</sup>, and the Haymana region was mainly included for the sake of completeness.

Title page: The Haymana region as seen from the southwest. The mountains in the background are those around Elmadağ, to the east of Ankara, beyond the Haymana region.

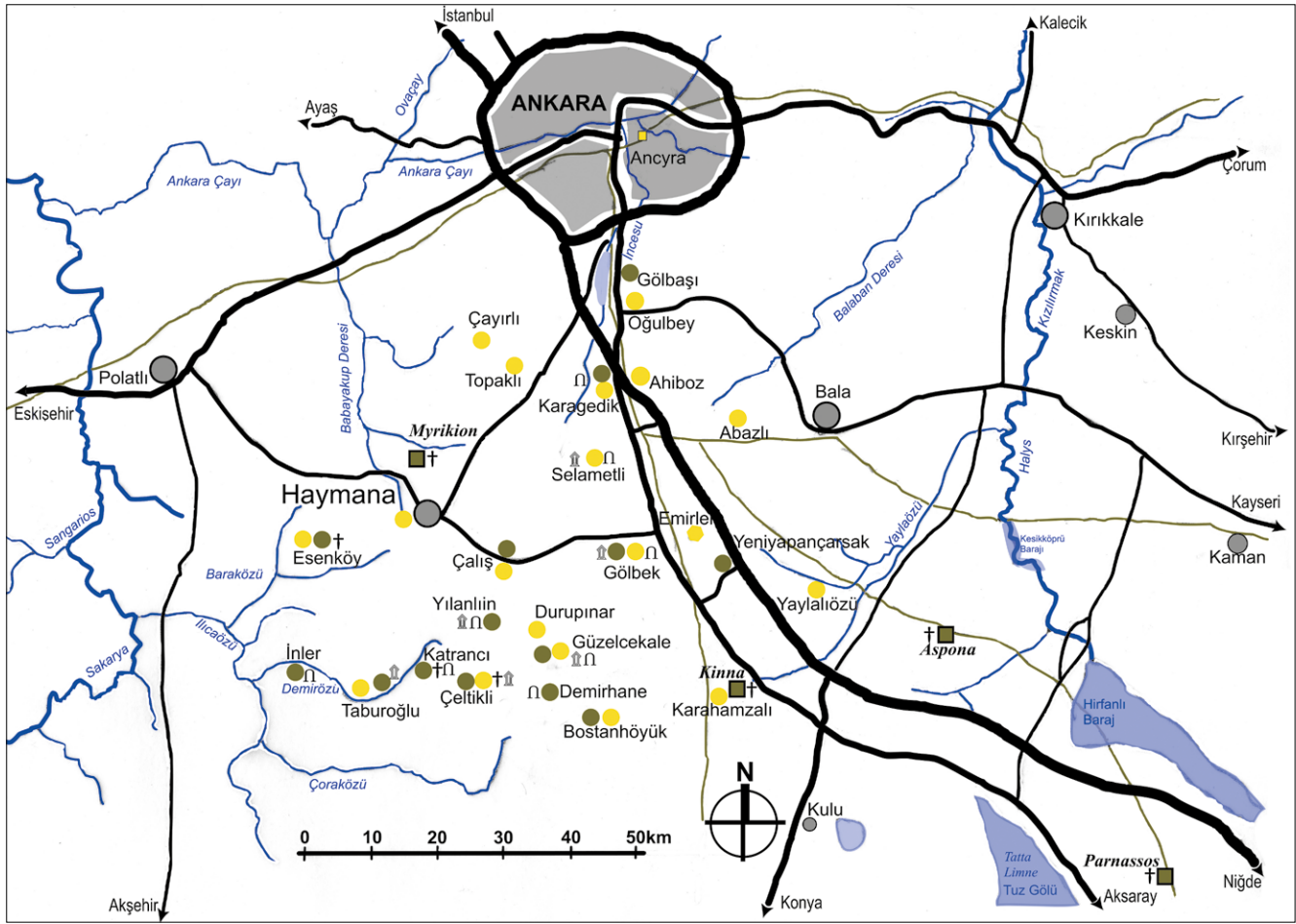
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1 Cf. Gertrude Bell on the people of Anatolia, as quoted by Cassis 2009, 11.

2 The survey was chiefly conducted by L. E. Vardar in collaboration with A. Vardar. L. Audley-Miller, S. Mitchell, and P. Niewöhner joined them in order to contribute their respective expertise in Roman art, Anatolian epigraphy, and Byzantine archaeology to this paper. The inscriptions were translated by S. Mitchell. Permission was kindly granted by the Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü over many years, as detailed in the following preliminary reports: Akyürek Vardar – Vardar 1997; Akyürek Vardar – Vardar 1999; Akyürek Vardar – Vardar 2000; Vardar 2003; Vardar 2003–2004; Vardar 2006.

3 Annual survey reports were published in AST, starting and ending with Akyürek Vardar – Vardar 1997 and Vardar 2006.

4 Darbyshire et al. 2000.



1

Fig. 1: General map of the Haymana region and survey area, including Byzantine towns (square) and such Turkish villages as contain finds; yellow: Roman; khaki: Byzantine;  $\text{†}$ : hilltop fortification;  $\text{⊖}$ : cave;  $\text{†}$ : church; black roads: modern; khaki routes: Byzantine

3 Haymana is the name of the region's central town and market place, roughly 70 km southwest of Ankara (fig. 1), in the late Roman province of Galatia. The site stands out for thermal springs that attract bathers from as far as Ankara and likely continue the tradition of ancient Myrikion. Myrikion has been identified with ruins at Yeşilyurt (formerly Kadıköy), to the north of Haymana (fig. 1), was known for thermal waters, and became a polis and bishopric in the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>5</sup> However, the Roman road and Christian pilgrimage route from Ankara via Aspona to Parnassos in Cappadocia bypassed the Haymana region to the east (fig. 1)<sup>6</sup>, and any traveller on that road might well have felt like our bus rider when looking west across the Haymana region with no distinctive features like major mountains, rivers, cities, or other attractions. The landscape is characterised by rolling hills that are occasionally interspersed with low mountains, typical for the central Anatolian steppe or prairie<sup>7</sup>; it lends itself to extensive agriculture and animal husbandry<sup>8</sup>, and the name Haymana may be derived from the Persian *hayme*, meaning tent and possibly referring to the shelters of nomads attested in the region since the Seljuk conquest<sup>9</sup>.

4 Apart from what is reported below, the Haymana region was known only for some scattered Roman grave stones and votives<sup>10</sup>, even fewer Byzantine stone

5 Belke 1984, 208 f.

6 RRMAM I; Belke 1984, 94–97. 120 f. 135. 171. 219 s. v. Aspona, Aliassum, Rosolodiaco, and Gorbeus.

7 Delbet et al. 1872, 273–279; Firincioglu et al. 2009.

8 Throughout the Ottoman period, animal husbandry appears to have been predominant: Bulut – Tunder 2019.

9 Uçak 1986, 7; replacing an earlier etymology by Anderson 1899, 95 note 2.

10 Delbet et al. 1872, 273–281; Anderson 1899, 95 f.; Miltner 1936; Waelkens 1986, 297 f. 301–304; Şahin 1995; Aydaş 1997; MAMA XI, cat. 222–253 s. v. Kinna; Krumm 2018.

carvings<sup>11</sup>, possibly indicating the odd church or two<sup>12</sup>, and some ill-attested caves<sup>13</sup>. Some of the grave stones have since been gathered at the *kaymakamlık* or prefecture building in Haymana<sup>14</sup>, and all new finds at that location may also have come from anywhere within the survey area (see below: cat. 2. 3. 5–9. 11–14. 18. 21. 23–26. 28. 34). Chance discoveries of a Hellenistic/Galatian coin hoard at Haymana in the 1920s and a small early Byzantine necropolis outside Bahçecik in 2009 seemed to appear out of nowhere<sup>15</sup>.

5 The new survey had nowhere to start other than the town of Haymana and the Turkish villages in the surrounding countryside. Discoveries were made because artefacts had been gathered at the settlements, for example at Haymana, or thanks to the advice and guidance of local villagers. Repeated visits over a period of ten years led to ever more finds, as more people came forward with what they had found or observed. The local information proved invaluable and was the only way of finding anything in the vast and seemingly empty region. Encouraging and following the villagers required flexibility, speed, and low tech, as any cumbersome, slow, and strange proceedings would put off a local guide and discourage others from coming forward with what they knew. Documentation was thus necessarily restricted to notes, snapshots, and sketch plans. This extensive methodology appeared to be well-suited to the purpose of an initial, ground-breaking survey that would provide a first overview and transform our perception of the region from one of emptiness into that of a cultural landscape.

6 However, in evaluating the findings, it should be kept in mind that the survey was entirely reliant on local information and would fail to take note of such remains that the villagers ignored or did not share. An obvious case in point are Roman to Late Antique or any other settlements that should be identifiable by potsherds, but have not come to the attention of the survey. The point is taken up again in the conclusions of this paper. The following categories of finds did register and are below reported in this order: an early Roman funerary relief (cat. 1, fig. 2. 3; §§ 7–51), numerous later Roman grave stones (cat. 2–33, fig. 4–42, §§ 52–107), Roman votive altars (cat. 34. 35, fig. 43–45, §§ 108–112), a Roman milestone (cat. 36, fig. 46, §§ 113 f.), Roman to Byzantine sarcophagi, cave tombs, and cave cemeteries (fig. 47–62, §§ 115–129), Byzantine architectural sculpture and liturgical furnishings (fig. 65–81, §§ 130–137), hilltop fortifications (fig. 82–111, §§ 138–160), as well as cave houses (fig. 112–133, §§ 161–176). Following the illustration (with material and measurements included in the caption), description, and discussion of each find and category, some conclusions at the end of the paper evaluate the overall significance of the discoveries and how they reflect on the Haymana region and its development in Roman and Byzantine times.

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11 Anderson 1899, 95 f.; Belke 1984, 161 f. s. v. Erif/Sarideğirmen; Belke 1984, 187 f. s. v. Katrancı; Belke 1984, 211 s. v. Oyaca; Ermiş 2019, fig. 175: a middle Byzantine templon epistyle at Saatlı.

12 Belke 1984, 187 f. s. v. Katrancı; Belke 1984, 210 s. v. Orbana/Karakilise/Karacaören.

13 Belke 1984, 179 s. v. Inler; Belke 1984, 187 f. s. v. Katrancı; Belke 1984, 211 s. v. Oyaca; Belke 1984, 243 s. v. Yaraşlı.

14 Three inscribed grave stones from Saatlı (formerly known as Modanlı) are now at the Haymana Kaymakamlığı: MAMA VII, cat. 402 = RECAM II, cat. 362; MAMA VII, cat. 403 = RECAM II, cat. 363 (previous editions read *Tvva* [followed in LGPN Vc], but Macpherson's good photograph confirms *Τμμο*); MAMA VII, cat. 404 = RECAM II, cat. 364 (Calder's original reading *ΛΑΛΑ*, not *ΔΑΔΑ* [Macpherson], stands confirmed).

15 The coin hoard, today at the Archaeological Museum Istanbul, contained 14 tetradrachms and 442 drachms of Alexander as well as six drachms of Lysimachus: Le Rider – Nekriman 1988. The rescue excavation of the necropolis uncovered 16 cist graves that were lined with stone blocks on the edges and topped with flat slabs. The burials were placed on an east/west axis and laid out in a dorsal position, with heads to the west and arms bent and placed across the abdomen. Some graves contained jewellery items such as glass beads, bronze pendant earrings, and bracelets of glass and bronze from the early Byzantine period: Arslan et al. 2010; Ateşoğulları 2014. For other such early Byzantine burials in the wider region, see Goldman 2017.

## An Early Roman Funerary Relief

### Cat. 1 Çalış (fig. 2, 3)



2



3

Fig. 2: Cat. 1 Çalış, arched funerary relief, marble. H 58, W 60, D 24

Fig. 3: Cat. 1 Çalış, same relief as in the previous image, back side

7 An unusual funerary monument comprises two large and one smaller fragment; the upper right portion of the monument is missing. A line of fracture runs diagonally across the whole piece, with a further break-line emanating out from this central fissure across the face of a figure on the viewer's left, with a portion of this face, between the ear and eye, broken off and missing. The breaks are recent, and these missing portions were presumably lost when the relief was uncovered by perhaps a plough or bulldozer. The monument has been reassembled for the photograph. There are also older signs of damage, for example, some of the noses appear to have broken away and then been exposed to the elements, as there is later weathering to the surface of the stone in these areas. Various other old signs of wear include, for example, chips to the stone on the central figure's head band and on the subjects' hands. The surface of the smallest figure's face is particularly worn.

8 The monument consists of a horseshoe-shaped concave niche containing a four subject family group, carved in deep relief, with an inscription beneath them. There are half-palmettes on each side of the inscription, and the exterior edge of the niche frame is decorated with a simple design of spiral tendrils<sup>16</sup>. The rounded back and sides are roughly worked and retain traces of claw-chisel marks. The sculptor's time has been deployed principally on the portraits that have been carefully rendered to convey both individual features and familial likeness. The portraits are worked in relatively deep<sup>17</sup>. While some *stelai* from the wider region evoke sculpture in the round by showing the subjects rendered as rigidly frontal busts

within a niche or aedicula<sup>18</sup>, here instead the deeply carved half-figures serve to suggest life-like subjects in a different composition: as a lively, affectionate family, who touch and interact.

9 The family is arranged with the mother centrally placed holding a diminutive infant, supported with her right hand, while her other hand adjusts a veil. Two young boys flank her, their bodies emerging from behind the woman. The family are linked by their body language, as the children lean into the mother and touch her. The boy on the woman's right places his left hand on the mother's shoulder while his other hand

16 This motif is a common one, seen for example in a variety of locations on various forms of doorstone from Asia Minor, see for example Waelkens 1986, cat. 45. 47. 49. 52. 55. 195. 222. 223. 225. 267. 274. 393.

17 Doorstones from Galatia tend to shallower relief (see Waelkens 1986, 277–302), as do figurative *stelai* (see Taylor 2019, 152–161 cat. 285–302). The same is true for the other figurative pieces collected in the catalogue below. The differing depths in relief found in Anatolian funerary reliefs is perhaps best brought out by comparing the Roman examples collected in Möbius – Pfuhl 1977–1979.

18 A mode of representation that spans generations from Early Imperial pieces through to the third century, e.g. Möbius – Pfuhl 1977–1979, vol. 2 cat. 2108. 2112. 2134–2136. 2152. For the use in Phrygia, see Lochman 2003, 224 f. (on chronological shifts); Masséglia 2013, 97. 102 f.

reaches forward, touching the hand which supports the infant. The other boy has the left hand raised across the body to hold the mother's left arm, which is raised to adjust her veil. Even the infant's left hand reaches towards the mother's fingers. It seems a striking image of familial connection and intimacy.

10 There is damage to the most prominent features on the mother's face, such as the surface of the eyes, lips, chin, and nose, but the portrait features are still clear, showing a woman with full cheeks, rounded jaw line, and large prominent eyes below brows which have been neatly incised with the chisel. The sculptor drilled the nostrils and lightly worked the separation between the full lips. The woman is relatively youthful, without significant lines and only light naso-labial furrows. While the head is covered with the *himation*, significant care has nevertheless been taken with a complicated hairstyle. It comprises two main tiers beneath the *himation*. A slim centrally placed band runs across the top of the forehead, with a larger and more prominent roll of hair above this. At the centre of the hairstyle, the two tiers have received little surface detail, but the hair has been incised and modelled on each side of the face to show where the locks were drawn over the narrow band towards the temples. It looks like the narrow band is held in place by the hair drawn over it at the sides.

11 In terms of the arrangement of the hairstyle, it seems most probable that the narrow band does not consist of hair and is instead made of some other material. In front of the roughly worked ears, two large sickle-shaped curls are pulled forward onto the cheeks. There are two small circular discs on the left side of the face in the hair and just beneath the narrow band above the left eye. Whether these discs enabled the attachment of some additional form of adornment is uncertain. The most prominent item of dress is the *himation* that is rendered in high relief drawn over the head, held in position by the left hand and draped over the right shoulder. A further layer is apparent beneath this; the smooth neck is encircled by a straight incised line around the throat, indicating the edge of fabric. The fabric is decorated with a series of incised wavy lines perhaps to indicate pattern, but given the irregular arrangement of these lines, it seems more probable that they were designed to convey the drape of diaphanous material.

12 The two boys clinging to their mother are represented in similar style. The boy on the viewer's right is shown with the body in three-quarter profile, while the face is turned towards the viewer. A sense of perspective has been created with details like rendering the hand closest to the viewer on a larger scale. The facial features of this figure are better preserved than its counterpart on the other side, though the nose and lips are damaged. The boy has prominent ears and full cheeks and lips. The eyes are large, with both lids modelled; the brows have been lightly modelled but not incised. The short hair has received relatively careful attention, with the incised and modelled tresses falling onto the brow in a series of locks that have a forked, off-centre parting. A light ridge around the wrist may indicate a tightly fitted, long-sleeved tunic, but could equally be a slightly awkward rendering of a bare fore-arm. A series of zig-zag lines encircle the top of the arm and cross the torso. These concentric lines are not only incised, but also modelled into the stone, suggesting differing depth in the cloth.

13 The boy on the viewer's left is again rendered in three-quarter profile, though with the face turned a little less towards the onlooker. The hand placed on the mother's shoulder is clumsily rendered and over-sized, but details like the fingernails have been incised. The other hand, which touches the female figure and reaches towards the small infant, is on a more realistic scale, but damaged. Much of the ears have broken away, as have the nose and lips. Two cracks run through the face, but the portrait clearly shows a round-faced child with large eyes and full mouth. The hair has again been both modelled and incised, with slightly longer locks than its counterpart, drawn forward onto the face in waves. The boy is represented with short sleeved dress; the forearm appears bare. A series of lines with scalloped curves follow the top of the arm and then run

across the chest. As with the figure's counterpart, the lines do not appear to be simply surface patterning on a tunic, because the profile of the shoulder shows that they are modelled into the stone, appearing more like folds, fabric with differing depth in the pattern, or tiers of material.

<sup>14</sup> The portrait of the infant is the least well-preserved of the four figures, with little of the face remaining. The child's body is not quite frontally positioned, held in the woman's hand, and twisted slightly towards the boy on the viewer's left. The angle of the head indicates that the figure was looking up towards the mother. Like the boys, the infant has prominent ears, and the traces remaining of the hair indicate a similar short style. The child appears to be wearing long sleeves, as indicated by the incised and modelled line just below the wrist. There are again concentric bands encircling the upper chest, indicating similar (though not identical) clothes to the other boys.

<sup>15</sup> The inscription beneath the portraits is framed by half-palmettes and has letter forms that include Σ and Ω combined with lunate epsilon. *Kappa* is distinctive with the arms not extending to the full height of the letter, and *rho* has a small loop. The inscription reads

Σαωκονδάριος μνήμης ἔνεκε *leaf*  
*Saokondarios, in memory.*

### Historical Context

<sup>16</sup> The personal name Saokondarios, which occurs otherwise only in a passage of Strabo relating to Galatia, establishes a connection to a blood-stained chapter of Galatian dynastic history, a generation before the region became part of the Roman Empire under Augustus in 25 B.C. Strabo, who completed his *Geography* at the beginning of Tiberius' reign, is the most important source of information about Galatia in this transitional period and provides the following account of the country east of the Sangarius river:

<sup>17</sup> πλῆσιον δὲ καὶ ὁ Σαγγάριος ποταμὸς ποιεῖται τῆ ῥύσιν· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Φρυγῶν οἰκητήρια Μίδου καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Γορδίου καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, οὐδ' ἔχνη σώζοντα πόλεων, ἀλλὰ κῶμαι μικρῶ μείζους τῶν ἄλλων, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ Γόρδιον καὶ Γορβεοῦς, τὸ τοῦ Κάστορος βασιλείου Σαωκονδάρου, ἐν ᾧ γάμβρον τοῦτον ἀπέσφαξε Δηϊόταρος καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· τὸ δὲ φρούριον κατέσπασε καὶ διελυμήνατο τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς κατοικίας.

<sup>18</sup> »The Sangarius river flows nearby. Next to it are the ancient settlements of the Phrygians, Midas and, from even earlier Gordius and some others, which do not preserve even traces of cities, but are now villages, hardly larger than any others, like Gordium and Gorbeous, the palace of Castor Saokondaros, where Deiotarus slaughtered him, his son-in-law, and his own daughter. He demolished the fortress and razed most of the settlement to the ground.« (Strabo 12, 5, 3, 568)

<sup>19</sup> The background to this *razzia* lay in the Roman civil war. Julius Caesar, in *Bellum Civile* 3, 4, reported that three Galatian leaders provided troops for Pompeius at the battle of Pharsalus in 47 B.C. One was their famous tetrarch Deiotarus, who sent Pompeius 600 Gallic warriors. 300 troops (almost certainly cavalry) also came from the less prominent tribal leaders: *CCC Tarcondarius Castor et Domnilius ex Gallograecia dederant (horum alter una venerat, alter filium miserat)*. »Tarcondarius Castor and Domnilius had given him 300 warriors from Gallograecia, one had come in person, the other [in fact Castor] sent his son.« After Caesar defeated Pompeius at Pharsalus, Deiotarus came over to Caesar's side and fought with him at the battle of Zela (*veni, vidi, vici*) against the Pontic ruler Pharnaces. He then played host to Caesar at the castles of Blucium and Peium in Tolistobogian Galatia, as the Roman forces made their way from eastern Anatolia back to Nicaea in Bithynia, where new arrangements were made for Roman

rule in the East after the fall of Pompeius. Deiotarus now adopted an aggressive and vindictive policy to claim control of all Galatia, reported by [Caes.] *Bell. Alex.* 67.

20 Deiotarus first took back the Trocmian tetrarchy east of the Halys, which Caesar had assigned to Mithridates of Pergamum, whose father Menodotus had married a Trocmian Galatian princess, Adobogiona. Deiotarus then turned his sights on the Tectosages and his own son-in-law, their tetrarch »Tarcondarius« Castor. Castor's feisty son, also named Castor, a fantastic horseman (cf. Cic., *Deiot.* 28), attempted to deflect the threat by bringing a charge against Deiotarus that he had tried to kill Caesar during the latter's visits to his Galatian castles, but this accusation was successfully refuted by Cicero's surviving speech, *pro rege Deiotaro*, delivered at Rome in the autumn of 45 B.C. Another ancient source, the *Suda*, has an entry for another Castor, a historian from Rhodes, but confuses its subject with the Galatian tetrarch and inaccurately notes, γήμας δὲ οὗτος Δηϊοτάρου τοῦ συγκλητικοῦ θυγατέρα ἀνηρέθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἅμα τῆ γαμετῆ, διότι αὐτὸν Καίσαρι διέβαλεν, »this man married the daughter of Deiotarus, but was killed with him, together with his wife, because he had denounced him (Deiotarus) to Caesar«. In fact, apart from the confusion of the historian with the tribal leader, the accusation *in domo Caesaris* was made in person not by the father, but by the son.

21 Deiotarus took revenge after Caesar's assassination in 43 B.C., when he perpetrated the bloodbath at Gorbeous, reported by Strabo, and for the first time achieved control of all Galatia. The young Castor escaped and enjoyed brief revenge after Deiotarus died c. 40 B.C., when he himself was made ruler of Galatia by Marcus Antonius (Dio 48, 33, 5), but he died or was deposed in the following year. He too married a princess called Adobogiona, doubtless from the Trocmian tetrarchic family, and they had two children, Deiotarus Philadelphus and Deiotarus Philopator, the former of whom subsequently ruled Paphlagonia, until his kingdom was integrated into the Augustan province of Galatia in 6/5 B.C.<sup>19</sup>.

22 The only topographical or documentary clue which helps to locate these events is provided by the Roman itineraries. The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (»The Pilgrim's Road«) 575, 9 indicates that there was a *mansio* named Curveunte on the road that ran south from Ancyra to the Cilician Gates between Delemnna (Dilimnia), a *mutatio* that must have been close to modern Gölbaşı, between the two lakes of Moğan and Eymir, and another *mutatio* known by the Celtic toponym Rosolodiaco (*It. Ant.* 143, 3; *It. Burd.* 575, 10). Curveunte appears as Corbeunca in the *Itinerarium Antoninense* 143, 2 and Corveunte in the Peutinger Table. The road station must have been located close to or at the old fortress of Gorbeous, which Deiotarus had destroyed in 43 B.C.

23 Many traces of the Roman road south of Ancyra have been recorded, and it is well documented by milestones<sup>20</sup>. However, the precise locations of the named sites are frustratingly elusive. No ancient remains survive of Delemnna/Dilimnia, although the name guarantees its position between the two lakes<sup>21</sup>. David French's map of this road, which south of Ancyra branched south-east to Parnassos, on the frontier between Galatia and Cappadocia, and ran to Caesarea, marks an ancient site between Ahiboz and Abazlı, which he identified as Rosolodiaco/Orsologiaco<sup>22</sup>. In French's 1981 publication of the Pilgrim's Road, he suggested that the site of Gorbeous was located near Oğulbey<sup>23</sup>,

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19 Reinach 1902, 151–165.

20 RRMAM III 2, cat. 118 a. b (Çankaya); RRMAM III 2, cat. 119 a. b (Ahltatlıbel); RRMAM III 2, cat. 120 (E[y] mirgöl); RRMAM III 2, cat. 121 a–c (Örencik); RRMAM III 2, cat. 122 a–e (Oğulbey, formerly Çakal); RRMAM III 2, cat. 123 (Beynam); RRMAM III 2, cat. 124 a. b (Ahiboz); RRMAM III 2, cat. 125 a. b (Günalan, formerly Holoz); RRMAM III 2, cat. 126 a. b (Karaalı); RRMAM III 2, cat. 127 a. b (Abazlı).

21 See I.Ancyra II, 84 f.

22 RRMAM III album, 14.

23 RRMAM I, 25. 29.

and the same identification is also adopted by Klaus Belke<sup>24</sup>. This matches the distances found in the itineraries, and the so-called *Kaletepe* or Castle Hill to the south of Oğulbey, on the other side of the Kırşehir road, is locally known for illicit excavations and has yielded ancient sherds<sup>25</sup>. Oğulbey is about 35 km NNE of Çalış, where the relief under consideration here was found.

<sup>24</sup> The connection between these events of the late 40s B.C. and the relief from Çalış is provided by the name. On the inscription this can be read either as Σλωκονδάριος or Σαωκονδάριος; there is no apparent cross bar in the first triangular letter Λ, but the corresponding bar in the later A is lightly engraved, and it could easily have been worn away. The choice to read Σαωκονδάριος is indicated by the only other appearance of this name in any source, the Strabo passage, which is transmitted by the manuscripts as Σαωκονδάρου and correctly adopted and not obelized in Radt's recent Strabo edition. Earlier on, the reading was almost universally treated as a corruption by modern scholars, who accepted the information found in Caes., *Bell. Civ.* 3, 4, that the elder Castor's second name was Tarcondarius. This was a more familiar form, related to a family of personal names derived from the Luwian Anatolian deity *Tarhun* and best attested in the Cilician princely dynasty of the Tarcondimoti. However, the new discovery validates Strabo's version. The alternative Tarcondimotus was either an error made when Caesar's account was compiled, or, more probably, the mistake of a copyist who changed a unique and unfamiliar form into something less outlandish.

<sup>25</sup> Strabo's form of the name has the ending -αρος, while the inscription has -αριος. This difference should be retained. The reverse index of LGPN Vc records many Celtic personal names attested in Asia Minor ending in -αρος, and there is an extensive list of -arus compounds in Holder 1896–1913, I, 231. The inscriptions and literary sources for Galatia have forms ending -γαρος<sup>26</sup>, -μαρος<sup>27</sup>, and -ταρος<sup>28</sup>. A Celtic coin is reported to attest the name Savumarus<sup>29</sup>. Strabo preserves a regular Celtic formation, beginning with the syllable Σα-, or perhaps better, *Sa(v)*, an element which especially occurs in river names; the Save (ancient Savos/Savus/Saus), the Saône (ancient Sauconna), or the Savo, a river in Campania<sup>30</sup>. A similar S-v element occurs in the ethnic Σουωλιβρογηνός found in a Galatian inscription from the region of Kızılcakhamam<sup>31</sup>. The second element -ωκονδ- also has a close parallel in the Ὀκωνδιανοί, a Latinised Celtic ethnic attested in western Galatia<sup>32</sup> and related to the Celtic tribal name Vocontii<sup>33</sup>. The name ended with the common -αρος ending. The version in the inscription, dating probably to the Augustan period, shows Roman influence on the morphology and ends -αριος, which gave a Latin flavour to the Celtic form. Celtic-speaking Galatia had come under strong Roman influence in the early empire, which certainly impacted on contemporary linguistic and onomastic usage, especially among the aristocracy.

<sup>26</sup> How should the grave monument be interpreted, and who was Saokondarios? The occurrence of the distinctive name at a location no more than a day's journey from the fortress of Castor Saokondaros, which had been destroyed by Deiotaros, leaves no doubt that the like-named tetrarch had been a close relative in a previous generation. After the murder of the family patriarch and his wife, the destruction of the fort, and

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<sup>24</sup> Belke 1984, 171 s. v. Gorbeous.

<sup>25</sup> The pottery was in evidence in 1995, and the find spot has since been listed as an archaeological monument.

<sup>26</sup> Βοισαγαρος; MAMA V, 137 (near Dorylaeum).

<sup>27</sup> Βρογιμαρος; SEG 65, cat. 1264 (Nacolea); Comboiomarus; Livy 38, 19, 3; Κομαρος; MAMA VII, cat. 361; Κατ(ο)μαρος; LGPN Vc svv (Lycaonia and Galatia); Γουτουμαρος; SEG 56, cat. 1427 (Tavium).

<sup>28</sup> Δειόταρος, Βρογιταρος.

<sup>29</sup> Holder 1896–1913, II, 1391.

<sup>30</sup> See Holder 1896–1913, II, 1382. 1390.

<sup>31</sup> RECAM II, cat. 191.

<sup>32</sup> RECAM II, cat. 137.

<sup>33</sup> Holder 1896–1913, II, 425–432.

the annihilation of the associated settlement in 43 B.C., the younger Castor and other surviving members of this leading Tectosagan family would have moved to a new home in their territory. The nearby site at Çalış, which was no doubt already part of the family's possessions and occupied an excellent fertile location, fits the requirements perfectly.

27 The inscribed relief monument is unusual. At first sight, the inscription resembles a standard funerary text, ending with the formula μνήμης ἔνεκε, although the variation from the normal forms ἔνεκα or ἔνεκεν may hint that the compiler was not completely at home with the Greek language. However, more unusually, the inscription does not name the deceased. The core information that it contains is simply the name that was so important to the family. The remaining message must have been implicit in the image that accompanied the text. The dating of the relief receives some support from the letter forms of the inscription, especially the forms of the *kappa* and *rho*, which occur on earlier texts, such as a decree of A.D. 75/6 from Iulia Gordus in Lydia<sup>34</sup>. Given the absence of local parallels from central Anatolia, it is more significant that these forms are not easily paralleled among the mass of late second and third century funerary monuments of central Anatolia.

28 Saokondarios epitomised the qualities expected of a *Philoromaioi* and a *Philokaisaros*. The king of Paphlagonia, Deiotarus Philadelphos, who probably died in 6/5 B.C., when his kingdom was annexed to Galatia, was certainly a close relative. The inhabitants of his kingdom, now provincial subjects, swore a personal oath of loyalty to Augustus and his family on 6 March 3 B.C., whose text is preserved on a famous inscription found in eastern Paphlagonia<sup>35</sup>. The first priest of the *koinon* of Galatia, listed on the inscription of the imperial temple of Augustus and Rome at Ankara, held office in 5/4 B.C. The name of his successor in the following year 4/3 B.C. may even have been [Κάσ]τω[ρ] βασιλέ[ω]ς Βριγάτο[υ] υἱός. If the name Castor is correctly restored, some connection with the Paphlagonian dynasty is likely<sup>36</sup>.

## Style

29 The image has unusual features and is consequently not easy to date on its own terms, but following the indications of the epigraphic evidence, it is plausible to interpret it within an Augustan context. The chronology of Roman portrait images is usually established on the grounds of technique together with considerations of personal style. The surface of the figures' eyes appears to be damaged, but from what remains there are no indications of drilled pupils or incised irises, which supports a broad pre-Hadrianic date<sup>37</sup>.

30 The personal style of the subjects is more articulate. Veiled women are the norm in self-representation in the wider Phrygian region, but the woman's hairstyle is not paralleled in other local reliefs, most of which were produced long after the Augustan period<sup>38</sup>. The sculptor has expended a relatively high degree of effort in rendering what was perhaps an unfamiliar style: detailing the band and an unusual tripartite hair style with a prominent central roll of hair that received less carved detail than the segments to either side, which were incised and differentiated to indicate where hair was drawn back from the face. It may be an otherwise undocumented, purely local style, but it is also clear that although the hairstyle does not constitute a precise example of the empire-wide ›period face‹-phenomenon, where the appearance of the imperial family

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34 Herrmann 1974, fig. 2.

35 OGIS, cat. 532; IGR III, cat. 137; ILS, cat. 8781.

36 See I.Ancyra I, 138–150 cat. 2.

37 Cf. the introduction of drilling and engraving eyes in depictions of Hadrian, particularly from the 130s onwards, after which eye-drilling became widely adopted, with a general trend towards increasing sculptural emphasis on the eye over time: Fittschen 1992–1993, 448; Smith 1998, 62, 83; Fittschen 2015, 68.

38 For general norms in the region's female hairstyles, see Masséglià 2013, 103, 114–116.

was drawn upon closely in forming the personal styles of private individuals<sup>39</sup>, there are still significant parallels to be found in connection with fashions in Rome.

31 Roman fashion is more plausibly detected if, for a moment, we disregard the band across the forehead of the woman<sup>40</sup>. In Late Republican/Early Imperial Rome, one fashion available was the *nodus*, which became more popular through Livia's adoption of it. The woman in fig. 2 shares in the tripartite division of hair with bulbous central hair roll and further sickle-shaped locks falling onto the cheeks from before the ears. Our subject has a wider central hair roll than seen in some renderings of Livia's most popular types<sup>41</sup>, but there is considerable variety in how this was shown. Our figure shares a similar silhouette to that shown in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 616-type or regional variant<sup>42</sup>; this image also has the prominent, looser, wide central hair roll with sickle locks falling onto the cheeks. This is a portrait image that was known in the region; it generally appears more in the East, with a distribution across Asia Minor, and is shown on Pergamene coins thought to date from 6–2 B.C., though it may have been created as early as 30 B.C.<sup>43</sup>. The principal difference is that cat. 1 is not depicted with the same shoulder locks. It is feasible that the dissemination of this image, or perhaps more importantly, contact with people who wore this sort of style, inspired the look embraced by the woman in fig. 2.

32 This would place the female subject of cat. 1 within a wide range of people who engaged with metropolitan fashions. In the capital at Rome, there was considerable variety in how such *nodus* styles were adopted and adjusted<sup>44</sup>, and there are comparable examples of figures shown with a prominent central roll of hair, combined with small locks or strands falling onto the cheeks<sup>45</sup>. Where the *nodus* is partially covered with a veil, for example the seated statue of a woman dating to around 30 B.C. in the Capitoline Museum<sup>46</sup>, the raised quiff-like arrangement of the *nodus* seems less obvious, as the veil weighs down on it, and the hair can appear more uniformly bouffant with a tripartite arrangement similar to fig. 2. The closest parallels to our figure are encountered among the wide range of ways in which these fashions were adjusted and adopted by women depicted in Roman funerary reliefs<sup>47</sup>, a monument form associated particularly with freed people in Rome. It seems reasonable to interpret our woman within this spectrum of invention and variation of Roman fashionable norms.

33 The band, though, was not a typical part of such looks at Rome, or at least it does not regularly feature in the sculptural renderings of these fashions. Headbands (*vittae*) are, however, referred to in the contemporary textual record. For Ovid, they were symbolic of respectable women, comparable to wearing the stola (e.g. *Ars. am* 1, 31; *Trist.* 2, 247; 2, 252)<sup>48</sup>. Such headbands clearly had symbolic charge, but why they are rarely represented in portraiture remains uncertain. One suggestion has been that

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39 Zanker 1982, 307–312; Zanker 1992, 348.

40 The band might suggest a tiered hair arrangement, calling to mind empresses like Plotina who had a raised band of hair running above her forehead followed by a raised bouffant ridge of hair drawn into elaborate pleats at the back. However, there are objections to this analogy not only on the basis of chronology but also of form: the locks on the woman in fig. 2 are pulled over the band in a tripartite division which is not typical of the later hairstyles.

41 On Livia's image and types, see Gross 1962; Poulsen 1962, 65–71; Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 1–3; Winkes 1995; Bartman 1999.

42 Gross 1962, 103 f.; Poulsen 1962, cat. 35; Alföldi-Rosenbaum – Inan 1979, 62 cat. 7; Winkes 1995, 35–37. 115 f. cat. 40; Wood 1999, 95 f.

43 Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 1 f. note 4.

44 The best window into this is probably provided by funerary reliefs; compare for example the various fashion styles worn by groups of contemporary figures on single reliefs, e.g. Kockel 1993, cat. E6. G10. J3. J16. K16 etc.

45 Amongst those seen at aristocratic levels, e.g. the Licinian tomb busts: Poulsen 1962, cat. 69 f.

46 Fittschen – Zanker 1983, cat. 47.

47 See for examples of wide ›bouffant‹ *nodus*, Kockel 1993, cat. E2. G10 (Furii). H3. J5. K16 (with pleats). L1.

48 Pantham 2008, 163. 169 note 14 with discussion of these examples and others.

these bands were painted on; Susan Wood proposes that one of the advantages of the *nodus* may have been that a married woman's *vitta* could be woven into the pleat along the crown and that this was indicated in paint, which has been lost<sup>49</sup>. This is inevitably difficult to prove, and it may simply be that, as with other modes of dress, the *vittae* were not considered relevant or appropriate for the medium of portraiture. Alternatively, the portraiture evidence has led to the suggestion that the headband was a tradition ›more honoured in the breach than by observance‹ and that by the time of Augustus, this traditional dress form was more associated with former slaves as a precious symbol of respectability<sup>50</sup>.

34 It is difficult to know how often *vittae* were worn in life, but amongst the body of funerary reliefs from Rome, there are examples of subjects wearing *vittae* with the *nodus*. Probably the closest parallel is a funerary relief that shows a similarly bouffant *nodus* hair style with what appear to be the *vitta* running under the *nodus*, across the brow, but then passing over the hair<sup>51</sup>. The arrangement is not identical, but is similar enough to the style of fig. 2 to make it possible that our headband represents a *vitta* that emphasised this woman's married status and embodiment of respectable Roman matronly values. In this context, such a statement would be striking.

35 It is also possible, though, that the band derives from more local traditions. Jane Masséglià notes the presence of a band running along the hair parting and across the brow in reliefs from Roman Phrygia<sup>52</sup>. The format is not the same, but it is possible that the band worn by the woman in our relief marked an earlier version of the regional fashion, or one more specific to the locality and Galatian people at the time. This would see the image as a Roman fashion hairstyle adapted to include reference to local customs. It is uncertain which hypothesis is more likely, and perhaps the two are not mutually exclusive in that both resonances may have been useful.

36 The children's short hairstyles have been carefully rendered, in styles that are not overtly distinctive to a particular period, though this sort of cropped look could correspond with the short styles worn by Julio-Claudian princes as well as many others in the early days of the Principate<sup>53</sup>. It should be acknowledged, however, that such short fringes were also seen later. The boys' dress does not have obvious parallels in Rome and was presumably a local style. It has been suggested that tunics with zig-zag motifs had intra-regional significance and were typical of the Kadoi region in Phrygia<sup>54</sup>, though the relevance of this parallel remains a moot point. While zig-zag patterns are also known on clothing from elsewhere in the Roman world<sup>55</sup>, precise parallels for the style of dress are missing.

37 It is, though, perhaps worth observing that the patterns are unlikely to be incidental details. A patterned garment was inevitably more difficult to make than a plain tunic, and harder to render in stone, and pattern on clothing was widely regarded as an important signifier in the ancient world<sup>56</sup>. The sculptor has taken time to show differences in the children's dress: what remains of the infant's attire suggests that the child is not wearing the same clothing as the boys, and there are differences in the attire worn by each of the boys. These details were presumably rendered because they were important and probably constituted a local version of ›best dress‹ for boys, perhaps specifically those within a certain prepubescent age-range, amongst the upper social

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49 Wood 1999, 98.

50 Fantham 2008, 167 f. See also George 2005, 44. 49 f.

51 Kockel 1993, cat. G10.

52 Masséglià 2013, 115 f.

53 See, for example, Pollini 1987; Rose 1997, 62–64.

54 A point made in Drew-Bear et al. 1999 citing correspondence with Lochman in their discussion of cat. 421.

55 E.g. the *stèle* of Messulenus at Cologne: Rothe 2005, cat. U15.

56 Cleland et al. 2007, 139–141.

echelons of the community. We do not know how long or to what extent distinctive elements of traditional Galatian dress persisted in the region<sup>57</sup>, but the clothing on our relief perhaps illustrates some ways in which dress developed amongst juvenile elites<sup>58</sup>. It seems, then, that the children have hairstyles that would not have been out of place in Rome, harnessed to dress that had a specific, more locally defined relevance.

38 In terms of composition, the emphasis upon familial unity had a long tradition and cannot be seen as a chronological marker. Attic tombstones of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and later featured idealised family groups (albeit in significantly different style), and family was a theme in Royal Hellenistic and Roman state art for centuries, for obvious reasons. However, the epigraphic evidence suggests we consider our piece in relation to Augustus' visual programme, which brought family imagery to the fore in Rome and initiated, increased, or at the very least reflected a new emphasis upon the representation of infants and young children that is also seen in tomb stones around the empire<sup>59</sup>. The body language of child and adult on the *Ara Pacis* was reproduced in private funerary commemoration at various sites, and the personal style of the widely venerated Gaius and Lucius was drawn upon in the representation of other children<sup>60</sup>. While the form of fig. 2 does not precisely recall the *Ara Pacis* or the dynastic statue groups of the imperial family that proliferated in the early days of empire<sup>61</sup>, it is reminiscent of representations of the imperial family on a range of personal artefacts from the time of Augustus and his immediate successors, such as a sword scabbard showing a woman with *nodus* hairstyle flanked by two young boys often identified as Julia with sons Gaius and Lucius<sup>62</sup>. Later glass medallions thought to have been distributed in the army have a similar format with a central adult framed by diminutive children, showing imperial princes with their children<sup>63</sup>. Beyond precise iconographic parallels, the emphasis upon the family group and the careful depiction of children at differing ages in fig. 2 can be seen to fit neatly within the wider surge of representation of children and family that proliferated under Augustus' regime.

## Form

39 The state of preservation presents obvious difficulties when it comes to reconstructing the monument and trying to understand its original context of display. The roughly worked back and sides could suggest that it formed a separately worked piece that was designed to be inserted into a larger funerary monument. As such, it could have been displayed within a range of architectural contexts such as a niche or the lunette above a door, but other built spaces that obscured the unfinished back of the piece are also possible. Alternatively, it is plausible that the traces of claw chisel were

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57 Darbyshire et al. 2000, 84.

58 Such ›traditions‹ may well have evolved in a dynamic way. Work on Roman provincial dress has demonstrated that while the toga was legally restricted, there was a wide range of ways in which local dress traditions, and other personal styles, interacted with those from Rome to create new forms. It was not inevitable, for example, that children should wear locally specific dress whilst their mothers wore styles with a wider appeal. U. Rothe has explored how local ideas about factors such as age and gender helped dictate varied relationships to Roman or ›traditional dress‹ and shaped the development of new forms in the north-western provinces. Such analysis has not been conducted in Anatolia, but for work examining innovative traditions and the historical significance of dress and cultural change elsewhere, see Rothe 2005, Rothe 2012, and Rothe 2013.

59 Currie 1996, 156–159; Rose 1997, 13; Rawson 2003, 6 f.; George 2005, 43; Huskinson 2005, 92–94; Mander 2013, 75–81. On the wider significance of this historical trend, see Severy 2003. On the ways in which family imagery continued to be used by the Roman elite, see Kampen 2009.

60 See Mander 2013, 79–81.

61 Rose 1997.

62 Scabbard now in Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum. For examples of the differing portrait identifications see Zanker 1988, 219; Rose 1997, 15.

63 E.g. Leiden, Rijksmuseum inv. 41931, discussed by Zanker 1988, 159 f.; Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum AS.XI.b8, tentatively identified as Germanicus with his children in Severy 2003, 224.

not considered a problem; the piece's flat base could simply have been raised on some form of plinth or pedestal, or it could have formed the upper portion of a *stèle* that was later re-cut. The piece is also difficult to reconstruct because we lack good contemporary local parallels for the use of an image like fig. 2 in a region that was not characterised by a strong drive towards this form of monumentality at that time. Discussion could stop here, but as there are comparisons to be found from the wider region, it seems sensible to engage with these, even if the results of such investigation remain inconclusive.

40 The following discussion examines the form of the relief through analogy with other monuments, but a significant issue with this study should be acknowledged at the outset. The majority of the comparisons to the relief are later than the date suggested for our monument. This could indicate that our relief itself belongs to a later period, but the archaeological parallels in monument form are not strong enough to demonstrate that. For example, none of the stylistic parallels are pronounced enough to indicate that our piece was produced in the same workshop and in that way to make a later date compelling. What is clear is that at whatever time our relief was commissioned, the image was an unusual and distinctive form of funerary commemoration in this area, which was presumably an intended part of its impact.

41 As there is no evidence for a developed local market for such pieces, it is probable that it was produced by craftsmen from outside the immediate area, though from how far afield is less clear<sup>64</sup>. Loose comparisons could be drawn with monuments from elsewhere, for example in Italy<sup>65</sup>. This is not necessarily diagnostic though, as a frequent cultural consequence of contact with Rome was the uptake of Roman funerary portraiture, some of which has similarities with that used in Italy though adjusted to local needs. However, later in the Roman period, the horseshoe motif for displaying portraits and other images gained popularity in our wider region. In these terms, the relief fits within its geographical context, though perhaps standing at the beginning of a long tradition and helping to shape it.

42 In terms of the monument's typology, its diminutive form could indicate that it was originally the upper portion of a *stèle* which was later recut, preserving only the top of a truncated piece. Arch-shaped *stelai* are not uncommon in our area (e.g. fig. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15), though close parallels are rarer for the tapering horseshoe niche with rounded concave sides that slope forward on the back of the relief, and their distribution is patchy. More significant is the chronological issue noted above. Examples of *stelai* that terminate with a rounded horseshoe arch or reference the motif within a differently shaped stone are associated with later periods. For example, in typological terms, the closest parallel in form amongst the large body of Anatolian *stelai* is probably a 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. figurative *stèle* from Kotiaëion in north-western Phrygia. The *stèle* has precisely the same shape, containing a pair of busts above a rectangular shaft

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64 On portrait production by itinerant artists or those travelling from a quarry or other sculptural centre to fulfil a specific commission, see Kristensen – Poulsen 2012, 9 f.; Russell 2013, 329–336. At the early date indicated by the epigraphy, access to such a network of sculptors may conceivably have been provided by those working on the temple of Augustus and Rome at Ankara or through quarries like those at Dokimeion: Fant 1989, 7 f. Alternatively, sculptors may have been employed from an area like Mysia or Bithynia, where bust or half-figure *stelai* have been identified from the 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C. (Cremer 1991, 100), though the parallels in image style and monument form between this relief and those *stelai* are not close; for examples, see Cremer 1991, KB 16; Cremer 1992, NS 12.

65 E.g. in formal terms some rough similarities can be observed with monuments such as the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. tomb of the Concordi at Boretto, Regio Emilia, though the comparison is certainly not a close one (for this tomb see the summary in Hesberg 1992, 59. 205). Alternatively, if we consider other provincial contexts, some 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. and later grave medallions from regions like Noricum (and elsewhere) have a broadly comparable form, but they are usually fully round in form with few having a straight lower *terminus* that creates the horseshoe shape. For general examples of the type from Flavia Solva, see Pochmarski 2011, cat. 4–6. 8. 10–21. For examples from Macedonia, see Lagogianni-Georgakarakos 1998, cat. 11. 59. 63. 100. 119. 124. 126. 134.

that is slightly wider than the niche<sup>66</sup>. The dimensions of the *stela* from Kotiaieion are not dissimilar to fig. 2, either, and it may well offer a plausible typological framework in which to understand the overall form, in spite of the apparent distance in time and space between Early Imperial Galatians and third-century Phrygians.

<sup>43</sup> If we look for similar pieces geographically closer to cat. 1, later workshops in the region of Kinna appear to have made a specialism of producing figurative *stelai* containing busts or half figures shown in relief within horseshoe arch pediments<sup>67</sup>. These pieces are rendered with a lower degree of technical expertise and have a cruder style than cat. 1. In further contrast to cat. 1, where at Kinna the pieces are sufficiently well-preserved for the overall shape to be determined, the horseshoe-shaped decorative field usually appears to have been set on stone that was rectangular or only slightly arched, rather than providing the overall form of the stone, and so the typological parallel is not an exact one.

<sup>44</sup> However, the imagery in these figurative *stelai* does share in a close focus upon family groups, and one example from Kinna contains a four-figure family group that is not dissimilar in composition to the one under discussion here, though the carving is of lesser quality and the figures are more static<sup>68</sup>. While precise dating of the monuments from the area of Kinna is difficult, the epigraphic evidence makes it clear that at least some of these monuments are from the third and fourth centuries A.D.<sup>69</sup>. It seems highly probable that the general output of the small workshop at Kinna was from a later period than that implied for cat. 1. In terms of workmanship, the pieces are different. It is, however, feasible that when aiming to immortalise the families of local patrons, the artisans producing the *stelai* from Kinna looked to our earlier relief and referenced it, or perhaps more broadly drew upon any lost contemporary counterparts it may have had.

<sup>45</sup> The use of the horseshoe arch as a decorative field displayed within *stelai* of a different overall form, which is seen at Kinna, is also more common in the wider region than a horseshoe-shaped outer *terminus*. The horseshoe arch containing half-figure portraits (or other images) appears with a high incidence in the late Roman figurative *stelai* of north-western Phrygia, particularly in the upper Tembris valley, the Kotiaieion (Kütahya)/Soa (Altıntaş) region, most often carved within gable-shaped *stelai*<sup>70</sup>. The rounded horseshoe arch motif is also encountered on later doorstone *stelai*; once again it does not form the overall shape and is instead consistently set within the pediments of various forms, including arched<sup>71</sup>, rectangular<sup>72</sup>, and (with particular frequency) those with pitched or pointed gables<sup>73</sup>. This form of decorative field in door façade *stelai* is (again) particularly associated with the upper Tembris valley<sup>74</sup>. These Phrygian door *stelai* and their figurative counterparts were produced at some distance to Çalış and, again, belong to a later period than is indicated for our monument; the craftsmanship

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<sup>66</sup> E.g. Möbius – Pfuhl 1977–1979, II, cat. 1136.

<sup>67</sup> Taylor 2019, 46 cat. 287. 288. 290–292 (sincere thanks to Dr Taylor for sharing her research); MAMA XI, cat. 230; MAMA XI, cat. 234; MAMA XI, cat. 251; MAMA XI, cat. 252; RECAM II, cat. 299; MAMA XI, cat. 253. – Cf. also a more rounded version: Taylor 2019, cat. 289; RECAM II, cat. 304. 305; MAMA XI, cat. 245.

<sup>68</sup> The precise nature of these familial relationships is difficult to ascertain due to the apparent illiteracy of the stone mason: Taylor 2019, cat. 289; RECAM II, cat. 304. 305; MAMA XI, cat. 245.

<sup>69</sup> MAMA XI, cat. 234 dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century; MAMA XI, cat. 230 dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>70</sup> The form is discussed by Möbius – Pfuhl 1977–1979, I, 55. For examples, see Möbius – Pfuhl 1977–1979, I, cat. 248. 464 (with lions). 478 (niche containing head of full figure set within gable). 479. 580; Möbius – Pfuhl 1977–1979, II, cat. 1155 (portrait busts). Lochman proposes an overall chronology (and typology) for the variety of grave and votive *stelai* produced in this region, see Lochman 2003, 55–108.

<sup>71</sup> E.g. Waelkens 1986, cat. 393 ›type E‹ with decorative horseshoe-shaped, arched field containing lions.

<sup>72</sup> E.g. Waelkens 1986, cat. 398 ›type F‹ with decorative horseshoe-shaped, arched field containing half-figure portraits.

<sup>73</sup> E.g. Waelkens 1986, ›type C‹ with decorative horseshoe-shaped, arched field: cat. 221. 240. 244. 250 with portraits; cat. 222. 224. 225. 234. 238. 251. 273. 283 with lions; cat. 227. 272 with eagles.

<sup>74</sup> This shape is a feature that Waelkens notes with particular frequency in ›type C Altıntaş‹ doorstones, an apparent preference for the stone masons who served this broad area. See the ›type C‹ examples cited above, for discussion of the workshop and its sculptors see Waelkens 1986, 89–92.

is different, and no door façade *stèle* terminates in the overall shape of a horseshoe. Nevertheless, the Phrygian doorstones and figurative *stelai* present us with some of the strongest parallels to the arched form of cat. 1 in the wider region, and it is worth considering by what means such overlap may have occurred.

46 The regional preference for the horseshoe on a range of *stelai* may be related to use of this motif in built funerary architecture. Allusion to architectural forms is a core feature of *stelai* in central Anatolia and beyond, though the level of detail varies widely. Ute Kelp's recent work on the origins of door façade monuments in Phrygia gives one sense of the way in which this relationship may have played out. Kelp observes that ›built doorstones‹ appeared as a consistent group in the region of *Aezani* in the 1<sup>st</sup> century and proposes that they marked a form of ›invented tradition‹, deployed by new elites in recently founded cities, serving to legitimate their status and to emphasise the nobility of their cities. Kelp describes how the type was swiftly adopted in the adjacent Tembris valley region and at Dokimeion, and during the second century gained a wider market, used on more modest grave types, particularly *stelai*<sup>75</sup>. This is not to suggest that our relief formed part of an early built doorstone. Those identified at *Aezani* do not have this form<sup>76</sup>. However, as has already been suggested above for later funerary monuments at Kinna, a striking earlier precedent such as our Saokondarios memorial and any lost equivalents could have contributed to the later popularity of the horseshoe frame in the wider region.

47 In the highlands of Phrygia, the horseshoe motif is also encountered in funerary architecture proper, not only in *stelai*<sup>77</sup>. The horseshoe arch is carved, for example, above the door in a rock-cut tomb façade in the cliffs of *Ayazin*, dated broadly to the Roman period<sup>78</sup>; lions occupy the central relief field and deliberately reference those from a Phrygian period chamber tomb. The Roman tomb resembles, and appears to have been inspired by, large built door *stèle* and does in any case show how the horseshoe arch could be employed in monumental architecture. It is noteworthy that the horseshoe arch was here deployed in a context where the rest of the iconography seems to deliberately look backwards<sup>79</sup>. Phrygian period tomb façades usually feature triangular gables<sup>80</sup>, and the use of a horseshoe arch in the retrospective context at *Ayazin* conceivably indicates that this motif had some earlier precedent and that it too had come to have traditional connotations<sup>81</sup>.

48 Exploring parallels among other elite Galatian burials is complicated by issues of identification<sup>82</sup>. The evidence suggests elite use of monuments that were not culturally distinct, such as chambered tombs beneath tumuli of the same form as those attested at sites in Hellenistic Bithynia and Pontus<sup>83</sup>. Tumuli appear to have been the cultural preference of Galatian elites, but were obviously also popular more broadly in the late

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75 See Kelp 2008; Kelp 2013, 71–76; Kelp 2015, 101–105 with earlier literature.

76 Jes 1997.

77 E.g. Kortanoğlu 2012, 288.

78 Haspels 1971, 172 fig. 292 f.; Kortanoğlu 2012, 299 f.

79 The referencing of earlier Phrygian iconography on Roman period rock-carved tombs and door *stelai* is well-established, see Kortanoğlu 2012, 302 f.

80 Kortanoğlu 2012, 290.

81 Cf. the use of the horseshoe arch in the rock-cut representation of idols across the Highland region, e.g. Haspels 1971, 30 fig. 28. 36. Idols representing schematised human bodies without a neck and with the circular head set onto a rectangular body often had the horseshoe form (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 56–60), though some have been given additional physical features such as hair, and in figurine form they can possess facial features, e.g. Anderson 2012, 181. 186.

82 A distinct Galatian burial type is not in evidence, and the identification of particular burials as Galatian rests principally on grave goods. For discussion of the difficulties in establishing Galatian identity through such artefacts, see Coşkun 2014, 134–138. For specific implications in relation to identifying Galatian burials, see Rice 2016, 151–156.

83 See the overview of the evidence in Darbyshire et al. 2000, 85–87.

Hellenistic and Early Imperial era. The period saw a resurgence in the use of tumuli in Rome as well as amongst elite patrons in parts of Anatolia, in various forms, thought to draw more upon different regional traditions than Roman developments<sup>84</sup>. Galatian tumuli are known to have included sculpture, for example, at Tomb B in *Karalar*. This monument is one of the tombs most reliably attributed to the Galatian aristocracy and believed to belong to Deiotarus the Younger (who died between 43 and 41 B.C.) because of the discovery of his epitaph nearby<sup>85</sup>. The excavator describes a range of expensive grave goods as well as a marble altar and a marble sculpture of a lion<sup>86</sup>, and it seems possible that a relief like cat. 1 could also fit within such a context<sup>87</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> The tumuli associated with the Galatian elite at *Karalar* comprise a range of different types, from barrel vaulted with a dromos, peaked roof with dromos, to lantern roofed<sup>88</sup>. A barrel-vaulted tumulus could have provided the sort of lunette space where our relief would fit. Alternatively, and depending on the tumulus design, cat. 1 could conceivably have belonged above an entrance to the chamber on a concealed façade, or in a more prominent location on the exterior, producing a monument that spoke of tradition whilst also referencing Rome. The *stelai* and the rock-cut tomb discussed above indicate that a horseshoe arch came to be regarded as a particularly appropriate display feature above doors in the wider region, but the precise typology and position of our image remains unclear.

<sup>50</sup> The evidence suggests that our memorial stands at the beginning of a long history of engagement with Imperial Rome, played out locally. The well-connected Galatian family depicted here appears to have married elements of Roman personal styling with a monumental frame, which came to be popular in the wider region. At the time, those choices must have been innovative, and strikingly so in this area, but the typological echoes seen in the monuments from Kinna indicate that the relief became something of a local landmark which was drawn upon when commemorating later families. Similar later Roman gravestones in the wider region suggest that the same may have happened elsewhere, too.

<sup>51</sup> The Roman practice in representing the dead with portraiture, and elements of Roman personal styling that appear to have been referenced in the personal memorial of this distant aristocratic Galatian household, seem to epitomise Saokondarios qualities as a *Philoromaios* and *Philokaisaros*. We do not know the precise identity of the individuals shown in our relief, but it seems that in depicting and commemorating this family and the name of Saokondarios, Roman fashions in representation were felt to be relevant and prestigious alongside local styles.

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<sup>84</sup> See Kelp 2016 for an assessment of the dominant importance of intraregional trends in shaping different tumulus forms as part of the development of 'new traditions'. Reference to Roman forms is acknowledged for example at Augustan Pergamum, and is identified through features such as the height of the *crepis* and the suggestion that a statue base found nearby belonged on top of the monument, as an adaptation of the mausoleum of Augustus, but such instances are interpreted as anomalous.

<sup>85</sup> RECAM II, cat. 188.

<sup>86</sup> Arik – Couptry 1935, 135 f.

<sup>87</sup> A recent paper observed that as finds in tumuli of neighbouring regions demonstrate the importance of doors in tumulus façades, potentially including reliefs on the doors, the issue needs to be investigated for Turkey's tumuli, too. See Bingöl 2016, 461 f.

<sup>88</sup> Fedak 1990, 165, observes that tumulus tomb exteriors traditionally conveyed »no specific messages«. The inclusion of figural reliefs would constitute an innovative addition to door façades on tumuli. For discussion of door façades in the region's tumuli, see Waelkens 1986, types A–B; Kelp 2016, 605–609 with earlier references.

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## Later Roman Grave Stones

52 The heterogeneous monuments in the following section are more standard in form than the exceptional relief discussed above. Overall, the relatively wide demographic uptake of ›stele culture‹, which has been well-observed in rural Anatolia, including use by farmers and other workers, is clearly attested in this collection. Factors driving this have been identified in ready access to good quality local stone, the presence of outstanding stone working expertise established at Dokimeion, combined with local socio-cultural needs in competition and distinction, shaping the perception that a stone monument was a key way of ›correctly‹ honouring the dead<sup>89</sup>. The resulting regional corpus has revealed the priorities in self-representation of a range of people about whom we would otherwise know little.

53 The funerary monuments take a variety of forms, including ›doorstones‹<sup>90</sup> with their short-hand depiction of props (like spindle and distaff) that imply details of the deceased's life and virtues (fig. 13–31)<sup>91</sup>. As seen more widely around the Roman world at this time, a significant proportion of the memorials also include portraits that offer insights into how the subject, or their family, wanted to be seen (fig. 4–16)<sup>92</sup>, including a striking proportion of ›tunic-wearers‹. The Roman period saw the uptake of stone portraiture around the empire on an unprecedented scale. There was, though, considerable regional variability in its use, with some areas participating far more actively than others. Ours is one of the areas that came to see a relatively wide demographic participation in the practice of portrait commemoration. The portraiture template was used here as an articulate medium to express local priorities in family commemoration and self-display. As on plainer doorstones, these images were often supplemented with the use of attributes or biographical ›props‹ that also helped to inform the viewer's understanding of the subjects depicted. Roman regionalism shaped the material examined here, as craftsmen working to meet the demands of their clients produced distinctive pieces that shared in broader priorities but did so in local styles<sup>93</sup>.

54 The spectrum of quality levels in the carving includes a production style which is sometimes referred to as ›schematic‹ or ›crude‹ (e.g. fig. 13)<sup>94</sup>. We have lost any traces of paint on the pieces; if they were polychrome this may have increased the level of naturalism from that apparent now in the carving, but it seems unlikely that painting could have created the effect of three-dimensional naturalistic foreshortening or diminished the impact of the use of unrealistic scales which is seen in many of the pieces. Differing approaches to this issue can be found in scholarly analysis about whether details like hands are often shown on oversized scale because they are technically difficult to render or alternatively because they are semiotic indicators of practical qualities reflecting a high value placed on industrious lives<sup>95</sup>. Framed this way, the question becomes one of sculptor incompetence or whether elements of this style were a meaningful choice.

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89 Masséglià 2013, 95 f. See Ahrens 2017 on the relationship between monument type and social status in Asia Minor and the appeal of *stelai* for those with limited financial means.

90 This traditional term has been criticised for not distinguishing between *stelai* and grave reliefs with a door motif that were used in other contexts such as to seal tombs. It is, however, employed here as a useful ›umbrella term‹ for all such possibilities. See Kelp 2015, 65 f. with earlier scholarship.

91 Waelkens 1977; Masséglià 2013, 99–102; Kelp 2015, 77–80.

92 Using the definition that a portrait is simply an image intended to represent a particular subject: Schultz – von den Hoff 2007, 1–3.

93 On the various local quarries, workshops, and less formalised, more itinerant craftsmen in the region producing monuments like doorstones, figured *stelai*, or votive reliefs, see Waelkens 1986, especially his overview on p. 19 f.; Lochman 2003; Taylor 2019, 47–58.

94 On assessment of quality, see Smith 1994, 261.

95 See Drew-Bear et al. 1999, 374; Masséglià 2013, 107.

55 Some of the discussion around sculptural quality is generated by our perspective, whilst the users and producers of these pieces would normally have viewed them alongside similar objects and were not comparing them in connoisseurship terms with the *stelai* used, for example, by urban elites on the Aegean coast, or even the highest level products made at neighbouring centres like Dokimeion. The man-hours spent creating naturalistic depictions on high quality sarcophagi at Dokimeion necessitated the expenditure of considerable capital which was too expensive for most<sup>96</sup>, but an articulate and useful alternative met the needs of a wider market with lower budgets. Common stereotypical motifs like doors or spindle and distaff, related to female virtue<sup>97</sup>, were easy to incise and swiftly understood, both because of their places in people's lives and their repetition in the visual repertoire. Hierarchies in scale could be employed to help emphasise the most relevant part of that message.

56 The following catalogue is ordered in typological terms. With pieces like the door façade grave monuments, this is not always without difficulty, even though they have been well studied<sup>98</sup>. In some cases the problem lies in the normal difficulties of assigning typological classification to partially preserved or reused pieces (cat. 10. 11. 15. 19. 24–26), but there is a more general issue caused by an absence of consensus around the best typological framework to apply<sup>99</sup>. Current typologies, in differing ways, blend formal classifications with functional ones about where the grave relief was placed and what role it occupied (e.g. free-standing *stele* or relief showing a door employed in different types of tomb). It is highly exceptional to find doorstones in situ<sup>100</sup>, but recent scholarship has shown the potentially variable contexts and therefore functions occupied by closely comparable grave relief forms showing the door motif, and demonstrated that this has significant implications for the main typological frameworks that we use<sup>101</sup>. In the following catalogue, many of the pieces are fragmentary, and it has not always been possible to ascertain the precise original function of each doorstone<sup>102</sup>. Consequently, they have been arranged below in simplified typological terms according to what is preserved of their form<sup>103</sup>. As a significant proportion of these pieces emphasised the commemoration of the human form, on doorstones as well as on other *stelai*, this has formed one of the characteristics used to present the material: starting with figured *stelai*, moving to doorstones which also have a visual emphasis upon the human form, and then on to other more simple modes of decoration.

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96 Stone masons from here did not only serve the funerary monument market by their production of high-quality sarcophagi for wider export, but also worked in the ›doorstone‹ trade more broadly: see Kelp 2015, 70 f., addendum 4 for local distribution of Dokimeion's products; Lochman 2003, 109–134. A number of itinerant workers from Dokimeion are attested elsewhere in funerary epigraphy: examples gathered together in Thonemann 2013, 39 n. 146.

97 On the role of such stock gendered attributes on Phrygian door reliefs, see Kelp 2015, 77 f.

98 Waelkens 1986; Lochman 2003; Kelp 2015.

99 See Kelp 2013, 66–75 for helpful critique and summary of the typologies established by Lochman and Waelkens.

100 Kelp 2013, 76.

101 See Kelp 2015, 72–75.

102 Lochman's typological framework tends to correlate reliefs with pointed gable tops with *stelai*, and rectangular forms with doorstones closing graves: Lochman 2003, 147. Kelp argues that while this works for the majority of instances in the area her study focuses upon, it is not invariably the case outside those regions: Kelp 2015, 75. Lochman's helpful and close-grained regional study of Phrygian grave and votive reliefs does not focus on the Haymana area.

103 The arrangement is comparable to Waelkens 1986, ›types C, E, or F‹ forms developed to describe free-standing *stelai*.

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## Figured Stelai with Arched Panels

### Cat. 2 Haymana Kaymakamlığı (fig. 4)

57 A roughly worked, arched, greyish white limestone *stèle* which is worn with damage across the surface of the piece. It is divided into three main fields. The uppermost part contains a slightly recessed, arched panel with a female figure, below that is a raised border with worn inscription, and beneath that, on the main shaft of the stone, is a further recessed rectangular panel. A dog-tooth pattern is incised around part of the frame of the upper arched panel, and further decoration is apparent towards the top of the stone but is too damaged to discern. Set within the arched panel is a standing female figure rendered in shallow relief. The figure wears a *chiton* and *himation*, with the long tunic reaching to her feet partially covered by the mantle which is drawn over the head. The figure's right arm reaches across the body, and the remains of the hand rest at her chest, but the fabric has not been rendered to reflect this pose. The woman's facial features are rather worn away, but traces of the hair are apparent either side of the face beneath the veil, and it is still clear where the sculptor incised a choker necklace with a series of pendants around the subject's neck<sup>104</sup>.

58 Stylised branches resembling ivy leaves frame the figure<sup>105</sup>. Depicted above her head simply with a single line, the tendrils of ivy proliferate as they descend around the figure to just below hip height on her left and right, so that she is flanked by six over-sized leaves on either side. On each side of the figure, over-sized attributes have been rendered; there is a roughly incised spindle and distaff on her left, and to her right the sculptor perhaps intended to render an associated wool basket, though a stylised mirror with an unusually wide handle is also possible. Both are summarily executed. These stock attributes, familiar from doorstones, continue below in the rectangular panel, again shown in a pared-down form: on the left an incised depiction of a chest with a comb on it, a tripod table supporting a crudely incised single-handled vessel in the centre, and to the right a woven basket with fruit. The worn inscription above this comprises an almost illegible three-line text.

[ - - - - ] ΠΡ . .  
[ - - - - ] μνήμ-  
[ ης χ ] ἄριον

59 The *stèle* is similar to RECAM II, cat. 253 pl. 11, from Yamak, erected by Sousos for his unnamed son, and probably from the same workshop. I. W. Macpherson's photograph of the Sousos stone shows his hands joined in prayer, as he stands between tendrils holding bunches of grapes.

### Cat. 3 Haymana Kaymakamlığı (fig. 5)

60 Roughly worked *stèle* with two standing figures set within an arched field. The surface is worn and chipped, and sections of the sides have broken away and are missing. The *stèle* is again divided into three principal fields: the uppermost containing



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Fig. 4: Cat. 2 Haymana Kaymakamlığı, arched and figured grave *stèle*, marble

Fig. 5: Cat. 3 Haymana Kaymakamlığı, arched and figured grave *stèle*, marble

104 On the relatively restrained range and norms of such jewellery in female attire on Phrygian reliefs, see Masséglia 2013, 115 f.

105 The figured *tympanum* of a door *stèle* from the area of Vetissos (Waelkens 1986, cat. 609) has a comparable composition but with vines growing either side, and the workmanship is higher quality; the figure is set within an architectural frame with volute capitals.

a slightly recessed figured panel, below that a raised border with worn inscription, and beneath that, on the main shaft of the stone, a further recessed rectangular panel. The two standing figures are carved crudely in shallow relief in a stylised manner with elongated necks and spindly legs. They are set within the panel framed by a lightly incised and modelled border. The two males hold hands in similar poses, emphasising an impression of unity and closeness, each with their outer hand raised to their chests. Both men are shown with a short ›bowl cut‹ and lightly incised even features. Each wears a calf length pleated tunic that is belted just below the waist<sup>106</sup>. The lower panel contains a crudely worked wreath. The centrally-placed three-line inscription is worn and only partially legible:

[ - - - - - ]  
 ΔΕΝΕΚΤ.  
 ἀνέστησε

**Cat. 4 Bostanhöyük (fig. 6. 7. 8)**

61 Figured arched marble *stèle* broken at the top right and below left. The arched panel is framed with a delicate tendril design on the side pilasters and below, with leaves above. The arched relief field displays a male figure standing on a low podium to the viewer's left and two veiled female figures placed at the centre and to the right, each holding an object in their right hand, one perhaps a spindle, the other possibly a bird. The facial features of the figure to the right have not survived, but the other two show large eyes below incised brows, a straight nose, and a round mouth. All three figures are arranged with similar body language, the right hand raised to the chest.

62 The male figure's dress is somewhat difficult to discern. It seems probable that we are presented with a version of *chiton* and *himation* with the subject in ›arm-sling pose‹, but taken at face value it appears as though the figure wears what looks like a short tunic which terminates just above the knee, with pleats at the centre. The upper portion of the subject's body is unclear. It seems unlikely that the various folds were meant to be the upper part of the tunic, because there is a ridge around the neck indicating at least two layers of cloth. More plausibly, an outer layer, which looks here almost like an abbreviated version of the *himation* draped in arm-sling pose, covers only the top half of the torso and terminates, unusually, about the waist<sup>107</sup>. This may be unusual dress or a stylised rendering of the normal *chiton/himation* combination, with the central pleats, which look to form part of the tunic, actually intended as the folds of the *himation*. The presence of the small podium might indicate that the subject was shown in the form of a statue, which outside this area was more normally associated with the standard forms of dress seen in public statuary<sup>108</sup>. Depiction with a base in the wider Phrygian region, however, seems to have been less consistently associated with public dress forms or other references to the norms of statue imagery<sup>109</sup>.

106 The condition of the stone is worn, but no outer layer of *himation* or cloak is apparent. This short tunic may have served to indicate the subject's relative youth and/or have been related to working life. On Phrygian votive reliefs, as elsewhere, tunics without further drapery are sometimes shown worn by those engaged in agricultural pursuits such as driving horses, e.g. Drew-Bear et al. 1999, cat. 455. An analogous belted tunic is seen worn by a male figure driving oxen, e.g. Drew-Bear et al. 1999, cat. 519.

107 A child has been identified wearing a ›belted *himation*‹ on a Phrygian votive tabula ansata (Drew-Bear et al. 1999, cat. 165), but this looks quite different. It seems more plausible that the sculptor was trying to show a *chiton* with *himation* draped high on the body as on a votive to Zeus Alsenos, where the subject is shown in arm-sling pose holding grapes in the other hand: Drew-Bear et al. 1999, cat. 552.

108 On statuesque imagery in funerary contexts, see Stewart 2003, 93–108, esp. 100 note 91 for examples in Eastern *stelai*, both Hellenistic and Roman.

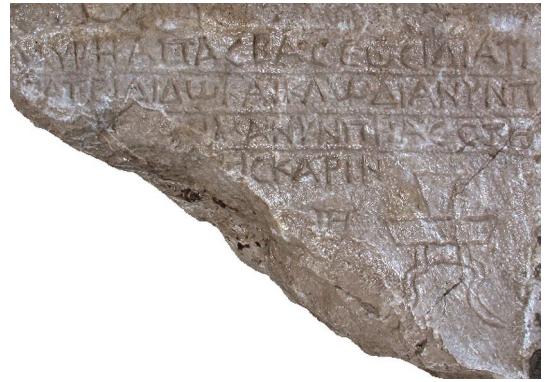
109 Votive *stelai* from Phrygia do not always use references to the base alongside statue imagery and sometimes include figures in local dress on bases, e.g. Drew-Bear et al. 1999, cat. 159. 164. 166. 167 etc.



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Fig. 6: Cat. 4 Bostanhöyük, arched and figured grave *stèle*, marble

Fig. 7: Cat. 4 Bostanhöyük, same *stèle* as in the previous image, detail of the figures

Fig. 8: Cat. 4 Bostanhöyük, same *stèle* as in the previous images, detail of the inscription

63 The women are both shown wearing a long *chiton* that reaches to the floor. The female in the centre also has an additional ridge around her neck, perhaps implying a separate layer of cloth. Their heads are covered with the veil which is drawn back over parted hair and falls to each side of the body<sup>110</sup>. The addition of diagonal lines angled out from the knee on both figures on each side probably indicates the edges of the veil. Two stripes continuing to the ground perhaps indicate detailing on the tunic or a stylised representation of folds in the cloth<sup>111</sup>. There is a four-line inscription at the top of the shaft, with a tripod table supporting a vessel below it to the right, and the traces of a now illegible object apparent at the break-line.

Αὐρη. Απας Βασεως ἰδίᾳ τι-  
γατρὶ Διδῶ καὶ Κλωδίᾳ νύνη-  
[η κα]ἰ Ἰμ]μα νύνη ἀ(ν)έστη-  
[σεν μνήμ]ης χάριν

4

3: or [H]μα.

*Aure(lios) Apas son of Bases for his own daughter Dido, and for Clodia the bride (daughter-in-law) and Imma the bride (daughter-in-law) set this up in memory.*

64 LGPN Vc, p. 85 notes two occurrences of the indigenous name Bases, at Piri-beyli on the territory of Amorium and at Saatlı in the Haymana district<sup>112</sup>. Imma, which is attested in Lycaonia and in the Taurus region from Rugged Cilicia to Isauria<sup>113</sup>, is the most likely restoration of the name of the second daughter-in-law. It can be read on another gravestone from Saatlı, copied by Calder and Macpherson. Calder's edition reads Ivva<sup>114</sup>, but Macpherson's good photograph confirms the reading Ἰμμα. Alternatively, the form Ημα (Ἀγκυρανή) for a woman of central Anatolian origin recorded at Athens is also possible<sup>115</sup>. It was unusual for a man to put up a gravestone for his daughter and two daughters-in-law. The relief showing two female figures is appropriate, but not an exact match for the inscription.

110 Masségliā 2013, 103 on this style as a Phrygian norm.

111 The dress and drape styles are similar to the *stèle* for Masa, Sisa, and Da found in Kerpiç, though on that example the sculptor has made more effort to distinguish the separate clothing elements: MAMA VII, cat. 415 pl. 25; RECAM II, cat. 379; Taylor 2019, cat. 299.

112 MAMA VII, cat. 261 (Piribeyli). 402 (Saathl) = RECAM II, cat. 362.

113 LGPN Vc, cat. 194.

114 MAMA VII, cat. 403. This was followed in RECAM II, cat. 363 and LGPN Vc, p. 195.

115 IG II/III<sup>2</sup> 3, 2, cat. 7903; I.Ancyra II, cat. A21.



Cat. 5 Haymana Kaymakamlığı (fig. 9)

65 Small figured marble *stele* with arched panel set above an inscription field. The *stele* is extremely worn, and the figures set within the arched and recessed decorative field are difficult to determine. What remains of the composition indicates that it may originally have included a seated man and a veiled woman. There was a now illegible inscription in the rectangular panel below.

Cat. 6 Haymana Kaymakamlığı (fig. 10)

9



66 Roughly worked marble *stele* with inscription field on the shaft and two males standing on either side of a female figure set in a recessed arched field within a pointed gable pediment. The surface of the stone is worn and parts have broken away, but it looks as though the central female may have been rendered with gesture that reaches out to, or touches, the male subjects<sup>116</sup>. The more diminutive female figure is shown wearing a long *chiton* that covers her feet. Creases in the fabric attempt to show the outline of the legs through the layered material; a slight ridge about the knee indicates the edge of the *himation* drawn about the body and over the head. The face is too worn for any detail to be determined, but the remnants of hair shown about the face are still apparent.

67 The larger male figures have similar stance and are similarly shaped with large heads and broad shoulders. The subject on the viewer's left is better preserved, shown simplistically with details like the large eyes rendered through simple outline; the man is depicted wearing a short belted-tunic with cape draped about the shoulders. The state of preservation is poor but faint traces to the sides of both figures, combined with their arm positions, indicate that they may both have held spears that were incised lightly into the stone on either side. The facial features of the figure on the viewer's right have been obliterated, and details of the subject's dress are no longer clear. Both men are shown wearing what look like caps, though this may well be a stylised rendition of their hair. The details of the clothing recall military dress, though with less emphasis upon weaponry than usual<sup>117</sup>, perhaps evoking military prowess within the gradations of soldiering done in this region<sup>118</sup>. Alternatively, the dress may more generically have evoked capability in hunting, conveying *virtus* in a manner encountered elsewhere in the Roman world<sup>119</sup>. The seven-line inscription is set in a panel between pilasters on the shaft, beneath an upper margin, decorated with oblique lines.

10

Fig. 9: Cat. 5 Haymana Kaymakamlığı, arched and figured grave *stele*, marble

Fig. 10: Cat. 6 Haymana Kaymakamlığı, arched and figured grave *stele*, marble

116 On the particular importance of touch in Phrygian reliefs, see Masségliia 2013, 120.

117 Compare, for example, with the dress worn by soldiers in Möbius – Pfuhl 1977–1979, vol. 1 cat. 302. 305–311. 313–316.

118 On Phrygians in military dress, see Masségliia 2013, 108–112. The dress details are not the same here, though Masségliia emphasises the potential for graded degrees of involvement in the military in this region, and possibly the tunic with cape combo had a place within that structure.

119 This may reflect ›real life‹ pursuits, though non-mythological depictions of hunting, like mythological representations, could also serve allegorically in conveying the subject's *virtus*: Ewald – Zanker 2012, 223.

Αὐρηλία Κλεοπά-  
 τρα . . . ωΑΤΟΡΙ  
 κει ἀδελπῶ ΑΥ .  
 4 Τ . ΟΥΝΑ καὶ  
 Δόμνη θυγατρει  
 ἀνέστησε μν-  
 [ήμης χάριν]

*Aurelia Kleopatra . . . and for her daughter Domne set up  
 (the monument) in memory.*

68 The inscription is worn and the readings in lines 2–4 are uncertain. The name Kleopatra (Κλε-, Κλευ-, Κλεο-) is already attested five times in the Haymana region<sup>120</sup>. In line 2 it might be possible to restore a short male name followed by ἀνδρί. In line 3 κὲ ἀδελπῶ, with the substitution of *pi* for *phi* as often in texts from rural Phrygia seems clear, perhaps followed by αὐτοῦ, although the traces are too uncertain for certainty.

**Cat. 7 Çeltikli, now Haymana Kaymakamlığı (fig. 11. 12)**

69 Stele with figured relief set in recessed panel with half-palmettes perhaps marking the springing of an arch. The top is broken away and missing. A couple are shown in shallow relief. The female figure (viewer's left) is depicted wearing long *chiton* with the *himation* drawn up over the head. The male wears a *chiton* and *himation* in ›arm-sling pose‹. Both figures have over-sized hands<sup>121</sup>. The heads are broken off and missing. There is a hand mirror incised in the stone between them with an incised line below it. The shaft has the remains of a defaced bust in the centre, which retains the details of some of the folds of the drapery but only the outlines of the head. Incised on either side of this are a spindle and distaff (?) to the left and a *falx vinitoria* or pruning hook<sup>122</sup> to the right, together with two less well preserved, uncertain objects. Below is a damaged five-line inscription.

Οὐαρέλιος κα[ὶ Τατ]ιον (?)  
 οἱ Φιλαργύρου [τῶ πα]τρὶ καὶ  
 [τῶ ἀδελφῶ Ἀπολ[λω]νίῳ  
 4 καὶ μητρὶ Ζω[τικῆ] οὐ σίμη]  
 ἀνέστησαν μν[ήμης] χάριν

1: restore a short woman's name ending -ιον, Τατιον is possible.

*Valerius and . . . , the children of Philargyros set this up for their father and their  
 brother Apolonios and mother Zotike/Zosime, in memory.*



11



12

Fig. 11: Cat. 7 Çeltikli, now Haymana Kaymakamlığı, figured grave stele, marble

Fig. 12: Cat. 7 Çeltikli, now Haymana Kaymakamlığı, same stele as in the previous image, detail of the inscription

120 RECAM II, cat. 260. 315. 332. 339. 346. Cf. further attestations from central Anatolia in LGPN Vc, cat. 222.

121 A frequent feature in the wider area, see Masséglia 2013, 104–107.

122 Waelkens 1977, 279 f.

## Figured Door Stelai with Arched Tympana

Cat. 8 Haymana Kaymakamlığı (fig. 13)



13



14

Fig. 13: Cat. 8 Haymana Kaymakamlığı, figured door *stèle* with arched *tympanum*, marble

Fig. 14: Cat. 9 Haymana Kaymakamlığı, figured door *stèle* with arched *tympanum*, marble

70 Marble grave *stèle* with a roughly-shaped overall form that may once have been pointed and contains an arched recessed *tympanum*, set above a crudely incised door motif<sup>123</sup>. The stone is worn and chipped away in places. The *tympanum* contains two figures set in a recessed panel framed by a pair of rudimentary pilasters on each side<sup>124</sup>. Incised decoration above the arch depicts ivy leaves extending on either side of a spiral motif, perhaps a schematic Ionic capital that supports a ribbed leaf<sup>125</sup>, design features which find strong parallels with pieces produced in Vetissos and its territory. Within the incised rendition of an architectural framework, two female figures have been depicted. Both are shown with simplistic facial features: large eyes outlined on a slightly lower plane than straight brows, and a rectangular nose. Both mouths are shown simply by an incised straight line. The details of hair have received more attention: separated by a central parting and drawn back from the face to be covered by a veil. A small drop shape is shown either side of the brow on both of the subjects' heads. The rendition is stylised and it is possible that these drops represent the ears or earrings (idiosyncratically placed), but we cannot discount the possibility that rendered here are small tassels associated with a local fashion of artfully styled hair<sup>126</sup>.

71 The women have elongated necks, each with an incised line to indicate a simple necklace. Neither figure is wearing *chiton* with *himation* in the arm-sling pose, common for women in the wider Phrygian region<sup>127</sup>. The figure on the viewer's left is reaching with her arms to arrange her clothing draped about her. Here, the sculptor may have intended to show the modest adjustment of her *himation*. The other figure has the hands reaching to the stomach and wears what looks like a long tunic, on which the sculptor has incised, with a flat chisel, two broad *clavii*, and a further layer of fabric, a cloak or mantle, unusually hanging from the shoulders to the ground. The incised door set below the inscription contains details of door furniture and the following props: top left, spindle and distaff; top right, door-knocker; bottom left, fruit in basket; bottom right, key plate. A four-line inscription is set above the relief. The letters are deeply carved but uneven. *Nu* and *eta* are sometimes confused. Δούκιλος is not common<sup>128</sup>, but seems clear at the start of the text.

123 There are difficulties in assigning typology correctly here because of the damage to the sides of the top of the *stèle* and the rough working of the stone. The profile of the top of the stone does appear pointed, though, which would conform to Waelkens ›type C‹, with this form containing an arched *tympanum*, which has a distribution well observed in the southern Haymana region: Waelkens 1986, 4 f. 302.

124 For a closely comparable pilaster composition, see door *stelai* from the Vetissos area, e.g. Waelkens 1986, cat. 593. 607.

125 This distinctive motif is again found in ›type C‹ door *stelai* from workshops operating in Vetissos and its surrounding territory, see, for example, Waelkens 1986, cat. 593. 607.

126 Masségliia 2013, 114–116 discusses the use of short tasselled veil and ornamented headband running over the parting and around the front of the hairline on Phrygian reliefs: Lochman 1990, fig. 1. 8; see also Waelkens 1986, cat. 247 pl. 32; Lochman 2003, II 92 pl. 8 fig. 29. While the parallels are not precisely the same, a comparable sort of local ornament is also possible on this relief.

127 Masségliia 2013, 104–108. 115.

128 LGPN Vc, cat. 250.

Λούκιλος [ - - - ] Κ.  
 CN μνήμη[ς] χάριν. Πατ[ροκ]-  
 λῆς τῆ εἰδία ΑΔΗΠΗ ΛΟ. [ - ]  
 4 νῆ μνήμης χάριν

1–2: perhaps a woman's name ending -ση.  
 3–4: perhaps ἀδ(ε)λπῆ Λου[κία]νῆ.

**Cat. 9 Haymana Kaymaklıği (fig. 14)**

72 Grey marble *stèle* with pointed gable pediment containing a recessed arched *tympanum* in which three male figures are set, above a crudely inscribed door motif<sup>129</sup>. The piece is broken and worn. The three figures are carved in shallow relief. The larger central subject is framed by two smaller men, but despite these differences in scale, the three are represented with similar body language and dress. Each of them has their right hand raised to the chest while the left hand rests at the abdomen, and each stands with his weight resting equally on both legs. They all wear a short tunic with pleats that reach to the knee, without traces of military cloak or weapons, perhaps suggesting working apparel and pride in this aspect of life<sup>130</sup>. There is a worn and illegible five-line inscription below the arched panel. The top two panels of a door, buried below, are visible. The top left door panel is too worn to be clear, the top right shows a door-knocker.



15

**Cat. 10 Durupınar (fig. 15)**

73 Doorstone with an arched *tympanum*, perhaps followed by an arched *terminus*<sup>131</sup>. The piece is weathered and has been built into a fountain. Within the *tympanum* are two busts, the one on the viewer's right with the right hand raised across the breast. Concentric circles represent drapery. The faces are too worn for features to be determined. There are unidentified objects in the door panels. The piece is similar in form to another door *stèle* from Haymana<sup>132</sup>, but also bears close comparison in terms of style and composition with figured *stelai* from Kinna<sup>133</sup>.



16

**Figured Door Stele of Uncertain Form**

**Cat. 11 Haymana Kaymaklıği (fig. 16)**

74 The piece now has a rectangular form, but tapering edges and comparison with other pieces indicate it may have been recut. The *tympanum* is decorated with figures, while below is a panel bearing an in-

Fig. 15: Cat. 10 Durupınar, figured door *stèle* with arched *tympanum*, marble, built into the façade of a Turkish fountain

Fig. 16: Cat. 11 Haymana Kaymaklıği, figured door *stèle*, marble

129 A further example of Waelkens ›type C‹ door *stelai* with a pointed gable containing an arched *tympanum*, with a distribution in the southern Haymana region: Waelkens 1986, 4 f. 302.

130 An analogy to this dress is perhaps seen in the pleated and belted tunic worn by men depicted driving yoked oxen or shown in close contact with these oxen, e.g. Drew-Bear et al. 1999, cat. 427. 519. Men depicted leading horses are sometimes wearing an unbelted version of this tunic, e.g. Drew-Bear et al. 1999, cat. 447. 455.

131 See Waelkens 1986, 5 f. ›type E‹ seen in the southern Haymana region.

132 Waelkens 1986, cat. 779.

133 E.g. MAMA XI, cat. 230; MAMA XI, cat. 234; MAMA XI, cat. 251; RECAM II, cat. 299; MAMA XI, cat. 252; MAMA XI, cat. 253; Taylor 2019, cat. 287. 288. 290–292.

scription set above a crudely incised door. There is damage across the surface of the stone, and the *stèle* is broken at the bottom, from higher up the stone on the (viewer's) right across the incised door. The upper panel depicts a large lion with a half-length human subject, both in shallow relief between roughly worked pilasters. The lion-motif is crudely, but effectively, shown, with the body in profile while the head is turned to look out frontally towards the viewer. The mane radiates from a summarily executed face that is dominated by prominent eyes and teeth. The sculptor has made little attempt at foreshortening, the animal's back legs have not been rendered, and there is no interest in conveying three-dimensional depth to the body. The principal effort at indicating anatomical overlap is found in the depiction of the tail, shown twisted over the lion's back.

75 The human figure is more damaged, with the gender uncertain and the face disfigured, though a band of curls showing the hair is still apparent. The inscription suggests a male subject, and the lion could be symbolic of male strength<sup>134</sup>, but other lions are depicted alongside female half figures<sup>135</sup>. The state of preservation is problematic, but incised lines above the curls and about the neck could depict a veil and necklace, indicating the subject was female, perhaps a mourner<sup>136</sup>, who was made present through image and not text.

76 The door is crudely cut in a recessed panel below, a door knocker shown with just an incised circle in the panel on the viewer's top left. The top right panel contains an uncertain object, perhaps the faint remains of a lock plate with stylised ivy leaf motif at the corners<sup>137</sup>.

Ἀσκλέπωνι ὑῶ μν-  
ήμης χάρ(ι)ν

*For his son Asklepon in memory.*

77 Ἀσκλάπων is well attested, and the woman's name Ἀσκληπῶ recorded once in LGPN Vc from central Anatolia, but the variant with epsilon appears here for the first time. Unless a name was added at the bottom of the broken shaft, the inscription appears not to name the parent or parents who were responsible for it.

## Door Stelai without Human Figures

### Cat. 12 Haymana Kaymakamlığı (fig. 17)

78 Grey marble door-*stèle* roughly arched in overall form and with an arched *tympanum* that is framed with a dog-tooth pattern<sup>138</sup>. The *stèle* is worn and truncated. Incised in the centre of the *tympanum* is a six-pointed rosette in a circle above a range of props associated with leisurely living: a couch with delicately turned legs, a stool, and a chest or table supporting a vessel. The inscription is placed below this, above a four-panelled door, with a knocker in the top left panel and the remains

Fig. 17: Cat. 12 Haymana Kaymakamlığı, door *stèle* with arched *tympanum*, marble



17

134 E.g. Waelkens 1986, cat. 618; Kelp 2015, 76.

135 Including in the Waelkens 1986, cat. 618 example cited above.

136 See Masségliia 2013, 114–116 for discussion of trends in the depiction of female dress in Phrygia including necklaces and various forms of head covering (separate cap or *himation* drawn over the head with hair showing at the front). On veiling as the norm, see Drew-Bear et al. 1999, 39 f.

137 Stereotypical motifs, for a few examples amongst many, see Waelkens 1986, cat. 608 f. 619. 629. 666. 678. 736.

138 Waelkens 1986, 5 f. ›type E‹ door *stelai*, which have a distribution observed in the Haymana region and perhaps also in Ankara: Waelkens 1986, 5 f. 297 cat. 779. 787.

of what was probably a key plate on the right panel. The rest of the decoration is too worn to be deciphered.

Ούιτλος Γῆ μητρι  
 γλυκυτάτη ἀνέστη-  
 σεν μνήμης χάριν

*Vitlos set this up for his dearest mother Ge, in memory.*

79 Ούιτλος equates to *vitulus*, (calf), which was often used as a Latin personal name; compare Greek Μόσχος, common throughout Asia Minor. For the syncopated form, compare Μάσκλος derived from *Masculus* or Δέκμος from *Decimus*. P. Thonemann records two other central Anatolian examples, Δομίτιος, Δέκμος and Ούιτλος, sons of Νίγερ, on a tombstone from Ακκαşehir in south Lycaonia<sup>139</sup>, and Λούκιος Ούιτλου Ἰο[.]ιος (the last name may be an ethnic) on the list of Ancyrans who combined to honour Antoninus Pius between A.D. 145 and 161 in a ceremony connected to the imperial cult<sup>140</sup>. The form Ούιτλιανῶ (from *Vitulianus*) appears at Phrygian Acmonia<sup>141</sup>.

**Cat. 13 Haymana Kaymaklıđı (fig. 18)**

80 Weathered marble *stele* containing an arched *tympanum* above the door motif. The *terminus* of the pediment is damaged but probably originally had a roughly pointed or arched form<sup>142</sup>. The recessed *tympanum* contains a six-pointed rosette in shallow relief between incised decoration including a stool supporting a vase (viewer's left) and a distaff and spindle (? on the right). Stylistically, the *stele* resembles cat. 12. There is a three-line inscription above a door with recessed panels: top left, knocker; top right, key plate (?); the bottom panels are unclear.

[ - - ἄ]νδρι CA [ - - ]  
 γλυκύτατο[.] ΚΚ [ - - ]  
 ἀνέστησεν [ - - ]

**Cat. 14 Haymana Kaymaklıđı (fig. 19)**

81 Small, eroded marble *stele* with door motif. The stone is damaged and the original shape of the pediment is not clear<sup>143</sup>. A twelve-leaf rosette or ›sun motif‹ is set prominently within a pointed *tympanum* (a triangle above two short pilasters)<sup>144</sup>. Below the *tympanum*, a band which may have once been inscribed runs above the top two panels of a door. The decoration on the door panels is no longer clear.



18



19

Fig. 18: Cat. 13 Haymana Kaymaklıđı, door *stele* with arched *tympanum*, marble

Fig. 19: Cat. 14 Haymana Kaymaklıđı, door *stele* with pointed *tympanum*, marble

139 MAMA XI, cat. 383.

140 I.Ancyra I, cat. 8 line 40.

141 MAMA VI, cat. 296.

142 The stone seems to belong to Waelkens 1986, 4 f. 302 ›type C‹ pointed with arched *tympanum*, but it is difficult to exclude the possibility that it was a crude rendering of an arched *stele*: Waelkens 1986, ›type E‹. It also resembles the arched *stele* cat. 12 in other stylistic respects.

143 The stone seems to have either terminated in a pointed gable (for a free-standing *stele* this would be Waelkens 1986, ›type C‹) or to have been rectangular (Waelkens 1986, ›type F‹).

144 The twelve-leaf rosette or sun motif is seen also on Waelkens 1986, cat. 466. 673. 686, placed there in more subordinate positions.



20

Fig. 20: Cat. 15 Çeltikli, door stele with triangular *tympanum*, andesite, built into a Turkish façade



21

Fig. 21: Cat. 16 Çalıř, door stele with triangular *tympanum*, andesite, built into a Turkish façade



22

Fig. 22: Cat. 17 Çalıř, door stele with triangular *tympanum*, andesite. H 78, W 47, D 14

#### Cat. 15 Çeltikli (fig. 20)

82 Andesite doorstone with triangular *tympanum* and probably once a roughly pointed *terminus*<sup>145</sup>. Circles are cut at the bottom corners of the *tympanum* with circular boss. The centre of the *tympanum* contains a raised disc with incised concentric circles. The top left door panel contains an amphora, the top right a key-plate. Both bottom panels show a wreath placed above a rectangular chest with two legs.

#### Cat. 16 Çalıř (fig. 21)

83 Andesite doorstone with triangular *tympanum* and once perhaps a pointed *terminus*<sup>146</sup>. The *tympanum* contains a decorative boss. The door is carved with a double frame around each panel. The top left panel has a door knocker, the top right a key plate. The lower panels are undecorated. No trace of inscription. Used as a *musala tař* for laying out the dead at the mosque and mounted on two more, uninscribed doorstones.

#### Cat. 17 Çalıř (fig. 22)

84 Andesite doorstone, with triangular *tympanum* and pointed or arched *terminus*<sup>147</sup>. The *tympanum* is decorated with a centrally placed, raised circular boss. No decoration apparent in the panels. No trace of inscription.

145 Probably Waelkens ›type C‹, door stele with a pointed gable, with distribution including southern Haymana: Waelkens 1986, 4 f.

146 Probably Waelkens ›type C‹: Waelkens 1986, 4 f.

147 Waelkens ›type C‹ (Waelkens 1986, 4 f.) or perhaps a summarily shaped ›type E‹ (Waelkens 1986, 5 f.).



23



24



25

#### Cat. 18 Haymana Kaymakamlığı (fig. 23)

85 Weathered andesite *stele* with arched *tympanum* above the panels of a door, now partly buried<sup>148</sup>. There is a small wreath in shallow relief set within the recessed *tympanum*. Summarily modelled in the upper panels of the door are the stereotypical motifs of door knocker and key-plate.

Fig. 23: Cat. 18 Haymana Kaymakamlığı, door *stele* with arched *tympanum*, andesite

#### Cat. 19 Çeltikli (fig. 24)

86 Part of a six-panelled andesite doorstone. The original shape is uncertain. The remains of the *tympanum* preserve clawed feet and the lower portion of spread wings, indicating that it once showed an eagle, a motif seen on many other doorstones<sup>149</sup>. The top left door panel contains a knocker, the top right a key-plate. The middle panels have a pair of small rosettes (?) at each end. The bottom panels contain unidentified right-angled objects.

Fig. 24: Cat. 19 Çeltikli, door *stele* with eagle in the *tympanum*, andesite

Fig. 25: Cat. 20 Çayırılı, doorstone, marble, built into the façade of a Turkish fountain. H 104, W 6, letters 1.5

### Doorstones without Pediments

#### Cat. 20 Çayırılı (fig. 25)

87 An unusual doorstone, which is now rectangular in form and tipped on its side, built horizontally into a fountain<sup>150</sup>. The entire upper panels of the door and the now almost unrecognisable decoration of the bottom panels of the door (two rosettes

148 The stone is too damaged to be reconstructed with certainty, but the remains of the stone (on the viewer's left) indicate that the *stele* may have terminated in an arch shape, conforming to Waelkens 1986 ›type E‹ door *stelai* which have a distribution observed in the Haymana region and its wider environs: Waelkens 1986, 5 f. 297 cat. 779. 787.

149 E.g. Waelkens 1986, cat. 60. 73. 77 etc. On eagles and their resonances in this context, see Lochman 2003, 211 f.

150 Assuming that the stone has not lost a pediment when repurposed and was always rectangular, this may have been a relatively elaborate free-standing rectangular *stele* (Waelkens' ›type F‹), though it is also possible that this stone was originally built into a tomb, such as in Waelkens' ›type J‹, examples of which have been found in Galatia, both at Pessinus and Ancyra: Waelkens 1986, 8. 299 f.



26



27

Fig. 26: Cat. 21 Haymana Kaymakamlığı, rectangular doorstone, limestone

Fig. 27: Cat. 22 Selametli, rectangular doorstone, marble, built into the façade of a Turkish fountain by the name of İrga Çeşmesi (fig. 99). H 62, W 53, D 24, letters 3

#### Cat. 22 Selametli (fig. 27)

90 White marble rectangular doorstone with deep-set panels, half buried<sup>153</sup>. The door was divided into three tiers of panels, with the central vertical bar crowned with a roughly worked capital. A knocker motif is apparent on the top left panel. One inscribed line survives above the door panels with the last four letters cut vertically at the right-hand end.

[ - - ]ω πατρι ἀνέστησαν μνη̅ς AN.

91 Probably μνη̅ς χάριϛ was intended.

in the bottom right panel?) were chiselled away, presumably when the door was reused. A four-line inscription on the flat panel at the top of the stone, above three worn palmettes on the lintel, was first recorded a century ago<sup>151</sup>, without photograph or reference to the unusual shape of the piece. Our photograph confirms the earlier reading, although the left side of the inscription is now worn.

[ - - ]εια . Λευκίω γλυκυτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ  
μνήμης χάριϛ, ἐντολὴν τηροῦσα το[ϛ]  
ἀνδρός, Ἀσκληπιάδην κὲ Στατίλειον  
κὲ Χρύσανθον κὲ Ρουφῖναν ἀπελευθέρους

... eia for her dearest Leukios in memory; observing the instruction of her husband. Asclepiades and Statilius and Chrysanthus and Ruphina, freed persons.

88 The tomb seems to have been set up by a wife for her husband, following instructions left in a will. Probably this explicitly provided for the addition of the three freed slaves to the burial, although we would expect their names also to have appeared in the dative case. References to freedmen and women were unusual in rural Phrygia and Galatia, but slaves and freed persons are underrepresented in the epigraphy of inner Anatolia.

#### Cat. 21 Haymana Kaymakamlığı (fig. 26)

89 Rectangular limestone doorstone<sup>152</sup>. The lower portion of the stone is buried, and a band of decoration at the top seems to be worn away. The door currently comprises four panels with the top panels featuring a disc or knocker (viewer's left) and a key-plate with concave sides (right). No inscription is preserved.

151 Dalman 1932, 255 cat. 2; reported also by Waelkens 1986, 298 cat. 780.

152 With the caveats mentioned above, if a freestanding *stèle* this would conform to Waelkens' ›type F‹: Waelkens 1986, 6. However, it is also possible that this instead constituted a stone that was built into a tomb as seen, for example, in neighbouring Ancyra: Waelkens 1986, 299 f. ›type J‹; it most resembles cat. 782 fig. 89 b, but for other examples see cat. 783. 786.

153 This piece may also have been cut down and its typology is uncertain, but in overall form it perhaps most resembles some of the examples of ›type J‹ doors built into tombs from sites like Ancyra: Waelkens 1986, 8. 299 f. cat. 783. 786.



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**Cat. 23 Haymana Kaymakamlığı (fig. 28)**

92 Worn marble rectangular doorstone<sup>154</sup>, re-used, possibly as a mortar or as a press weight. The frame has a dog-tooth pattern above and below the recessed panels. No decoration is visible on the panels.

Fig. 28: Cat. 23 Haymana Kaymakamlığı, rectangular doorstone with a secondary hole, marble

Fig. 29: Cat. 24 Haymana Kaymakamlığı, fragmentary doorstone, marble

Fig. 30: Cat. 25 Haymana Kaymakamlığı, fragmentary doorstone, marble

**More Fragmentary Doorstones**

**Cat. 24 Haymana Kaymakamlığı (fig. 29)**

93 Part of a weathered *stèle* of grey marble, displaying two right-hand door panels, the decoration of which includes a neatly cut wreath. A six-line (?) inscription, which ends *μνήμης χάριν*, was carved on the band between the door panels and extends to the lower panel.

**Cat. 25 Haymana Kaymakamlığı (fig. 30)**

94 Fragmentary doorstone. The upper door panels have a knocker and a keyplate, the lower panels are blank.

**Cat. 26 Haymana Kaymakamlığı (fig. 31)**

95 Fragmentary marble doorstone with recessed double framed undecorated panels.

154 The piece has clearly been reused, but assuming that it was always rectangular in shape, it could be categorised amongst the following potential types: as Waelkens ›type F‹ if it was part of a free-standing *stèle* (Waelkens 1986, 6); alternatively, it may have been built into a tomb as above (Waelkens 1986, 299 f. ›type J‹) or, if the absence of substantial surrounding door furniture is not a consequence of its later reuse, it may have been built into a tomb as a ›false door‹ (Waelkens 1986, 9 ›type L‹).



31

Fig. 31: Cat. 26 Haymana Kaymakamlığı, fragmentary doorstone, marble



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Fig. 32: Cat. 27 Yaylalıözü, fragmentary grave stele, marble



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Fig. 33: Cat. 28 Haymana Kaymakamlığı, grave stele with triangular panel, marble

## Other Fragmentary Stelai

### Cat. 27 Yaylalıözü (fig. 32)

96 Fragmentary *stela*, broken above. Garland on shaft. There is an effaced inscription at the bottom of the stone.

### Cat. 28 Haymana Kaymakamlığı (fig. 33)

97 Weathered marble *stela* with a rosette in a circle, set in the triangular panel. No surviving trace of any inscription or decoration on the shaft.

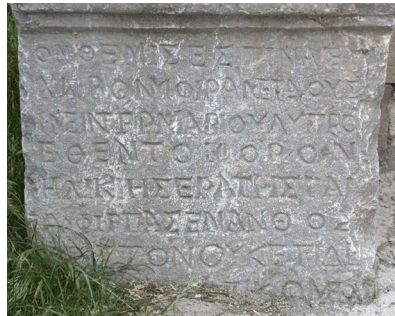
## Funerary Altar

### Cat. 29 Emirler (fig. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38)

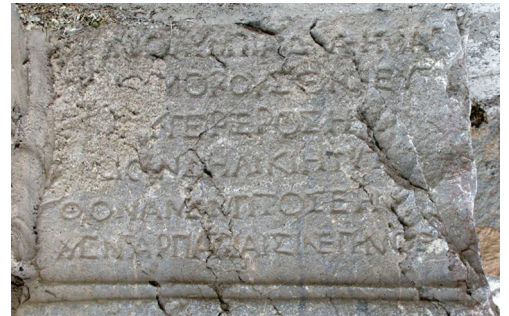
98 Rectangular marble *bomos* or votive altar, with palmette *acroteria* and an embossed disc on the left side of the pediment and curved mouldings leading to the shaft (fig. 34). The altar was reportedly found at Demirhavan, a locality on the way to Gölbek, in 1945 or soon after the Second World War, and cut apart in order to facilitate transportation. The two parts have been placed opposite one another by the mosque. The top of the altar was placed to the left, right way up, the bottom to right, upside down. The inscription was cut on the front (A. fig. 35. 36) and right-hand side (B. fig. 37. 38) of the altar. Eight lines are preserved in the upper section (A1 and B1. fig. 35. 37), six in the lower section (A2 and B2. fig. 36. 38). The corners of the stone are broken and this has removed letters at the right-hand end of A1. The face of A2 (lines 9–14) is damaged: Line 9 is hard to read, the first three or four letters of lines 9–12 have been effaced, and the ends of lines 9–14 are broken away. On face B the right hand ends of lines 15–22 are obscured by a modern wall. On B2 more than half of line 23 was removed when the stone was cut in two, and the right hand ends of lines 24 to 28 are obscured. Most of the visible letters can be read, some with difficulty. They are even and well formed, including E, Θ, Σ, and Ω, and form many ligatures, including MN, ME, NT, HP, IIE, TE, IIP, NT, NE, MB. We present a diplomatic transcript:



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Fig. 34: Cat. 29 Emirler, funerary altar, marble, top left side with palmette *acroteria* preserved

Fig. 35: Cat. 29 Emirler, same altar as in the previous image, top front side with inscription part A1. Broken on the right and buried at the bottom

Fig. 36: Cat. 29 Emirler, same altar as in the previous images, bottom front side with inscription part A2. Buried at the top and broken on right and left

Fig. 37: Cat. 29 Emirler, same altar as in the previous images, top right side with inscription part B1. Broken on the left, blocked on the right, buried at the bottom, with some bluish oil paint. To the left follows inscription part A1

Fig. 38: Cat. 29 Emirler, same altar as in the previous images, bottom right side with inscription part B2. Buried at the top, broken on the left and blocked on the right, with some reddish discolouration

		Front
A1		ΟΥΘΕΜΙΣΣΕΣΤΙΝΑΙΕΙ . . .
		ΑΩΡΟΝΜΟΙΡΑΝΕΙΔΟΥΣ . .
		. ΝΕΙΝΤΕΡΜΑΒΙΟΥΛΥΤΡΟ[v.]
	4	ΕΘΕΝΤΟΜΟΡΟ . . .
		ΗΛΙΚΗΗΣΕΡΑΤΗΣΓΑΙ
		. ΑΦΗΡΠΑΣΕΝΑΝΘΟΣ <i>leaf</i>
		. . . ΣΤΟΝΟΥΚΕΤΙΔΗ
	8	[ - - - - - ] ΠΙΚ ΟΜ. .
A2		- - - - - ΗΜΑ
		- - - ΜΟΡΟΥΣΘ . ΙΕΥΤ
		- - ΥΠΕΡΤΕΡΟΣΗ - -
	12	ΙΟΝ . ΗΛΙΚΗΓΛ
		ΘΟΝΑΜ .ΝΠΡΟΣΕΙ
		ΜΕΝΓΑΡΠΑΣΑΙΣΙΚΕΤΗΝΟΘ
		Right side
B1		ΠΑΥΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΝΙΟΣΛΑ . .
	16	ΤΟΣΕΡΝΗΘΕΟΣΙ ΗΣ . .
		ΩΡΗΧΕΙΜΕΡΙΗΘΗΣ . .
		ΘΑΝΟΝΑΥΤΑΡΑΝΕΜ . .
		ΜΗΝΟΣΤΕΤΡΑΤΙΟΥΑΡΧ
	20	ΝΟΥΤΕΘΕΡΟΥΣ <i>leaf</i>
		.ΔΕΙΛΑΙΩΝΤΟΚΕΩΝΑΧΑ
		ΧΑΡΙΣΕΝΘΑΛΛΕ
B2		ΡΕΙΑΟΝ . . .
	24	ΕΧΩΝΑΥΤΑΡΑΝ . .
		ΤΑΕΝΓΡΙΤΑΤΟΝΤΕΛΟ
		.ΩΣΔΕΓΕΝΕΘΛΗΚΟΙΝΗ
		ΤΥΝΒΟΣΛΕΙΨΑΝΑΜΕΙ
	28	ΝΟΙΣ <i>leaf</i>

99 This was a verse epitaph compiled for a young person, which includes many appropriate phrases and expressions common to this genre, but we have not been able to offer a continuous restoration either of the words or of the sense.

- A1 Οὐ θέμις ἔστιν αἰεὶ ἄωρον μοῖραν εἰδουσα (?)  
 [?]ίνειν τέρμα βίου λύγρον ἔθεντο μόρον  
 Ἡλικίης ἐρατῆς γάμ[ - ] ἀφήρπασεν ἄνθος  
 -- τον οὔκετι δὴ -- πικομ[ενον]
- A2 ----- [ω]κυμόρους [έν]τευξε (?)  
 ὑπέρτερος η  
 [οὔ] μὲν γὰρ πάσαις ἰκέτην ὁ θε[εος]
- B1 -----  
 ὠρη χεῖμερὶ θήσ[ - ] θανον αὐτὰρ ἀνεμ[οισι]  
 μηγὸς τετρατίου ἀρχ[ομέ]νου τε θεροῦς *leaf*  
 δειλαίων τοκέων ἄχα[ρις] χάρις ἔνθαδε [κεῖται]
- B2 -----  
 [κατέ]χων αὐτὰρ AN  
 -----  
 ὡς δὲ γενέθλη κοινῇ τύμβος λείψαν ἄμειβομένοις.

## Other Inscribed Grave Stones

### Cat. 30 Kinna/Karahamzali (fig. 39)

100 White marble column. Fine, even letters; square *sigma* and *epsilon*; *alpha* and *lamda* have projecting left upright; *phi* with small circle.

- Ἰουλίας Νέας  
 τάφος καὶ υἱοῦ  
 αὐτῆς Ἰουλίου  
 4 Ρούφου

*Tomb of Iulia Nea and her son Iulius Rufus.*

101 Like the funerary monument of two prominent Iulii at Esenköy (cat. 32), this column marked the grave of dependants, probably freedmen, of a Galatian family enfranchised by Julius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, or Gaius Caligula. In either case the simple formulation and excellent workmanship suggest a date in the 1<sup>st</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries. The term τάφος to denote a tomb was widely used in verse texts, including in a funerary text from Kinna itself<sup>155</sup>, but was rare in prose epitaphs of the Early Imperial period, and it may have been used at an early period when inscribed funerary inscriptions were not routine monuments.

**Cat. 31 Kinna/Karahamzalı (fig. 40)**

102 Re-used marble column with an inscription cut in an incised panel.

Ξάνθιπ-  
πος Νει-  
καρέτη  
4 γλυκυτά-  
τη συμβί-  
ω άνέσ-  
τησεν  
8 μνήμης  
χάριν  
leaf

*Xanthippos set this up for his dearest wife Neikarete in memory.*

103 Compare Κλ. Ιουλία Νεικαρέτη, a member of a delegation to the oracle at Claros from Laodicea on the Lycus in A.D. 179<sup>156</sup>.

**Cat. 32 Esenköy (fig. 41)**

104 Large and well-cut marble block with an inscription in a *tabula ansata*. Today re-used at a bridge that was built in the 1960s and is said to contain more ancient inscriptions. Originally, the block under consideration here seems to have been part of a monumental built tomb, rather than the side of a sarcophagus. The top of the stone has been broken since it was first copied in 1862<sup>157</sup>, but no photo has ever been published.

Γ. Ιούλιος Μόσχος  
Γ. Ιουλίωι Μοσχίωι  
τῶι υἱώι vac καί  
4 ἑαυτωι ζῶν

*Gaius Iulius Moschus for Gaius Iulius Moschion his son and himself while living.*

105 Line 4 is no longer visible. The father and son commemorated by this imposing funerary text were probably freedman of one of the leading Galatian families enfranchised in the early Julio-Claudian period, perhaps the most prominent of all the central Anatolian dynasties of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., whose descendants in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century included the senators C. Iulius Severus, father and son<sup>158</sup>. The nearby settlement and ancient

Fig. 39: Cat. 30 Kinna/Karahamzalı, column shaft with funerary inscription, marble. H 126, Ø 38, letters 3.5

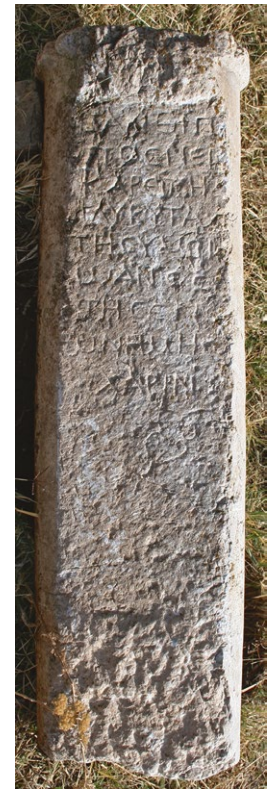
Fig. 40: Cat. 31 Kinna/Karahamzalı, re-used column shaft (H 104, Ø 31) with funerary inscription (letters 3) in incised panel (H 68, W 23), marble

Fig. 41: Cat. 32 Esenköy, marble block with *tabula ansata* and funerary inscription. H 50, L 195 (inscription 83), letters 7

Fig. 42: Cat. 33 Çeltikli, grave stele, limestone



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156 LGPN Vc, cat. 316.

157 Delbet et al. 1872, 280 cat. 150; whence RECAM II, cat. 243.

158 I.Ancyra I, cat. 72–79.

necropolis at Çalış (fig. 1) have produced several tomb monuments and architectural pieces (cat. 1. 16. 17 fig. 72. 78) and may have been the centre of one of their estates. There was a prominent ancient hill-top site at Çalış, with carved rock features which include a Phrygian cult site approached by steps and chamber tombs of the Roman Imperial period<sup>159</sup>. These overlooked the fertile, well-watered agricultural land which surrounds the modern village.

**Cat. 33 Çeltikli (fig. 42)**

106 Limestone *stele* broken above. The inscription is cut in a slightly recessed panel, with lightly incised triangular decoration on the frame.

-----  
 μου ἀνδ[ρὶ]  
 Παπειρίω  
 4 πρεσβυτέ-  
 ρω ἀνεσ-  
 τησάμ-  
 εν μνήμης  
 8 χάριν

(... and ... daughter of ...)mos for her husband Papirius, priest, we set this up in memory.

107 Compare the gravestone of another Christian priest from Çeltikli<sup>160</sup>: Ἀὐρ. Ὑπατία σὺν τῷ [ὕῳ] μου Στρατηγίῳ τ[ῷ] γλυκυτάτῳ {τω} μου ἀνδρὶ Προπετούρῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἀνεστη[σ]α μνήμης χάριν.

## Roman Votive Altars

**Cat. 34 Haymana Kaymakamlığı (fig. 43. 44)**

108 Rectangular marble altar. Inscription on front, large wreath on left side, large twelve-leaf rosette in wheel on right side, figure of Victory holding a wreath on back side.

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ  
 ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν  
 θειοτάτων Ἀυτοκρα-  
 4 τῶρων καὶ σύν-  
 παντος ἀ[υτ]ῶ[ν]  
 οἴκου ΔΟΛΟΝΗ . .  
 ν ὁ δῆμος Ἀγδισ-  
 8 σει θεᾶ μητρὶ *vac* ?  
 εὐχὴν *leaf* ἔπο . .  
 Η Ι Ι

*With good Fortune! For the safety of the most divine emperors and all their household the people of the ... made a vow to Angdissis, the goddess mother, ...*

159 Akçürek Vardar – Vardar 1999, 164; Vardar 2006, 87–90.

160 RECAM II, cat. 316.



43



44



45

Fig. 43: Cat. 34 Haymana Kaymakamlığı, votive altar, front with inscription and left side with wreath, marble

Fig. 44: Cat. 34 Haymana Kaymakamlığı, same altar as in the previous image, right side with rosette in wheel

Fig. 45: Cat. 35 Kinna/Karahamzalı, fragmentary altar, marble

3: The *alpha* of Ἀυτοκρατόρων, at first omitted by the mason, was cut small. The reference is certainly to emperors and an imperial household in the third century, e.g. Septimius Severus and Caracalla or Valerian and Gallienus.

6–7: The reading of the toponym is uncertain: Δ or Λ, then ΟΛΟ. The next traces resemble Y or C, lunate E, perhaps N, and there is space for another letter at the end followed by N at the start of the following line.

109 The ends of lines 4 to 10 are badly worn and the readings uncertain. The letters σει, which are legible at the start of line 8, impose the restoration of the name of the Phrygian mother goddess Angdissis in line 7, and the indistinct letter traces are compatible with this. Presumably restore ἐπο[ι]ησε in lines 9 to 10. The ethnic at the end of line 6 refers to a previously unknown community (δῆμος) in the Haymana district, which did not have the status of a polis. Δολονη[νῶ]ν is a conceivable restoration.

110 The best documented sanctuary of Angdissis in the Roman period was at Midas Şehri in the Phrygian highlands, but dedications have also been recorded at Bağsaray close to Sagalassos in Pisidia, at Iconium, from Sizma near Laodicea Catacecaumene, at Viranköy in the Cillanian plain, and at Akçasar in northern Lycaonia<sup>161</sup>. Altars commemorating Roman victories and vows for the safety of the imperial household were commonplace in civic contexts but relatively unusual in smaller communities. This monument can be compared with the altar recovered from the bed of the river Sangarius at the site of Gordium in western Galatia, which has a Latin inscription set up by the *cohors I Augusta Cyrenaica* for *Victoriae Imp. M. Aur. Antonini Pii Felicis Augusti*, and similar decoration: a facing figure of Victory on the front, a wreath with fillets on the left, and a decorated shield with three spears on the right side<sup>162</sup>.

161 RECAM V, 9 f. cat. 2 (Bağsaray, now Burdur Museum inv. 1320); RECAM IV, 5 cat. 9 (Konya Museum inv. 203); Robinson 1927, 28 (Sizma); MAMA VIII, cat. 396 (Viranköy); MAMA XI, cat. 279 (Akçasar).

162 Darbyshire et al. 2009. Note that the altar was set up not by the local community but by the Roman military unit stationed at Gordium.

Cat. 35 Kinna/Karahamzalı (fig. 45)

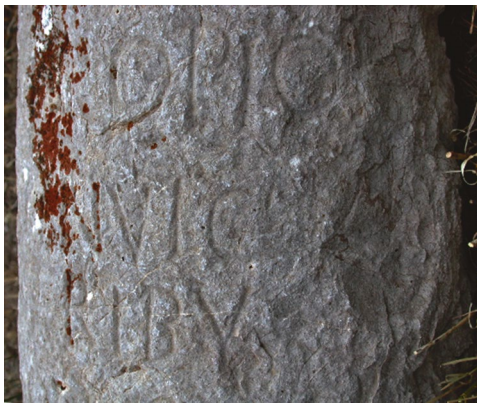
111 Front fragment of a white marble altar. Pediment with undecorated *acroteria*. Line 1 of the inscription on the band above the shaft, remains of three lines of text on the shaft, then broken.

Ἀγαθῆ leaf Τύχη  
[Α]υτοκράτορα  
Καίσαρα Τ. Αἰ[λ]-  
4 [ιον Ἀδ]ριαν[όν]  
[Ἀντωνεῖνον]  
-----

*With good fortune. Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus (Antoninus . . .)*

112 Several inscriptions mark the large Roman site at Karahamzalı as a regionally important settlement of the Imperial period, almost certainly the south Galatian city of Kinna. Two monuments which were set up by the magistrates, council, and people of a city have been recorded in re-used locations at Akarca and Sofular, respectively south-east and north-east of Karahamzalı<sup>163</sup>. Neither preserves the complete toponym, but the Akarca text is a statue base erected to honour the emperor Gordian III by the civic authorities of the [Κιν]νηνῶν, and both these inscriptions were probably carried from Karahamzalı. A 2<sup>nd</sup>-century Greek funerary inscription at Ancyra has the ethnic Κιννηνός<sup>164</sup>. The status of the community is also implied by a statue set up at the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius for an imperial procurator, T. Furius Victorinus, by Aelius Procillianus Menodorus, a friend of his who had been enfranchised by Hadrian<sup>165</sup>. Kinna may have become a city in the late first or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

## Roman Milestone



46

Fig. 46: Cat. 36 Yaylalıözü, fragmentary milestone, marble

Cat. 36 Yaylalıözü (fig. 46)

113 Fragment of a milestone.

-----  
leaf pio [fel. ]  
[i]n vic[to Aug. ]  
4 [t]ribu[n. pot. ]  
-----

114 Probably from the reign of Severus Alexander (222–235), who was responsible for road repairs on the highway leading south from Ancyra to Caesarea or Iconium in 222/3. Compare the full text of the milestone found at nearby Ahlahtlıbel<sup>166</sup>, *B. F. | Imp. Caes. | M. Aur. | Severo [[Ale]] | [[andro]] | pio fel. in|victo Aug. | trib. p. II cos. I | p. p. mp IX*, or a similar text from Çankaya<sup>167</sup>.

163 RECAM II, cat. 396 (Akarca). 402 (Sofular).

164 I.Ancyra I, cat. 519.

165 RECAM II, cat. 397.

166 RRMAM III 2, cat. 119 a.

167 RRMAM III 2, cat. 118 a.



47



48



49

## Roman to Byzantine Sarcophagi, Cave Tombs, and Cave Cemeteries

### Sarcophagi at Androna/Topaklı and Kinna/Karahamzalı

115 Sarcophagi are as rare in the Haymana region as in most of central Anatolia. Certain local clusters aside, for example Roman Iconium/Konya and vicinity or the Byzantine pilgrimage site of the archangel Michael at Germia<sup>168</sup>, and in marked contrast to some coastal regions like Lycia and Cilicia<sup>169</sup>, sarcophagi were exceptional in central Anatolia, and any such burial would thus have been singled out as special<sup>170</sup>. A Roman sarcophagus lid was found at the Turkish village of Topaklı (fig. 47). The village lies in the north-western part of the survey area (fig. 1), close to an ancient settlement mound that may be identified with the Galatian Andros or Andron according to a Roman votive from Topaklı that records the locality as Androna<sup>171</sup>.

116 A second sarcophagus at the Turkish village of Karahamzalı, at the opposite, south-eastern extremity of the survey area, consists of andesite, is only roughly hewn, and may date from the late Roman period (fig. 48)<sup>172</sup>. A four-line inscription on the short side of the chest is hard to read (fig. 49). Lunate *sigma* and *epsilon*.

Πρό[κ]λα Σάμο[υ] ἀ[ν]έστη-  
σεν Η . Ε Ι Ο ΔΗ . ΔΡΙCΟΝ  
.. ΑΦΡΟC . ΝΠ . . Ι Τ Η . .

4

Ν Γ Λ

117 A settlement mound on the outskirts of Karahamzalı has yielded ample finds and may be identified with the Byzantine bishopric of Kinna (cf. above cat. 30. 31. 35 and below fig. 75. 76. 77)<sup>173</sup>. Volcanic andesite occurs at many places in Galatia, but was less suitable for inscribed graves, as the texture of the porous material does not lend itself to inscriptions (but cf. cat. 15–19 without inscriptions). Andesite came into wider use only in early Byzantine times, for example in the upper Kirmir/Siveris valley of northern Galatia<sup>174</sup>.

168 Özgan 2003; Niewöhner 2018.

169 İşler 2016; Deckers – Koch 2018; Cubas Díaz 2021.

170 Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 531–533. 554–557.

171 Anderson 1899, 96 cat. 76; RECAM II, 192 cat. 230; Belke 1984, 236.

172 Cf. a similarly roughly hewn sarcophagus lid with acroteria and a cross in the pediment at the Archaeological Museum Kütahya: Niewöhner 2023, fig. 25.

173 Belke 1984, 189 f.

174 Doğan – Vardar 2006; Niewöhner – Vardar 2022, 198 f. fig. 8–11. See also Yılanlı in the border region between Galatia and Paphlagonia: Belke 1996, 283 fig. 127–129.

Fig. 47: Androna/Topaklı, roof-shaped sarcophagus lid with raking sima and *acroteria*, the right one cut off by the photograph, marble. A clamp hole at the bottom centre served to secure the lid on the missing box

Fig. 48: Kinna/Karahamzalı, roughly hewn sarcophagus with roof-shaped lid and *acroteria*, andesite. H 112, L 223, W 73

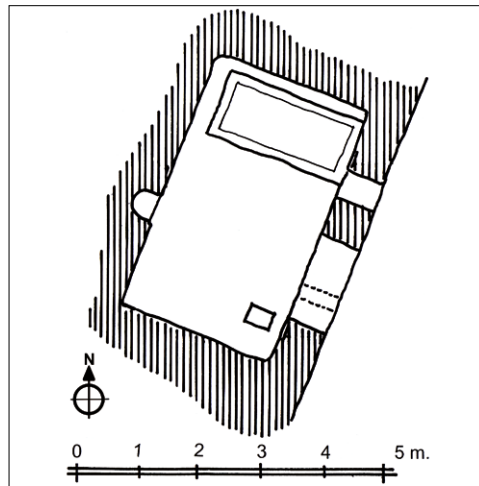
Fig. 49: Kinna/Karahamzalı, short side of the sarcophagus in the previous figure. The lid has been set the wrong way round on the chest. A four-line inscription is hard to read



Fig. 50: Güzelcekale, rock-cut tomb, façade with arched doorway and two windows, broken on the left, looking west

50

Fig. 51: Güzelcekale, sketch plan of rock-cut tomb



51

Fig. 52: Güzelcekale, rock-cut tomb, interior with doorway and window on the right, grave in the middle, and niche on the left, looking north

Fig. 53: Güzelcekale, rock-cut tomb, *tabula ansata* below the southern window, looking southeast

Fig. 54: Güzelcekale, rock-cut tomb, elevation of southern window (left), Staurogram (right), and *tabula ansata* (below and partly destroyed by the window), looking east

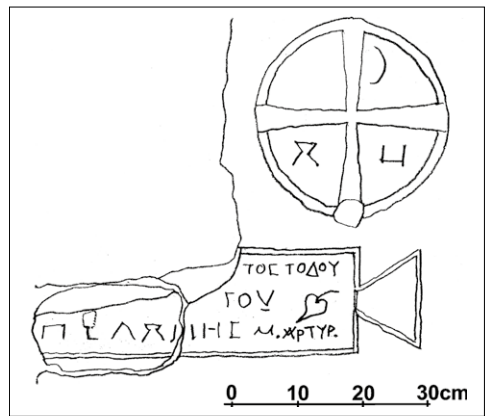
Fig. 55: Güzelcekale, niche inside the rock-cut tomb, looking northwest. H 50, W 57, D 48. A notched rebate around the rim could have held a frame with doors



52



53



54



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## Cave Tomb at Güzelcekale

118 Güzelcekale, in the centre of the survey area (fig. 1), preserves the remains of a cave tomb as well as – at a distance of a few hundred meters – those of a Hellenistic/Galatian to Byzantine hilltop fortification (see below fig. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86) and of a Byzantine cave house (see below fig. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119). They all take advantage of the same rock formation on an eastern slope above the plain, and the tomb under consideration here has a vertical façade as well as a horizontal terrace in front (fig. 50)<sup>175</sup>. The façade has an arched doorway that is flanked by two small rectangular windows. The interior is rectangular, 4.5 m long and 2.7 m deep (fig. 51), with a 1.8 m low, flat ceiling (fig. 52). On the northern or right side, as one enters, the floor contains a rectangular grave, 2.35 m long, 1.15 m wide, and at least 40 cm deep. The rebated opening would presumably have been closed by a flat stone as a lid. A second rectangular hole in the ground in front of the opposite, southern corner is only 45 cm long, 30 cm wide, and 30 cm deep.

119 Above the second hole and below the southern window, a *tabula ansata* stands out from the east wall in high relief (fig. 53). The upper left corner of the *tabula* has been cut off by the window, which must be a later addition, at least in its current size and form. Without the blinding window, the text on the *tabula* would have been easier to read. The following three lines can be made out, partly on the wall and partly on a broken fragment of the *tabula* that was found lying on the floor (fig. 54):

[ - - ]ΠΙΟC ΤΟΔΟΔ

[- - ]ΤΟΥ *leaf*

[- -] Πελαγίης μάρτυρ(ος)

1: ? [-ά]ποστόλου

120 Μάρτυρ(ος), the last word in the last line, is a later addition with smaller, less regular letters in more shallow carving. Other alterations include the addition of two cross medallions. A Staurogram medallion with Α and Ω was carved into the wall above the *tabula ansata* (fig. 54). Concave carving as opposed to the high relief of the *tabula* shows that the cross medallion was added later. It does not sit centrally above the *tabula*, but awkwardly on the right side, probably because the window that occupies the central position had at this stage been cut. A second, similar cross medallion is 33 cm in diameter and occupies an upper central position on the north wall, above the grave.

121 The various alterations suggest that the Pelagia on the *tabula ansata* was at some point identified either as a, or with the, Christian martyr. In the first case, some otherwise unknown Pelagia, who could have been the original recipient of the cave tomb, possibly in the late Roman period, would thereafter, in early Christian times, have been identified as a local martyr and honoured by the addition of μάρτυρ(ος) as well as the Christian symbols. In the second case, the Pelagia of the *tabula* would have been identified with the Christian martyr of that name, who was originally known as a victim of the Diocletianic persecution, until her later Life took a more legendary form<sup>176</sup>. In central Anatolia, the name occurs on a 6<sup>th</sup>- or 7<sup>th</sup>-century epitaph from Tavium in eastern Galatia, but was already current in the Roman Imperial period<sup>177</sup>.

122 However, the cave tomb had at least two phases of usage, the second of which was Christian and could also explain a flat rectangular niche, 35 cm high, 25 cm wide, and 3 cm deep, above and to the left or northern side of the northern window. The niche cannot be attributed with certainty, but could have contained an icon. A second niche on the west wall, opposite the entrance, where it receives most light, is slightly bigger and more elaborate (fig. 55). It has a deep centre as well as a notched rebate around the rim, as if it was to contain something other than an icon and was maybe to be closed with doors on a frame.

### Cave Cemeteries at Karagedik

123 In the northern part of the survey area (fig. 1), to the east of the Turkish village of Karagedik (fig. 56), a rocky hill contains several caves with *arcosolium* niches for the burial of numerous people<sup>178</sup>. Cave A is close to the northern tip of the hill, on the east side, where the original opening and possible façade have broken off and fallen in. What remains is a rectangular cave room with a flat ceiling, 3.5 m wide, 10.75 m long, and 2.4 m high (fig. 57). The long north wall contains five *arcosolium* niches that open at 0.75 to 0.85 m above ground level, are between 0.85 and 1.05 m high, 1.5 and 1.8 m wide, and 0.6 and 0.7 m deep (fig. 58).

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176 Petitmengin 1981–1984; Cameron 2016, 81–90.

177 RECAM II, cat. 451. For numerous local martyrs throughout early Christian Asia Minor, see Destephen 2015.

178 Preliminary survey report: Vardar 2003, 124 f.

Fig. 56: Karagedik, general map. A rocky hill to the east of the Turkish village is flanked by three cave cemeteries A to C. Cave A is relatively well preserved, cave B is today obstructed by a new motorway (brown), and cave C is almost completely lost, but was seen and described by W. F. Ainsworth two centuries ago



Fig. 57: Karagedik, cemetery cave A, looking northwest. On the left, the south and west walls are plain, but the north end of the west wall has recently been opened up by treasure hunters, who left behind a pile of white debris. On the right, the north wall contains arcosolium graves

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Fig. 58: Karagedik, sketch plan of cemetery cave A

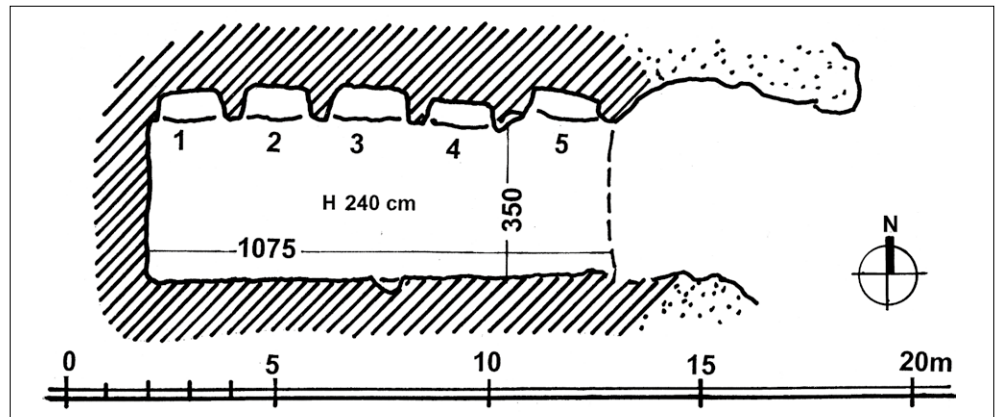


Fig. 59: Karagedik, cave room below and to the south of cemetery cave A. On the right an original opening, on the left a pile of debris that has resulted from recent treasure hunting

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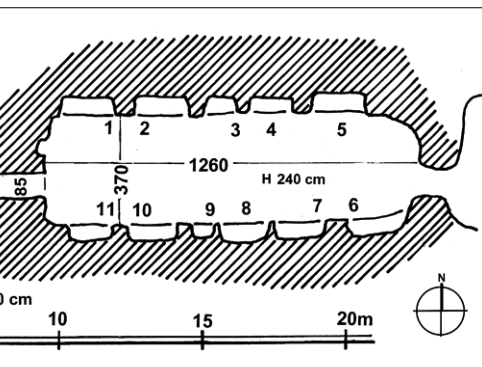
Fig. 60: Karagedik, cemetery cave B, west wall of the outer room with the passage to the inner room and two flanking niches (right) as well as the westernmost arcosolium grave on the south wall (left), looking southwest



Fig. 61: Karagedik, sketch plan of cemetery cave B

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Fig. 62: Karagedik, cemetery cave B, tunnel between the outer and the inner room, looking west



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124 A second cave room lies just meters below and to the south of cemetery cave A. The second room is also rectangular, but smaller and preserves remains of a rectangular entrance that could have been closed by a door (fig. 59). No *arcosolium* niche is in evidence, and the function of the room remains to be established.

125 Another cemetery cave B is located about 1 km to the south, on the southeastern slope of the same hill (fig. 56). It is today obstructed by a new motorway that has been built there in recent years. Before that, the cave was incorporated into a stable for sheep that included additional outbuildings and obscured any façade, if such ever existed. Inside a short and narrow entrance passage, cemetery cave B is two-partite. The first room is rectangular, 3.7 m wide, 12.6 m long, 2.4 m high, and has a flat ceiling (fig. 60). The long north and south walls contain five and six *arcosolium* niches, respectively. The size of the niches varies considerably, as they set in at a height of between 0.2 and 0.8 m above the floor, are between 0.95 and 1.4 m high, between 0.85 and 1.9 m wide, and between 0.5 and 0.8 m deep (fig. 61). The smaller niches may have been used for children. Otherwise, the first room of cave B is near identical to cemetery cave A, only that the south wall of cave A does not contain any niches.

126 Another difference concerns the west wall of the first room in cave B that contains a rectangular doorway and two flanking niches (fig. 60). After a meter or so, the 1.6 m high doorway is reduced to an arched tunnel that is 1.2 m low, 0.85 m wide, and, after about 4 m, leads to a second cave room (fig. 62). The second room is also rectangular, with a flat ceiling, but smaller than the first (fig. 61). It is 2.9 m wide, 8.1 m long, 1.85 m high, and has three large *arcosolium* niches on the long north wall. At the back part of the ceiling, a hole not unlike a chimney connects to the outside and provides ventilation.

127 Comparing caves A and B suggests that both cemeteries had additional space available for more *arcosolium* niches, on the south wall of cave A and on the south wall of the back room of cave B. Apparently, neither cave was carved because the other was already full. Instead, the two cave cemeteries may have functioned independently of each other and served two different communities. Cave B may have been enlarged by the second room in the back, once all available wall space in the first room had been taken up by niches. Alternatively, the back room could have been conceived earlier, not because the front room was full, but in order to create a separate tomb for particular people, for example a family.

128 Yet another cemetery cave C reportedly existed on the other, western side of the same hill (fig. 56). Today, no more than one small cave room, much broken rock surface, and a lot of rubble survive, after the site was thoroughly destroyed by treasure hunters in the 1970s, according to local word of mouth. Almost two centuries ago, however, W. F. Ainsworth saw and reported »several artificial caves arranged in tiers. The lower story contained a few large chambers, one of which was supported by square pillars and had sepulchral recesses.... Above this was a central chamber, nineteen yards deep, with an arch in the centre, apparently hall, refectory, and dormitory all in one; to the right was the chapel, seven yards long by five in width... The monastery in the rock would have held from four to six ascetics«<sup>179</sup>.

129 Ainsworth's description is tantalisingly vague, but leaves no doubt that the caves under consideration were more complex and sophisticated than caves A and B, including a large tomb with piers and several *arcosolia*, as well as different rooms above, one large and one a chapel. Ainsworth addresses the complex as a monastery, but more recent research on alleged cave monasteries in Cappadocia has shown that many of them may in fact not have housed monks, but served for commemorative meals and services in remembrance of the dead, a custom that in many Orthodox communities still continues today<sup>180</sup>. However,

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179 Ainsworth 1842, 147 f.

180 Jolivet-Lévy 2009; Kalas 2009; Ousterhout 2017, 372–385, in particular 374–379 fig. 4.4–4.10 on the Eğri Taş cemetery complex near Ihlara that includes a church with a lower floor full of *arcosolia*.

the existence of a chapel leaves no doubt that Ainsworth's complex C was in use during, and probably dates altogether from, the Byzantine period. The same may thus also be suggested for caves A and B, not last because the carving and use of caves was manifestly common throughout Byzantine Anatolia, but is only rarely attested for earlier times<sup>181</sup>.

## Early Byzantine Architectural Sculpture and Liturgical Furnishings

130 Turning from funerary to settlement archaeology, architectural sculpture and liturgical furnishings started to appear in the Haymana region for the first time in the early Byzantine period. Earlier on, during the Roman period, architectural sculpture was mainly an urban prerogative, as the marble façades of pagan temples and other monumental buildings constituted urban status symbols<sup>182</sup>. As such, they distinguished ancient cities from each other and their rural hinterland and are thus absent from the Haymana region without any major ancient city. This changed in the early Byzantine period in so far, as churches were built in city and countryside alike and essentially to the same standard, including architectural sculpture and liturgical furnishings<sup>183</sup>.

131 Local workshops that used to produce grave stones and votives in the Roman period (cat. 1–35) were now equipping Byzantine churches. A pre-modern quarry near the Turkish village of Çayırılı, at the northern tip of the survey area (fig. 1), may have been used since Roman times, but the remaining dimensions are suggestive of columns or mullions (fig. 63). Three steps are each more than 3 m long, 0.4 to 0.5 m wide, and 0.4 m high (fig. 64). Characteristic tool marks on the obtuse ›risers‹ of the quarry ›stair‹ are the back sides of narrow channels that quarrymen cut behind each block, before splitting it off horizontally. Compare similarly small rural quarries elsewhere in central Anatolia, for example near Germia in southwestern Galatia or at *Küçükköy* in Phrygia<sup>184</sup>.

132 Like the Roman grave stones and votives, early Byzantine architectural sculpture and liturgical furnishings are scattered across the survey area and likely originated from the same ancient settlements that must have dotted the landscape at regular intervals, but have rarely been traced. An ensemble of four significant early Byzantine items has been documented in the sixteenth-century mosque of Hüsâmeddin Ankaravî near the Turkish village of *Kutluhan* (fig. 65. 66. 67. 68), at the southern end of the survey area (fig. 1), before the recent restoration of that formerly ruined building<sup>185</sup>. A column base (fig. 65), a column capital (fig. 66), and an equally large mullion base (fig. 67) could once have served as pedestals for three of the four wooden pillars that used to support the roof of the mosque. Such Turkish re-use of ancient and Byzantine parts was common<sup>186</sup>, and the recent restoration of the mosque did in fact employ the well-preserved mullion base in the said manner. Originally, the four items were carved for one or several early Byzantine buildings, most likely churches. Similarly simple column bases, Ionic impost capitals, and mullions were widespread in Anatolia<sup>187</sup>. The mullion base is relatively big and could for example have been employed in a large apse window or, instead of columns, in a church nave, as was also common throughout Asia Minor.

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181 Olcay Uçkan 2010; Ousterhout 2017; Niewöhner – Vardar 2022, 195 f. 201–212.

182 Raeck 2017; Ryan 2018; Willet 2020, 203–249.

183 Niewöhner 2017.

184 Belke – Mersich 1990, 318 fig. 140; Niewöhner 2021, 171 fig. 463 f.

185 On the Ottoman complex, see Tanrıveren – Yılmaz 2016.

186 McClary 2015.

187 See in general and with earlier bibliography, Niewöhner 2021, 61. 119. 122.

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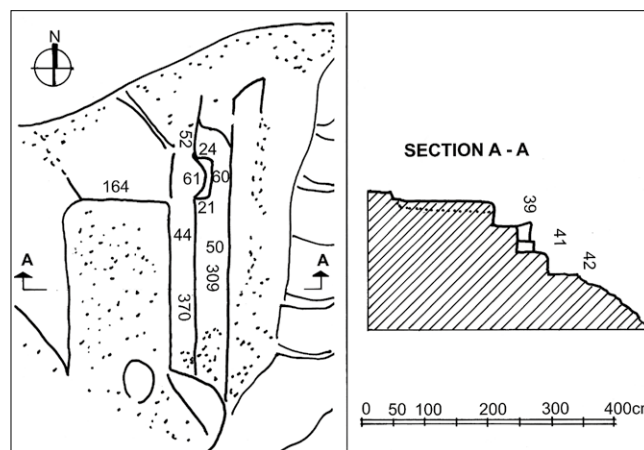
133 Other collections of stone carvings are more recent and lack any historical context, notably at the old school building in the village of *Yeniyapançarsak*, formerly called *Hacı Osman Çarsak*, and in front of the *kaymakamlık* or prefecture building at the town of *Gölbaşı*, in the centre west and in the north of the survey area, respectively (fig. 69. 70. 71). An early Byzantine column base at *Yeniyapançarsak* (fig. 69) is of a similarly simple and common kind as the one at *Kutluhan*<sup>188</sup>. A *Kelch* capital includes the upper part of the column shaft, is relatively small, and may have been part of liturgical furnishings (fig. 71). It consists of the same volcanic andesite as the sarcophagus in *Karahamzalı* (fig. 48. 49), a dark stone that was rarely employed in Roman times (cat. 15–19), but became more common in early Byzantine Galatia<sup>189</sup>, and may in any case account for the simple shape of the capital, as the porous material was ill-suited to any more elaborate carving. The low and plain *calathus* that in the context of such capitals is referred to by a German loan word as *Kelch*, without additional decoration with leaves and/or fluting as in *Blattkelch* and fluted capitals, counts among the most basic forms in early Byzantine Anatolia, but is sometimes decorated with crosses, which confirm the Christian date and are also suggestive of a liturgical context<sup>190</sup>.

134 In contrast, a fragment of a cornice at *Gölbaşı* is among the most sophisticated Byzantine carvings in the area (fig. 71). It is decorated with a vine leaf below and a Lesbian *cyma* above. The vine leaf compares to 6<sup>th</sup>-century carvings from Constantinople/*Istanbul*, where such vine leaves came into fashion at that time<sup>191</sup>. It may have been one of a row, as rows of standing leaves were often employed on 6<sup>th</sup>-century cornices<sup>192</sup>.

135 At the Turkish graveyard of *Çalış*, in the centre west of the survey area (fig. 1), the spandrel of a small, monolithic, angled arcade (fig. 72) might have formed part of a Roman grave monument. Compare for example pairs of doorstones, some of which were joined by a built frame and had a boss or bust in the spandrel<sup>193</sup>. The arcade in question could thus be related to the Roman grave stones from *Çalış* (cat. 1. 16. 17), where an ancient rock sanctuary and rock-cut grave monuments have been recorded in the vicinity of the Turkish village<sup>194</sup>. Alternatively, the arcade could also date from the early Byzantine period, when it might have framed windows and when whole churches were thus decorated, including in central Anatolia<sup>195</sup>. The ancient settlement tradition at *Çalış* likely continued in the early Byzantine period, as may also be suggested by what appears to have been a Byzantine re-fortification of *Yılanlıın Kalesi* (see below fig. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98), including a Byzantine cave house (see below fig. 120. 121. 122), about 2 km to the south of *Çalış*.



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Fig. 63: *Çayırılı*, quarry, looking northwest. Tool marks on the obtuse ›risers‹ of the quarry ›stair‹ have remained from v-shaped channels that quarrymen cut behind each block before splitting it off horizontally

Fig. 64: *Çayırılı*, sketch plan (left) and section AA (right) of quarry

188 See in general and with earlier bibliography, Niewöhner 2021, 119.

189 See above note 174.

190 Niewöhner 2007, 175. 207. 209 cat. 45–48 fig. 35 pl. 5, including references to more examples and bibliography.

191 Niewöhner 2021, 77. 79–81. 83. 90 f. 110.

192 Niewöhner 2021, 125.

193 Built frames: Jes 1997. Boss or bust in the spandrel: MAMA IX, 130 cat. 414 pl. 37; MAMA IX, 184 cat. P197 pl. 47.

194 See above note 159.

195 For early Byzantine window frames, see Niewöhner 2021, 132, including examples in the vicinity of *Germia* in Galatia and at the Archaeological Museum *Konya*. – For Anatolian churches with arcaded façades, see Restle 1979; Ousterhout 2017, 31–35.



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Fig. 65: Kutluhan, simplified column base, marble, broken into three fragments. H 14, L 55, W 55, Ø 45

Fig. 66: Kutluhan, Ionic impost capital with unarticulated, but smooth surfaces, polychrome conglomerate. Ø 36, H 31, top 45 × 55

Fig. 67: Kutluhan, simplified mullion base, marble. H 40, L 85, top 44 × 75

Fig. 68: Kutluhan, rectangular block with cross medallion, marble, broken below and above. H > 85, W 70, D 26.5

Fig. 69: Yeniyaşağsarak, simplified column base, marble. H 28, L 43, Ø 34

Fig. 70: Yeniyaşağsarak, *Kelch* capital that includes the upper part of the column shaft, andesite, spills of white paint. Ø 27, H 23, L 37

Fig. 71: Gölbaşı, fragment of a cornice with a standing vine leaf below and a Lesbian *cyma* above, marble

Fig. 72: Çalış, spandrel of a monolithic angled arcade with a boss in the centre, marble, overgrown with brick-red lichen

Fig. 73: Durupınar, roughly carved monolithic mullion with *Kelch* capital, marble, broken below and partly buried. H > 70 (capital 48), W 58

Fig. 74: Durupınar, roughly carved monolithic mullion with simplified base and buried top, marble

136 2 km east of Yılanlıin Kalesi, the Turkish village of Durupınar preserves two roughly carved mullions or fragments thereof (fig. 73, 74), most likely from a modest early Byzantine church. In contrast, a larger and more precisely carved mullion with soffit at Karahamzalı consists of a polychrome conglomerate that would have made for a strong colour contrast, when the smooth surface was freshly polished (fig. 75)<sup>196</sup>. This impressive showpiece would have belonged to a major church, possibly the cathedral

<sup>196</sup> Cf. other polychrome Byzantine column shafts in better condition, for example Niewöhner 2021, fig. 155. 254. 256. 262. 324.



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Fig. 75: Kinna/Karahamzalı, monolithic mullion with simplified base, partly buried capital, soffit, and smooth surface, polychrome conglomerate. H > 177 (base 31), W 61, D 36

Fig. 76: Kinna/Karahamzalı, barrier slab with Christogram medallion, ivy binding, a flanking pair of crosses, and handrail, polychrome conglomerate, formerly built into a wall next to the following figure, now at the Roman baths at Ankara. H > 65, L > 115

Fig. 77: Kinna/Karahamzalı, barrier slab with cross medallion, a cross on a globe, and handrail, polychrome conglomerate, formerly built into a wall next to the previous figure, now at the Roman baths at Ankara. H > 62, L > 74



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Fig. 78: Esenköy, rectangular slab with cross, doves above the horizontal cross arm, and vegetation below (cf. the following figure), lime stone, broken below, spilled with blue paint. H > 48, L 61, D 11. The high relief preserves additional highlighting with red paint

Fig. 79: Esenköy, rectangular slab with cross medallion, ivy leaves between the cross arms, and a row of overlapping circles below the medallion, lime stone, broken on the right and above. H 73, L 82, D 10. The relief is highlighted by contrast with red paint on the background



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Fig. 80: Çeltikli, barrier slab with cross medallion and lozenge, marble, re-used in a Turkish fountain

Fig. 81: Çeltikli, vertical (?) barrier slab with cross medallion, lozenge, and handrail (?), marble, broken or cut off on all sides

of Kinna, the early Byzantine bishopric that has been identified with the settlement mound on the outskirts of Karahamzalı<sup>197</sup>. Such an attribution is supported by two early Christian barrier slabs from Karahamzalı that consist of the same polychrome conglomerate and are also made to the highest standard, including handrails and a relief that compares to metropolitan carvings (fig. 76. 77)<sup>198</sup>. All three items were surely made for, and salvaged from, the same outstanding early Byzantine church.

197 See above note 173.

198 Doğan – Vardar 2006. In 2004, the barrier slabs were built into a wall at Karahamzalı, but they have since

137 The extraordinary quality of the barrier slabs at Karahamzalı is underscored by comparison with lesser carvings at Esenköy and Çeltikli, two Turkish villages that each also preserve a pair of early Christian barrier slabs. The pair at Esenköy, a village in the centre west of the survey area that was formerly known as Emirlereskiçalış (fig. 1), is relatively elaborate, with crosses, birds, and ivy, but only consists of roughly hewn lime stone, to which red paint appears to have been added for a stronger effect (fig. 78. 79). In one case, the colour was applied to the relief of a cross and birds (fig. 78), in the other case to the background, where it would make the relief of a cross and ivy stand out in contrast (fig. 79)<sup>199</sup>. The pair of barrier slabs at Çeltikli, a village in the southwestern part of the survey area (fig. 1) that also preserves several Roman grave stones (cat. 7. 15. 19. 33), with a nearby fortification that appears to have been functional in the Byzantine period (see below fig. 90. 91. 92. 93), is of the most basic kind, representing the bottom of the local spectrum, with an irregular surface and the lowest kind of relief (fig. 80. 81).

## Hilltop Fortifications

138 While civilian settlements eluded the survey reported here, hilltop fortifications were recorded in large numbers and are practically omnipresent in the Haymana region and beyond. Some employ Hellenistic masonry and appear to have been built by the Galatians when they occupied the region in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.<sup>200</sup>. Some Hellenistic fortifications show evidence of having been revived in the Byzantine period, to defend against the Arabs in the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. and/or the Turks from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards<sup>201</sup>. Other fortifications without Hellenistic features may have been newly established in the Byzantine period<sup>202</sup>. Yet other fortifications cannot be dated with any degree of certainty and may be Galatian or Byzantine or both. As this paper focuses on the later, Roman and Byzantine periods, it is restricted to six fortifications that have preserved definite or likely traces of Byzantine building and usage. Several more hilltop fortifications, where the archaeological evidence retrieved so far is inconclusive, may also have been used during the Byzantine period<sup>203</sup>.

139 The six fortifications presented in this paper can be subdivided into three categories according to size and sophistication. Three small fortifications of ca. 1000 m<sup>2</sup> or less employed few or no towers and were mostly reliant on naturally defensive features like rocky outcrops (Güzelcekale, Gölbek Kalesi, and Çeltikli Kalesi, fig. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93). Two medium sized fortifications are about twice as large as the former and had more towers and artificial defensive features (Yılanlın Kalesi and Selametli Kalesi, fig. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101). One much larger fortification employed a range of different towers and other defensive features, was built to a higher standard, and is better preserved, all of which points to regional, rather than local, initiative and importance (Taburoğlu Kalesi or Kızıl Hisar, fig. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111).

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been removed to the Roman baths at Ankara. – For examples of comparable metropolitan carvings, see Sodini 2002, 585 f. fig. 3–8; Russo 2010, 37. – Cf. also Peschlow 2015, 127 f. pl. 64–65 on various pieces at Ankara and Istanbul, for which Peschlow suggests a funerary context, although such is not in evidence. The handrails at Kinna/Karahamzalı indicate that the marbles served as barrier slabs.

199 For other Byzantine examples of such colouration and for bibliography see Niewöhner 2021, 173.

200 Darbyshire et al. 2000, 88–91.

201 Niewöhner – Vardar 2022, 213–222.

202 Strobel 2002, 35–37; Glatz – Matthews 2009, 195–199.

203 See the previous notes and the preliminary survey reports as in note 2.

## Güzelcekale

140 Güzelcekale or Sivrikale has Turkish names that translate as Beautiful or Pointed Castle and represents the first and smallest category of hilltop fortification. It occupies an eastern promontory of a low mountain range that provides the eastern plain and a homonymous Turkish village with water (fig. 1. 82)<sup>204</sup>. The cone-shaped promontory is topped by a rocky outcrop that is overbuilt by, and incorporated into, the fortification (fig. 83). The defences surround roughly 1000 m<sup>2</sup> of uneven stony ground, including a large, outstanding rock on the north side that is difficult to access and may have served as keep; the more accessible south-eastern end of the rock was walled off separately (fig. 84). Further southeast, a cistern takes advantage of a natural cavity in the rock. On the outside, the cistern is surrounded by a polygonal tower that today forms the best-preserved part of the fortifications.

141 The north-eastern tower stands on bedrock that appears to have been cut back to form a six-foot tall step (fig. 85). This would have served the two-fold purpose of gaining building material and making the approach steeper and less accessible. The tower has a polygonal base of up to three regular rows of large rectangular ashlar without mortar, all of which is typical of Hellenistic-Galatian fortifications<sup>205</sup>. In contrast, the upper part of the tower employs mixed masonry, including many small and irregular local stones as well as lime mortar. This masonry would appear to date from a Byzantine re-fortification, after the defences had fallen into disuse and been ruined during the peaceful Roman period.

142 Whilst the Hellenistic base forms a pointed eastern corner, the Byzantine masonry above the corner is rounded and set off by a joint, both from the Hellenistic part as well as from the other Byzantine masonry. The rounded section appears to have been added later and attests to a second Byzantine phase. The first Byzantine tower had probably continued the Hellenistic corner, same as on the south side. The secondary Byzantine repair that disfigures the originally polygonal shape of the tower compares to other such repairs elsewhere in Galatia that are attributable to the last Byzantine building campaign against the Turks<sup>206</sup>. The first Byzantine re-fortification that adhered more closely to the Galatian foundations may have been aimed against the Arab invasions of the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D., when other Galatian fortifications were restored in a similar manner.

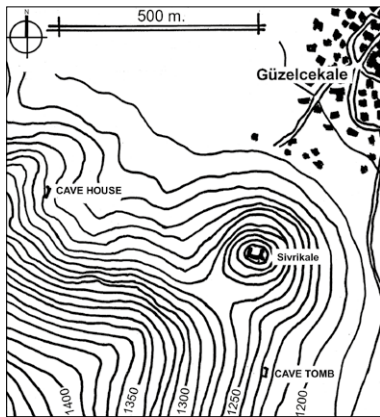
143 Two more polygonal towers can be traced at the southeast and southwest corners of Güzelcekale, but do not survive above current ground level (fig. 84). They were probably connected by a fairly straight curtain wall, but as the slope is more gentle on this side, everything is covered by debris. Further downhill, where a stretch of level ground connects the cone-shaped promontory to the western mountains, the hill is skirted by ruins that appear to have formed a row of about a dozen rectangular units, each comprising between 25 to 30 m<sup>2</sup> and subdivided into two or three rooms (fig. 84. 86). The units were accessible from the southwest, where a passage or street ran parallel to a rocky step in the otherwise level ground. Two holes in the ground outside the first and fourth unit from the east open into rock-cut cisterns. The complex would have remained outside the fortification, but was close enough to receive protection from the towers and walls above. The preservation of some walls and much debris indicates that the complex was in use during the Byzantine period, as its building material would otherwise have been re-used for the renovation of the fortification. In times of acute danger, the complex may have been used for the storage and safe-keeping of goods and people that could not be accommodated inside the small fortification. Otherwise, the

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204 Delbet et al. 1872, 278; Belke 1984, 172 f. Preliminary survey report: Akyürek Vardar – Vardar 1997, 250 f.

205 See above note 200.

206 Cf. above notes 201. 202.



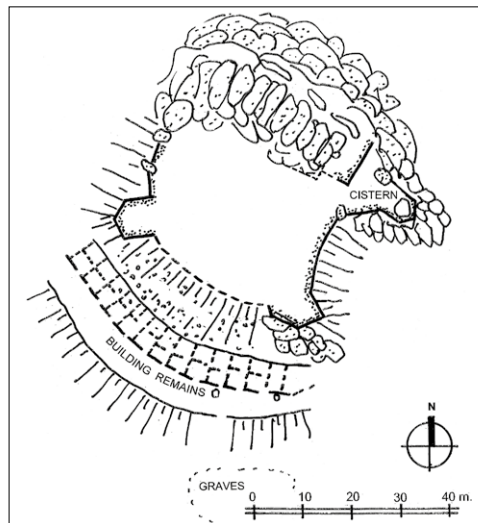
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83

Fig. 82: Güzelcekele or Sivrikale, general map of the hilltop fortification on a cone-shaped promontory above the homonymous Turkish village. 200 m to the south of the hilltop lies a Roman to Byzantine cave tomb (Fig. 50–55), 300 m to the northwest a Byzantine cave house (Fig. 112–119)

Fig. 83: Güzelcekele, looking east. The defences surrounded the upper third of the cone-shaped hilltop. The outstanding rock with the flag pole to the left may have served as keep



84

Fig. 84: Güzelcekele, sketch plan of the fortification



85

Fig. 85: Güzelcekele, north-eastern tower, looking northwest. The bedrock in the foreground appears to have been cut back, which would have served the two-fold purpose of gaining building material and making the approach less accessible. The tower is built with large Hellenistic ashlar below and small Byzantine masonry above. What used to be the right corner has been repaired in rounded form and attests to a second Byzantine phase



86

Fig. 86: Güzelcekele, southern slope with building remains, looking south

street and adjoining rooms might conceivably have served as a venue for markets and fairs of the kind that are known to have been held at regular intervals in many places throughout Byzantine Anatolia<sup>207</sup>. The proceedings of such sales were taxed and thus required close scrutiny by the authorities, for which the narrowly circumscribed venue immediately outside the fortification appears suitable.

144 What seems to be a graveyard further to the south, on the other side of the rocky step, may also date from the Byzantine period (fig. 84). A Roman to Byzantine cave

tomb lies 250 m to the south of the hilltop fortification (see above fig. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55), a Byzantine cave house 500 m to the northwest (see below fig. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119).

## Gölbek Kalesi

<sup>145</sup> Gölbek Kalesi occupies a promontory ca. 10 km east of Güzelcekale and is named after a Turkish village in the plain below (fig. 1. 87)<sup>208</sup>. Like Güzelcekale, Gölbek Kalesi is a relatively small fortification and takes advantage of a rocky outcrop that is difficult to approach and serves as base for an oval ring wall (fig. 88). The irregular outline follows the terrain and surrounds the sloping hilltop, including the highest rocks, an area of up to 25 m in width and 40 m in length, approximately 800 m<sup>2</sup>. The ring wall is unusually well preserved and in some places reaches a height of 1.5 m. A gap on the north side corresponds to the most accessible route up the hill and appears to have formed a gate. Towers are absent. The masonry includes large, but irregular blocks in the bottom layers and is otherwise built with relatively small local stones (fig. 89). Mortar would seem to have been required to hold the small stones together, but is not in evidence and appears to have been washed out.

<sup>146</sup> This is assuming that the mortar was of inferior quality, which does not seem unlikely, considering the primitive character of the whole construction without regular ashlar and without towers. The strength of lasting lime mortar depended on the ingredients, in particular on quicklime that required special lime kilns and lime stone or marble, and on an admixture of hydrated aluminium silicate, typically in the form of pounded bricks<sup>209</sup>. Where such were not available, Byzantine masonry tended to disintegrate, once it was exposed to the elements and not protected by a roof and/or plaster any more, for example other small and remote rural sites in central Anatolia, where Byzantine fortifications and churches have been reduced to piles of rubble<sup>210</sup>. Rarely, such Byzantine walls are still standing and appear to have been constructed without lime mortar, until some collapse reveals traces of inferior lime mortar in the more protected inner core of the wall<sup>211</sup>. Alternatively, the late Roman city walls of Pergamum in western Asia Minor were in part built without any lime mortar in the core of the rubble masonry<sup>212</sup>.

<sup>147</sup> A Hellenistic/Galatian origin of Gölbek Kalesi seems possible, but cannot at this stage be proven. Irrespective of when it was first built, Gölbek Kalesi appears to have been functional and maintained in the Byzantine period. This is indicated by the masonry that seems to require mortar of a kind that was first employed in Roman times, when such hilltop fortifications are not known to have been built in the region, which leaves the Byzantine struggles against the Arabs and Turks as probable occasions of the building work. This scenario receives support from numerous man-made caves that riddle the southern hillside below the fortification (see fig. 87 and below fig. 123. 124. 125. 126). The caves seem to relate to the fortification in a similar way as the Byzantine cave house near Güzelcekale and suggest that Gölbek Kalesi formed a comparable, partly military and partly civilian complex. A large scattering of sherds on the valley bottom below the caves suggests that a sizeable settlement once existed here.

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<sup>208</sup> Preliminary survey reports: Akyürek Vardar – Vardar 1999, 164 f.; Akyürek Vardar – Vardar 2000, 241.

<sup>209</sup> Foss – Winfield 1986, 25–28; Işık – Uğurlu Sağın 2022.

<sup>210</sup> E.g. Belke – Mersich 1990, 227 fig. 63 (Çukurca); 249 fig. 64. 65 (Erten); 257 (Gelinkaya). Glatz – Matthews 2009, 195–199 identify similar hilltop fortifications that are likewise reduced to rubble as Byzantine, too, but assume that the walls were »almost exclusively dry-stone built, with minimal or no use of mortar«. Cf. Strobel 2002, 35–37.

<sup>211</sup> Belke 1993, 62.

<sup>212</sup> Pirson 2022, 306–308.

## Çeltikli Kalesi

148 Çeltikli Kalesi is a hilltop fortification about 15 km southwest of Güzelcekale, as the crow flies, on the other, western side of the same mountains (fig. 1)<sup>213</sup>. Çeltikli Kalesi is located on a promontory and named after a Turkish village that flanks a stream in the plain below (fig. 90). Like the other two fortifications, Çeltikli Kalesi is small and occupies a rocky outcrop (fig. 91), but here the western approach is less steep and preserves substantial remains of a wall (fig. 92). The interior is only slightly smaller than in the other cases, ca. 700 m<sup>2</sup>. A probable gate on the southwest side is 2.3 m wide and flanked by a tower. Two more towers secured the southern- and northernmost corners. The masonry is similar to that of GölbeK Kalesi, consisting mostly of relatively small and irregular local stones that have disintegrated into a bank of rubble (fig. 93). As at GölbeK Kalesi, the use of inferior mortar is suggested and indicative of a Byzantine building phase. The original date of Çeltikli Kalesi has not been established, but the Turkish village contains many Roman grave stones and Byzantine stone carvings that attest to continuous settlement tradition in the vicinity (see above cat. 7. 15. 19. 33 fig. 80. 81).

## Yılanlın Kalesi

149 Yılanlın Kalesi is a hilltop fortification about 10 km north of Güzelcekale and occupies an north-eastern promontory of the same mountain range (fig. 1)<sup>214</sup>. The hill is called Yılanlın Tepesi, which translates as Snakes Cave Hill, and overlooks well-watered lowlands with the ancient monuments and potential settlement of Çalış at a distance of about 2 km (see above fig. 94)<sup>215</sup>. Like the previous three fortifications, Yılanlın Kalesi takes advantage of a rocky outcrop that forms a steep, up to 20 m high cliff and formidable natural defence on the northeast side (fig. 95). However, on the opposite, western side, the fortification extends beyond the rock to include about 1400 m<sup>2</sup> of more even ground and to this end employs long curtain walls and three major towers A to C (fig. 95). This makes Yılanlın Kalesi nearly twice as large and considerably more ambitious than the previous three fortifications.

150 The curtain walls of Yılanlın Kalesi are up to 1.6 m thick and compare to those of GölbeK Kalesi and Çeltikli Kalesi in that they are built of relatively small and irregular local stones (fig. 97), have mostly disintegrated into banks of rubble (fig. 98), and mortar is not in evidence. As in the other two cases, it seems inconceivable that the rubble was originally held together without mortar, which must have been washed out over time. The best preserved corner tower A has a 0.9 m wide entrance and an inner diameter of 2.2 m.

151 To the east of tower A, two interior walls turn off the northern curtain wall at almost right angles and at a distance of roughly 5 m to corner A as well as to each other. The interior walls are about 20 m long and run parallel to each other and near-parallel to the western curtain wall between towers A and B. Together with the said curtain wall, the interior walls could thus have formed a two-partite *horreum*, granary, or warehouse of the kind that is well-attested in Roman Asia Minor and must have existed in Byzantine Anatolia, too<sup>216</sup>. A granary of this size would have served to safeguard the agricultural surplus of surrounding rural settlements, most probably after they had been collected as taxes. A Hellenistic/Galatian origin of the fortification as well as the granary appears possible, but is not in evidence. The mortar-based masonry, early Byzantine sherds inside the fortification, and the cave house of Yılanlın Kayası in the north-eastern cliff outside and below Yılanlın Kalesi (see below fig. 120. 121. 122) suggest that the site was occupied in the Byzantine period.

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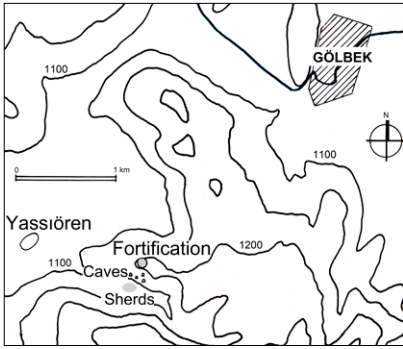
213 Preliminary survey report: Vardar 2006, 90 f.

214 Preliminary survey report: Vardar 2006, 83–85.

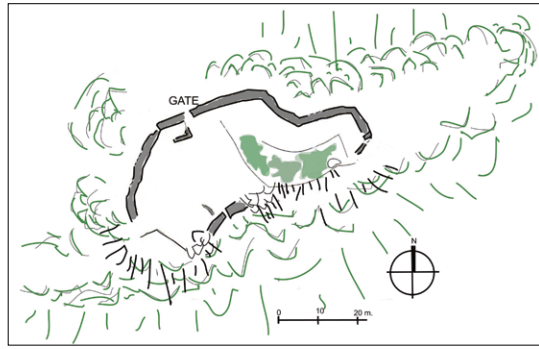
215 For an ancient rock sanctuary and rock-cut grave monuments of Çalış, see above note 159.

216 Rickman 1971; Cavalier 2007. Cf. also horrea inside Byzantine fortifications in the Balkans: Rizos 2013.

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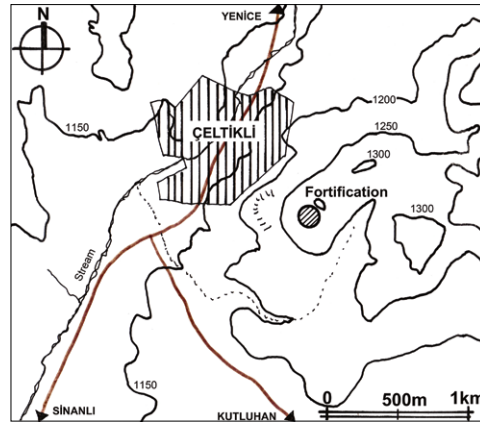
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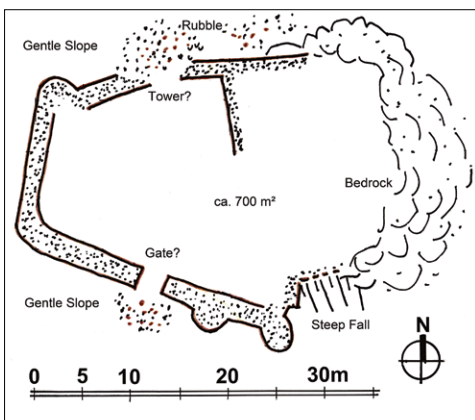
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Fig. 87: Gölbek Kalesi, general map of the hilltop fortification in relation to the Turkish village in the plain below. The fortification occupies a promontory and is flanked by a series of Byzantine cave houses on the southern slope (Fig. 123–126) and a scattering of sherds in the valley below

Fig. 88: Gölbek Kalesi, sketch plan of the fortification

Fig. 89: Gölbek Kalesi, northern ring wall, looking northwest

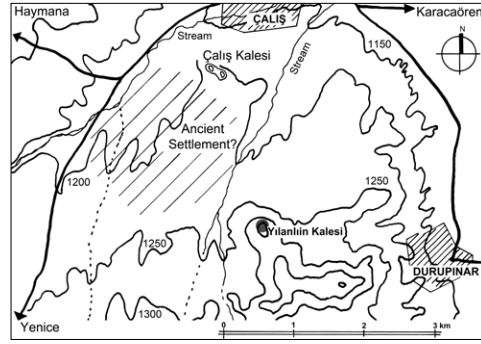
Fig. 90: Çeltikli Kalesi, general map of the hilltop fortification in relation to the Turkish village in the plain below. The village contains numerous Roman and Byzantine stone carvings (Fig. 11. 12. 20. 24. 42. 80. 81)

Fig. 91: Çeltikli Kalesi, looking north

Fig. 92: Çeltikli Kalesi, sketch plan of the fortification

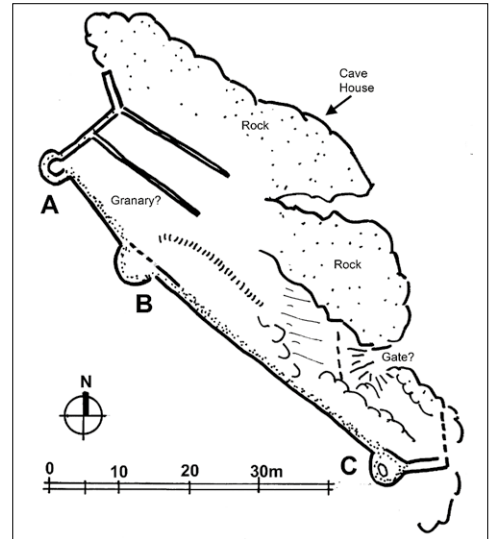
Fig. 93: Çeltikli Kalesi, southern ring wall, looking southeast. The many small stones have disintegrated into a bank of rubble

Fig. 94: Yılanlı Kalesi, general map of the hilltop fortification on Yılanlı Tepesi, flanked by the cave house of Yılanlı Kayası (Fig. 120–122), and overlooking a well-watered, fertile plain with the ancient monuments and potential settlement of Çalış at a distance of about 2 km (Fig. 2. 3. 21. 22. 72)



94

Fig. 95: Yılanlı Kalesi, sketch plan of the fortification. The location of the Yılanlı Kayası cave house (fig. 120–122) in the northeastern cliff outside and below the fortification is indicated



95

Fig. 96: Yılanlı Kalesi, looking west. The steep cliff renders fortifications unnecessary on the northeast side and contains the cave house of Yılanlı Kayası (fig. 120–122)

Fig. 97: Yılanlı Kalesi, inner face of the curtain wall between towers A and B, looking southwest

Fig. 98: Yılanlı Kalesi, rubble remains of the curtain wall between towers B and C, looking southeast



96



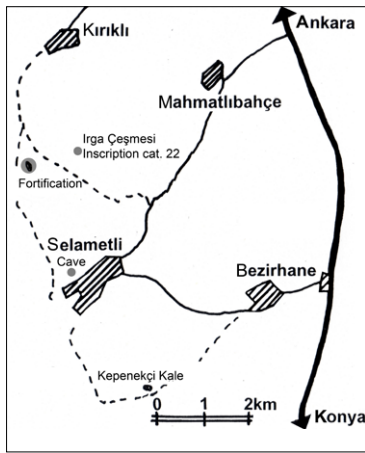
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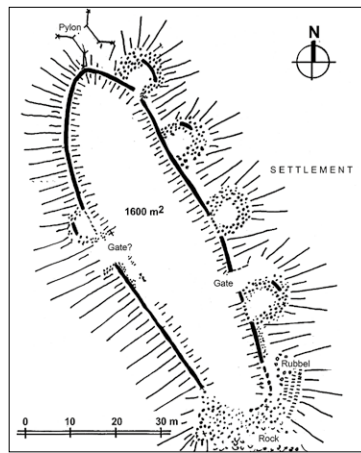
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## Selametli Kalesi

152 Selametli Kalesi belongs to the same category of medium sized fortifications as Yılanlı Kalesi and lies about 15 km to the northeast, on the other, eastern side of the same plain (fig. 1)<sup>217</sup>. It takes its name from the next Turkish village that also contains some caves (fig. 99). The fortification occupies 1600 m<sup>2</sup> of a relatively low hilltop with little defensive quality apart from some rocks at the southern end (fig. 100). The lack of natural protection is compensated by at least five large round towers. Four towers A to D at a distance of no



99



100



101

more than 10 m to each other defend the most accessible east side, where the slope is gentle and a gate flanks tower D on the north side. The western slope is steeper and preserves only one tower E in a central position, but more might have slid down the incline. Likewise, a gap in the curtain wall on the south side of tower E may be a second gate or due to erosion down the hill. The masonry or what remains thereof is the same as at Yılanlın Kalesi, Gölбек Kalesi, and Çeltikli Kalesi: relatively small local stones have disintegrated into banks of rubble (fig. 101). Mortar is not in evidence and was likely washed out.

153 The gentle slope to the east of Selametli Kalesi has yielded abundant sherds, according to which the site was inhabited since the Middle Bronze Age through the Iron Age and the Hellenistic/Galatian, Roman, as well as Byzantine periods. A Roman doorstone forms part of a Turkish fountain 750 m to the east (see above cat. 22). A Roman grave lion was reportedly brought to the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations at Ankara, the figure of an eagle destroyed in the hope that it would contain gold. More stone carvings from the same find spot are said to have been removed by the villagers. The fortification was likely in use during the Byzantine period, which would account for what appears to have once been lime mortar masonry. An earlier, Hellenistic/Galatian origin seems possible, but cannot be proven.

### Taburoğlu Kalesi

154 Taburoğlu Kalesi is a large hilltop fortification of about 26,000 m<sup>2</sup>, fifteen to thirty times as spacious as the other fortifications, with more sophisticated towers and different masonry that is better preserved (fig. 102). Taburoğlu Kalesi was once named after the next Turkish village that has since been given the new name of Demirözü, but the fortification is also known as Kızıl Hisar or Red Castle<sup>218</sup>. It occupies a highly defensive plateau next to and controlling a narrow valley, through which the Demirözü river exits the Haymana region towards the west (fig. 1). On the south and west sides, where the plateau drops down to the river, steep cliffs require little fortification. The northwest is somewhat more accessible, and the round tower no. 16 may have been flanked by a gate (fig. 103). The east side is least defensive and fortified by fifteen closely spaced towers at a distance of no more than 15 m to each other (fig. 102). At the southern tip that may be reached by relatively easy climbs from the river valley to the west as well as from the east, a gate seems to have been located between towers 2 and 3 (fig. 104).

155 The masonry consists of local stones in various shapes and sizes that are arranged in irregular layers and form flush wall faces. Joints were closed with reddish, water-resistant lime mortar that would protect the core from being washed out

Fig. 99: Selametli Kalesi, general map of the hilltop fortification in relation to the Turkish village in the plain below, including Irğa Çeşmesi with the Roman doorstone cat. 22.

Fig. 100: Selametli Kalesi, sketch plan of the fortification

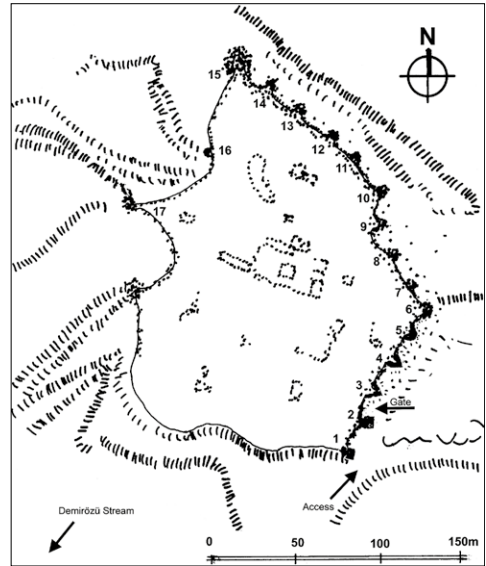
Fig. 101: Selametli Kalesi, eastern curtain wall and towers, looking southeast

218 Belke 1984, 190 f. s. v. Kızıl Hisar.



102

Fig. 102: Taburoğlu Kalesi or Kızıl Hisar (Red Castle), a large and sophisticated hilltop fortification, from east



103

Fig. 103: Taburoğlu Kalesi, sketch plan of the fortification

(fig. 105). Likewise, a simple horizontal cornice of unhewn stones on the outside of tower 2 would make rain water drop off rather than run down the length of the wall and trickle into the joints (fig. 105). The core of the wall is formed by rubble and ample off-white lime mortar. Some towers are round, some triangular, and some rectangular. Some are massive, others include domed chambers and embrasures. The southern gate is, for example, flanked by the rectangular tower 2 with domed chamber and embrasures on the southern side and by the massive triangular tower 3 on the north. The next tower to the north, no. 4, is again triangular, but includes a domed chamber and embrasures. The tower after that, no. 5, is round and massive, and it is not clear, why a particular form was chosen, unless the well-visible row of south-eastern towers was to display variety and sophistication in order to impress and possibly also to confuse, as has been suggested for other, similarly varied fortifications<sup>219</sup>.

<sup>156</sup> Tower 15 is exceptional for being extra large, including a vaulted passage with embrasures around a massive core (fig. 107), obviously because the tower was guarding the northern tip of the fortification and had to defend in three directions, to the north as well as along the curtain walls to the southwest and southeast. Tower 13 is triangular, has a chamber, and was domed with the help of tie beams that have left round holes in the lime mortar masonry of the dome. Such wooden tie beams helped to fasten the masonry until the lime mortar had dried out and were common in Byzantine fortifications<sup>220</sup>. Some embrasures are built with arches that employ flat stones in the same way that urban fortifications elsewhere employed bricks (fig. 108), for example the Phrygian city of Cotyaeum/Kütahya against the Arabs (fig. 109)<sup>221</sup>. Likewise, the use of flat stones for the vaulting of tower 4 (fig. 110) compares to a brick dome in a tower at Kütahya (fig. 111)<sup>222</sup>, suggesting that the builders of Taburoğlu Kalesi were familiar with urban fortifications and bricks.

<sup>157</sup> The interior of Taburoğlu Kalesi contained rock-cut cisterns and buildings that appear to have been aligned to an orthogonal grid (fig. 103). What survives today are mostly piles of rubble, and the orthogonal grid is more visible from the air, for

<sup>219</sup> Hof 2020, 158.

<sup>220</sup> Foss – Winfield 1986, 28. 163. Cf. Ousterhout 1999, 192–194. 210–216.

<sup>221</sup> Foss 1985, 39 f. fig. 54.

<sup>222</sup> Foss 1985, 42 f. fig. 42.



104



105



106

Fig. 104: Taburoğlu Kalesi, towers 5 (round, on the right), 4 (triangular, with embrasure), 3, and 2 (rectangular, on the left), looking southwest

Fig. 105: Taburoğlu Kalesi, triangular tower 3 (on the right) and rectangular tower 2 (on the left) with two embrasures, looking southwest

Fig. 106: Taburoğlu Kalesi, outside aspect of the curtain wall between the triangular towers 3 and 4, looking west

example on satellite images. Earlier visitors reported what they took to be remains of a Byzantine church<sup>223</sup>, and several early Christian funerary inscriptions may once have been displayed there<sup>224</sup>. A few fragments of inscribed late Roman grave stones were reportedly re-used as building material<sup>225</sup>, as was common in Byzantine fortifications<sup>226</sup>.

158 Everything points to a Byzantine date of Taburoğlu Kalesi. The Galatians did not employ lime mortar, the Romans did not build any such fortifications in this part

223 Belke 1984, 191.

224 RECAM II, 219–221 cat. 270–273.

225 Delbet et al. 1872, 277.

226 For examples elsewhere in Galatia, see Maranzana 2019; Niewöhner – Vardar 2022, 215 fig. 62.



107

Fig. 107: Taburoğlu Kalesi, interior vaulted passage of the corner tower 15, looking north, to the left a north-western embrasure



108

Fig. 108: Taburoğlu Kalesi, interior vaulted chamber of the rectangular tower 2 with northern and eastern embrasures, looking northeast



109

Fig. 109: Kütahya Kalesi, outside aspect of the curtain wall between towers 59 and 60, looking north. The loss of the outer wall face reveals brick arches on the inside that probably used to support a walk- or stairway and date from the original building phase, when the hilltop was first fortified against the Arabs in the seventh to ninth centuries



110

Fig. 110: Taburoğlu Kalesi, interior vaulted chamber of the triangular tower 4, looking east, to the left the northern embrasure



111

Fig. 111: Kütahya Kalesi, interior of tower 53, looking north. Tower and brick vaulting date from the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the hilltop was first fortified against the Arabs

of the empire, and the Turks are not known to have employed any of the particular features of Taburoğlu Kalesi, for example the dome of tower 4 (fig. 110) or triangular towers like no. 3 and 4 (fig. 104, 105). Late antique fortifications employed triangular towers<sup>227</sup>, but rural Anatolia is not known to have been fortified in late antiquity. The late Byzantine re-fortification campaign against the Turks involved numerous rural fortifications, but new building projects were mostly limited to the renovation of pre-existing defences, on a smaller scale than Taburoğlu Kalesi, and are not known for new triangular towers<sup>228</sup>. This leaves the Invasion period, when, in the seventh to ninth centuries, Anatolia was defended against the Arabs, including newly built hilltop fortifications on the scale of Taburoğlu Kalesi, triangular towers, and rural sites. Apart from the large new hilltop fortification above Kütahya, already mentioned (fig. 109, 111), as well as its contemporary equivalent above Ankara<sup>229</sup>, numerous other cities and some sizeable rural fortifications may be named, including with triangular towers,

227 Crow 2013b; Tsvikis 2021, 200 fig. 3.

228 Foss 1979; Foss 1982; Foss 1996, 44–70.

229 Peschlow 2015, 139–186.

for example at Sinope in Pontus, at Xanthus and at rural Dereağzı in Lycia, as well as at Metabole near Malagina in Bithynia<sup>230</sup>.

159 It remains to be asked why a remote rural location like Taburoğlu Kalesi was fortified on such a large scale. The narrow river valley provides neither evidence nor space for any major settlement that would justify a fortification on the scale of contemporary urban *kastra* like *Cotyaeum/Kütahya*. Taburoğlu Kalesi controlled the passage through the Demirözü river valley, about half way between two small Byzantine sites at *Katrançı* to the east and at *Inler* to the west<sup>231</sup>. Other such passages elsewhere in Anatolia were also fortified in order to counter the Arab invasions, for example *Tabanoğlu Kalesi* and *Çeltikçi Kalesi* in northern Galatia, but those fortifications are smaller, with shorter walls and fewer towers<sup>232</sup>.

160 The large size of Taburoğlu Kalesi could be explained by an identification with *Aphrazeia*, a bandon or major garrison that is attested from the time of the Arab invasions onwards and must have been located somewhere in the wider region<sup>233</sup>. The garrison could have been established at Taburoğlu Kalesi not only in order to control the passage through the river valley, but also because the Haymana region lacked any major city with sizable fortifications and manpower that could hold out against the Arabs. Taburoğlu Kalesi would thus have served to guard the whole Haymana region, for its own sake as well as to protect the Byzantine territories further to the west, notably the undefended cities and metropoleis of *Germia*, *Goeleon*, *Eudoxias*, and *Germokoloneia*<sup>234</sup>.

## Cave Houses

161 Artificial caves are about as frequent in the Haymana region as hilltop fortifications, and like many of the latter, numerous caves are ill-preserved, inaccessible, and not sufficiently known to suggest a date and function<sup>235</sup>. Some of these caves may have been funeral as the aforesaid tombs and cemeteries at *Güzelcekale* and *Karagedik* (see above fig. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62), others will have been cave houses, same as the following examples. Elsewhere in central Anatolia, including in northern Galatia, caves are also known to have been employed for agricultural purposes, for example presses for oil and/or wine or dovecots<sup>236</sup>. The following cave houses have been selected for presentation here, because each case is specific enough to suggest a date and function.

### Güzelcekale

162 A few hundred meters to the north of the early Christian cave tomb and the Byzantine hilltop fortification of *Güzelcekale* (see above fig. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86), a protruding rock formation on the same eastern slope is hollowed out by a cave house also known as *Beşinler* (Turkish: »Five Caves«) (fig. 112. 113)<sup>237</sup>. Two doorways are on the ground floor, one door and a flanking window on the first floor,

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230 Foss 1990; Crow 2013a; Crow 2017; Belke 2020, 775 f.

231 See Belke 1984, 179 s. v. *Inler*; Belke 1984, 187 f. s. v. *Katrançı*.

232 Niewöhner – Vardar 2022, 213–222. For other Byzantine fortifications against the Arabs that do not relate to any settlements, but appear to have been built entirely for strategic reasons, see Foss 1990; Belke 2020, 775 f. (*Metabole* in Bithynia); Belke 1993, 62–65 (*Kedrea/Asar Tepesi* in Phrygia); Ousterhout 2017, 341–343 (*Kecikalesi* and *Akhisar* in Cappadocia).

233 Belke 1984, 131.

234 See Belke 1984; Niewöhner 2013.

235 See above note 13 and the preliminary survey reports in note 2.

236 Germanidou 2015, 43–47; Peker 2020; Ataç – Pekak 2021, 10–11; Niewöhner – Vardar 2022, 201–211.

237 Preliminary survey reports: Akyürek Vardar – Vardar 1997, 251–253; Alpaslan – Vardar 2002, 28–30.

and numerous openings on the second floor that rises in floor level from left to right or south to north. While the first-floor doorway may be reached via the rock in front of it that forms a natural staircase, the second floor used to require a ladder, until the floor of the second-floor room A broke in and formed a hole that today connects it with the first floor.

163 On the ground floor, the northernmost doorway gives onto cave room A that is roughly rectangular, with a flat ceiling, 2.2 m wide, 4.2 m long, and 1.75 m high (fig. 113). The right side corner, as one enters, is deepest and has a rounded niche in the east wall. A 0.6 m narrow passage or hole in the south wall connects to room B on a 0.6 m higher floor level. This room is again approximately rectangular and with a flat ceiling, but smaller, up to 2.05 m wide, 2.55 m long, and between 1.65 and 1.9 m high. An eastern doorway to the outside is 0.6 m wide and 1.4 m high. The northeast corner contains an angular niche, the south wall what appears to be a bench.

164 The opening on the first floor used to be 0.95 m wide and 1 m low, but has been enlarged by breakage. It gives onto another roughly rectangular room with a flat ceiling, 4.1 m wide, 3.2 m deep, and 1.55 m high, with a window on the left or southern side (fig. 113). On the inside, the entrance forms a niche with grooves and holes that may have served for fixing a wooden frame and door (fig. 114). A niche between the window and the ceiling has three small round outside holes at the bottom that could have provided air for any lamps that were placed inside the niche. The floor is lowest in front of the door, but one step higher on either side, where people may have sat and slept<sup>238</sup>.

165 The entrance to the second-floor must have been through one of two rectangular doors or windows in the largest and southernmost second-floor room A that are today disfigured by breakage: one opening in the centre of the room's exterior south wall is, on the inside, set in an arched niche. The other opening further to the east forms a rectangular niche with an arched *tympanum* above. A similar *tympanum* sits off-centre above the passage (1.2 m wide, 1.25 m high) between rooms A and B (see fig. 116). A third window at the western end of room A is better preserved, 0.85 m wide, 0.95 m high, and sits at floor level inside an arched niche (fig. 115). Grooves and holes on the inside may have served to fasten a frame and bolts. An additional *tympanum* above the arched niche is outlined in red paint, as was also applied to many Byzantine caves elsewhere in central Anatolia<sup>239</sup>.

166 Room A is 2.7 m deep on the west side, about 4 m long, and narrows to a depth of 1.2 m on the east side (fig. 113). The ceiling is flat as in all rooms of the cave house. The arches and tympana above the southern doors and windows are mirrored by blind arches on the north and west walls (fig. 115). The eastern blind arch on the north wall contains a deep arched niche above a bench that is 0.35 m low, 0.3 m deep, and 1 m long, but may once have been longer. The blind arches and niche on the north wall are again outlined in red paint, including traces of geometric ornamentation. Room A forms the largest, lightest, and most decorative room of the cave house and, with its arcaded and painted decoration, compares to Byzantine caves elsewhere in central Anatolia<sup>240</sup>.

167 To the northeast follows room B on a slightly (0.15 m) higher level. The room is 2 m long, 1.6 m wide, and 1.4 m high, with a 1.1 m wide window in the exterior wall (fig. 113). In front of the opposite, north-eastern wall, a low (0.15 m) step or bench sets

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238 The preliminary reports suggest that the first-floor room as well as ground-floor room A were originally conceived as tombs similar to the Roman to early Christian cave tomb on the other, southern side of Güzelcekele (see above fig. 50–55), but the caves under consideration here do not contain any graves, inscriptions, or Christian symbols. Instead, they may be compared to what appear to be similarly small cave houses at Gölbek and Demirhane (see below fig. 123–133).

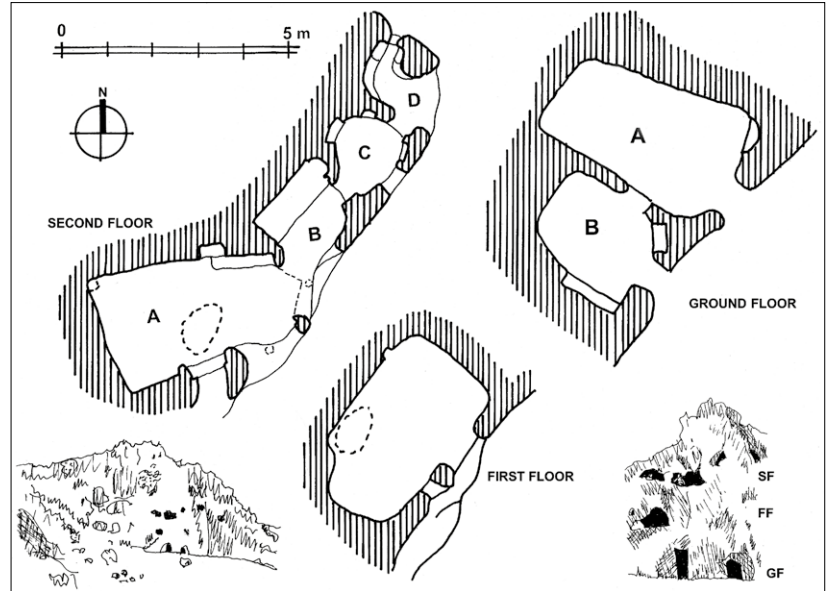
239 For examples, see Olcay Uçkan 2010, 153; Ousterhout 2017, 191–198.

240 See the previous note.

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112



113



114

Fig. 112: Güzelcekale, cave house, looking northwest. The two ground-floor doorways (rooms A and B) as well as the door and window on the first floor are easily accessible. The second floor has many more openings, but requires a ladder for access

Fig. 113: Güzelcekale, ground, first, and second floor sketch plans as well as a general (bottom left) and a more detailed elevation (bottom right) of the cave house

Fig. 114: Güzelcekale, cave house, first-floor room, looking south. The entrance forms a niche with grooves and holes that may have served to fix a wooden frame and door. A niche between the window and the ceiling has three small round holes that could have provided air for lamps. The floor is lowest in front of the door, but one step higher on either side, where people may have sat and slept

aside what may have been a 0.7 m wide and 1.8 m long bedstead (fig. 116). The wall at the north-eastern end of the bedstead contains a deep arched niche as well as, further above, a small rectangular niche, possibly for a lamp. The next room, C, is accessed through a 0.85 m wide doorway and lies one step (0.25 m) above B. Room C is small (1.4 × 1.6 m), but relatively high (1.85 m), and contains numerous deep niches (fig. 117) as well as what appears to be a window seat in front of a 0.55 m high and 0.6 m wide window (fig. 118). A tall step of 0.5 m leads to the final room D that is also the smallest (0.75 × 1.5 m) and lowest (1.3 m). The northern side terminates in a seat with a central gap that has grooves and could thus be closed on the inside, but is open towards the outside and appears to have served as toilet and drain (fig. 119)<sup>241</sup>. The east side has a window that is today 1.3 m wide, but used to be smaller.

168 Overall the cave house would appear to relate to the Byzantine refortification of the neighbouring hilltop (see above fig. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86), in particular the inaccessible and potentially defensive second floor. The Byzantine comparanda for the arcaded and painted decoration of the second-floor room A as well as for similar cave houses in general confirm a Byzantine date<sup>242</sup>.

241 For similar Byzantine toilets, see Popović 1997, 18; Tiryaki 2021, 170–173 fig. 8.

242 See above note 239.



115

Fig. 115: Güzelcekale, cave house, room A on the second floor, looking southwest. The window on the left, in the south wall, occupies an arched niche, and an additional *tympanum* above preserves traces of red paint. Grooves and holes appear to attest to a frame and bolts. The west wall, on the right, is decorated with blind arcades



116

Fig. 116: Güzelcekale, cave house, second floor-rooms A (foreground), B (middle ground), and C (background), looking northeast. In the foreground, the *tympanum* at the top right marks a door or window of room A, the left *tympanum* sits off-centre above the passage between rooms A and B. In the middle ground, a low step or bench on the left sets aside what may have been a bedstead in room B. The wall at the end of the bedstead contains a deep arched niche as well as a small rectangular niche, possible for a lamp, further above



117

Fig. 117: Güzelcekale, cave house, room C on the second floor, looking north. The walls contain numerous deep niches



118

Fig. 118: Güzelcekale, cave house, second floor-room C with window seat and, at the top right, a rectangular niche as if for an icon, looking south



119

Fig. 119: Güzelcekale, cave house, second floor-room D with toilet seat and drain, looking north. The seat has a central gap with grooves and could thus be closed on the inside, but is open towards the outside, where any liquid would have drained off

## Yılanlıin Kayası

169 The cave house of Yılanlıin Kayası – kaya meaning rock – occupies a cliff immediately below the fortifications of Yılanlıin Kalesi, on the north-eastern side (see above fig. 95)<sup>243</sup>. The cliff forms a straight façade, and a twice-recessed niche above the entrance to the cave provides a decorative element (fig. 120). Further up and to the right, a second, smaller niche is aligned with an arched window. The space inside the window could not be accessed and surveyed, as this would have required a long ladder. Thus, whilst the interior of the upper floor remains to be explored, the inaccessible location of the arched window suggests that it could have served as a defensive retreat in times of danger.

170 The wide entrance on the ground floor gives onto a large warren of variously formed and sized rooms that add up to ca. 200 m<sup>2</sup> (fig. 121). Only the front rooms A and B receive direct light from the entrance and flanking windows. Rooms C and D are lit indirectly, as they are each connected through several openings with room A (fig. 122). Beyond room D, the back rooms E to I are getting progressively darker and would have required artificial lighting. Room A has a bench along the northwest wall, room D along the south wall.

171 In comparison to the cave house at Güzelcekale, Yılanlın Kayası is several times larger, with bigger rooms, but without any of the ornamental details in carving and paint that decorate the second-floor room A at Güzelcekale. Commonalities include the inaccessible and potentially defensive upper floors as well as the proximity to hilltop fortifications that could have provided additional protection. As the fortification above Yılanlın Kayası was likely in use during the Byzantine period, the same may be suggested for the cave house. A few Byzantine sherds from inside the cave add support to this hypothesis.

## Gölbek

172 The situation at Gölbek is similar to that at Güzelcekale and Yılanlın Kayası in so far as at Gölbek, too, cave houses are located in the immediate vicinity and thus presumably under the protection of a hilltop fortification that was likely in use during the Byzantine period (see above fig. 87). At Gölbek, six caves were found scattered across the steep southern slope of the hill that is crowned by the fortification (fig. 123). Two caves (no. 2 and 5) could not be entered, because the entrances were closed by debris and soil that had washed down the slope. More caves may lie completely hidden under ground. The lowest cave no. 1 stands out for a decorative entrance with a thrice-recessed arch (fig. 124). Inside, caves no. 1, 3, and 6 each form a low rectangular room of between 4 and 10 m<sup>2</sup> (fig. 125). Cave 3 (1.6 × 2.75 m) is 1.6 m high. Caves 1 and 6 each contain a small niche, as would be suitable for placing a lamp. In this and according to size, all three caves compare to the two lower floors of the cave house at Güzelcekale (see above fig. 113).

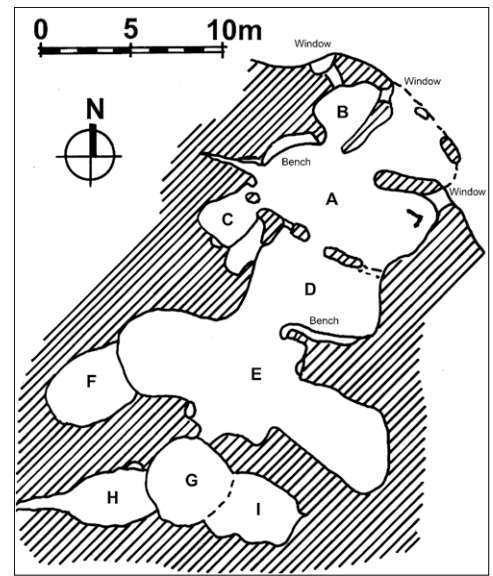
173 Cave no. 4 is several times larger than the others, with various dark back rooms that add up to about 40 m<sup>2</sup> (fig. 125). This includes several niches of different forms and sizes (fig. 126). The flat ceiling reaches about 1,65 m in height, but some passages between rooms are as low as 1.4 m. Overall, cave no. 4 compares to Yılanlın Kayası (see above fig. 121), but is smaller in size. A scattering of potsherds on the valley bottom below the caves at Gölbek indicates a sizeable settlement (fig. 87). When the peaceful Roman and early Christian times came to an end and the hilltop was probably (re-)fortified against the Arabs and/or the Turks, some or all the villagers may have moved uphill and developed the caves into a settlement that was more defensive than the valley bottom and would receive some protection from the fortification above.

## Demirhane

174 Demirhane means Iron Inn and is the Turkish name of a cliff with caves in the southern part of the survey area (fig. 1)<sup>244</sup>, about three kilometres northeast of Kutluhan and its Byzantine stone carvings (see above fig. 65–68)<sup>245</sup>. Overall, the cliff at Demirhane faces east, but as it takes a meandering course, some caves are also facing south (A), north (B and C), or southeast (F) (fig. 127). Six caves are distributed across ca. 100 m along a particularly high and steep section of the cliff (fig. 128). Reaching caves



120



121

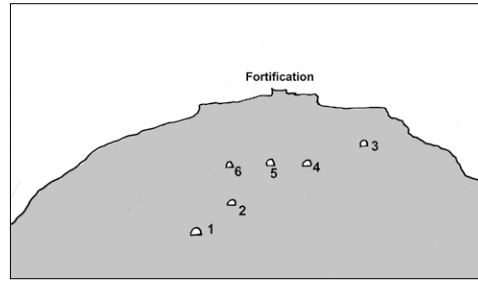


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244 Preliminary survey reports: Vardar 2003–2004, 325; Doğan – Vardar 2005, 196 f.

245 Today, Demirhane is best reached via the Turkish village of Bostanhöyük, about 4 km to the east.

Fig. 120: Yılanlıin Kayası, façade of the cave house, looking southwest. A recessed niche above the ground-floor entrance adds a decorative feature to the façade. At the top right, beyond a second niche, a window attests to an inaccessible upper floor



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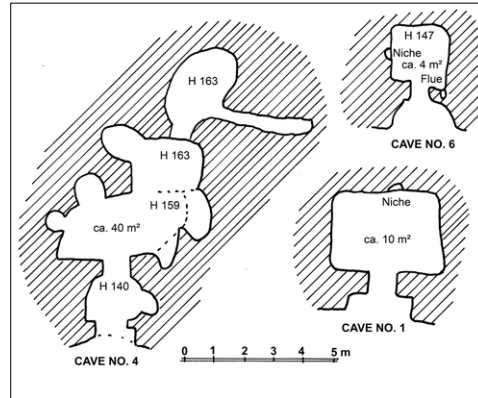
Fig. 121: Yılanlıin Kayası, sketch plan of the cave house

Fig. 122: Yılanlıin Kayası, cave house, room A, looking southwest through two openings into room D and, in the background on the right, room E

Fig. 123: Gölbek, elevation of the caves on the southern slope below the fortified hilltop

Fig. 124: Gölbek, cave door no. 1 with thrice-recessed arch

Fig. 125: Gölbek, sketch plans of caves no. 1, 4, and 6



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Fig. 126: Gölbek, cave no. 4, two niches on the left side of the second room. The cave room is up to 1.6 m high



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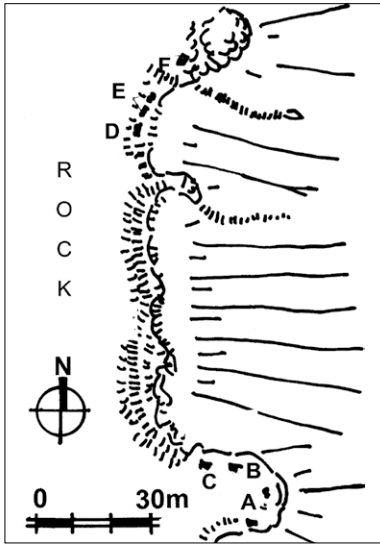


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A, D, and E requires difficult climbs, and caves B, C, and F are inaccessible without a ladder and have not been surveyed.

175 Cave A has two floors that are connected only through a secondary hole and used to form independent units with separate entrances, the lower floor from the east and the upper floor from the south (fig. 129. 130. 131. 132). The eastern entrance to the lower floor is 0.65 m wide and 1.05 m low. It gives onto a dark rectangular room of ca. 12 m<sup>2</sup>, 1.65 m high and with a flat ceiling, with a deep south-eastern corner, and with two low and narrow tunnels leading off at either end of the west side (fig. 129. 130). The upper floor is entered from the south, where it has a small ante-room that is followed by a larger, but also darker, L-shaped main room of roughly 10 m<sup>2</sup> on a higher floor level (fig. 131. 132).

176 Caves D and E are located next to each other, but about 50 m removed from cave A (fig. 127). The interior of cave D is divided into a larger front part and a smaller back that are each rectangular, with a niche in the southern wall (fig. 133). Cave E consists of three rectangular parts, two of which are facing the cliff and have an opening each, the third part forming an interior extension. Byzantine sherds were scattered in front of the cliff and indicate occupation. Individually, the caves compare to the smaller units of the Byzantine cave house at Güzelcekele and at Gölbek (see above fig. 113. 125). As two clusters of three caves each, Demirhane A to C on the one hand and D to F on the other could have housed two extended families. However, the difficult access and the lack of space for work and storage suggests that the caves served as retreats in times of danger, but in normal times were supplemented by, and possibly exchanged for, more practical buildings.



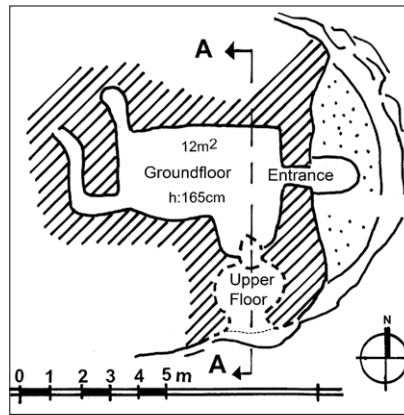
127



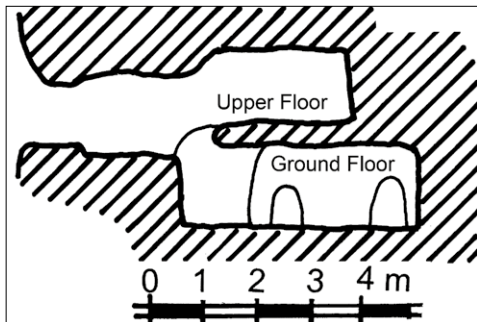
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Fig. 127: Demirhane, general map of the cliff and caves. Overall, the cliff faces east, but as it takes a meandering course, some caves are also facing south (A), north (B and C), or southeast (F)

Fig. 128: Demirhane cliff, sections D and E, looking southwest. The caves have few small openings in high locations; access is difficult and in some cases requires a ladder

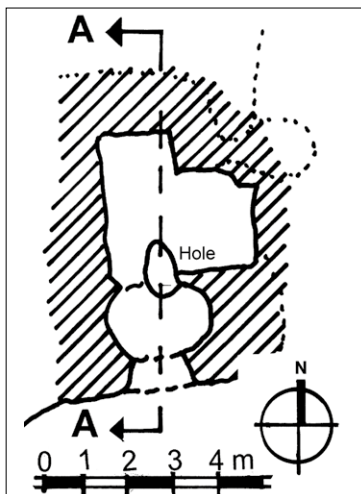
Fig. 129: Demirhane, cave A, ground floor with two low and narrow tunnels, one at each end of the room, looking west

Fig. 130: Demirhane, ground floor sketch plan of cave A

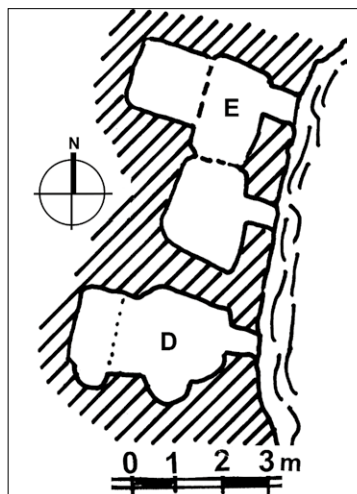
Fig. 131: Demirhane, section AA of cave A, looking west

Fig. 132: Demirhane, upper floor sketch plan of cave A

Fig. 133: Demirhane, sketch plan of caves D and E



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## Conclusions

177 In considering the overall results of the survey, one has to keep in mind how the finds were gathered, recorded, and reported. The gathering relied entirely on the advice of villagers, which limited the finds to such that would attract local attention, i.e. carved stones, caves, and hilltop fortifications. Any culture or settlement activity that did not result in those find categories would not have been registered. Likewise, the recording and reporting was limited to significant finds and excluded such hilltop fortifications and caves that were too ill preserved or nondescript for further evaluation<sup>246</sup>. In particular Hellenistic/Galatian fortifications, which may well have been as numerous in the Haymana region as elsewhere in the environs of Ankara<sup>247</sup>, could not be identified with any degree of certainty, save in the case of Güzelcekele (fig. 82. 83. 84. 85).

178 The funerary relief from Çalış appears to be the earliest attested example of figural stone carving in the region (cat. 1). It would have stood out, set the family apart, and their aristocratic Galatian name confirms that the old, Hellenistic elite was still prominent and now distinguished itself by embracing Roman fashion. A similar case has recently been attested in the Siberis/Kirmir valley to the northwest of Ankara: The earliest carved marble that was found in that valley dates from the Early or High Imperial period and formed the inscribed base of a statue for a member of another old Galatian aristocratic family<sup>248</sup>. Alongside the temple of Augustus and Rome at Ankara, the small provincial family monuments illustrate the introduction of Roman forms and fashions to Galatia, which was apparently driven by the same aristocracy that had previously ruled the independent kingdom and now continued to dominate the Roman province.

179 However, the many later Roman grave stones show that Roman culture eventually came to be embraced by a larger segment of Galatian society that at this stage appears relatively egalitarian, as all later grave stones adhere to the same general standards (cat. 2–33). Their wide distribution throughout the survey area suggests a rural settlement pattern that probably consisted of numerous small villages, each with its own necropolis, same as elsewhere in later Roman Anatolia<sup>249</sup>. Christianisation and the early Byzantine period appear to have continued the trend towards a more egalitarian society, to judge by the cemetery excavation at Bahçecik<sup>250</sup> and by the cave cemeteries at Karagedik (fig. 57–62). All these later cemeteries were communal, with little or nothing to distinguish one burial from another, adhering to the Christian concept of equality before God<sup>251</sup>.

180 Another levelling effect of Christianisation and late antiquity concerned architectural sculpture. In the Roman Imperial period, such used to distinguish cities as urban status symbol, which can explain the absence of Roman architectural carvings from the Haymana region without any major centre. This changed in the early Byzantine period, when numerous items of architectural sculpture as well as liturgical furnishings were employed throughout the rural survey area (fig. 65–81). Most, if not all of them, belonged to churches that were built to the same or similar standards in town

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246 For references to such nondescript hilltop fortifications and caves, see above notes 13. 202 and the preliminary survey reports in note 2.

247 See above note 200.

248 Niewöhner – Vardar 2022, 223–226 (S. Mitchell – L. E. Vardar).

249 For example in the territory of Aezani in Phrygia (Niewöhner 2007, 156–169 with bibliography and foldout after p. 70) or in the vicinity of Germia in Galatia (Niewöhner 2013, 102–105).

250 See above note 15.

251 For an overview of early Christian burials in Anatolia, with an emphasis on few remaining distinguishing marks, see Iverson 2017, 162–170.

and countryside alike. The rural churches will have stood in the same villages that used to employ the later Roman grave stones.

<sup>181</sup> The later Byzantine fate of the villages is not attested in the survey results. Later Byzantine finds are limited to hilltop fortifications and cave houses. The fortifications appear to have been built and/or renovated against the Arabs and/or the Turks (fig. 82–111). Three cave houses in the immediate vicinity of fortifications were likely carved in relation to the defences, if only to receive some protection by their proximity (fig. 112–126). Similar combinations of fortifications and cave houses existed elsewhere in Byzantine Anatolia, too<sup>252</sup>. A fourth cave complex at Demirhane is well hidden and difficult to approach and may thus have also served as a refuge (fig. 127–133). The cave houses could have been settled permanently or only in times of danger, as the traditional villages from the Roman to early Byzantine periods will have had more convenient locations closer to water and farmland. However, additional installations that may have housed a fair at Güzelcekale and a granary at Yılanlıın Kalesi suggest that the fortifications served permanent economic and administrative purposes beyond the occasional defence at times of Arab and/or Turkish raids. In this case, some of the caves could also have been more comfortable peacetime accommodation for the permanent garrisons of the fortifications or their commanding officers.

<sup>182</sup> The large fortification of Taburoğlu Kalesi does in any case imply a long term commitment by the central command, as it is too big for a local refuge (fig. 102–111). If Taburoğlu Kalesi was indeed built to withstand an Arab invasion because the Haymana region lacked any major urban centre and fortifications that could repel an aggressor, this would confirm »archaeology of emptiness« as a meaningful concept. The »emptiness« of the Haymana region can explain why Taburoğlu Kalesi came about, although the survey area did in fact turn out to have been far from »empty«. The settlements of this rural area were simply too small and insignificant to form any major bulwark against the Arabs, to figure in history, and to be noted by any passing traveller save the most diligent village archaeologist. The same is probably true for much of central Anatolia, and in regions where the Roman and Byzantine inhabitants were not in the habit of carving grave markers, architectural sculpture, and liturgical furnishings from stone, their presence might be a lot harder to trace than at Haymana<sup>253</sup>.

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<sup>252</sup> For example at Kedra on the Asar Tepesi to the northwest of Akroinos/Afyon in Phrygia (Belke 1993, 62–65) and at Selime-Yaprakhisar in Cappadocia (Ousterhout 2017, 335–341. 343; Kalas 2021).

<sup>253</sup> E.g. Glatz – Matthews 2009; Elton et al. 2018.

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## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

### Eine Archäologie der Leere. Haymana oder die Prærie in römischer und byzantinischer Zeit

Lucy Audley-Miller – Stephen Mitchell † – Philipp Niewöhner – Ali Vardar – Levent Egemen Vardar

Dieser Beitrag präsentiert die Ergebnisse eines extensiven Surveys in der Gegend der türkischen Kleinstadt Haymana in Galatien. Dort ist keine größere antike Stadt bekannt, und die Funde dürften aus ländlichen Siedlungen stammen. Bei dem wahrscheinlich ältesten Stück handelt es sich um ein Grabrelief der Saokondarios-Familie, die bereits in hellenistischer Zeit bezeugt ist und zur galatischen Führungsschicht gehörte. Etliche spätere römische Grabsteine haben ebenfalls figürliche Reliefs und zum Teil die Form von Türen. Das Felsgrab einer Pelagia wurde später um christliche Symbole und die Beischrift *Märtyrerin* ergänzt, sei es daß man in der Inschrift das gleichnamige Opfer der diokletianischen Verfolgungen erkannte oder eine andere Märtyrerin desselben Namens. Größere, kommunale Felsgräber dürften aus frühbyzantinischer Zeit stammen. Frühbyzantinische Bauskulptur gehört am ehesten zu Kirchen, die jedenfalls anhand von liturgischem Mobiliar nachzuweisen sind. Die hellenistisch/galatische Höhenburg von Güzelcekale wurde in späterer byzantinischer Zeit erneuert. Mehrere andere klein- und mittelformatige Höhenburgen – ob galatischen Ursprungs oder nicht – scheinen ebenfalls in byzantinischer Zeit (aus?)gebaut worden zu sein. Gleiches gilt sicherlich für mehrere Höhlenkomplexe, die zum Teil mit den Burgen in Zusammenhang stehen. Das viel größere Fort von Taburoğlu Kalesi dürfte gegen die arabischen Invasionen des siebenten bis neunten Jahrhunderts errichtet worden sein und ist vielleicht mit dem *Bandon Aphrazeia* zu identifizieren.

## SCHLAGWÖRTER

Galatien, Bauskulptur, liturgisches Mobiliar, Epigraphik, Grabmonumente, Höhenburgen

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## ÖZET

### Boşluğun Arkeolojisi. Roma ve Bizans Dönemlerinde Haymana ve Bozkır

Lucy Audley-Miller – Stephen Mitchell † – Philipp Niewöhner – Ali Vardar – Levent Egemen Vardar

Makalede Galatia'daki Türk kasabası Haymana'nın çevresinde yapılan kapsamlı yüzey araştırmasının sonuçları sunulmaktadır. Bu civarda antik kentlerin varlığı bilinmemektedir; çevredeki buluntular olasılıkla kırsal yerleşimlere aittir. Hellenistik Dönem'den bilinen ve Galatia'da yönetici sınıftan olan Saokondarios ailesine ait mezar kabartması muhtemelen eldeki en erken buluntudur. Sonraki dönemlere ait birkaç mezar steli üzerinde figüratif kabartmalar vardır ve stellerin bir kısmı kapı biçimindedir. Pelagia adında birine ait kaya mezarına daha sonraki bir dönemde Hristiyanlıkla ilgili sembollerin ve «şehit» ifadesinin eklenmesi mezar sahibinin, Diokletian Dönemi'ndeki zulümler sırasında öldürülmüş biriyle veya başka bir şehitle adaş olmasıyla ilgilidir. Toplu gömüler barındıran daha büyük kaya mezarları muhtemelen Erken Bizans Dönemi'ne aittir. Bu evrenin mimari heykeltıraşısı daha çok kiliselerde görülür ve litürjik eşyalar yoluyla izlenebilir. Hellenistik Dönem'de bir Galat kalesi olan Güzelcekale, Geç Bizans Evresi'nde yenilenmiştir. Galat ya da diğer dönemlere ait küçük ve orta büyüklükteki diğer birkaç kale de Bizans Dönemi'nde tamir edilmiş ya da yeniden inşa edilmiştir. Bu faaliyetlerin, kalelerle kısmen bağlantısı olan mağara komplekslerini de kapsadığı kesindir. *Bandon Ahrazeia* olması muhtemel ve daha büyük Taburoğlu Kalesi MS 7. ve 9. yüzyıllar arasındaki Arap istilalarına karşı inşa edilmiş olabilir.

## ANAHTAR SÖZÜKLER

Galatia, mimari heykeltıraşı, litürjik eşyalar, epigrafi, mezar anıtları, kaleler

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## SOURCES OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Title Page: Niewöhner 2009

Fig. 1: A. Vardar

Fig. 2: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 3: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 4: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 5: L. E. Vardar 2007

Fig. 6: L. E. Vardar 2003

Fig. 7: L. E. Vardar 2003

Fig. 8: L. E. Vardar 2003

Fig. 9: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 10: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 11: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 12: L. E. Vardar 2003

Fig. 13: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 14: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 15: L. E. Vardar 2007

Fig. 16: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 17: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 18: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 19: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 20: L. E. Vardar 2003

Fig. 21: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 22: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 23: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 24: L. E. Vardar 2003

Fig. 25: L. E. Vardar 2007

Fig. 26: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 27: L. E. Vardar 2002

Fig. 28: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 29: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 30: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 31: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 32: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 33: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 34: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 35: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 36: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 37: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 38: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 39: Mitchell 2017

Fig. 40: Mitchell 2017

Fig. 41: L. E. Vardar 2007

Fig. 42: L. E. Vardar 2003

Fig. 43: L. E. Vardar 2007

Fig. 44: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 45: Mitchell

Fig. 46: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 47: L. E. Vardar 2007

Fig. 48: Mitchell 2017

Fig. 49: Mitchell 2017

Fig. 50: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 51: A. Vardar

Fig. 52: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 53: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 54: A. Vardar

Fig. 55: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 56: A. Vardar

Fig. 57: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 58: A. Vardar

Fig. 59: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 60: L. E. Vardar 2002

Fig. 61: A. Vardar

Fig. 62: L. E. Vardar 2002

Fig. 63: L. E. Vardar 2007

Fig. 64: A. Vardar

Fig. 65: L. E. Vardar 2003

Fig. 66: L. E. Vardar 2003

Fig. 67: L. E. Vardar 2003

Fig. 68: L. E. Vardar 2003

Fig. 69: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 70: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 71: L. E. Vardar 2004

Fig. 72: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 73: L. E. Vardar 2009

Fig. 74: L. E. Vardar 2007

Fig. 75: A. Vardar 2004

Fig. 76: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 77: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 78: L. E. Vardar 2007

Fig. 79: L. E. Vardar 2007

Fig. 80: L. E. Vardar 2003

Fig. 81: L. E. Vardar 2003

Fig. 82: A. Vardar

Fig. 83: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 84: A. Vardar

Fig. 85: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 86: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 87: A. Vardar

Fig. 88: N. Akyürek-Vardar – A. Vardar

Fig. 89: L. E. Vardar 2007

Fig. 90: A. Vardar

Fig. 91: L. E. Vardar 2003

Fig. 92: A. Vardar

Fig. 93: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 94: A. Vardar

Fig. 95: A. Vardar

Fig. 96: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 97: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 98: L. E. Vardar 2005

Fig. 99: A. Vardar

Fig. 100: A. Vardar

Fig. 101: L. E. Vardar 2002

Fig. 102: Niewöhner 2021

Fig. 103: A. Vardar  
Fig. 104: Niewöhner 2021  
Fig. 105: Niewöhner 2021  
Fig. 106: Niewöhner 2021  
Fig. 107: Niewöhner 2021  
Fig. 108: Niewöhner 2021  
Fig. 109: Niewöhner 2021  
Fig. 110: Niewöhner 2021  
Fig. 111: Niewöhner 2021  
Fig. 112: Niewöhner 2021  
Fig. 113: A. Vardar  
Fig. 114: Niewöhner 2021  
Fig. 115: Niewöhner 2021  
Fig. 116: Niewöhner 2021  
Fig. 117: Niewöhner 2021  
Fig. 118: Niewöhner 2021  
Fig. 119: Niewöhner 2021  
Fig. 120: L. E. Vardar 2005  
Fig. 121: A. Vardar  
Fig. 122: L. E. Vardar 2005  
Fig. 123: A. Vardar  
Fig. 124: L. E. Vardar 2007  
Fig. 125: A. Vardar  
Fig. 126: L. E. Vardar 2007  
Fig. 127: A. Vardar  
Fig. 128: L. E. Vardar 2003  
Fig. 129: L. E. Vardar 2003  
Fig. 130: A. Vardar  
Fig. 131: A. Vardar  
Fig. 132: A. Vardar  
Fig. 133: A. Vardar

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