Interaction, Cult and Memory: Another Look at Rock-cut Votive Reliefs in Pisidia[1]

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Interaction and memory are themes of great importance to ancient religion, history, and archaeology. Each provides a useful framework of study in its own right, but when considered together they become a powerful tool for understanding human encounters with the divine. This paper revisits a group of religious images – the rock-cut votive reliefs discovered during the course of field survey in Pisidia - through the collective lens of memory and interaction, with the aim of understanding their importance in local cult and of addressing some of the ways they have been perceived and studied over time. Keeping in mind the combined themes of interaction, cult, and memory, the focus here is their: 1) modern recovery and study; 2) permanency and position in the landscape; 3) relevance and importance as devotional objects. The larger question of the relationship of these reliefs with examples found in northern Lycia and in the context of the wider Hellenistic and Roman worlds is also important to note, as is their post-Antique afterlife.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Pisidia, Kült, Adak Kabartması, Yüzey Araştırması, Peyzaj.

Etkileşim ve bellek; antik dönem inanç, tarih ve arkeoloji için büyük önem taşıyan temalardır. Her biri kendi içerisinde faydalı bir çalışma çerçevesi sağlar. Ancak birlikte düşünüldüğünde, insanın kutsal(inanç) kavramıyla karşılaşmasıyla birlikte güçlü bir araç haline gelir. Bu makalede, Pisidia Bölgesi'nde yapılan yüzey araştırması sırasında tespit edilen kayaya oyulmuş adak kabartmaları, bellek ve etkileşimin kollektif bakış açısıyla birlikte zaman içerisinde yapılan bazı çalışmaları ve tespitlerden yola çıkarak yerel kültlerdeki önemini anlamak amacıyla bir grup inanç imgeleri tekrar gözden geçirilmiştir. Etkileşim, kült ve bellek kavramları göz önüne alınarak bir araya getirildiğinde, üzerinde durulması gereken konular 1) modern dönemde yeniden kazanım ve inceleme; 2) yerleşimde konum ve kalıcı olma; 3) adak olarak kullanılan objelerin önemi ve ilişkisi şeklinde sıralanır. Sözü edilen kabartmaların, Likya'nın kuzeyinde ele geçen örneklerle birlikte Hellenistik ve Roma dünyasında da geniş bağlamda ilişkisi, antikite sonrasında ölümden sonraki yaşamı göz önünde bulundurmayı değerli kılar.

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Interaction and memory are themes of great importance to ancient religion and history, as well as to archaeology. Each provides a useful framework of inquiry in its own right, but when considered together they become a powerful tool for understanding human encounters with the divine. This paper revisits a group of religious images – namely, the rock-cut votive reliefs discovered during the course of field survey in Pisidia (Figs. 1-2) - through the collective lens of memory and interaction. Our aim is, on the one hand, to achieve a better understanding of their importance in local cult, and on the other, to address some of the ways such reliefs have been perceived and studied over time. The two cults represented include a horseman or rider-god (9 in total), sometimes called Kakasbos, and the Dioskouroi with a frontal female figure, perhaps the cult statue (*xoanon*) of a goddess (3 in total). Both types have also been found in greater numbers in the highlands of northern Lycia (the Milyas) from the cities and countryside of the Kibyratis (Coulton 2012: ch. 4, 61-63; Fig. 3).

Although we may never repopulate the ancient landscape with the patrons, worshippers, or sculptors of the votive reliefs, we may nonetheless approach them *in situ* and, thus, in the same locations they have occupied for hundreds of years. Building on previous descriptions of their styles and imagery, and their comparisons with other examples (both rock-cut and portable *stelai*), and keeping in mind the collective themes of interaction, cult, and memory, we shall focus here instead on their: 1) modern recovery and study; 2) permanency and position in the landscape; and 3) relevance and importance as devotional objects. While such an approach intends to further the discussion of votive reliefs in the region of Pisidia, the larger question of their close relationship with similar examples found in nearby northern Lycia and the context of the wider Hellenistic and Roman worlds is also important to note. Similarly, their cultic function and the ritual practices that must have accompanied them must remain in mind.

Modern Recovery and Study

The identification and study of rock-cut votive and portable slab reliefs from southwest Anatolia, most notably the highland regions of Lycia and Pisidia, has interested scholars for quite some time. One need only glance at travel accounts and field notes, such as those of George Bean, to recall the ongoing appearance of the reliefs, or the figures they illustrate, and the attention past scholars and explorers of these regions have given the sculpted representations of gods, goddesses, and heroes (Bean 1960; Bean 1978). Some of the immortal figures represented are familiar from the Greco-Roman pantheon, such as the twin sons of Zeus, the Dioskouroi (Figs. 4, 7, 10), while others, such as the rider-god Kakasbos (Fig. 5) or the Lycian Twelve Gods, are products of local or regional cult (Renberg 2014: 115-116). The approaches and priorities of modern scholars such as Bean, or indeed Louis Robert, not to mention the perspectives of early travelers to these areas, such as T.A.B. Spratt and E. Forbes during the mid-19th century, are far beyond the scope of

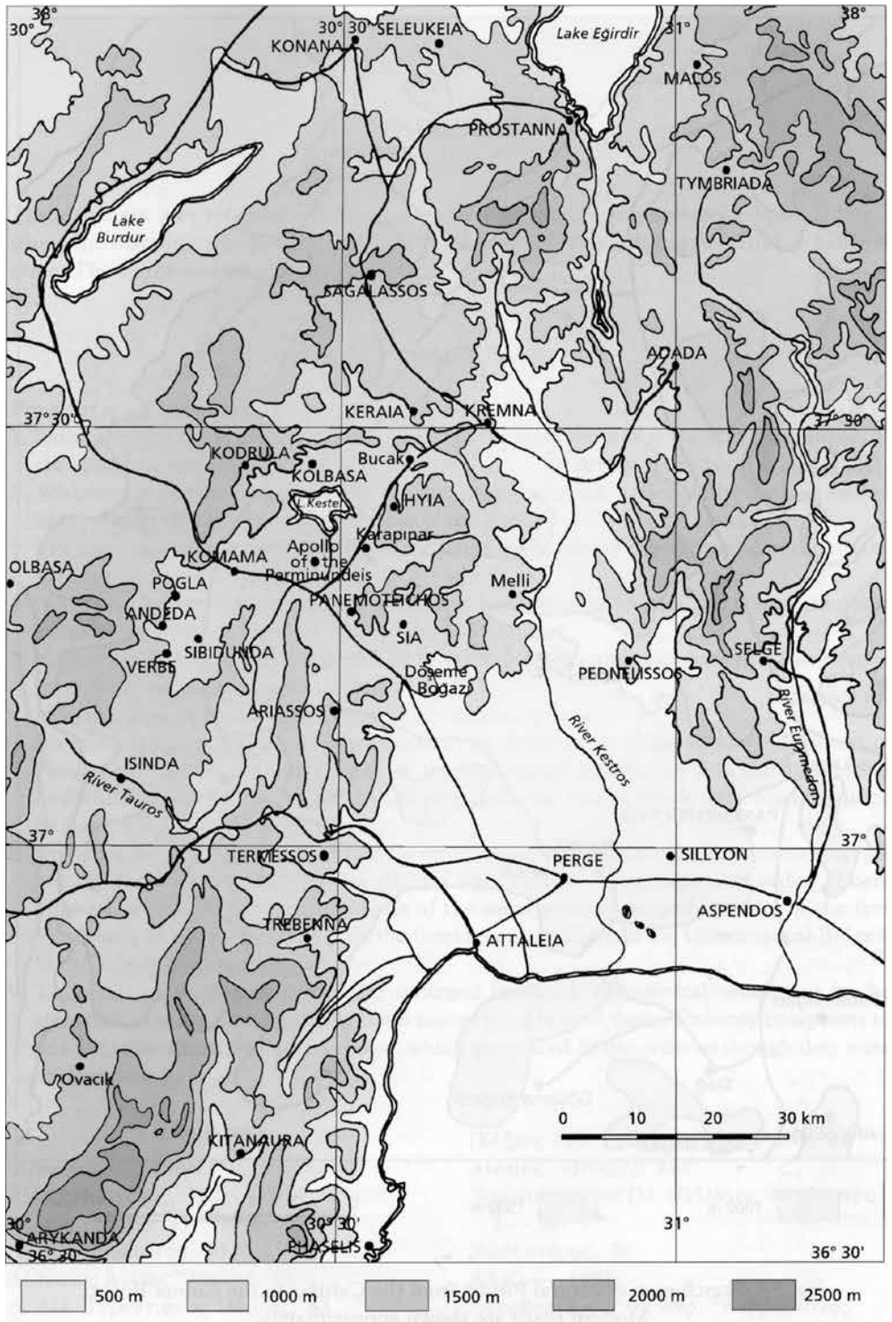

Fig. 1. *Map of Pisidian Survey area (drawing: D. Weiss, after Smith 2011: 135, fig. 1)*

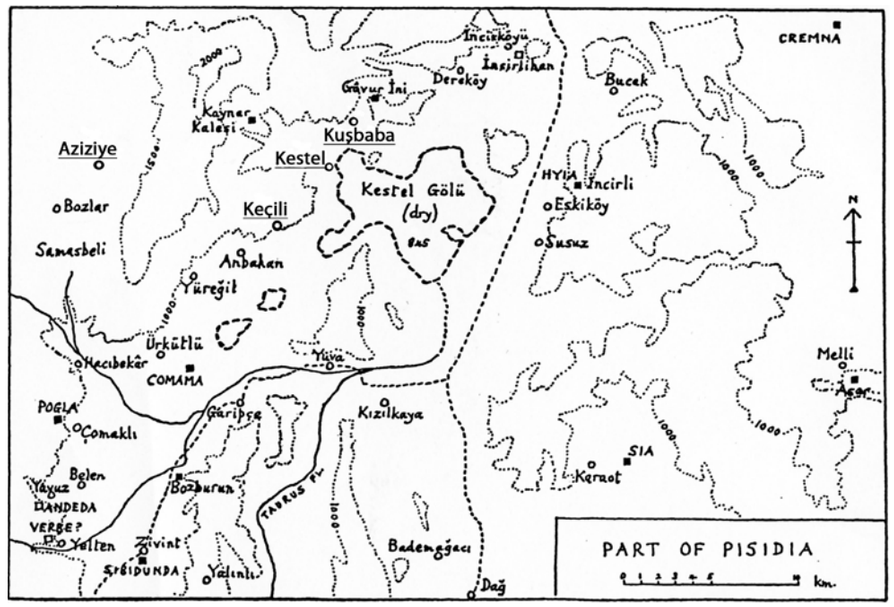

Fig. 2. *Map of survey area around Kestel Göl with relief locations underlined (drawing: D. Weiss, after Smith 2011: 136, fig. 2a)*

this paper (Coulton 2012: ch. 1, 12-14). Suffice it to say that those who discovered (or rediscovered) the reliefs at an earlier stage, tended to be more interested in the ancient Greek inscriptions that accompany some examples than in the sculpted cult figures that adorn their surfaces.

Recent publications have added a great deal to our understanding of both portable and rock-cut votive reliefs in the various regions of southwest Anatolia. Inci Delemen's, *Anatolian Rider-Gods* of 1999 collects the evidence from various regions of Anatolia, among them Lycia, Pisidia, and Caria, and concentrates on Imperial Roman evidence. Her corpus comprises not only rock-cut reliefs, but also *stelai*, altars, and statuettes. As she so aptly states in the introduction: "Without exception, the objects under scrutiny are products of folk art and distinguish themselves by a purely rural character in execution" (Delemen 1999:1). Greg Horsley's *Greek and Latin Inscription in the Burdur Archaeological Museum* of 2007, while primarily dedicated to epigraphy, does add measurably to the iconographic discussion of portable and related examples, as well as to our understanding of Greek and indigenous divinities in Pisidia (Horsley 2007: 3-4). Dedications to the Dioskouroi and to various rider-gods are included in his catalogue. Connected with these lengthy studies are other publications, both old and new, concerned with the specific cult figures in relation to Hellenistic and Roman visual culture (see Smith 2011, with bibliography). Furthermore, both Kakasbos and the Dioskouroi have also been listed in the relevant volumes of the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* [*LIMC*] (Hermary 1986; Linant de Bellefonds

1992). At this juncture, any further analysis of the rock-cut or other votive reliefs from these regions of Asia Minor, such as those discovered during field survey and presented below, should ideally take as many of these publications into account as possible in order to build a comprehensive picture. The state of preservation of the reliefs can be very poor and our information about them, from antiquity to the present, can be frustratingly incomplete.

Other recent studies of the votive reliefs have been connected with field surveys conducted in territories associated with ancient Lycia and Pisidia. Between 1982 and 1996, the Pisidian Survey, initially under the direction of Stephen Mitchell and Marc Waelkens and the sponsorship of the then British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara (BIAA), identified and recorded 14 rock-cut votive reliefs. A larger group of reliefs, both rock-cut and portable *stelai* (75 in total) was assembled during the course of another BIAA project - the Balboura Survey (1985-1994) - directed by J.J. Coulton of Oxford University. Both sets of survey reliefs were systematically studied by the current author, and those with inscriptions from the Balboura Survey were published in coordination with N.P. Milner who handled the epigraphy (Smith – Milner 1997; Smith 2011). In addition, some of the very same reliefs, or closely related ones, have been located and published by other archaeologists

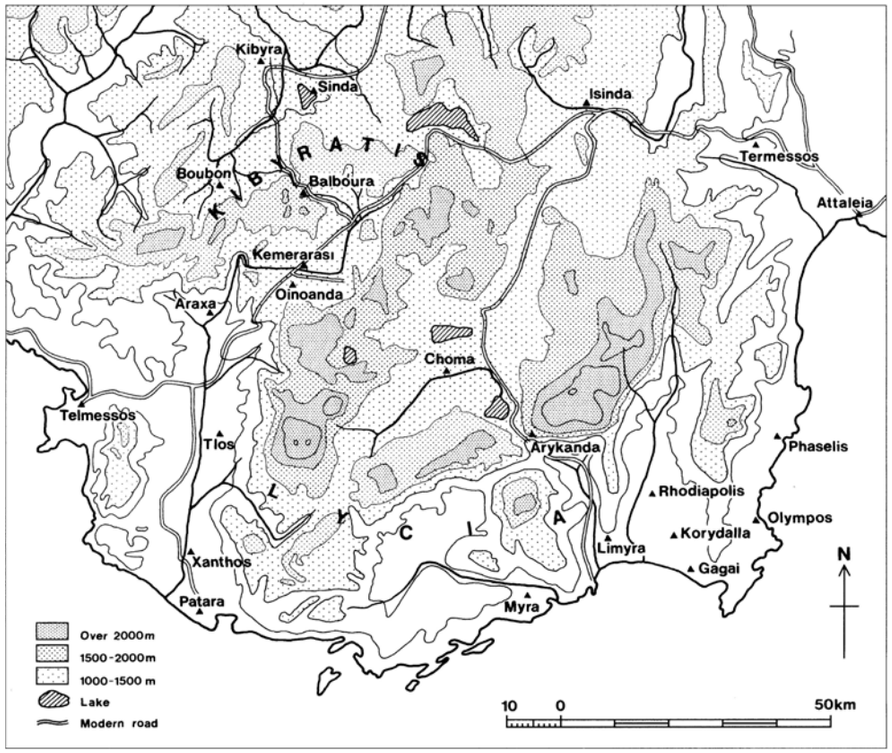

Fig. 3. *Map of Lycia denoting the Kibyratis (drawing: D. Weiss, after AS 2006: 48, fig. 1)*

Fig. 4. *Dioskouroi and goddess relief, armed figure, Caltılar İntaşı. (Balboura Survey D13; photo: T.J. Smith)*

working at various times in the same regions (e.g. Milner – Smith 1994; Corsten 2002; Özsait – Labarre – Özsait 2005; Gökalp – Akdoğu Arca 2009). In each of these cases, the individuals or teams involved must have confronted the challenges of surveying in an often rugged landscape. Even if the nature and emphasis of specific survey projects might have differed greatly, the inherent difficulties of working in such circumstances should not be understated. For example, the Pisidian Survey, a project that continues under the direction of Lutgarde Vandeput, was from the beginning an extensive survey focused on urban settlements with significant standing remains, as well as road systems and site chronology (Coulton 2012: ch. 1, 14-15; Vandeput 2009). By contrast, the Balboura Survey was an intensive survey that linked a single city settlement with its rural territory. The two surveys, as a result, uncovered different sorts of information and often recorded their findings in different manners. The methods used in both instances have been carefully laid out by the field directors enabling outsiders to judge the reliability of the findings and the limitations of the data (Mitchell 1998; Coulton 2012; cf. Borić 2010: 25).

The votive reliefs from both the Pisidian Survey and from the survey of Balboura city and territory include rock-cut and portable examples (*stelai*). Of the latter type, some have been moved to museums (cf. Horsley 2007: no. 29, from Cremna), while other reliefs have been built into both public and private modern structures (Figs. 6, 11; Coulton 2012: ch. 6, 147, and 145, fig. 6.19b). The discovery of votive reliefs in such varied circumstances or mixed contexts inevitably leads to questions about the relationship between the different types, both in antiquity and over time. What can the rock-cut examples tell us that

others cannot? Because of the necessity of different recording methods between the two projects, how can we ensure accuracy and avoid bias? Beyond taking accurate measurements and making preliminary sketches and photographs, it is critical when recording rock-cut reliefs to take note of any natural or man-made feature nearby. Are reliefs located in close proximity to tombs, graves or houses, springs, rivers or lakes? Do the reliefs face a particular cardinal direction, occur as groups, or cluster according to cult? In the case of both rock-cut and portable versions, do dedicatory inscriptions accompany the images? If so, are they legible today? What is the overall condition of each relief, and have the images been altered or damaged at any point? For portable reliefs, such as those now incorporated into modern structures, is there any material evidence or documentary information to indicate an original location (i.e. type of stone, recollection of owner, local lore)? Because votive reliefs might seem a low priority in relation to a given field project's larger interests, such information has not routinely been gathered or provided in print. This is also one of the key differences between the early modern travelers or scholars mentioned above, and the more methodical approaches applied (one hopes) by archaeologists who survey today.

Fig. 5. *Inscribed Kakasbos relief (drawing: D. Weiss, after Bean 1978: 69, fig. 7)*

Permanency and Position in the Landscape

A unique feature of the rock-cut votive reliefs from Pisidia and other areas of southwest Anatolia is their relation to the landscape. Unlike various man-made structures, yet like rock-cut tombs, the reliefs were cut directly into bedrock. Despite our difficulties locating (and indeed relocating) them today, the reliefs have always been 'on display'. Their permanency in the landscape places the rock-cut versions in a special position when viewed in terms of both memory and interaction, be it in ancient or later times (Ashmore – Knapp 2000: 13-14; Crawford 2007; Bouzek 2014).

Ancient Mediterranean scholarship has embraced 'memory' as an important theoretical framework and has presented it in both general ways and in more narrowly archaeological ones. Terms such as 'individual' and 'collective' (or 'social') memory, 'inscribed' and 'embodied' memory have been much discussed and debated by scholars of cultural memory and by those concerned with the Greco-Roman past (e.g. Van Dyke – Alcock 2003), as well as by archaeologists more generally (e.g. Jones 2007; Borić 2010). There is a

Fig. 6. *Rider-god relief (Kakasbos?) built into tea-house wall, Çaltılar village (Balboura Survey K1; photo: T.J. Smith)*

Fig. 7. *Rock-cut Dioskouroi relief, Kaynar Alani (Pisidian Survey D3; photo: T. Robinson)*

genuine emphasis on how people *in the past* conceived of *their past*, and the material manifestations (e.g. monuments, objects, images, texts) that communicate rituals, activities, behaviours, etc. (Boardman 2002; Alcock 2002). Among the most complicated issues for us in examining the material record are, on the one hand distinguishing personal/individual memories from social/collective ones, and on the other hand disentangling universal elements (i.e. religion, gods) from marginal ones (i.e. elite/non-elite, men/women, old/young). Regardless, cultural memory can be defined as "the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts" (Erll 2010: 2). Mythology, religious memory, generational and family remembrance, have all been cited as playing an important role in the study of memory, and material objects are by now a widely accepted part of the broader conversation (Erll 2010: 7-9; Stratton 2013). The rock-reliefs from the Pisidian Survey, and others in southwest Anatolia, provide an unusually rich corpus of archaeological evidence, as they have the potential (due to their immobility, locations, and content) to touch on each of these areas of ancient life: myth, religion, and kinship.

In the introduction to their edited volume, *Archaeologies of Memory*, Van Dyke and Alcock list four broad categories "of materially accessible media through which social memories are commonly constructed and observed: ritual behaviors, narratives, objects and representations, and places" (2003: 4-5). When considering these four categories of social memory in relation to our rock-cut votives, we soon realize that the reliefs are in some respects unique or, at the very least, special. In their form, function, iconography, and context, they reflect each of these four categories. By virtue of their function and our understanding of Hellenistic and Roman religious practices, the reliefs embody *ritual behaviors* in material form. Some, as we shall see, even express divine ritual behavior visually. With their mythological heroic figures mounted on horseback and brandishing weapons, they promote and perpetuate *narratives* of local and/or borrowed importance (Stratton 2013: 221-223). The incorporation of both human and animal figures on the reliefs (i.e. *objects*)

is their primary component; these are iconographic *representations* intended - once carved - to be viewed and viewed again, be it collectively or individually, or both. Because the reliefs in the small sample from the Pisidian Survey are rock-cut, they are unambiguously tied to specific *places*, even if the reasons for such choices and the activities that occurred at the exact locations are unclear to us today.

The connection between rock-art and memory has not gone unnoticed by those interested in the archaeology of memory. To quote Van Dyke and Alcock: "Rock art panels, for example, may depict ancient mythic events while locating them on the landscape" (2003: 5; cf. Bradley 1997; Gillette – Greer – Hayward – Murray 2014). The importance of "the landscape" must not be underestimated for material that, on the one hand, has been observed and discovered during the course of archaeological survey and, on the other, has been visible continuously since the time of its creation. How prominent these locations were at the time or subsequently is yet another matter, as is how and why ancient Greek, Roman, and perhaps Anatolian peoples in the region "literally sculpted onto mute materials" (Jones 2007: 198). Why was a certain location chosen? Was it for proximity to certain natural or manmade features; for accessibility, past associations, mythological importance, or suitability for cultic ritual? Were these individual or communal offerings? As our awareness of the extant evidence continues to grow, further studies of the rock-cut reliefs in Pisidia and elsewhere in the Mediterranean world, should, ideally, take account of such questions and strive to create analyses that plot the reliefs onto the landscape as vehicles of ancient memory.

The connotations of the cult images on the reliefs must have shifted over time, as older meanings and memories were lost and replaced, constructed and reconstructed, by new ones –pagan, Christian, Ottoman, and modern. The interactions of people in the past - the artist and worshipper, the bandit or priest, the shepherd or farmer, the epigrapher or archaeologist – are another vital aspect to ponder, not to mention the physical appearance of some reliefs which has been altered, embellished, or defaced (cf. Wells 2009). Although not an isolated phenomenon, the idea of producing such permanent cultic images was not as widespread as it might have been in the Classical world. Examples such as those from the Hellenistic sanctuary of Cybele at Akrai in Sicily (Gasparro 1996) or a large number of reliefs of Artemis as huntress above the theatre at Philippi in northern Greece (Lamoreaux 2013: 51-55), provide obvious if rare comparisons. At the same time, the portable reliefs from these regions, such as the rider-god *stele*, perhaps of Kakasbos, built into the tea-house wall at Çaltılar village (Smith – Milner 1997: 8; Fig. 6), though depicting similar imagery and often much better preserved as a result of their reuse in later structures, have yet another story to tell, if one less readily tied to the landscape (cf. Petts 2003). Similarly, the reappropriation of an ancient site or feature for modern devotional or spiritual purposes (i.e. healing, pilgrimage, etc.) is a potent testament to the centrality of religious memory (Harmanşah 2015, 143-160).

The rock-cut reliefs found during the Pisidia Survey are located at several sites in the

vicinity of the now drained Kestel Göl (Fig. 2). When Stephen Mitchell recorded the larger of the two groups, he noted their location as northwest of the village of Keçili, in the vicinity of a spreading "ancient village" site with pottery sherds and field walls visible, as well as rock outcrops on the north side sloping upwards (Smith 2011: 134). Most importantly, he described the position of the reliefs as being cut into the lower part of the rock outcrops and facing either south our southeast. A cemetery nearby was also mentioned by Bean (1960: 50), and another group of archaeologists recorded additional reliefs in the vicinity associated with other cults (Delemen 1999: 24; Özsait 2004). The three reliefs from Kaynar Alani (between Kodrula and Kolbasa), such as one of the Dioskouroi and goddess (Fig. 7), were recorded as being near a spring, while a rider-relief at Kuşbaba overlooks the lake. Although the Pisidia Survey devoted a great deal of attention to urban sites in the region it is important to note that these reliefs were not situated within an urban setting (Renberg 2014: 17-20). That is not to say that reliefs of this date and type never occurred in an urban setting, as one need only recall examples from both Balboura and Oinoanda (Coulton 2012: ch. 6, 150-151), or the many votive dedications to Mên at his sanctuary in Pisidian Antioch (Mitchell – Waelkens 1998: 37)

Three essential points emerge based on Mitchell's careful recording. The *in situ* reliefs were originally located near water sources (a lake and a spring), they are south-facing, and they are grouped or clustered. Each of these details recalls the larger corpus of rock-cut reliefs from the Balboura Survey, and creates a strong connection that extends our analysis beyond images and epigraphy and towards religious life and customs in these regions over time (Harmanşah 2015: chs. 4 and 6). In the absence of extant inscriptions on each of these reliefs, it is impossible to known exactly who dedicated them, their ethnicity, or which towns or areas those individuals came from, whatever the circumstances. Were they local Pisidians or Solymians, more distant Milyans or Kabalians (Coulton 2012: ch. 6, 148-149, 150; cf. Smith – Milner 1997: 23-24)? The poor state of preservation of this particular assemblage of reliefs also makes it impossible to compare their visual details with other, better preserved examples or to recognize artistic hands or even a local style.

Relevance and Importance as Devotional Objects

The votive reliefs form southwest Anatolia served a clear dedicatory purpose as attested by the formulaic inscriptions accompanying some examples (cf. Keesling 2003: 4-5). Although no inscriptions survive on the Pisidian Survey reliefs (an illegible inscription is evident on one), there is every reason to believe, based on their similar appearance, their sizes, their location in the landscape, and their cult figures that they too were votive dedications made by individuals to gods and heroes of local importance. The two types represented on the Pisidian Survey rock reliefs have been well-studied and each has been previously attested in Pisidia and beyond. What has not always been stressed in previous studies is the function of the reliefs as devotional objects and their importance as documents of

Fig. 8. *Rock-cut rider-god relief with carved niche, Keçili (Pisidian Survey R1; photo: S. Mitchell)*

Fig. 9. *Rock-cut rider-god relief, Keçili (Pisidian Survey R5; photo: S. Mitchell)*

ancient religious observance in these times and places. What has been emphasized, apart from their iconography and where relevant epigraphy, is the appropriateness of choice for the often challenging landscape such cult figures inhabit and protect, as well as their frequency and distribution both regionally and Empire-wide. The fact that some reliefs are clustered and may be shared by more than one cult is significant. The appearance of small votive niches and hollows carved adjacent to several rider-gods at Keçili (Fig. 8) provides yet another clue about rural ritual activity associated with the reliefs (Delemen 1999: 35; cf. Berlin 1999: 28-29, Caeserea Philippi). These features suggest the possibility that offerings might have been left by descendants, travelers, or other worshippers, and might even tie these relatively modest rock carvings to earlier Hittite stone monuments and customs (Ussishkin 1975).

As already noted, votive reliefs representing the Dioskouroi, Zeus' twin sons Castor and Pollux, were discovered during the Pisidian Survey. The reliefs follow the conventional iconography, size and proportions of the large corpus of examples found in northern Lycia, most notable those found at the city of Balboura and in its environs (Smith – Milner 1997: 5-7). All known examples situate the heraldic twins inside a rectangular panel, where they are mounted on horseback and dressed in military or travelling garb. They also don their signature conical *pilos* caps. Like the horses, the head coverings are a standard

Fig. 10. *Rock-cut Dioskouroi relief with modern damage, Caltılar İntaşı (Balboura Survey D11 photo: T.J. Smith)*

attribute of the twins, although they at times wear instead the traveler's brimmed *petasos* (Hermary 1986: 592).

A usual addition to Dioskouroi reliefs from these regions, and witnessed on sculpted reliefs of the pair from Sparta (their birthplace), is the 'goddess' standing between the two horseman. Well-preserved examples show a heavily draped female figure who is fully frontal, who occasionally stands on a base or inside a niche (*naiskos*), and who sometimes has a crescent moon above her head (cf. Fig. 4) – all indications that she is very likely a cult statue (cf. Hermary 1986: 578, no. 134, from Sparta). Furthermore, the twins, though normally shown in profile atop their horses, also have frontal faces that stare out conspicuously. In some instances, the horses are rather statuesque as they step unnaturally towards the sculpted female figure at the centre. The identification of the goddess has occupied scholars for generations. When the reliefs are inscribed, only the Dioskouroi are mentioned, with the exception of one relief north of Elmalı where she is called 'Artemis' (Coulton 2012: ch. 6, 147). Chapoutier in 1935 collected the known evidence for the twins with goddess, gathering examples from the second century BC to the third century AD and from a variety of artistic media, and saw the female figure as Helen (cf. Herodotus VI.6; Hermary 1986: 593; Larson 2007: 189-192); while others have argued for Artemis, or a local cult figure, such as Artemis Lagbene, Selene, Cybele, or the Pisidian Goddess named on coins (Coulton 2012: ch. 6, 147). Coulton has posited that although "evidence shows that the Dioskouroi were known and worshipped across Pisidia", it is "likely that the

Kabalian-Milyan iconography - [as seen here] – originated in Kabalia-Milyas" (Coulton 2012: ch. 6, 148). Regardless of the goddess' origin or her true identity, this is a clear case of "divine reflexivity", a phenomenon witnessed in Classical Greek vase-painting and in other ancient arts, wherein the divine figures themselves are engaged in religious observance (Patton 2009). Gods, goddesses, and heroes may be show pouring or receiving a libation, roasting sacrificial meat, holding votive offerings, or in this case, revering a cult statue. Such human-like devotional behaviours are embedded in a variety of ancient objects and images, some more clearly religious in function than others. On the reliefs, the divine twins are venerating the goddess while they themselves serve simultaneously as objects of devotion for mortal worshippers; the observation that they are "ambiguously positioned between gods and men" is in keeping with their own cultic character as demi-gods (Walker 2015: 133, 178-179). Interestingly, the same goddess figure accompanies an unnamed male Triad on several reliefs form Balboura's territory, and on an example from Oinoanda, only strengthening the idea that she is an entity of local cultic importance (Smith – Milner 1997: 15). In fact, the only other city "honouring a Triad cult" is Termessos, a Pisidian city with known links to the Kibyratis (Coulton 2012: ch. 4, 63).

The rider-god reliefs from the Pisidian Survey are badly weathered but their general appearance is discernable. In each example, a male figure mounting a horse dominates the available space of a neatly carved, nearly square panel (Figs. 8-9). The panel itself has an architectural form – a built structure with a gabled roof or pediment, a feature by no means unique to these reliefs (e.g. Horsley 2007: 42, no. 52; Delemen 1999: 14-20). Although not well-preserved, the abundant evidence for this type of figure, not only in Pisidia but elsewhere in southwest Anatolia, would suggest that each horseman holds a club or some other weapon, and that both man and mount have a frontal face. The same style of figure adorning inscribed dedications has been labelled as 'Kakasbos' (Fig. 5), a local Anatolian hero who can be associated with the Greek god Herakles, and even sometimes labelled with the name 'Herakles' (Horsley 2007: 262-264; Coulton 2012: ch. 6, 149; Gökalp-Özdil 2016: 247-251). However, there are other horseman hero-gods from the vicinity known by other names, among them Maseis, Sozon, Kyras, and Mên. In the absence of an inscription accompanying a relief it is essentially impossible to put a name to a face.

As has already been suggested elsewhere, the standard iconography of the armed horseman was chosen to represent a range of deities locally, even if slight variations in their appearance were chosen by the artists or patrons (Smith 2011: 137-138). Recently, Coulton has stated that their "geographical distribution suggests that there was one divinity, for whom the indigenous name Kakasbos, already attested in the fourth century BC, was retained in the Oinoanda-Balboura area, while a Greek name [i.e. Herakles] was preferred in... areas to the north and east" (2012: 149; cf. Horsley 2007: 269-274). Like reliefs of the Dioskouroi (either with or without the goddess) rider-gods represent both regional religious practice and Empire-wide tradition.

Fig. 11. J.J. Coulton recording portable Dioskouroi relief built into farmhouse wall, Kayabaşı village, 1992 (Balboura Survey D19; photo: T.J. Smith)

From Antiquity to the Present

The post-Antique afterlife of the rock-cut votive reliefs in Pisidia and elsewhere is relevant to our combined topics of interaction, cult and memory. Issues such as their visibility, associations, and meanings to Christian and Muslim audiences, have to date not been examined in detail and would perhaps be impossible to assess. As in other places there exists the possibility of the integration of polytheistic and monotheistic cult or, at the very least, the persistence of pagan symbols and images (Bouzek 2014: 292-293; Sweetman 2015: 520-524). In the city of Balboura alone are the remains of at least five churches, and there we can be sure that the Greco-Roman rock-cut reliefs were ever present reminders of bygone days (Coulton 2012: ch. 18; Özgen – Baughan 2016: 329, fig. 20). There is even evidence to suggest the survival of the Dioskouroi's iconography in Christian times, both locally and in more distant venues (Smith – Milner 1997: 24, fn. 115; van den Hoek 2013). In the present day, the ancient votive reliefs, whose cults and images have been much debated by scholars, uphold a different range of possibilities for the local shepherd, farmer, traveler, or passerby. Some regard them as the remnants of "Ottoman times", while others believe they guard treasure deep inside the rock or buried underground nearby – perhaps the explanation for some unfortunate damage suffered in recent years (Draycott 2015: 39; and Fig. 10). The reuse of portable reliefs after antiquity sees the cult images repurposed as decorative ornamentation suitable for private farmhouses or public spaces (Figs. 6 and 11).

Bearing in mind the state of our knowledge about the ancient votive reliefs from the territory of Pisidia and concurrent regions, and our increased understanding of local religion and cult practices (Talloen 2015), we may conclude that the evidence presented here adds to our knowledge of art and devotion both locally and beyond. When considered through a combined lens of memory and interaction, we begin to appreciate dichotomies such as rock-cut and portable, or isolated and clustered, in a slightly new way. Not only do these ancient sculptures commemorate the divine cults being worshipped, and celebrate their dedicants (whose names so often appear in inscribed examples), they also altered their appearance very little over an extraordinarily long period of time. From initial studies that emphasized iconography, identification, and inscriptions, to more recent ones stressing context and distribution, a logical next step might be to envisage the Hellenistic and Roman votive reliefs of southwest Anatolia as objects and icons ever-present in the landscape, though never truly belonging to a single place in past time. The cultic functions and ritual practices originally associated with their pagan audiences inevitably changed over time and were "always liable to be interpreted in different ways by different people, or, for that matter, by the same people on different occasions" (Beard – North – Price 1998: 48). These are objects of memory whose religious gaze assorted ancient, medieval, and modern peoples have interacted with continuously, if in a variety of ways, shapes, and forms. Or, put another way: "the memories associated with a particular object are mutable and transient. They can change with ownership, audience, time and place, and the cultural context" (Crawford 2007: 14).

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