NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE KAYSERİ MUSEUM I

Abstract: This paper presents 13 new funerary inscriptions from the Kayseri Museum. With the exception of stele no. 1, which is from Comana, their origins are not recorded in the inventory lists of the museum. Most of them were probably found in and around Caesarea, the capital of the province of Cappadocia. According to the letter forms most stelai are from 3rd century AD. All of them feature funerary inscriptions with new onomastic information. The stele no. 1 sheds new light on two problematic Anatolian names — Koleis and Tilleis. A large number of the names mentioned on the stelai are of Greek origin. Apollonios in no. 2 is called “the first among the Hellenes”. His obvious belief in the Greek paideia is also apparent from the names of his former slaves. He called them after famous politicians like Alkibiades and Dion known from Plato and after authors like Ktesias of Knidos and Aelianus the sophist.

So far, only a small number of inscriptions from the Cappadocian heartland have been published. This is due not only to the scarcity of epigraphic material in this region, but also to the fact that the Cappadocian heartland has hitherto not been sufficiently explored. Typical in this respect is a remark by Ramon Teja, which had held true up to a short while ago: “seit 1909 wurden in der ‘Année Epigraphique’ keine neuen Inschriften aus Caesarea, das nicht nur die Hauptstadt der Provinz, sondern auch eine der wichtigsten Städte im Osten des Reiches war, veröffentlicht”.1 A total of 64 inscriptions from Caesarea and its territory has hitherto been published. The vast majority are funerary inscriptions (45),2 while the number of honorific inscriptions (1),3 dedications (4)4 and milestones (4)5 is comparatively small. Of the 7 inscrip-
In the summers of 2004 and 2005 we copied in the Museum of Kayseri 20 new inscriptions, 13 of which are presented below. The remaining inscriptions – among them are a funerary inscription for a *veteranus* and a text mentioning building activities at the fortification of Caesarea – will be published later. All of the following inscriptions are funerary inscriptions. With the exception of the stele no. 1 from Şar, the ancient Comana, their finding places are not recorded in the inventory lists of the museum. However, they are most likely from Caesarea itself or from its vicinity.

Mazaca, the first attested name of later Caesarea, was chosen by Cappadocian kings to be their capital because of its geographical and economic advantages. It served as the capital of the kingdom until Archelaus built Elaiussa as the new royal residence. Some ancient authors link the name with Mosoch, the mythical ancestor of the Cappadocians. L.

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8 Gregoire, *Rapport* (n. 2), nos. 60 and 67.
10 The name has also other variants in ancient literature, Mazacum: Plin., *Nat. Hist.* 6,8 and Μάζα: Ptol. 5,6,15; Μάζαξ: App., *Mithr.* 115; Μάζακος: X. Ephesius 3,1; Μάζακα: *Entv. Brev.* 7,11; cf. Malalas, *Chron.* 224, 3. These must, however, be considered as incorrect writings, for Μάζακα is proved through an inscription: *CIG* 4472; cf. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*, Heidelberg 1984, 356 § 750.
Zgusta, however, finds this relation irrelevant. On the basis of a mountain name, Mazawanda which is documented in a cuneiform inscription\(^\text{16}\) he suggests an Anatolian origin.

Mazaca was given the name “Eusebeia by Mount Argeus” (Εὐσέβεια ἡ πρὸς τὸ Ἄργαιο),\(^\text{17}\) probably by order of the philhellenes Ariarathes V Eusebes Philopator (163–130 BC) in honor of his father, Ariarathes IV Eusebes.\(^\text{18}\) The name was last changed to Caesarea\(^\text{19}\) by Archelaus in 12–9 BC.\(^\text{20}\) “Mazaca”, however, continued to be used in the later periods\(^\text{21}\). From AD 17 onwards it became the chief city of the new established province of Cappadocia\(^\text{22}\) and housed an imperial mint.\(^\text{23}\) After the partition of Cappadocia into two smaller provinces, Cappadocia Prima in the east and Cappadocia Secunda in the west by Valens in AD 371, Caesarea became the metropolis of Cappadocia Prima.\(^\text{24}\)

### The Inscriptions

**1. Epitaphs of Koleis and his wives Arsinoë and Chreste**

Coarse marble stele with top and base projecting, found in the territory of Cappadocian Comana (Şar), in the district of Sarız. Recessed arch in all four sides of the stele. Fields defined by the plain, simple plasters. The inscriptions carved in three sides of arched recessed panels and only one face blank. Inscriptions written in different times for various persons. While the letters of the inscriptions b and c show lunate forms (\(\text{ blaming }\)), those of the inscription a are in angled character (\(\text{filandros }\)). The inscriptions and stele are well preserved. Letters neat, regular and clear. Large undefined field below the inscriptions.

H. 1.85m, W. 0.62m, D. 0.71m, L. 0.03 m.

Inscription a:

\[
\text{Κόλεις Ἰσιδώρου 2 'Αρσινόη Διοδότου 3 τῇ φιλάνδρῳ καὶ ἄ- 4 συνκρίτῳ γυναικὶ.}
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16 Zgusta, Ortsnamen (n. 10), 357; cf. Magie, Roman Rule (n. 11), 1095 no. 3 who considers that it is more probably formed from Avestan maza = “large” with the Sanscrit suffix -aka.

17 Strabo XII,2,7; Steph. Byz. s. v. Καισάρεια.

18 Wroth, BMC Cappadocia (n. 12), XXXIV; Magie, Roman Rule (n. 11), 1352 n. 8; Simonetta, Cappadocian Kings (n. 12), 14 and 25; Haensch, Capita Provinciarum (n. 13), loc. cit; D. Berges – J. Nolle, Tyana. Archäologisch-historische Untersuchungen zum südwestlichen Kappadokien, Bonn 2000 (IK 55), 313; van Dam, Kingdom of Snow (n. 13), 24 n. 24.

19 According to Const. Porphyrr., De Them. 2, 60, Mazaca was renamed Caesarea by Iulius Caesar; according to Sec. Rufus, Brev. 11 by Archelaus; according to Euseb., Chron. II, ed. A. Schöne, Berlin 1864, p. 147; Eutr., Brev. 7,11; Suda, s. v. Καισάρεια and Τίβεριος by Tiberius; and according to Sozom., Hist. Ecc. 5,4,1; Cassiod., Hist. Eccl. by Claudius.

20 Wroth, BMC Cappadocia (n. 12), XXXIVf.; Gwatkin, Cappadocia (n. 13), 27; Magie, Roman Rule (n. 11), 1353 n. 9; Jones, Cities (n. 12), 179; Simonetta, Cappadocians Kings (n. 12), loc. cit.; Teja, Die römische Provinz Kappadokien (n. 1), 1105. For the views that the change of the city-name took place in AD 17, s. Ruge, Caesarea (n. 11), 1289; Hild – Restle, Kappadokien (n. 11), 193f.; Haensch, Capita Provinciarum (n. 13), loc. cit.

21 CIG 4472.

22 Haensch, Capita Provinciarum (n. 13), 272–276, 754 n. 32.


24 Hierokles, Synecdemus 698,6; s. also van Dam, Kingdom of Snow (n. 13), 29 and 77.
Koleis, son of Isidoros, for his loving and incomparable wife, Arsinoë, daughter of Diodotos.

Inscription b:

Μα ή καί Κλαυδία
2 καί Διόδοτος
και Κολεις Κολει
4 Ισιδώρου τῷ πατρί
μνήμης χάριν.

Ma who was also called Claudia, Diodotos and Koleis, for their father Koleis, son of Isodoros, in memory.

Inscription c:

Μα ή καί Κλαυδία
2 Κολεις Μα Τίλ­
λευς τῇ χρησ-
4 τῇ μάμμη.

Ma, who was also called Claudia, daughter of Koleis, for Ma, daughter of Tilles, her good grandmother.

Date: According to the letter forms, the stele appears to be from the 3rd century AD.

This stele was made for Koleis, son of Isidoros, his mother Ma and his wife Arsinoë. The stemma of the family is as follows:

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Tilles
   
Ma oo Isidoros Diodotos
   
Koleis oo Arsinoë

Koleis Diodotos Ma (Claudia)
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These inscriptions provide important information on two local names from Cappadocian Comana – Koleis and Tilles. As regards the name Koleis, H. Grothe edited the name Κολειτου in an inscription from Comana, suggesting that this should be the genitive case of Κολειτης.26 L. Robert rejected this view and suggested Κολει τοῦ for transcription. Furthermore he poin-

25 The name comes from the goddess Ma who had an important cult centre in Cappadocian Comana (Strabo XII,2,3; 3,32 and 36; for Cappadocian Comana in detail, s. Hild – Restle, Kappadokien (n. 11), 208ff. For the common usage of the name Ma in Cappadocia, s. also L. Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Personennamen, Prag 1964, 276 § 839–1.

tized out that the nominative case of the name should be Κολείς.27 He also corrected Ramsay’s28 edition of Κόλες in another inscription from the same city as Κολείς.29 In addition to that, there are two other attestations of the nominative case of Κολείς in Cappadocian Comana.30 Consequently, these inscriptions confirm L. Robert and rule out Κολειτης, Κόλες, Κολεος, Κολεας or Κολενις as they provide examples of the nominative/dative (Κολείς Κολεί Ισιδώρου τῷ πατρὶ) and genitive cases (Μα ή και Κλαυδία Κολεί).31

As regards the name Tilles, J. R. S. Sterrett edited the name Τιλλευς in an inscription from Cappadocian Comana.32 R. Cagnat considered Τιλλευς as an ethnikon33 while L. Zgusta34 accepted it as the simplified form of the genitive case of Τιλλης.35 The inscription 1c confirms that Τιλλευς is not an ethnikon but the genitive case of a local name Τιλλης.36

2. Epitaph of Apollonios
Rectangular limestone stele (inv. no. 1947) with triangular slightly projecting pediment and high acroteria. Double frames of pediment undecorated. Latin cross with splayed ends incised in centre of the pediment – which seems to have been added at a later date – with two decorative oval objects in relief, located in the corners of the gable. Half palmette acroteria left and right, top acroterion is broken. Inscription is on the shaft and on the projecting base. Letters firm and rather unevenly spaced, irregular, occasionally tipped and unprofessional.

H. 1.28m, W. 0.45–0.50m, D. 0.32m, L. 0.03–0.035m.

Αύρηλια Ίασονίς ή γυνή
και Αύρηλιοι
Ἀντίοχος καὶ Ἀλκη-

4 βιάδης καὶ Διών
καὶ Ἀλιανός καὶ
Κτησίας ἀπελευ-

8 ντὸ γλυκυτάτῳ
καὶ ἑσυνκρήτῳ
πάτρωνι εὐχαρισ-

27 Robert, Noms indigènes (n. 4), 442–5.
29 Robert, Noms indigènes (n. 4), 443; s. also Zgusta, Personennamen (n. 26), 241 § 658–1 n. 162, 687.
30 R. P. Harper, Tituli Comanorum Cappadociae, AS 18, 1968, 124 no. 5,45 and 130 no. 6,16.
32 J. R. S. Sterrett, An Epigraphical Journey to Asia Minor, Boston 1888 (Papers of the American School at Athens II), 253 no. 287: Καπιτών Τιλλευς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.
33 IGRIII, 128.
34 Zgusta, Personennamen (n. 26), 515 § 1561–5 n. 240.
35 For Τιλλεους being the genitive case of Τιλλης, cf. Harper, Tituli Comanorum (n. 31), 118 no. 5,18, 120 no. 5,26, 132 no. 6,24.
36 For the origin and the declined cases of this name, s. also Robert, Noms indigènes (n. 4), 526ff. and Laminger-Pascher, Index grammaticus (n. 32), 55f.
Aurelia Iasonis, his wife, and his freedmen Aurelii Antiochus, Alcibiades, Dion, Ailianus and Ctesias (dedicated) this thank-offering for Apollonios, the dearest and incomparable patronus. “Apollonios, the first among the Hellenes, salute”. “O passer by, salute”, I say.

Date: The names of Aurelia-Aurelii indicate that this inscription should be dated after Constitutio Antoniniana\(^\text{37}\) (AD 212). The letter forms \(\epsilon, (\zeta)\) and the wording suggest that the stele is from the 3rd century AD.

L. 12: Ελλήνων πρώτος is an honorific title given by the koinon (cf. OGIS 544 and 652; TAM V, 1098). As a man familiar with the classical literature, Apollonios named his former slaves after famous politicians like Alcibiades and Dion of Syracuse known to him through the works of Platon and after authors like Ktesias of Knidos and Ailianos the sophist.

L. 13–16: For a similar wording, s. also SEG XXXI, 1981, no. 647; MAMA VI, no. 58; TAM V, no. 631; IG XXII.7, no. 448.

3. Epitaph of Claudia Antiochis

Rectangular marble stele with triangular, slightly projecting pediment and high acroteria. Frame of pediment undecorated. Six-leaved rosette in centre of pediment, which is broken at the top. Half palmette acroteria at left and right partly damaged, top acroterion broken. The inscription is on the shaft. Below the inscription, the shaft is decorated with two olive branches. The inscription is well preserved but in lines 4 and 5 the first letter is broken and the second is damaged. Neat and clear letters written in angled form (\(\text{-gallery}\)).

H. 0.90m, W. 0.38–0.34.5m, D. 0.11m, L. 0.035m.

Σωκράτης
Κλαυδία Αντιο-
χίδι Ευδήμου
[θ]υγατρι φίλο-
[σ]τόργω καὶ σε-
μή συμβρές
μνήμης χάριν.

Sokrates for his affectionate and respectable wife Claudia Antiochis, daughter of Eudemos in memory.

\(^{37}\) On the practice of adding the nomen of Emperor Caracalla, Aurelius, to the original names in and after AD 212, the date of the Constitutio Antoniniana, cf. O. Salomies, Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire, Helsinki 1992, 62 and n. 7; B. Salway, What’s in a Name? Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 BC to AD 700, JRS 84, 1994, 133ff.
Date: According to the letter forms, the stele appears to be from the 3rd century AD. L. 1 and 7: in ligature.

4. Epitaph of Ninna
Rectangular, small, marble stele. The top of the stele with the beginning of the inscription is missing. White marble of rather poor quality and weathered. The Inscription is written on the shaft. Large ivy leaf. Letters are engraved very slightly.

H. 0.47m, W. 0.23m, D. 0.10m, L. 0.025m.

NN for his wife Ninna.

5. Epitaph of Aphrodisios and his wife Mikke
Marble stele (inv. no. 741353) with slightly projecting triangular schematic twin pediments. Frame of pediment undecorated. Five-leaved flower in centre of pediments with incised decorative lines. Half palmette acroteria at left and right partly damaged. Two full palmettes at top which appear to lean against each other. Between the pediments is a decorative design. The inscription is on smooth and plain cut shaft. Letters well cut, regular, clear and with apices but in lines 1, 2 and 6 the last letter is damaged.

H. 0.97m, W. 0.41–0.38m, D. 0.15m, L. 0.25–0.3m.

Aphrodisios, son of Musaios, for his incomparable wife, Mikke, in memory, and for himself while he is still alive.

Date: According to the letter forms, the stele appears to be from either the 3rd or 4th century AD.
6. Epitaph of Euhodos

Rectangular marble stele (inv. no. 31) with low triangular, slightly projecting pediment and high acroteria. Frame of pediment and low triangular gable undecorated. Half palmette acroteria at right and left (damaged) with full palmette at top. The inscription is written on the shaft, which is smooth and plain. Large undefined field below the inscription. Letters firm, nice, regular and clear, but rather unevenly spaced.

H. 1.16m, W. 0.48m, D. 0.18m, L. 0.03m.

Οι υιοί
2 Εύόδως πατρί
μνήμης ἐνεκεν.

The sons for their father Euhodos in memory.

Date: According to the letter forms, the stele appears to be from either the 2nd or 3rd century AD.

Even though there is enough space on the shaft, the text omits the name of the sons.

7. Epitaph of Aurelia Musonia

Round marble pillar-shape stele. Shaft broken at top, at left and at bottom right. For this reason two letters are missing from the first two lines. Letters rather unevenly spaced, irregular and occasionally tipped. Hole at top of the stele.

H. 0.76m, Diam. 0.31m, L. 0.04m.

Αὐρ. Διονυσίου
2 σιος Αὔ[ρ.]-
Μουσω-
4 νη πατρω-
6 νήμης
χάριν.

Aurelius Dionysios for his patrona, Aurelia Musonia in memory.

Date: According to the letter forms ζ, ζζ the stele appears to be either from 3rd or 4th century AD.

L. 3: πατρωνία: R. MacMullen, Women’s power in the Principate, Klio 68, 1986, 437f. n. 12 gives a great number of example-
8. Epitaph of Iason
White marble stele with projecting triangular gable and acroteria. Frame of pediment undecorated. Half palmette acroteria at left and right and full palmette at top framed by foliage decoration. Five-leaved rosette in centre of pediment. The inscription is on the shaft. The last letter of the first line is damaged. Letters in angled form. Undefined field above and below the inscription.
H. 1.26m, W. 0.44m, D. 0.18m, L. 0.03m.

Μίκκη καί Περ- 
σεύς καί Νύσα 
καί Ποσείδιππος 
Τάσοι τώι πατρί 
αύτώι μνήμης 
ένεκα.

Mikke, Perseus, Nysa and Poseidippos for their father in memory.

Date: According to the letter forms, the stele appears to be from the 3rd century AD.

L. 1: For the importance of the hero Perseus in Cappadocia cf. Nollé, Tyana II (n. 18), 331f. For Μίκκη, s. above no. 7.

L. 2: For the name Νύσα, s. Pape – Benseler, Griechische Eigennamen (no. 7), 1022 s. v. Νύσα.

9. Epitaph of Arsinoë and her son Seleukos
Limestone stele with slightly projecting triangular twin pediments and base. Four-leaved rosette in centre of pediments with floral designs. Acroteria and field between pediments with floral designs showing traces of red paint. The inscription on the shaft is well preserved. A wreath with a basket in the middle; tendril and ivy designs on upper part of wreath. Lower end of stele shows projecting part for fixing the stele in the ground.
H. 0.79m, W. 0.305–29m, D. 0.10m, L. 0.029–0.047m.

Μομεις Ἀρσινό- 
η τῇ μητρί καί Σ- 
ελεύκψ τῷ 
δὲλφῳ μ- 
nήμης χάριν.

Mameis for her mother, Arsinoë, and for her brother, Seleukos, in memory.
Date: According to the letter forms C and ω, the stele appears to be from the 3rd century AD.

L. 1: The nominative case of Μαμεις\textsuperscript{38} has previously been unattested in Anatolia. Only the dative case Μαμει has hitherto been known from Cilicia.\textsuperscript{39} According to Zgusta, the nominative case should be Μαμχς or Μαμεις. Two inscriptions from Palestine in Caesarea Maritima\textsuperscript{40} confirm this hypothesis. The inscription above, in which the nominative case is attested for the first time in Asia Minor, can be added to these.

10. Epitaph of Athenaios

Rectangular marble stele with triangular schematic twin pediments and acroteria above them. Top parts of acroteria missing. Otherwise the stone and the inscription are well preserved. Frames and interior of pediments undecorated. The inscription is written on a smooth and plain shaft surface. Nice, regular and clear tipped letters spaced rather unevenly.

H. 0.72m, W. 0.34m, D. 0.155m, L. 0.025m.

Άντείγονος Άθηναίων, Άθηναίας, γιος Άθηναίων και Αντωνίου, γιος Άθηναίων για τον πατέρα τους, εν μνήμη.  

Antigonus, son of Athenaios, Athenais, son of Athenaios and Antonios, son of Athenaios for their father, in memory.

Date: According to the letter forms C, ω, the stele appears to be from the 3rd century AD.


L. 4: πατρί = πατρί; είδείω = ίδειν.\textsuperscript{41} For the use of πατρί είδείω, s. S. Mitchell, Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor II, Ankara 1982, 113 no. 121.

L. 5: ΗΝ in ligature.

11. Epitaph of Mousa

White marble stele with slightly projecting triangular gable and acroteria. Half palmette acroteria at left and right; full palmette at top. Rosette in centre of pediment. Frame of pediment undecorated. Traces of red paint inside gable and on shaft. The inscription is written on a

\textsuperscript{38} The name Μαμεις could have its roots in the Anatolian name Μαμα.

\textsuperscript{39} SEG XII, 1967, no. 525; s. also Zgusta, Personennamen (n. 26), § 850–8 284 n. 53.

\textsuperscript{40} SEG XLIX, 1999, nos. 2039f.

\textsuperscript{41} For the use of ει for i, s. in detail F. T. Gignac, A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I, Milano 1976, 190; for ἵδος see C. Brixhe, Essai sur le Grec Anatolien au début de notre ère, Nancy 1987, 83f.
smooth shaft surface. The centre portion of the second and third lines is damaged. Otherwise the letters are nice, regular, clear and tipped. Wreath incised immediately below inscription.

H. 1.00m, W. 0.34m, D. 0.19–0.14m, L. 0.025m.

Ma, daughter of Longinos, for her daughter Musa, in memory.

Date: 2nd or 3rd century AD.

12. Epitaph of Apollos II
Two joining fragments of a rectangular, white marble stele with projecting triangular gable and acroteria. Upper acroterion is completely missing. Flanked by acroteria decorated with palmettes. Frame of pediment undecorated. Well worked, three-leaved acanthus in high relief covers the pediment. Immediately below the pediment are three rosettes depicted in the freeze. The inscription is written on the shaft surface. The front face forms a single panel, inserted between mouldings. The shaft of the stele is broken in first line of the inscription and below. Framed shaft surface is smooth and decorated with elaborate garlands with entwined ribbons. The letters with apices are fairly regular and carefully cut. The last one or two lines of the inscription under the garlands are missing.

H. 1.04m, W. 0.595m, D. 0.10m, L. 0.06–0.07m.

Apollos II, son of Herakleitos, for himself and...

Date: According to the letter forms either from the 2nd or 3rd century AD.

13. **Fragment of an epitaph**

Fragment of a marble stele, upper portion missing, base projecting slightly. Indeterminate number of lines at the beginning. Only a few letters from last two lines remain; nice regular and clear tipped letters. Garland in high relief below the inscription.

H. 0.81m, W. 0.295m, D. 0.145–011m, L. 0.03m.

[····················]

τρι μνήμης [ένε]-
κα.

...... *in memory.*

Date: According to the letter forms 3rd century AD.

L. 1–2: start with -τρι letter, it could belong to the word μητρι, πατρι or θυγατρι etc.

ΜΗΜΗ in ligature.
ÖZET
Kayseri Müzesi’nden Yeni Yazıtlar I

Yazıtların çevirileri şöyledir:
1a: Isidoros oğlu Koleis, kocasever ve emsalsiz eşi Diodotos kızı Arsinoë için (dikti).
1b: Klaudia olarak da adlandırılan Ma, Diodotos ve Koleis babaları Isidoros oğlu Koleis için anısı vesilesiyle.
1c: Köleis’ten olma, Klaudia olarak da adlandırılan Ma; iyi büyükannesi Tilles’ten olma Ma için (dikti).
3: Sokrates, şefkatli ve asil eşi Eudemos kızı Antiokhis için, anısı vesilesiyle.
4: Falanca karısı Ninna için dikti.
5: Mousaios oğlu Aphrodisios, anısı dolayısıyla şefkatli karısı Mikke ve kendisi için henüz hayat olan (dikti).
6: Euhodos’un oğulları, babaları için anısı vesilesiyle (dikteler).
7: Aurelius Dionysius, patroniçesi Aurelia Musonia için anısı vesilesiyle (dikti).
8: Mikke, Perseus, Nysa ve Poseidippos babaları Iason için, anısı vesilesiyle (dikteler).
9: Mameis annesi Arsinoë ve kardes Kayhanos için, anıları vesileleriyle (dikteler).
10: Athenaios oğlu Antigonus, Athenaios oğlu Athenaios, Athenaios oğlu Antonios, babaları için anısı veslesiyle (dikteler).
11: Longinos kızı Ma, öz kızı Musa için anısı vesilesiyle (dikti).
12: Herakleitos oğlu Apollos oğlu Apollos, kendisi ve […] için (dikti).