

# Tekmeria

Vol 17 (2023)

γεγενῆσθαι. μνηύεται οὖν ἀπὸ μετοίκων τέ τιων καὶ ἀκο-  
 λούθων περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἑρμῶν οὐδέν, ἄλλων δὲ ἀγαλμάτων  
 περικοπαί τινες πρότερον ὑπὸ νεωτέρων μετὰ παιδείας καὶ  
ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ • ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ  
 οἴνου γεγενῆσθαι τὸ μῆλον ἀρχαίου ἔργου ποιεῖται ἐν  
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION • INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH  
 οἰκίαις ἐφ' ἧρβει ἐπιτηριῶντο. καὶ  
SECTION OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY  
 αὐτὰ ὑπολαμβάνοντες οἱ μάλιστα τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ ἀχθόμενοι  
 ἐμποδῶν ὄντι σφίσι μὴ αὐτοῖς τοῦ δήμου βεβαίως προεστάναι,  
 καὶ νομίσαντες, εἰ αὐτὸν ἐξελάσειαν, πρῶτοι ἂν εἶναι, ἐμεγά-  
 λυνον καὶ ἐβόωντο ἐπὶ δήμον καταλύσει τὰ τε μυστικά καὶ  
 ἡ τῶν Ἑρμῶν περικοπή γένηται καὶ οὐδὲν εἴη αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐ  
 μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπράχθη, ἐπιλέγοντες τεκμήρια τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ  
 ἐς τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα οὐ δημοτικὴν παρανομίαν. ὁ δ' ἐν τε  
ΣΥΜΒΟΑΕ ΣΤΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΟΥ  
 τῷ παρόντι πρό- **Τεκμήρια** ΚΟΣΜΟΥ • CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK καὶ ἐτοῖμος ἦν  
AND ROMAN WORLD • CONTRIBUTIONS A L'HISTOIRE DU  
 πρὶν ἐκπλεῖν κρ- MONDE GREC ET ROMAIN • BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE  
DER GRIECHISCHEN UND RÖMISCHEN WELT • CONTRIBUTI  
PER LA STORIA DEL MONDO GRECO E ROMANO  
 γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῆς παρανομίας ἐπεκρίθη, καὶ εἰ μὲν τούτων  
 τι εἴργαστο, δίκην δοῦναι, εἰ δ' ἀπολυθείη, ἄρχειν. καὶ  
 ἐπεμαρτύρητο μὴ ἀπόντος πέρι αὐτοῦ διαβολὰς ἀποδέχεσθαι,  
 ἀλλ' ἤδη ἀποκτείνειν, εἰ ἀδίκει **17** καὶ ὅτι σωφρονέστερον εἴη  
 μὴ μετὰ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, πρὶν διαγνώσι, πέμπευ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ  
 τοσοῦτ' στρατεύματι. οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ δεδιότες τὸ τε στράτευμα  
 μὴ εὖνον ἐχρη, ἦν ἤδη ἀγωνίζηται, ὅ τε δήμος μὴ μαλα-  
 κίζηται θεραπεύων ὅτι δι' ἐκείνου οἱ τ' Ἀργεῖοι ξυνεστράτευον  
 καὶ τῶν Μαντινέων τινές, ἀπέτρεπον καὶ ἀπέσπυδον, ἄλλους  
 ῥήτορας ἐνιέντες οἱ ἔλεγον νῦν μὲν πλείν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ  
 κατασχέιν τὴν ἀναγωγὴν, ἐλθόντα δὲ κρίνεσθαι ἐν ἡμέραις  
 ῥηταῖς, βουλόμενοι ἐκ μείζονος διαβολῆς, ἦν ἐμελλον ῥῆον  
 αὐτοῦ ἀπόντος ποριεῖν, μετὰπεμπτον κομισθέντα αὐτὸν ἀγω-  
 νίσασθαι. καὶ ἔδοξε πλείν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην.  
 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θέρουσ μεσοῦντος ἤδη ἡ ἀναγωγὴ ἐγγίγνεται

## New Names, Status and Family Sentiment in Multi-ethnic Cappadocia: Greek Inscriptions from the Museum of Malatya

Ergün Lafli, Peter Liddel, Alev Çetingöz, Timothy Bruce Mitford

doi: [10.12681/tekmeria.34979](https://doi.org/10.12681/tekmeria.34979)

Copyright © 2023



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/).

### To cite this article:

Lafli, E., Liddel, P., Çetingöz A., & Mitford, T. B. (2023). New Names, Status and Family Sentiment in Multi-ethnic Cappadocia: Greek Inscriptions from the Museum of Malatya. *Tekmeria*, 17, 173–231. <https://doi.org/10.12681/tekmeria.34979>

ERGÜN LAFLI – PETER LIDDEL –  
ALEV ÇETİNGÖZ – TIMOTHY BRUCE MITFORD

## **New Names, Status and Family Sentiment in Multi-ethnic Cappadocia: Greek Inscriptions from the Museum of Malatya**

### **Introduction**

This paper,<sup>1</sup> part of a project publishing Greek inscriptions in the museums of Eastern and SE Turkey, see **fig. 1a**, publishes 13 new inscriptions now at the Museum of Malatya in Eastern Turkey (within the area of ancient Cappadocia)<sup>2</sup> and presents alongside them six previously-published Greek inscriptions on stone from the museum (nos. i-vi) with the intention of drawing conclusions about the culture of the area of Melitene in the era of Roman domination. A small museum was established at Malatya in 1971, and the present building was opened to visitors in 1979. The Museum and its grounds suffered damage in the 2023 earthquake. Most of its holdings derive from various excavations in the area of Malatya, but there are also some items which were found during the construction of Karakaya Dam (c. 120 km to its ESE). The material studied here is currently displayed in the garden or held in the storerooms of the museum. Of the new inscriptions, Nos. 1-8, 12 and Appendix were inspected by

---

1. We would like to acknowledge the learned assistance of Hadrien Bru, Charles Crowther, Timothy Greenwood, John Healey, Peter Oakes, Robert Parker, Julian Schneider, Gregory Hutchinson, Ewen Bowie, Tim Parkin, Stephen Todd and Andrej Petrovic (especially on metrical matters related to no. 8). For the study and publication of these objects at the Museum of Malatya an authorisation was issued to A. Çetingöz by the Directorate of the Museum of Malatya on 3 June 2021 and numbered as E-28262782-806.01.03-1429753. The necessary documentation was assembled in August 2021 by A. Çetingöz. The photographs were taken by T.B. Mitford (figs. 3, 17-19) and A. Çetingöz (all others). We are very grateful to Dr Gülseren Kan Şahin for editing the images and to the anonymous peer reviewers and editors of *Tekmeria* for their helpful comments and suggestions on this paper. The map was drawn by Dr Sami Patacı (Ardahan). This paper is dedicated in the memory of the victims of the earthquakes of February 2023.

2. For the definition of the region of Cappadocia, see *LGPN VC*, xix-xx.

Alev Çetingöz in 2021. Nos. 5-11 and Appendix were inspected by T.B. Mitford in 2003 and 2004.

There is no comprehensive record of the provenance of the material studied here nor indication that it all derives from the same site. Nos. ii, iii and vi are reported to have been found at, or in the vicinity of, Arslantepe, a höyük site c. 6 km NE of Malatya.<sup>3</sup> According to Luigi Moretti, no. i (see below) was at Orduzu, located 6 km NE of the city center of Malatya, perhaps a necropolis site of ancient Melitene (see Mitford 2018, I 518). No. 2 was found at Samanköy, a höyük site c. 6 km NW of the city centre. Some Latin and Greek funerary monuments (Mitford 1988, nos. 7 and 8 [both Latin] and the inscriptions here numbered iv and v) were found near Eski Malatya, on the western slopes of the low ridge 1 km SE of the fortress and may have derived from a legionary cemetery (Mitford 2018, II 519). T.B. Mitford reports that the Museum Director and Assistant in 2003 and 2004 suggested that some of the material derived from Darende, c. 111 km WNW of Malatya, or its surrounding district. The inscriptions' physical similarity to material from Cappadocia, especially that from Comana (Şarköy; near Tufanbeyli, Armenian Մանանք), about 240 km to the west of Malatya on the road to Caesarea, in terms of featuring moulded pediments with a floral decoration and often central and lateral acroteria,<sup>4</sup> suggests that they are of relatively local origin. It is likely, therefore, that they derive from the rural necropoleis of the area.

Ancient Melitene is located on the plain of Malatya 9 km NNE of the modern city of Malatya: its area has been studied in detail by Mitford.<sup>5</sup> Close to the river Euphrates, Melitene was a region of SE Cappadocia in antiquity (Strabo 12.1.1; C 533); Strabo associated it with fruit-trees and wine (12.2.1; C 535) but commented that it lacked a polis (12.2.6; C 537). Tacitus (*Annals* 15.26) identifies it as a place where the auxiliaries of tributary princes gathered during Corbulo's movements during the Nero's Armenian War (AD 58-63). The Kingdom of Cappadocia became a Roman client state in 63 BC and was annexed by the Roman Empire in AD 17. Melitene became the base of the 12th Roman Legion Fulminata probably in mid AD 71 after the capture of Jerusalem, to guard the Euphrates border, and the Legion was permanently in garrison at

---

3. For its excavation see *Malatya* I, 7-44; *Malatya* II, 7-66.

4. See Harper 1968-1972, nos. 5.06-08, 49, 55, 57-58, 60, 63-72; 6.02, 04, 14, 42, 46, etc.

5. Mitford 2018, I 171-182; Mitford 2021, 75-97.

least until the time of the *Notitia Dignitatum*.<sup>6</sup> It attracted a civilian population and was granted city status by Trajan in the early second century AD (Mitford 2018, I 173). Procopius (*On Buildings*, 3.4.15-20) described its temples, agoras and theatres. There survive into modern times the walls of a huge fortress with walls and towers, but no trace of a Hellenistic or Roman town has been found.<sup>7</sup> The legionary fortress of Melitene (which lay beneath the remains of Eski Malatya) controlled access to southern Armenia and the upper Tigris and was the end point of the highway running east from Caesarea (modern Kayseri). It is known for being a prolific source of imperial coins minted from the third to the fourth centuries AD. For the Italian explorations of the 1960s, see *Malatya I-III*. T.B. Mitford has published inscriptions from the area<sup>8</sup> and a map of the Cappadocian Limes (**fig. 1b**). He has now published a thorough account of Melitene, its history and the Roman legionary garrison there.<sup>9</sup> We suggest that the inscriptions studied here contribute significantly to our understanding of the cultural life (especially in terms of the interaction of Hellenism with other cultures) and domestic ideologies of the area.

### **a. Six previously-published Greek inscriptions from Malatya**

Previously-published epigraphical material from the Museum at Malatya includes six Greek funerary stelai, two of which were published by Moretti in 1962 and another by Eugenia Equini Schneider in *Malatya II* of 1970.

#### **No. i (SEG 20.108; Moretti 1962, 280-281 no. 1, ph.). Epitaph set up by Helene for her husband.**

Reported by Moretti at Orduzu. A stele of yellowish-white limestone, with a relief pediment, bearing floral decoration within the tympanon. The central acroterion is broken. The inscription is in a sunken panel. Dimensions: h. 62 cm, w. 33 cm, th. 21 cm. Lunate sigma and epsilon; straight-bar alpha. Letter-height 35 mm (Moretti). Non vidimus.

---

6. Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 5.5.4; Joseph *BJ* 7.1.3-18; Hall 1983; Bertrand, Rémy 2000; Mitford 2018, I 172-173, II 428-435.

7. See Mitford 1980, 1186; Mitford 2018, I 174-178; generally, Métivier 2002, 44-48, 80, 220-221.

8. See Mitford 1974; especially Mitford 1988; Mitford 2018, II 518-520 nos. 19-24.

9. See Mitford 2018, I 170-182, II 428-435; Mitford 2021, 75-97.

Cf. Robert 1963, 547-548; Mitford 2018, II 518 no. 16.

second/third century AD (Moretti)

Ἑλένη  
 Ἐνοφθή-  
 νους Ἀτίο-  
 υ ἀνδρὶ μν-  
 5 ἡμης χάριν.

ll. 2-4: Ἐνοφθήνου Σατίου (Moretti)

*Helene*  
*(wife?) of Anophthenes*  
*the son of Atios*  
*for her husband*  
 5 *as a memorial.*

Ἑλένη is a common name across the Greek world (*LGPN*). Ἐνοφθήνης does not appear elsewhere but is likely to be a derivative of the Greek name Ἐνοπήνης (well-attested in Cappadocia: *LGPN VC*) in which the aspirated forms φ and θ replace π and τ.<sup>10</sup> Atios seems a plausible name; cf. the Latin Attius (Mitford 1988, no. 7, l. 8) or Ataios (attested in Galatia: *LGPN VC*). The translation of this text deserves explanation: it is notable (but not unparalleled: see, for instance, *SEG* 1.279 from Macedonia) that the name of Helene's husband does not appear in apposition with ἀνδρὶ, but we suggest that the form Ἐνοφθήνους may be the genitive of his name; Helene may have used this rather than a patronymic as a strategy related to inheritance claims. This would explain the double genitive: by this interpretation, Atios was the father of Anophthenes.

**No. ii (*SEG* 20.109; Moretti 1962, 280-281 no. 2, ph.). Epitaph set up by brothers for their mother Na (fig. 2).**

Acc. No. 628. According to the museum's inventory book, it derives from Arslantepe; it was reported by Moretti to be at Orduzu. A stele of white limestone, with relief pediment and a rosette in the tympanon. The central acroterion is extant; the stele is broken on the left-hand side, but the right-

---

10. See Robert 1963, 508-509, 523-526, 547-548.

hand side is complete, preserving a hyperextended lateral acroterion. Beneath the pedimental crowning, circumscribed within the shaft of the stele, is an arch containing the bust of a female figure, dressed in a himation, which is brought over the back and surrounds her head as a heavy veil (cf. below, no. 8). The woman is depicted with fleshy face, sagging jaw and a fat, but short, neck. Her face is mostly weathered away, and her facial features barely preserved. The inscription is written on the shaft, beneath the bust. Dimensions: h. 92 cm, w. 33 cm, th. 28 cm. Lunate sigma and epsilon. Letter height: 25 mm (Moretti). Autopsy: Alev Çetingöz 2021.

Cf. Robert 1963, 547-48 n. 1; Mitford 2018, II 518 no. 16

Perhaps of second c. AD (Moretti)

Κλαύδιος μετὰ  
[το]ῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
[Ἄ]μμίου Νᾶ τῆ  
μητρὶ μνήμης  
5 χάριν.  
Δ(ις) Μ(ανιβυς).

*Klaudios with  
his brother  
Ammios for Na  
their mother as a  
5 memorial.  
For the Household Gods.*

The nomen gentilicium Κλαύδιος (perhaps suggesting Roman citizenship or freedperson status) is widespread across the Greek world and appears also in no. 5 (below). Ἄμμιος appears to be a masculine form of the common female proper name Ἄμμιον (*LGPN*): for other related names see Zgusta 1964, 65.<sup>11</sup> For the female name Νᾶ see Zgusta 1964, 344 and *LGPN* VC; it may be identified as a *Lallname*: a hypercoristic form or phonologically simplified name of endearment which had its origins in baby-talk but became established in adult use (see Curbera 2013, 111-112).

---

11. Ammios is a possible restoration of Ἄμμι[ο]ν Διογένο[υ]ς from the Athenian agora (*SEG* 14.230).

**No. iii (Malatya II, 50 (ph.)). Epitaph set up for Priska by Kyrilla (fig. 3).**

Said to have been found c. 1945, perhaps at Alitepe, 200 metres south of the school at Orduzu; possibly originally from Arslantepe. Fragment of a stele of white limestone, broken on all sides. Dimensions: h. 35 cm, w. 35 cm (the face 25 cm), th. c. 18 cm. Letters irregular; lunate epsilon and alpha; letter height 20-54 mm. At the top, a semicircle survives, evidently from a wreath. At the top right there is part of a moulding. T.B. Mitford was shown this stone in the school cellar in Orduzu on 26th April 1965.

Cf. Mitford 2018, II 518 no. 16.

150-200 AD (Equini Schneider)

Κύριλλα  
Πρίσκα μη-  
τρὶ ἔνεκα μ[ν]-  
ήμης χάριτι.

*Kyrilla  
for Priska  
her mother.  
For the sake of remembrance.*

Kyrilla is a very common name in inland Asia Minor (see *LGPN VC*). Priska is rarer, but otherwise attested in Galatia and Phrygia (see *LGPN VC*).

\*\*\*

T.B. Mitford in 1988 published five further funerary monuments, three of them Greek (Mitford 1988 nos. 9-11 = *SEG* 38.1495-1497 = Mitford 2018, II 519-520 nos. 21-23; see below), two of them Latin (Mitford 1988 nos. 7-8 = Mitford 2018, II 518-519 nos. 19-20; see **figs. 4** and **5**), a tile inscribed “Leg XII F” (Mitford 1988 no. 6 = Mitford 2018, II 518 no. 18) and a Latin milestone from the road to Caesarea of AD 286-305 (Mitford 1988 no. 5 = Mitford 2018, II 518 no. 17).<sup>12</sup> The funerary monuments were among those discovered in 1975 deriving “probably from Eski Malatya, generally considered as the fortress of

---

12. For other milestones of Cappadocia, see French 2002, 57-135.

Legio XII Fulminata, or from the ruins at Ansrı”, located 54 km NW of Malatya (Mitford 1988, 168). Mitford associates them with legionary activity in the period of the second century AD (Mitford 1988, 168-169) and proposes an early second-century date for his 1988 no. 7 and a mid-second-century date for his 1988 nos. 8 and 11 on prosopographical grounds. He suggests that his 1988 nos. 9 and 10 were cut by the same mason. Given their relevance to our interpretation of the new funerary monuments, we reproduce Mitford’s texts of the Greek inscriptions.

**No. iv (SEG 38.1495; Mitford 1988, 175-176 no. 9; Mitford 2018, II 519 no. 21). Epitaph for Mikke set up by Proklos (fig. 6).**

A pedimental stele of yellowish white limestone, flanked by extended lateral acroteria. From “near Eski Malatya, on the western slopes of the low ridge half a mile or more east of the fortress” (Mitford 2018, II 518). A garland wreath and a comb are rendered in relief in the tympanon of the pediment; a mirror and a schematic rosette is carved each beneath the lateral acroteria. The inscription appears in a deeply-sunken panel on the shaft of the stele. Dimensions: h. 165 cm, w. 69 cm, th. 26 cm. Letters irregular, using both straight- and broken-bar alpha; lunate epsilon and sigma; letter heights 6-9 cm.

second century AD

Πρόκλος  
Μίκκη γλυ-  
κυτάτη  
μνήμης  
5 χάριν ἀνέ-  
vac στησα.

*Proklos  
for Mikke the  
sweetest  
one  
5 as a memorial  
I set this up.*

Πρόκλος is a very common name and derives from the Roman cognomen Proc(u)lus (Kajanto 1965, 176; see also below, no. 12); Μίκκη is attested else-



where in the Black Sea area and Asia Minor (see *LGN VA-C*), for instance on a memorial by Proklos to his wife Prokla, daughter of Mikkos (?) (*Studia Pontica* III no. 22); Zgusta (1964, 315) regards it as a Greek name. For another local Μίκκη, the wife of Bato, possibly an auxiliary from the Danube, see Mitford 2018, II 522 no. 28.

**No. v (SEG 38.1496; Mitford 1988, 175-176 no. 10; Mitford 2018, II 519 no. 22). Epitaph set up by Protogenes for his wife Euphratia (fig. 7).**

A stele of yellowish white limestone. From “near Eski Malatya, on the western slopes of the low ridge half a mile or more east of the fortress” (Mitford 2018, II 518). The stele had a pedimental crowning, today only partly preserved. A garland wreath is rendered in relief in the centre of the tympanon of the pediment: the greater part of the wreath has been broken away; to its lower left is a circular object, probably decorative (it resembles the decorative element in no. vi below); to its lower right is a comb. To the right of the comb are the incised outlines of curved shape, perhaps a mirror (by analogy with no. iv above). The text appears mostly in a sunken panel, but l. 10 is inscribed on to its frame. Dimensions: h. > 144 cm, w. 59 cm, th. 23 cm. Careful letters with quadrate epsilon, omicron, sigma and omega; letter height: 50-58 mm, 45 mm (l. 10).

second century AD

Πρωτογέ-  
νης Εὐφρα-  
τία συμβί-  
φ γλυκυτά-  
5 τη καὶ σε-  
μνοτά-  
τη, φιλάν-  
δρω, μνή-  
μης χάριν  
10 ἀνέστησα.

*Protoge-  
nes for Euphra-  
tia his wife  
the sweetest*

- 5 *and most reverent and husband-loving, as a memorial*  
 10 *I set this up.*

Πρωτογένης is a name widespread across the Greek world (*LGN*). Εὐφρατία, known in the form Εὐφράτεια in an inscription from Pisidia (see *LGN* VC), seems to be a female form of the well-attested male personal name Εὐφράτης, perhaps appropriate in an area close to the river that the Greeks knew as the Euphrates (e.g., Hdt. 1.179.4).

**No. vi (SEG 38.1497; *Malatya* II, 50-52 (ph.); Mitford 1988, 175-176 no. 11; Mitford 2018, II 519-520 no. 23). Epitaph set up by Mazoubine for her husband Antonius Valens and her mother Ma (fig. 8).**

A stele of yellow limestone, with a relief pediment with tall central acroterion (with volutes at its base) and elaborate lateral acroteria consisting of half-palmettes, and a circular relief decorative element (commonly understood as a phiale or rosette) in the tympanon. Damage to the inscribed surface at the bottom. From Arslantepe (*Malatya* II, 50-52; Mitford 2018, II 519-20 no. 23; *Malatya* Museum inventory book). Dimensions: h. > 118 cm, w. 44 cm, th. 18 cm. Letters irregular; letter height: 25-50 mm.

second century AD

- Μαζουβίνη  
 Ἄντωνίῳ  
 Οὐάλεντι  
 ἀγαπητῷ  
 5 ἀνδρὶ μνή-  
 μης χάριν  
 κὲ Μᾶ τῆ μη-  
 τρί.

*Mazoubine*  
*For Antonios*

*Valens*  
*her beloved*  
 5 *husband as*  
*a memorial*  
*also for Ma*  
*her mother.*

Μαζουβίνη is known only from this inscription, though a Μαζοβίνα is known from Comana in Cappadocia (Harper 1968-1972, no. 6.46; *LGPN VC*) and a Μαιβουζάνης who is named as an office-holder on an inscription also from Comana of AD 120 (Harper 1968-1972, no. 1.03; *LGPN VC*). The name is one which may have Parthian, Persian or central or north Caucasian associations: Zgusta (1964, 280) suggests that it is an Iranian name, but we have not been able to identify a definitive derivation (cf. Robert 1963, 514-515 n. 3). Antonius Valens is a Latinate nomen + cognomen combination.<sup>13</sup> Mitford (2018, 2.520) notes that Valens is commonly found as a military name in the area (see Mitford 2018, II nos. 54, 111 and 120). For the female name Μα see Zgusta 1964, 276-277; this *Lallname*<sup>14</sup> is known elsewhere in Cappadocia (Harper 1968-1972, nos. 5.63-64, 66; *LGPN VC*). It was also the name of a cult at Comana in Cappadocia.<sup>15</sup>

### **b. Thirteen new inscriptions from Malatya**

Mitford (2018, 2.520) notes five of the inscriptions published here: “Also brought recently to the Malatya Museum and arranged in the garden are eight *stelae*, all pagan and inscribed in Greek, in white (five) or reddish white (three) marble. Five are unusually small. They probably date from the second or third centuries. As a result of an unfortunate policy designed to encourage the surrender of antiquities, museum ledgers contain no record of their provenance. But all are reckoned to have come from the Darende region rather than from Eski Malatya. The museum, starved of all funds by Ankara, was closed for renovation in 2003 and 2004. The Director explained that all applications for research had been refused, but in 2004 at last allowed the writer to make hand copies and photographs, but not squeezes. The texts are of trivial interest.

13. See Schulze 1904, 124 (on Antonius), 376 and Kajanto 1965, 247 (on Valentius and related forms).

14. See above, with Curbera 2013, 111-112.

15. Mitchell 1993, 81-82, 164-167.

Names recoverable from the *stelae* include: Kl. Amiantos to his wife Iphigeneia [see below, **no. 5**]; Taurophilos to his wife Nea [see below, **no. 7**]; Roustikos and Iasonis to their son Roustikos [see below, **no. 9**]; Axios to his wife [see below, **no. 10**]; Ailia Stratoneike and Kyrillos [see below, **no. 8**]; Apollonios and Athenion [see below, **no. 11**]; and Glaphyra [see below, **no. 6**]. Also lying in the garden is the top of a limestone font, crudely inscribed τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου [see below, Appendix].<sup>16</sup>

**No. 1. Epitaph set up by Aribas for his father and daughter Kyrille (fig. 9).**

Acc. no. 8355. A stele of white, fine- to medium-grained marble, with white opaque crystalline inclusions and patina with areas of brown discolouration; complete on all sides, with a contoured finial, containing a relief pediment with simple, leaf-shaped, lateral and central acroteria with rudimentary volutes at their bases; the lower part of the central acroterion is rendered in relief, while its upper part is carved in the round. Within the tympanon is a circular element rendered in relief (possibly a rosette or a shield). On the shaft of the stele is a stylised (cf. below, no. 4) bust of a human figure, with features lacking detail, a long nose, a small, round, mouth, and braided hair. The carving of the figure is sketchy, with anatomical and facial features cursorily indicated. The thin neck and lack of facial hair suggest identification of the figure as female. There are two round incisions on the figure's chest. The inscription appears in the area beneath the bust and spills onto the broader base of the stele. Dimensions: h. 37 cm, w. 21 cm, th. 5.5 cm. Letters: epsilon, theta and sigma are quadrate but the omega is curved (ω). The bar of the alpha slopes down on its right-hand side. Letter height: 21-23 mm. Autopsy: Alev Çetingöz 2021.

c. 150-300 AD

Ἄριβας Ἀπολλωνίου Διο-  
 νυσίῳ τῷ πατρί. <sup>vac.</sup> Ἄριβας  
 Ἀπολλωνίου Κυρίλλῃ τῇ θυ-  
 γατρὶ μνήμης ἔνεκεν.

Lines 1-2: Διονυσίῳ. A faint vertical line after the sigma, almost in ligature with the sigma, is represented as a dotted iota here, but may be a marking on the stone. L. 3 end: ΘΙ on stone.

16. Those inscriptions which were presented by Mitford 2018 have been included in *LGPN VC*.

*Aribas (son?) of Apollonios, for  
Dionys(i?)os his father. Aribas  
(son?) of Apollonios for Kyrille his  
daughter, as a memorial.*

This appears to be a funerary memorial set up by Aribas Apolloniou for his father, Dionys(i)os, and his daughter Kyrille.<sup>17</sup> It is striking that Aribas, who bears what we might normally expect to be a patronymic Ἀπολλωνίου, appears to call Dionys(i)os his father: one solution, perhaps, is that one of Apollonios or Dionys(i)os was an adoptive father. Another is that Ἀπολλωνίου is not a patronymic but rather a genitive of possession: Aribas the son of Dionys(i)os could be the slave of Apollonios.<sup>18</sup> Another view is that Apollonios bore a second name (*supernomen*), Dionys(i)os.<sup>19</sup> We prefer the interpretation that Aribas was the natural son of Apollonios, given the existence of another grave monument attesting to kinship between individuals with these names: in an epitaph from Comana in Cappadocia, dated to the first or second century AD, the siblings Aribas, Matrōna and Apollonios set up a monument for their father Aribas and for his wife, their mother Matrōna (Harper 1968-1972, no. 6.02 = Oehler 1911, no. 12).<sup>20</sup> Indeed, it is possible that the Aribas of the Malatya inscription was the son or father of the Apollonios of the Comana epitaph. But

---

17. An alternative view of the formula Διονυσίῳ τῷ πατρί is that it indicates a dedication to a cult of Dionysos with the epithet *pater*. But this cult is not well-attested: an inscription of 92-93 AD from Adana in Cilicia (*I.Anazarbos* 21 l. 4) refers to a dedication πατὴρ πατρίδος Διονύσῳ Καλλικάρπῳ (“to Dionysos Kallikarpos father of the fatherland”). As Ewen Bowie points out to us, Dionysos *Pater* is a Greek version of the cult of Liber Pater. On the cult of Dionysos the liberator and its link to Jupiter *Liber*, see Raaflaub 2000, 257.

18. On the designation of slaves by their personal name plus the genitive of their owner’s name, see Lewis 2018, 41 n. 48.

19. For double-naming, see Lambertz 1913; Lambertz 1914 (on the spread of the phenomenon from Hellenistic Egypt into Asia Minor and Syria see Lambertz 1914, 131-170).

20. Ἀριβας καὶ Ματρῶνα καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀριβα τῷ ἀσυνκρίτῳ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ κυρία μητρὶ Ματρῶνῃ μνήμης χάριν. The ligatures used in this inscription, observed by Johann Oehler from a squeeze, make it appear rather different from our no. 1.

the stylised nature of the representation, which resembles that of Pfuhl and Möbius 1977–1979 no. 2195 of c. 300 AD (and also no. 4 below), points to a later date. Otherwise, Aribas is a rare name in Greek and both Robert (1963, 519) and Zgusta (1964, 90) suggest that it points to non-Greek, perhaps Iranian, heritage or cultural milieu. Kyrille, on the other hand is a well-attested name in Asia Minor (*LGPN* VA-C; cf. also Métivier 2002, 172 n. 7) and is known in the area of Cappadocia (Harper, 1968–1972, nos. 5.11; 6.19; see above, no. iii). The second iota of Διονυσίῳ (ll. 1–2) is uncertain; while the name Dionysios is very common across the Greek world (*LGPN*), the use of the theonym Dionysos as anthroponym is a possibility.<sup>21</sup> Apollonios is a common name across the Greek world and in the area of Cappadocia (Harper 1968–1972, indices s.v. Apollonios; *LGPN* VC), and is attested in this collection also in no. 11, below. It is the second most common name in inland Asia Minor (*LGPN* VC, xxix). For another individual with a *supernomen*, see below, no. 7 (Ame, also known as Nea).

## No. 2. Epitaph set up by Loukios for his wife Gemella (figs. 10a–c).

According to the museum's accession records, this inscription was found in Samanköy (see below). A stele of yellow limestone, with brown patina; broken at the top and bottom. The greater part of the stele's contoured crowning is preserved, featuring a highly schematised pediment, mostly rendered in relief, provided with central and lateral acroteria; the triangular sunken area (tympanon) is decorated with a relief rosette against a roughly worked background; the lower part of the central acroterion was rendered in relief, while its upper part was carved in the round. On both sides of the stele, on the lateral faces of the crowning, there are two deeply-cut lines which bend at about a 90-degree angle. The inscription appears on the shaft. Dimensions: max. h. 78 cm, w. 34 cm, th. 8 cm. Lunate sigma but otherwise quadrate letters. Letter height: 28–30 mm. Autopsy: Alev Çetingöz 2021.

c. 150–250 AD

---

21. E.g., *P. Oxy.* I 51 l. 3 (AD 173), in which a public physician, Dionysos son of Apollodoros writes to Cladianus the *strategos*: we are grateful to Gregory Hutchinson for this reference. See Parker 2000, 53, citing *Ath.* 448d–e on theophoric names, referring to the Peripatetic Klearchos' distinction between names derived from a single God (e.g., “Dionysos”), those formed from more than one god (e.g. “Hermaphroditos”) and those compounded from the name of a single god plus a further element.

Λούκιος Φούλ-  
βιος Γεμέλλα  
τῆ ἰδίᾳ γυναι-  
κὶ μνήμης ἔν-  
5 εκεν.

*Loukios Phoul-  
bios for Gemella  
his wife,  
as a memorial.*

This is an epitaph set up by Loukios Phoulbios (Fulvius) for his wife Gemella. Loukios Phoulbios follows the Roman naming formula of praenomen plus nomen (see Schulze 1904, 170, 424, 469); Gemella is well-attested both in Greek (LGPN) and Latin. The significance of the decorations on the side of the monument is unclear, but we might also compare our nos. 8 and 11, where the sculptured decoration continues around to the side of the monument. The Museum register associates this monument with Samanköy, a district (formerly village) 6 km of northwest of the city centre. It was the site of a höyük with pottery finds of the Early Bronze Age (see Burney 1958, 204 with map 3), and this monument suggests that it was used as a cemetery in later eras.

**No. 3. Epitaph dedicated to the katachthonian deities (fig. 11).**

Acc. no. 8616. According to the Museum's inventory book, it derives from Orduzu in 1990. Stele of yellow limestone; the left-hand lateral acroterion is partly broken off. It is unclear whether the stele is complete at the bottom. The stele is crowned with a pediment, quite weathered, the lateral acroteria of which are rendered in the round; the tympanon is decorated with a relief rosette. Beneath the pediment, at the upper part of the shaft, is a mirror centrally placed on top of a garland with ivy leaves at both ends. Dimensions: max. h. 58 cm, w. 38 cm, th. 7.5 cm. Lunate sigma and epsilon. Letters of l. 4 are squeezed together. Letter heights: 40-50 mm. Autopsy: Alev Çetingöz 2021.

c. 150-250 AD

θεοῖς κ-  
αταχθονί-  
οις. Λουκία ἀ-  
νέθηκε μνήμης.

Line 4: horizontal bars are missing from the first epsilon and first eta. 4: sc. μνήμης (χάριν)?

*For the Underworld*

*Gods.*

*Loukia set*

*it up as a memorial.*

This is an epitaph in the shape of a dedication to the katachthonian deities set up by Loukia. As we suggest here, it is more likely that Loukia is in the nominative, the subject of ἀνέθηκε. If this is correct, the name of the deceased is not clear. The genitive μνήμης is odd and we tentatively suggest either that the letter-cutter had intended to write μνήμης χάριν before running out of space or that another line of text, containing χάριν, is now lost. The dedication of a funerary monument to the Underworld Deities (θεοῖς καταχθονίοις) is one that is derivative probably of the practice in Latin epitaphs of making dedications to the Manes (“Dis Manibus”: for an example from the material preserved at Malatya see above, no. ii l. 6) and is known frequently in Greek epitaphs in Italy but also elsewhere in the Greek world;<sup>22</sup> it may indicate that Greek speakers had become familiar with a Latin practice in Latin-language epitaphs;<sup>23</sup> it may even indicate some connection to Romans<sup>24</sup> and in this case perhaps the Roman legion posted in the area.

The mirror, which appears above the swag, is characteristic of two of the Greek monuments published by Mitford from Malatya (see above, nos. iv and v).

#### **No. 4. Epitaph set up by Aouillios (Avillius) for his daughter Amate (fig. 12).**

Acc. no. 8354. A stele of white, fine- to medium-grained marble, with white opaque crystalline inclusions; patina with areas of brown discolouration. Complete on all sides, with a contoured finial, containing a relief pediment with simple, leaf-shaped, lateral and central acroteria with rudimentary volutes at their bases; the lower part of the central acroterion is rendered in relief, while

22. Mosino 2000; see *IG XIV* 1433, 1492, 1692, 2042.

23. Mitchell 1993, 135.

24. Adams 2003, 78, 505.



its upper part is carved in the round; the tympanon is decorated with a disk-like element rendered in relief (possibly a rosette or a shield). Beneath the architrave is a stylised (cf. above, no. 1) bust of a human figure with features lacking detail, a small mouth, a long nose, and braided hair. The thin neck and lack of facial hair identify the figure as female. The carving of the figure is sketchy, with asymmetrical features; the facial features are cursorily indicated. The inscription appears in the area beneath the bust. The stele forms a tenon at its lower part. Dimensions: h. 41 cm, w. 24 cm, th. 5.8 cm. Broken-bar alpha; lunate sigmas. Letter heights 27–29 mm. Autopsy: Alev Çetingöz 2021.

c. 150–300 AD

Ἀουίλλιος  
Ἀμάτη χρισ-  
τῆ θυγατρί.

Line 2: alternative ἄμα τῆ.

*Aouillios,*  
*for Amate his good*  
*daughter.*

An epitaph set up by Aouillios (Avillius) perhaps for Amate his daughter. It may indicate that she died unmarried. The name Amate is previously known only in an unpublished inscription from Phrygia (LGPN VC), and related forms are found, e.g. Amata (MAMA VII 554 l. 2 from Galatia; TAM II 748 l. 6 from Lycia) and Mate (SEG 15.836 from Armenia). An alternative reading of l. 2, ἄμα τῆ (together with) is paralleled in an epitaph of the Roman period from Amaseia (Pontos) in which a certain Loukios Verginios Euerestos is buried ἄμα τῆ his wife Verginia Euphrosune (*Studia Pontica* III no. 124; cf. MAMA I 60). Avillius, a Latin nomen,<sup>25</sup> perhaps here used apparently as a *nomina nuda* (“bare name”)<sup>26</sup> is known in its Greek form from Asia Minor (e.g., SEG 19.846 from Pisidia) but is better-known as a Latin name. The stylised nature of the representation, which resembles that of Pfuhl, Möbius 1977–1979 no. 2195 of c. 300 AD (and also no. 1 above), points to a date at the later end of the range 150–300 AD.

25. Schulze 1904, 72, 337, 348.

26. See Balzat 2019, 218.

**No. 5. Epitaph set up by Klaudios Amiantos for his wife Iphigeneia and himself (fig. 13).**

Acc. no. 8373. Stele of fine-grained, white marble with micaceous layers; complete on all sides; golden brown patina, moderately weathered. The stele has a contoured finial on which a “twin pediment” is rendered in relief, with elaborate leaf-shaped acroteria decorated with tendrils. The background of the finial between the two central acroteria is decorated with what looks like a lotus-flower. Below is a pair of busts, each carved below (and aligned with) the pediment above it. A bearded man and a woman are represented, rendered in detail. The narrow, almond-shaped, eyes lack iris and pupil (details which originally may have been added in paint). Both have a flat nose and full lips. The man’s hair is combed to the front; the hair of the woman is parted in the middle. The woman’s prominent cheekbones with hollow cheeks beneath and her downturned mouth lend individuality to her face. Ll. 1-6 of the inscription are carved on the shaft of the stele, right beneath the busts, while l. 7 is carved on the slightly projecting taenia at the lower end of the stele. Dimensions: h. 86.5 cm; w. 32.8 cm, th. 13 cm. Lunate sigmas, epsilons, curved omegas (ω) made up of disjointed elements, phi with hyperextended vertical. Letter height: l. 1: 45 mm; l. 2 (iota): 40 mm; l. 3: 40 mm; l. 4: 32 mm, l. 5: 35 mm, l. 6: 35 mm, l. 7: 18 mm. Autopsy: T.B. Mitford 2003 and 2004; Alev Çetingöz 2021. Cf. *Hürriyet Daily News*, 1<sup>st</sup> June, 2017 (<https://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/gravestone-of-ancient-roman-couple-stirs-interest-in-malatya--113772>); Mitford 2018, II 520.

c. 150-250 AD

Κλ. Ἀμίαντος  
 Ἰφιγενεία τῆ  
 σεμνῆ γυναι-  
 κὶ καὶ ἑαυτῷ  
 5 ζῶν καὶ φρο-  
 νῶν μνήμης  
 ἔνεκα.

Line 1: small lunate, mid-linear, abbreviation sign after Κλ.

*Kl(audios) Amiantos.  
 For Iphigeneia his  
 reverent wife*

*and himself  
while living and of good  
mind for the sake of  
remembrance.*

An epitaph set up by Klaudios Amiantos for Iphigeneia his wife and himself. Klaudios is a Roman nomen gentilicium (Solin, Salomies 1994, 56) and may indicate citizen or freed-status (see above, no. ii); Amiantos is otherwise attested in the area (LGPN VC). Iphigeneia is a heroic name.<sup>27</sup> The formula ζῶν καὶ φρονῶν (“while living and of good mind”) is well-attested as a phrase in funerary monuments of Asia Minor in the Roman imperial period and indicates that Kl. Amiantos set up the monument while alive, corresponding to *vivus* in Latin funerary inscriptions. The portraits, which are significantly more life-like and detailed than those of nos. 1 and 4 above, emphasise the relationship between the deceased, the dedicant and the dedicant as deceased. The physical features of the woman suggest that she lived until early middle age. Comparable portraits of male-female couples occur in other monuments from eastern Asia Minor.<sup>28</sup>

**No. 6. Metrical epitaph set up by Antipas for his daughter Glaphyra (fig. 14).**

Acc. no. 8242. A stele of fine-grained, pale grey, marble with golden brown patina, moderately weathered. It is unclear whether or not the stele is complete at the bottom; the stele is complete on all other sides. It has a contoured finial on which a pediment, provided with central and lateral acroteria, is rendered mostly in relief –the upper part of the central acroterion is carved in the round. A triangle, with disk-like elements at its corners, decorates the tympanon. Undecorated features (cf. Harper 1968-1972, no. 5.08, 49; 6.04, 14) may indicate cheaper or unfinished work; it is possible that details would have been added in paint. The inscription is carved on the upper part of the shaft of the stele. In l. 5 the word breaks to make room for a sculptural representation of a plain wreath with knot at the bottom. The overall shape of the pediment

27. See Bechtel 1917, 571-580.

28. E.g., Pfuhl, Möbius 1977-1979, nos. 2.157, 2.162, 2.167; Laflı, Liddel, Çetingöz 2022, 247-250, no. 1 and 261, fig. 2.

resembles both that of nos. 7, 10 and another found in Cappadocia (Harper 1968-1972, no. 5.49). Dimensions: h. 55 cm, w. 23.3 cm, th. 16 cm. Quadrate letters, but amygdaloid phi; phi with a hyperextended vertical; ligatures are also employed. Letter height: 17-30mm. Autopsy: T.B. Mitford 2003 and 2004; Alev Çetingöz 2021.

Cf. Mitford 2018, II 520.

c. 150-250 AD

Γλαφύρα θυγατρὶ  
 λοιμικῶς ἤρπασ-  
 μένη στήλην ἔθη-  
 κεν Ἀντιπᾶς ὁ δού-  
 5 σμο-<sup>vacat</sup> ρος.

*For his daughter Glaphyra,  
 who was taken away by the workings of the plague,  
 this stele  
 Antipas set up,  
 the unfortunate one.*

The names Antipas and Glaphyra are otherwise attested elsewhere in Greece, Asia Minor (LGPN) and especially Cappadocia (Robert 1963, 440; LGPN VC).

The inscription was set up by a certain Antipas for his daughter Glaphyra who had died of plague. λοιμικῶς is a very rare word, with TLG giving only one attestation, in the *De natura deorum* of the first-century AD Stoic philosopher Lucius Annaeus Cornutus (see edition by Berdozzo 2009, section 1382). But there are other parallels of fathers setting up monuments to daughters who have died of illness, such as Kalaino, daughter of Timarchos, said to have been taken away by illness when she was a young woman: see (*Corinth VIII* 3 300).<sup>29</sup> In this example we note that the sentiment of the verses lies with

29. Ll. 1-4: Τιμάρχοι θυγάτρα Καλαινώ, τύμβε, φιλίستان / κεύθεισ καὶ θείας μεστο-  
 τάταν ἀρετᾶ[ς]. / ἀλλὰ κακὰ νοῦσος ζωὰν ἐκάλυψε γυναικὸς / ἐσθλᾶς πρὶν στυγεροῦ  
 γήρα[ο]ς ἀντιτυχεῖν. (“Tomb, you cover Kalaino, beloved daughter of Timarchos, a  
 daughter filled full of divine goodness. But an evil disease blotted out the life of a good  
 woman, before she encountered loathsome old age.”). We owe knowledge of this to  
 Laura Nastasi.

Antipas: he is the one who is described as ill-fated (δύσμορος: l. 5) rather than his daughter.

As Gregory Hutchinson points out to us, these verses are metrical, written in iambic trimeters, with a permitted anapaest at the start:<sup>30</sup>

∪ ∪ – ∪ – | ∪ – ∪ – | – – ∪ –  
 Γλαφύρα θυγατρὶ λοιμικῶς ἥρπασ-/μένῃ  
 – – ∪ – | ∪ – ∪ – | ∪ – ∪ –  
 στήλην ἔθη-/κεν Ἀντιπᾶς ὁ δύ-/σμορος.

**No. 7. Epitaph set up by Taurophilos for his wife Ame (Nea) (fig. 15).**

Acc. no. 8358. A stele of fine-grained, white marble with micaceous layers; complete on all sides, with a contoured finial, containing a relief pediment with simple, leaf-shaped, lateral and central acroteria with rudimentary volutes at their bases; the lower part of the central acroterion is rendered in relief, while its upper part is carved in the round; the tympanon is decorated with a disk-like element rendered in relief (possibly a rosette or a shield). The text is on the upper part of the shaft, beneath a narrow taenia. The style of the crowning resembles that of nos. 6 and 10. Dimensions: h. 68 cm, w. 29.5 cm, th. 5.0 cm. Lunate sigmas and epsilons; phi in l. 1 with hyperextended vertical. Letter height 25 mm. Autopsy: T.B. Mitford 2003 and 2004; Alev Çetingöz 2021. Cf. Mitford 2018, II 520.

c. 150-250 AD

Ταυρόφιλος β',  
 φύσει δὲ Μά-  
 μᾶ Ἄμη τῆ καὶ Νέ-  
 α τῆ γυναικὶ  
 5 μνήμης ἔν<ε>κεν.

Line 1: the centre of the beta is intersected by a horizontal line, indicating a numerical letter.

*Taurophilos, the son of Taurophilos  
and the natural son of Mamas,*

30. Cf. West 1982, 81-82.

*in memory of his wife Ame,  
also known as Nea,  
5 for the sake of remembrance.*

This epitaph was set up by Taurophilos the son of Taurophilos, who was presumably his adoptive father, and of Mamas, his natural father, for his wife Ame, also known as Nea.<sup>31</sup> Mamas is well-attested in coastal and inland Asia Minor (LGN VA-C; cf. below, no. 10). Nea is known elsewhere in the Greek world but not otherwise in Asia Minor. Taurophilos seems to be a newly-attested name, and one with local reference, given the proximity of the Taurus mountains (Polyb. 3.3; 4.2.47-48) and joins the ranks of other attested Tauros-names, like Taurosthenes or Taureas.<sup>32</sup> The names Tauros and Tauriskos are known elsewhere in Cappadocia,<sup>33</sup> Ame is a “simple name” or *Lallname*.<sup>34</sup> Other simple names, Ma and Na, are known from previously-published material from Malatya.<sup>35</sup>

**No. 8. Metrical epitaph set up by Kyrillos for his mother Alia Stratoneike (figs. 16a-b).**

Acc. no. 8352. A stele complete on all sides, made of fine-grained, pale grey marble; brown patina and discolouration. With pedimental crowning, provided with central and side acroteria, which continue around the sides of the monument. The tympanon of the pediment is decorated with a relief rosette. Beneath the architrave and between antae is a bust of a mature female figure, with hair centrally parted; she is dressed in a himation which is drawn over the back of the head and surrounds her face as a heavy veil (cf. above, no. ii); the facial features are worn away (perhaps owing to deliberate damage). The inscribed area is beneath the bust. Dimensions: h. 81 cm, w. 35.4 cm, th. 17 cm. The sigmas are lunate and some of the letters feature small apices or even seriph. Letters with hastas are involved in ligatures but so do curved thetas,

---

31. For double-naming, see above, on no. 1.

32. Bechtel 1917, 587; Robert 1963, 224 with n. 6.

33. Harper 1968-1972, nos. 5.28, 29, 64; LGPN VC.

34. See above, with Curbera 2013, 111-112.

35. See above: nos. ii, vi; see also Mitford 1988, no. 7 (Latin) and Comana (Harper 1968-1972, nos. 2.07-08; 5.02, 42-43, 63-64, 66).

epsilons and omicrons, creating a D shape, for instance at the end of l. 7. Letter-height: 15-19 mm. Autopsy: Mitford 2003 and 2004; Çetingöz 2021. Cf. Mitford 2018, II 520.

c. 150-250 AD

- υἱός μ' ἐκτερεΐξεν, ὁ-  
 δοιπόρε, τῶδ' ἐνὶ τύμβῳ  
 Αἰλίαν Στρατονείκην.  
 Φύλατος ἐκ τεκέων  
 5 στήλην δ' ἐν χώρῳ μνή-  
 μης χάριν ἀνθετο τῶδε  
 ὄφρα καὶ ὀψίγονοις ἐμὸ-  
 ν οὖνομα μή ποτ' ὀληται·  
 ἕκτος ἐμῶν παίδων ὁ πανύ-  
 10 στατος ἐγγεγάως μοι Κύ-  
 ριλλος, ζῶη δὲ κ' αἰεὶ μά-  
 λα μοι γλυκὺς οὗτος.  
 Ὅλβιος, ὃς μητρὸς καὶ  
 νέκυν ἠδέσατο.

- A son buried me, with due honours,  
 O traveller, in this here tomb,  
 Ailia Stratoneike.  
 Dearest of the young,  
 5 he set up a stele in the ground  
 here as a memorial  
 so that also for the later-born  
 my name may never perish:  
 the sixth of my children, the last  
 10 of all born to me, Ky-  
 rillos, and in life always dearest to me.  
 Blessed is the one who feels regard even  
 for the corpse of his mother.*

This inscription contains an epitaph for Ailia Stratoneike. It is said to have been set up by her youngest son of six offspring, Kyrillos. It commemorates

her life so that her name is not forgotten to those born afterwards (ll. 7-8: ὄφρα καὶ ὀψίγονοις ἐμὸν οὔνομα μήποτ' ἄληται), but also places a good deal of emphasis on the role of her youngest Kyrillos, who is described her dearest (ll. 11-12: μάλα μοι γλυκὺς). The verse speaks in Ailia Stratoneike's voice, referring to her motherhood, while emphasising her youngest and dearest child's virtues and enduring respect for his mother even after her death. Its emphasis on the qualities of the relative who has set up the funerary monument is, indeed, in tune with other epitaphs at Melitene, where the dedicant responsible for setting up the monument seems frequently to be named at the start of the inscription (see below, discussion). The reference to having mothered six children is of course not unparalleled on ancient memorials: a sarcophagus in the National Museum of Budapest records that Veturia from Pannonia, mother of 6, died aged 27 after 16 years of marriage (*CIL* 3.3572; Hemelrijk 2022, 22).<sup>36</sup>

In terms of name, other individuals called Ailia Stratoneike are known on epitaphs from Konya (*CIG* 4003; Sterrett, *Ep. Journey*, 195 no. 204 ll. 6-7) and elsewhere in Anatolia.<sup>37</sup> Kyrillos is a name widely known in the Greek world (*LGPN*).

There are clear poetic aspects of the language, including addressing the viewer as ὁδοιπόρε at the start of a poem, known from verse epitaphs from across the Greek world (e.g. *I.Egypte métriques*, 1 l. 2; Peek, *GVI* 1149 l. 1). In l. 1, the verb ἐκτερέϊξε (“buried me with due honours”) is paralleled in verse epitaphs, including one from Rheneia (*I.Rhénée* 30.484). A close parallel to the phrase ὄφρα καὶ ὀψίγονοις in l. 7 is found on a statue-base set up by Cornutus in honour of the poet Lucius Septimius Nestor in the precinct of Kore from Kyzikos (*CIG* 3671; *Steinepigramme* 08/01/07 l. 5). In l. 6, ἄνθετο (he set up) is a form for ἀνέθετο with the final syllable of its preposition lost by apocope (Smyth 1956, 75D), perhaps for metrical reasons. νέκυς (l. 13) for “corpse” is common in the *Iliad* (7.409; 13.509; 23.160, 168, 190). Robert Parker helpfully suggests to us that ll. 13-14 are a kind of acclamation, a *makarismos*, or “calling blessed” (cf. *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 480).

The monument for Glaphyra (no. 6) is also metrical. Metrical epitaphs are known elsewhere from Cappadocia, e.g., Harper 1968-1972, no. 6.43, a pair of rough hexameters for Diodotos. The verses of the new inscription consist of a mixture of hexameters in 5 of the lines and pentameters in l. 7 and possibly in

36. We are grateful to Tim Parkin for pointing us towards this example.

37. See also *AE* 2012, 1597 from Ladik (Laodicea Combusta) in Galatia.



l. 2. Such a mixture of types of meter is not unusual by the Hellenistic period (Cameron 1993, 13; Page, *FGE* p. 19 on No. II).<sup>38</sup>

-- | - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ || ∪ | - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ ∪ | - -  
 υῖός μ' ἑκτερεῖξεν, ὄ-/ δουπόρε, τῶδ' ἐνὶ τύμβῳ /  
 || - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ ∪ | -  
 Αἰλίαν Στρατονείκτην. / Φίλτατος ἐκ τεκέων /  
 - - | - - - | - || - | - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ ∪ | - - - |  
 στήλην δ' ἐν χώρῳ μνή-/μης χάριν ἄνθετο τῶδε /  
 - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ ∪ | - || ∪ ∪ | - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ ∪ | - -  
 ὄφρα καὶ ὀψίγονοις ἐμὸ- /ν οὔνομα μήποτ' ὄληται · /  
 - ∪ ∪ | - - | - || ∪ ∪ | - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ ∪ | - -  
 5 ἔκτος ἐμῶν παίδων ὁ πανύ-/στατος ἐγγεγάως μοι  
 - - | - - - | ∪ || ∪ | - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ ∪ | - -  
 Κύ- / ρίλλος, ζῶη δὲ κ' αἰεὶ μά-/λα μοι γλυκὺς οὔτος. /  
 - ∪ ∪ | - - | - || - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ ∪ | ∪  
 Ὀλβιος, ὃς μητρὸς καὶ / νέκυν ἠδέσατο.

The name of the deceased appears to fall out of the meter in l. 2, and the composer seems not to have attempted to fabricate a form of the name to fit the meter.<sup>39</sup> It may be relevant also that of the four examples of the personal name Ailia in Merkelbach and Stauber's collection of verse-epitaphs, only in one is the name incorporated into the meter of the poem,<sup>40</sup> and in the other examples in that collection the name appears in the prose introductory lines.<sup>41</sup> This epitaph also has a hybrid metrical structure, consisting of hexameters, followed by an elegiac couplet, and ending with two hexameters. Ailia Stratoneike may,

38. For examples with comparable hybrid metrical structure, see *Steinepigramme* 10/02/12 from Caesarea/Hadrianoupolis in Paphlagonia (3rd c. AD) and *Steinepigramme* 09/05/12 (Nicaea, Bithynia, 1st-2nd c. AD).

39. On the metrical awkwardness of names and epitaphic poets' strategies to address the problem, see Hunter 2022, 125, 132. See also Kassel 1975, noting that poets sometimes create novel forms of names to fit the meter.

40. *Steinepigramme* 09/09/04 = SEG 30.1423 from Klaudiopolis of the second century AD or later: l. 2.

41. *Steinepigramme* 01/12/18 ll. 1-2; 16/63/01, ll. 3-4; 15/02/03 l. 2.

therefore, be a difficult name to scan; or it may be the composer's intention to make it stand out of the text by removing it from the meter.

**No. 9. Epitaph set up by Roustikos and Iasonis for their son Roustikos (fig. 17).**

Acc. no. 8353. Stele of white marble, fine-grained, with micaceous layers, complete on all sides. A contoured finial bears a relief pediment with stylised central and lateral acroteria; there is a detailed floral decoration in the tympanon. Beneath there is an arched space bearing the bust of a boy with child-like features. The arch is supported by antae which straddle the text. Dimensions: h. 72.5 cm, w. 26.7 cm, th. 15.2 cm. Quadrate letters; broken-bar alphas, epsilons with disjointed central horizontal. Ligatures are used extensively. Letter height 20-31 mm. Autopsy: T.B. Mitford 2003 and 2004.

Cf. Mitford 2018, II 520.

c. 150-250 AD

Ῥουστι-  
 κῶ τῶ γλυ-  
 κυτάτῳ υἱ-  
 ῶ, Ῥουσ-  
 5 τικὸς καὶ  
 Ἰασονίς  
 οἱ γονεῖς.

*For Roustikos  
 the sweetest  
 son.*

Rous-  
 5 *tikos and  
 Iasonis  
 his parents.*

This is a monument for Roustikos, who appears to be represented as a child, by his parents. The name Roustikos is known from Asia Minor and other parts of the Greek world (*LGPN*) and is a transliteration of the Roman cognomen Rusticus, which appears in Greek in the Augustan era (*I.Priene* 156). The name

Iasonis is known from Comana (Harper 1968-1972, no. 5.36 and no. 6.32) but other examples derive from Lycia during the Imperial period (LGPN VA-C).

**No. 10. Epitaph set up by Axios for his wife (fig. 18).**

Acc. no. 8356. Stele of fine-grained, white marble, with micaceous layers; broken at the upper-left side. The stele has a contoured finial featuring a pediment with central and lateral acroteria, the latter rendered in relief, the former rendered partly in relief and partly in the round; a disk-like element decorates the tympanon of the pediment, probably either a shield or rosette. Dimensions: h. 48.8 cm, w. 20.8 cm, th. 5 cm. Letters: cursive sigma and epsilon; broken-bar alphas; letter height 2.5-2.8 cm. Autopsy: T.B. Mitford 2003 and 2004. Cf. Mitford 2018, II 520.

c. 150-250 AD

Ἄξιος Μα-  
μοῦ τῆ γυ-  
ναικὶ μνή-  
μης ἕνεκα.

Lines 1-2: Ἄξιος Μᾶ μοῦ?

*Axios the son of Ma-  
mas for his  
wife for the sake of  
remembrance.*

Mamas, a name well attested in Asia Minor (LGPN VA-C; cf. above, no. 7) and especially Cappadocia (LGPN VC; Robert 1963, 526), is evidently Axios' father, rather than his wife. Alternatively, she may be Ma, referred to sentimentally as "Μᾶ μοῦ" ("for my dear Ma"). The name Axios is widely attested across the Greek world (LGPN).

**No. 11. Epitaph set up by Apollonios and Athenion for Nikias (fig. 19).**

Acc. no. 8241. Small stele of white marble, fine-grained, with micaceous layers; complete on all sides. The stele has a contoured finial with a pediment with stylised acroteria and a relief rosette in the tympanon. The crowning is separated from the shaft by a slightly sloping soffit that continues around the sides. The inscription occupies most of the shaft of the stele. Dimensions: h. 51.5 cm, w. 27 cm, th. 9.5 cm. Letters: lunate sigma, straight-bar alphas;

widely-splayed mu; some carelessness. Letter height 1.8-2.8 mm. Autopsy: T.B. Mitford 2003 and 2004.

Cf. Mitford 2018, II 520.

c. 150-250 AD

Ἀπολλώνι-  
 ος καὶ Ἀθη-  
 νίων Νικία  
 Ἀπολλων-  
 5 ίου τῷ ἀσυ-  
 νκρ<ί>τῳ πα-  
 τρί.

Line 2: ΚΛΙ stone.

Line 5 end: ΛΣΥ stone.

Line 6: ΜΚΤΡΤΩΠΑ stone.

*Apolloni-  
 os and Athe-  
 nion for Nikias  
 the son of Apollon-  
 5 ios their incomparable  
 fath-  
 er.*

Apollonios is a name widely known across the Greek world (*LGPN*) and is attested in other inscriptions from Cappadocia (Harper 1968-1972, indices s.v. Apollonios) and elsewhere in this collection (see above, no. 1). Athenion and Nikias are also common names.<sup>42</sup> The dedication of a funerary monument ἀσυνκρίτῳ πατρὶ is paralleled in other inscriptions from Cappadocia, not least the monument from Comana that the siblings Aribas, Matrōna and Apollonios set up for their father Aribas and for his wife, their mother Matrōna.<sup>43</sup>

**No. 12. Anakon and Proklos (figs. 20a-c).**

Funerary altar of white limestone, with micaceous layers. It has a broad crown-  
 ing and base. The top preserves acroteria on all four corners, in between and

42. *LGPN*; especially the former in Cappadocia: *LGPN VC*; Robert 1963, 494.

43. See above; Harper 1968-1972, 6.02; cf. also *ibid.*, 5.03, 37; 6.15, 17, 22.

above which a relief garland is rendered; above this rises a low cylindrical element with a shallow depression. The lower part of the altar consists of a system of mouldings and the plinth. L. 1 is inscribed on the horizontal taenia of the crowning, ll. 2-5 are inscribed on the shaft (*orthostate*) of the altar. Dimensions: h. 64 cm, max. w. 34 cm., max. th. 21 cm. The letters are cut shallow; lunate sigma, curved omicron; ligatures. Letter heights: 24-29 mm.: Autopsy: Alev Çetingöz 2021.

second century AD or later?

[---]ΥΚΛΗ[---]Η  
 καὶ υἱὸ  
 [1-3]ΟΔΟ Ἀγ(?)  
 [1?]άκων καὶ  
 5 Πρόκλος.

...      ...  
 ... and son...  
 ... An-  
 akon and  
 5 Proklos.

The reading and significance of this stone, perhaps an altar or a base, is rather unclear. Possibly it is a joint family dedication of an altar or a funerary monument involving the commemoration of a son (l. 2); it is possibly a funerary altar, like one from Comana (Harper 1968-1972, no. 5.03).<sup>44</sup> The cylindrical feature at the top of this monument contains a sunken area which could have been used for holding liquid for lustration or other religious ritual. Proklos is a common name (*LGN*; indeed, a Proklos, perhaps another one, set up the epitaph for Mikke published already by Mitford [our no. iv]) and Anakon less so (*LGN* lists only two examples).

## Appendix

### Agios Theodoros (fig. 21).

Acc. no. K.65. Broken grey limestone, with a cutting which forms a shallow, arched recessed area. The inscription is above the cutting and is faint; to its

44. Generally on funerary altars, see Boschung 1987.

left is a large, relief cross. Dimensions: h. 81 cm, w. 74 cm, th. c. 13 cm. The letters are cut shallow. Letter height: 38-45 mm. Autopsy: T.B. Mitford 2003 and 2004; Alev Çetingöz 2021.

Cf. Mitford 2018, II 520.

fifth or sixth century AD?

✠ τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου.

*Of St Theodoros.*

Like no. 12, this inscription is unclear in terms both of its reading and meaning, and appears to be a label written above an arched recess. Christianity had spread to Cappadocia by the fourth century AD (*LGPN VC*, xx). The reference to Agios Theodoros points to a date in the fifth or sixth century AD, the time of the earliest references to this saint in Greek epigraphic sources in the Greek east (see *IGLS* 4.1339 (from Apameia), 1570bis (from Fa 'loul), 1705 (from Androna), 1750 (from Umm Ḥalāḥīl)).<sup>45</sup> Unlikely to be a funerary inscription, its genre is unclear, but physically it may be the remains of a water-basin or font, dedicated to St Theodoros. Alternatively, it could be a frame for a Christian icon or liturgical picture. Typologically the cross on the left upper corner resembles an East Syrian cross, a variant common in later Byzantine periods.<sup>46</sup>

### c. Discussion

Like those published previously, the majority of the new funerary inscriptions published here name a dedicant who has apparently set up the monument for the deceased, who is usually a family member (certainly the case in nos. 1-2, 4-11, but the sense of no. 3 is not clear). This pattern is also followed in the Latin-language memorials from the same region for M(arcus) Antonius Maior by his father (Mitford 1988, no. 8: see above, fig. 5) and for L. Cornelius Gallicanus by his parents (Mitford 1988, no. 7: see above, fig. 4). Responsibility for commemoration appears to have fallen within the circle of close family. The Greek inscriptions tend to emphasise the personal qualities of, and sentiment towards, the deceased relative. In this way the monuments envisage the

45. A Theodoros said to have been martyred in Pontos was venerated from the fourth century and buried at Euchaita: see Attwater 1965, 321.

46. See Niewöhner 2020.

memory, or continuity, of relationships between loved ones (usually parent and child or husband and wife) even after death. The fact that two (nos. 6, 8) of them take the form of verse-inscriptions demonstrates a further level of artistry and engagement with a long Greek epitaphic tradition.<sup>47</sup> In those verses we see the poetic expression of the kind of family associations and sentiment which run through the whole series of inscriptions published here.

In terms of names, the inscriptions are suggestive of the multi-ethnic nature of Melitene, given the combination of Roman, Greek and other names (especially of possibly Iranian origin) that we find in the inscriptions.<sup>48</sup> They include the Greek theophoric names Dionysios (no. 1; an alternative reading is that this is the theonym Dionysos), Apollonios (nos. 1, 11); the heronyms Helene (no. i), Iphigeneia (no. 5) and Iasonis (no. 9). The presence of Roman names (including *nomina gentilitia*, *cognomina* and *praenomina*) demonstrates the existence of Latin culture or even Roman settlers, perhaps from the legionary base: they include Klaudios (no. ii), Proklos (no. iv and no. 12), Antonios Valens (no. vi), Loukios Fulvios (no. 2), Loukia (no. 3), Aouillios (no. 4), Klaudios Amiantos (no. 5), Ailia Stratoneike (no. 8). It has not been possible to identify a separate cemetery for those involved in legionary activity, and it is possible that they mingled with the non-legionary community in both life and death. As noted above, the names Mazoubine (no. vi) and Aribas (no. 1) are suggestive of non-Greek, perhaps Iranian, heritage or culture of those commemorated in our monuments. This is no surprise, as Iranian elements in the culture, cults and personal names of the region of Cappadocia are well-documented (*LGPN* VC, xix).

There is a previously-unattested Greek name, Taurophilos (no. 7), among the unpublished material, and in the previously-published material there are otherwise-unknown names: Anophthenes and Atios (no. i), and Mazoubine (no. vi). There are the *Lallnamen* Na (no. ii), Ma (no. vi; Mitford 1988, no. 7) and Ame (no. 7). Other names include: the Kyr- names Kyrilla (no. iii), Kyrille (no. 1) and Kyrillos (no. 8); Ammios (no. ii); Mikke (no. iv); Priska (no. iii); Aribas (no. 1); Gemella (no. 2); Mamas (nos. 7, 10); Nea (no. 7); Ailia Stratoneike

---

47. See, for instance, on funerary epigrams in inscribed culture, Garulli 2008 and, in late antiquity, Agosti 2008.

48. It is relevant to note here that the Museum of Malatya also holds inscriptions in the Armenian language.

(no. 8); Roustikos (no. 9), Axios (no. 10); Athenion (no. 11); Nikias (no. 11); Anakon (no. 12); Theodoros (Appendix). The dedication of no. 3 to the chthonian deities illustrates the translation into Greek of a Roman funerary practice (cf. no. ii). The phrase *μνήμης χάριν*, widely attested in the Greek world, is known in several of these inscriptions (nos. i-vi, no. 7); the equally-common *μνήμης ἕνεκεν/ἕνεκα* is widespread too (see nos. 1, 2, 5, 7, 10), and both formulae are well known on epitaphs from the area of Comana.<sup>49</sup>

Typologically, the funerary inscriptions at the Malatya Museum published here (nos. 1-11) are stelai crowned with pediments with acroteria. The stelai nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, 10 appear to be the products of a single workshop, as their identical crownings and in two cases (nos. 1 and 4) similar busts indicate. Almost all the monuments bear the characteristics of a rough-picked back and claw-chisel finish on the sides. Sometimes there is a rosette, disc or triangle in the tympanon: as noted above, this is well attested in inscriptions from the area of Comana in Cappadocia. In five examples (nos. 1, 4, 5, 8, 9) simple portrait busts are represented on the stelai, one of which is heavily veiled (no. 8, resembling no. i), comparable to many others in Asia Minor of the second, third and fourth centuries;<sup>50</sup> one of the stelai represents a couple (no. 5) and another depicts a child (no. 9). The representation of human figures is sometimes quite stylised (see nos. 1 and 4), but sometimes more portrait-like (nos. 5, 8 and 9 are more life-like, with rather puffy features).

The mirror that appears on our no. 3 closely resembles those in nos. iv and v and as an allusion to personal *toilette* may be interpreted as a statement of femininity and the relevance of appearance to status,<sup>51</sup> or, alternatively, as Bectarte suggests, as a symbol of the transformation experienced by a person as they die or even a symbol of the soul leaving the body (Bectarte 2006, esp. 179-180).<sup>52</sup> The combs in nos. iv and v resemble that which appears in the

49. E.g. Harper 1968-1972, nos. 5.04-06, 09-10, 18, 20, 22, 26, 36, 48, 63, 65-67, 69-70; 6.01-02, 06, 11-13, 15-16, 20-22, 28, 34, 47, etc.

50. See Pfuhl, Möbius 1977-1979, nos. 2108-2195.

51. Hoffmann 2006, 63 and, on mirrors in art generally, see Balensiefen 1990.

52. The interpretation of Bectarte (2006) builds on examples where a mirror is held up by the individual commemorated. As González González 2019, 62-65 points out, the interpretation of a mirror is much dependent upon its context. In the case of the Malatya stelai, the mirrors are represented apart from the deceased, and should probably be interpreted as symbols of femininity and status.



grave stele of P. Ferrarius Hermes and his wives Caecinia Digna and Numeria Maximilla from Pisa (now in the Archaeological Museum, Florence: Inv. 1914) of the first century AD, which represents toiletry items (mirror and comb) but also a plumb-weight, carpenter's square, a ruler and an adze-plane.<sup>53</sup> It is unclear whether the mirror (or comb) represents the marriage status of the deceased: in no. v the deceased was clearly married, but this is not made clear either in our no. 3 or no. iv.

In terms of letter forms, a range of features can be noted across the group of funerary monuments from Malatya, including quadrate letters (nos. v, 1, 6, 9); lunate epsilons (nos. ii, iv, vi, nos. 3, 5, 7-8, 10, 11); phi with hyperextended vertical (nos. ii, 2, 5, 6, 7); apices/small serifs (no. v, nos. 5, 6, 8); disjointed horizontals (nos. 6, 9); lunate sigmas (nos. ii, iv, vi, nos. 2-5, 7-8, 10-12); ligatures (nos. 6, 8, 9). But the fact that the palaeography of this area is not well-studied means that dating by letter-form is not plausible in the case of these inscriptions.

The only one of the new inscriptions for which we can offer a date on prosopographical grounds is no. 1, in which Aribas the son of Apollonios is very likely a relation of the siblings Aribas, Matrona and Apollonios, the offspring of Aribas, attested in an epitaph from Comana in Cappadocia (about 240 km to the west on the road to Caesarea) dated to the first or second century AD (Harper 1968-1972, no. 6.02). However, resemblances between our series and the previously-published inscriptions from the area of Malatya (nos. i-vi) suggest that they all derive from the period of legionary activity in the second century AD or later. The iconographic style and workmanship of these funerary stelae is compatible with a date around AD 150-250 or, in the cases of nos. 1 and 4, AD 150-300. No. 12 and Appendix, lacking clear parallels, are harder to date, and Appendix is likely to be much later.

We conclude by reflecting upon what these inscriptions tell us about social stratification and commemoration in Cappadocia during the late second and early third century AD. We may reasonably assume that, as elsewhere in the Greek *oikoumene*, these dedicants of monuments aspired to commemorate their family members in a fitting and respectful manner. Monuments with simple decorations (nos. 2, 6, 7, 10, 11), stylised or crudely-portrayed images (nos. 1, 4, 9) or small dimensions (nos. 1-4 and 10 stand less than 50 cm

---

53. See *CIL* XI, 1471; Ulrich 2007, 17 fig. 3.5.

tall) might reflect preferences of taste, style or aspiration. But in combination with crudely-cut letters or badly laid-out text (nos. 9-11) they suggest dedicants who lacked the resources to invest in higher-quality monuments or to commission them from higher-skilled artisans. The monuments that reflect the highest investment in commemoration are the elegantly-produced no. 5 (Klaudios Amiantos for Iphigeneia) and the substantial metrical text no. 8 (Kyrrillos for Ailia Stratoneike); moreover, the dimensions of no. iv (Proklos for Mikke), no. v (Protogenes for Euphratia) and no. vi (Mazoubine for Antonius Valens), all standing taller than one metre high, suggest significant expenditure in commemoration. The selection of Greek, Roman and Iranian names that appears on the more expensive-looking monuments suggest that individuals with a range of cultural identities invested substantially in funerary stelai. Ostentatious commemoration was not restricted to any one specific cultural group in this area of Cappadocia during the imperial period.

Ergün Laflı  
Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi  
elaflı@yahoo.ca

Peter Liddel  
University of Manchester  
peter.liddel@manchester.ac.uk

Alev Çetingöz  
alevcetingoz@gmail.com

Timothy Bruce Mitford  
Oxford University  
tim@mitford.org.uk

### Summary

This article offers an edition of 19 Greek inscriptions from the Museum of Malatya (ancient Melitene, Cappadocia), among them 13 previously-unpublished texts including two new metrical inscriptions. With the exception of the one in the Appendix, these texts are funerary, should be dated to the period c. 150-250/300 AD, and take the form of family members dedicating funerary monuments in commemoration of deceased relatives. They offer significant insight into naming habits in this part of inland Asia Minor at the time of the Roman empire, not least in the use of Greek and Roman conventions including double-names and short names; among the inscriptions are several names otherwise not firmly attested in otherwise-published inscriptions (Amate, Anophthenes, Atios, Mazoubine, Taurophilos). A plague or illness is attested in one inscription. The funerary formulae of these inscriptions offer insight into the use of traditional Greek acclamations and also the translation into Greek of the Latin habit of dedicating funerary monuments to the Household Gods. The physical aspects of the stelai, featuring pedimental decorations, acroteria and inscribed texts, and sometimes *objets de toilette*, echo Greek traditions in commemoration but also constitute a recognisably local style. Aspects of the human bust portraits on a number of the monuments resemble those known elsewhere in inland Asia Minor. The metrical aspect of two of the inscriptions demonstrates a further level of artistry and engagement with a long Greek epitaphic tradition and indicates an aspirational literary ostentation. Overall, they illustrate the mingling of Greek, Roman and other cultures in a region influenced by the presence of the 12th Roman Legion; in particular they enunciate the significance of funerary display across the cultural spectrum and demonstrate the power of private funerary monuments to express family ties in Cappadocia at a time of Roman power.

### Summary for Turkish Readers

Türkçe Özet:

Birden Çok Etnik Unsur Barındıran Antik Kappadokia Bölgesinde Yeni İsimler, Mevkiler ve Ailevi Duyarlılık: Malatya Müzesi'nden Antik Yunanca Yazıtlar

Malatya Arkeoloji Müzesi'ndeki Antik Yunanca yazıtlar, ilgili Müze Müdürlüğü'nün 3 Haziran 2021 tarih ve E-28262782-806.01.03-1429753 sayılı izinleri ile çalışılmış ve bu makale kapsamında yayınlanmıştır. Müze'deki gerekli belgeleme işlemi Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi'nden Arkeolog Alev Çetingöz tarafından Ağustos 2021 tarihinde gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Bu makalede toplam 18 adet Yunanca yazıtlı taş eser takdim edilmektedir. Makalede önce, Müze'de teşhirde olan ve daha önce yayını yapılmış Antik Yunanca yazıtlı beş adet mezar steli tanıtıldıktan sonra, daha önce yayını yapılmayan 13 adet yazıt tanıtılmıştır. Yazıtların 17 adeti İ.S. 2.-3. yy. arasına, yani Roma Dönemi'ne, biri ise İ.S. 5.-6. yy.'a aittir.

Makalede tanıtılan eserlerin içeriği sırası ile şöyledir: a. Daha önce yayınları yapılmış yazıtlar: i- Helene tarafından kocası için yaptırılan mezartaşı, ii- Anneleri Na için oğullarının yaptırttıkları mezartaşı, iii- Kyrilla tarafından annesi Priska için yaptırılan mezar yazıtı fragmanı, iv- Proklos tarafından Mikke için yaptırılan mezartaşı, v- Protogenes tarafından karısı Euphratia için yaptırılan mezartaşı ile vi- Mazoubine tarafından kocası Antonius Valens ve annesi Ma için yaptırılan mezartaşı.

b. Daha önce yayınlanmamış yazıtlar: 1- Aribas tarafından babası ve kızkardeşi Kyrille için yaptırılan mezartaşı, 2- Loukios tarafından karısı Gemella için yaptırılan mezartaşı, 3- Yeraltı tanrılarına adanan mezartaşı, 4- Aouillios (Avillius) tarafından kızkardeşi Amate için yaptırılan mezartaşı, 5- Klaudios Amiantos tarafından karısı Iphigeneia ve kendisi için yaptırılan mezartaşı, 6- Antipas tarafından kızkardeşi Glaphyra için yaptırılan şiir vezinli mezartaşı, 7- Taurophilos tarafından karısı Ame (Nea) için yaptırılan mezartaşı, 8- Kyrillos tarafından annesi Alia Stratoneike için yaptırılan şiir vezinli mezartaşı, 9- Roustikos ve Iasonis tarafından oğulları Roustikos için yaptırılan mezartaşı, 10- Axios tarafından karısı için yaptırılan mezartaşı, 11- Apollonios ve Athenion tarafından Nikias için yaptırılan mezartaşı ile 12- Anakon ve Proklos adları geçen yazıt.

Makalenin sonunda ise üzerinde Hristiyan azizi Theodoros'un adının geçtiği Erken Bizans Dönemi'ne ait bir taş eser tanıtılmaktadır.

### Abbreviations-Bibliography

- Adams, J.N. 2003. *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*. Oxford.
- Agosti, G. 2008. “Epigrammi lunghi nella produzione epigrafica tardoantica”, in A.M. Morelli (ed.), *Epigramma longum: Da Marziale alla tarda antichità / From Martial to Late Antiquity*. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Cassino, 29-31 maggio 2006), vols. 2, Cassino, 662-692.
- Attwater, D. 1965. *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints*. Harmondsworth.
- Balensiefen, L. 1990. *Die Bedeutung des Spiegelbildes als ikonographisches Motiv in der antiken Kunst* (Tübinger Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte 10). Tübingen.
- Balzat, J.-S. 2019. “The Diffusion of Roman Names and Naming Practices in Greek Poleis (2nd c. BC – 3rd c. AD)”, in R. Parker (ed.), *Changing Names: Tradition and Innovation in Ancient Greek Onomastics* (Proceedings of the British Academy 222). Oxford, 217-236.
- Bechtel, F. 1917. *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*. Hildesheim.
- Bectarte, H. 2006. “‘Tenir un miroir’ dans l’art funéraire grec antique”, in L. Bodiou, D. Frère, V. Mehl (eds.), *L’expression des corps. Gestes, attitudes, regards dans l’iconographie antique*. Rennes, 165-180.
- Berdozzo, F. 2009. “Κορνούτου Ἐπιδρομή τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν θεολογίαν παραδεδομένων”, in H.-G., Nesselrath (ed.), *Cornutus. Die Griechischen Götter. Ein Überblick über Namen, Bilder und Deutungen* (Sapere 14). Tübingen. 30-138.
- Bertrand, G., Rémy, B. 2000. “Legio XII Fulminata”, in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*. Lyon, 253-257.
- Boschung, D. 1987. *Antike Grabaltäre aus den Nekropolen Roms* (Acta Bernensia 10). Bern.
- Burney, C.A. 1958. “Eastern Anatolia in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age”, *Anatolian Studies* 8, 157-209.
- Cameron, A. 1993. *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes*. Oxford.
- Curbera, J. 2013. “Simple Names in Ionia”, in R. Parker (ed.), *Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia* (Proceedings of the British Academy 191). Oxford, 107-143.
- French, D.H. 2002. *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3: *Milestones*. Fasc. 3.2: *Galatia* (British Institute at Ankara, Electronic Monograph 2).

- Garulli, V. 2008. “L’epigramma longum nella tradizione epigrafica sepolcrale greca”, in A.M. Morelli (ed.), *Epigramma longum: Da Marziale alla tarda antichità / From Martial to late antiquity. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Cassino, 29-31 maggio 2006)*, I-II. Cassino, II, 623-661.
- González González, M. 2019. *Funerary Epigrams of Ancient Greece. Reflections on Literature, Society and Religion*. London.
- Hall, A.S. 1983. “The XII Fulminata: Countermarks, Emblems, and Movements under Trajan or Hadrian”, in S. Mitchell (ed.), *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia: Proceedings of a Colloquium Held at University College, Swansea, in April 1981 (British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Monograph 5)*. Oxford, 41-46.
- Harper, R.P. 1968-1972. “Tituli Comanorum Cappadociae”, *Anatolian Studies* 18 (1968), 96-149; 19 (1969), 27-40; 22 (1972), 227-239.
- Hemelrijk, E.A. 2022. *Women and Society in the Roman World: A Sourcebook of Inscriptions from the Roman West*. Cambridge.
- Hoffmann, G. 2006. “Ordre et variété dans la gestuelle des monuments funéraires attiques de l’époque classique”, in L. Bodiou, D. Frère, V. Mehl (eds.), *L’expression des corps. Gestes, attitudes, regards dans l’iconographie antique*. Rennes, 61-74.
- Hunter, R. 2022. *Greek Epitaphic Poetry: A Selection (Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics)*. Cambridge.
- Kajanto, I. 1965. *The Latin Cognomina (Societas scientiarum fennica. Commentationes humanarum litterarum, 36.2)*. Helsinki.
- Kassel, R. 1975. “Quod versu dicere non est”, *ZPE* 19, 211-218.
- Lafli, E., Liddel, P., Çetingöz, A. 2022. “Three Inscriptions from Upper Mesopotamia”, *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 42, 247-265.
- Lambertz, M. 1913. “Zur Ausbreitung des Supernomen oder Signum im Römischen Reiche I”, *Glotta* 4, 78-143.
- Lambertz, M. 1914. “Zur Ausbreitung des Supernomen oder Signum im Römischen Reiche II”, *Glotta* 5, 99-170.
- Lewis, D. 2018. *Greek Slave Systems in their Eastern Mediterranean Context, c. 800-146 BC*. Oxford.
- Malatya I: Puglisi, S.M., Meriggi, P. 1964. *Malatya – I. Rapporto preliminare delle campagne 1961 e 1962*. Rome.
- Malatya II: Equini Schneider, E. 1970. *Malatya – II. Rapporto preliminare delle campagne 1963-1968. Il livello romano bizantino e le testimonianze islamiche*. Rome.

- Malatya III: Pecorella, P.E. 1975. *Malatya – III. Rapporto preliminare delle campagne 1963-1968. Il livello eteo imperiale e quelli neoetei*. Rome.
- Métivier, S. 2002. *La Cappadoce (IVe-VIe siècle) : une histoire provinciale de l'Empire romain d'Orient* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 22). Paris.
- Mitchell, S. 1993. *Anatolia, Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*. Vol. 1: *The Celts and the Impact of Roman Rule*. Oxford.
- Mitford, T.B. 1974. "Some Inscriptions from the Cappadocian Limes", *JRS* 64, 160-175.
- Mitford, T.B. 1980. "Cappadocia and Armenia Minor: Historical Setting of the Limes", in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Vol. 7.2: *Halbband Politische Geschichte (Provinzen und Randvölker: Griechischer Balkanraum; Kleinasien [Forts.])*, 1169-1228.
- Mitford, T.B. 1988. "Further Inscriptions from the Cappadocian Limes", *ZPE* 71, 167-178.
- Mitford, T.B. 2018. *East of Asia Minor: Rome's Hidden Frontier*, I-II. Oxford.
- Mitford, T.B. 2021. *Discovering Rome's Eastern Frontier: On Foot Through a Vanished World*. Oxford.
- Moretti, L. 1962. "Nota a due iscrizioni Greche", *Oriens Antiquus* 1, 1962.
- Mosino, F. July-December 2000: "Θεοῖς καταχθονίοις", *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 42.2, 291-292.
- Niewöhner, P. 2020. "The Significance of the Cross before, during, and after Iconoclasm. Early Christian Aniconism at Constantinople and in Asia Minor", *DOP* 74, 185-242.
- Oehler, J. 1911. "Griechische und lateinische Inschriften aus Kappadozien", in H. Grothe (ed.), *Meine Vorderasienexpedition 1906 und 1907*. Leipzig, 71-88.
- Parker, R.C.T. 2000. "Theophoric Names and the History of Greek Religion", in S. Hornblower, E. Matthews (eds.), *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence* (Proceedings of the British Academy 104). Oxford, 53-79.
- Pfuhl, E., Möbius, H. 1977-1979. *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*. 4 vols. Mainz.
- Raaflaub, K.A. 2000. "Zeus Eleutherios, Dionysus the Liberator, and the Athenian Tyrannicides: Anachronistic Uses of Fifth-Century Political Concepts", in P. Flensted-Jensen, T. Heine-Nielsen, L. Rubinstein (eds.), *Polis and Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History Presented to Mogens Herman Hansen on his Sixtieth Birthday, August 20, 2000*. Copenhagen, 249-275.
- Robert, L. 1963. *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine*. Première partie. Paris.
- Schulze, W. 1904. *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*. Berlin.

- Smyth, H.W. 1956. *Greek Grammar*, rev. G.M. Messing. Cambridge, MA.
- Solin, H., Salomies, O. 1994. *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum latinorum*. Hildesheim – Zurich – New York.
- Ulrich, R.B. 2007. *Roman Woodworking*. New Haven and London.
- West, M.L. 1982. *Greek Metre*. Oxford.
- Zgusta, L. 1964. *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Československá akademie věd. Monografie Orientálního ústavu ČSAV 19). Prague.





Fig. 1a. Anatolia, marking key sites. Map by Dr Sami Pataacı (Ardahan).

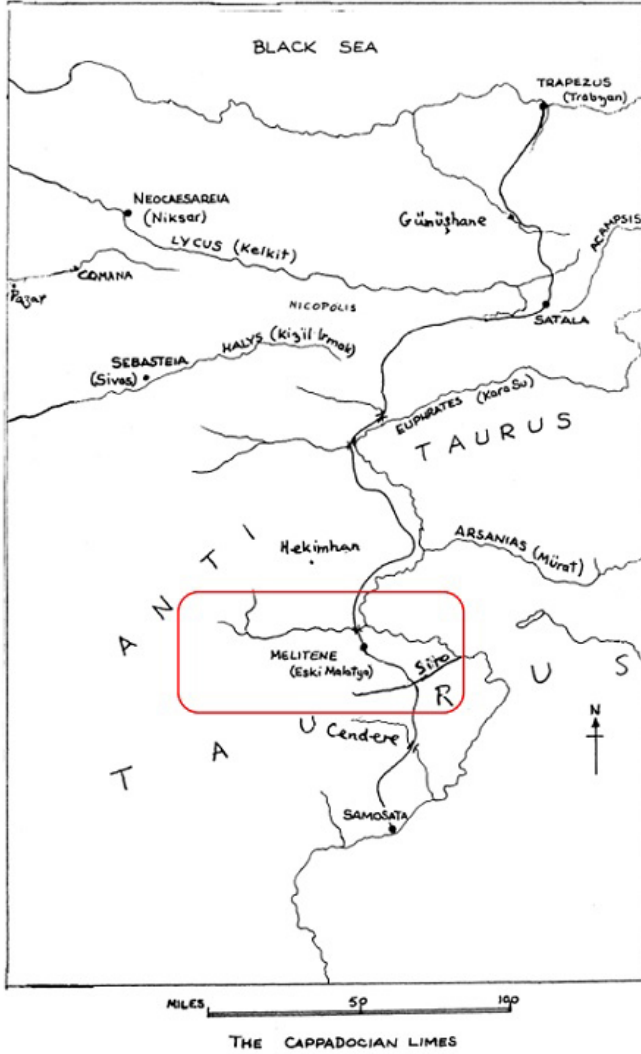


Fig. 1b. The Cappadocian Limes: after Mitford 1988, 170.  
Drawn by T.B. Mitford.



Fig. 2. No. ii. Epitaph set up by brothers for their mother Na.  
Photograph by Alev Çetingöz.



Fig. 3. No. iii. Epitaph set up by Kyrilla for her mother Priska.  
Photograph by T.B. Mitford.



Fig. 4. Mitford 1988, no. 7 = Mitford 2018, II 518-519 no. 19.  
Latin funerary monument for L. Cornelius Gallicanus by his  
parents. Photograph by Alev Çetingöz.



Fig. 5. Mitford 1988, no. 8 = Mitford 2018, II 519 no. 20. Latin funerary monument for Marcus Antonius Maior by his father. Photograph by Alev Çetingöz.



Fig. 6. No. iv. Epitaph for Mikke set up by Proklos. Photograph by Alev Çetingöz.

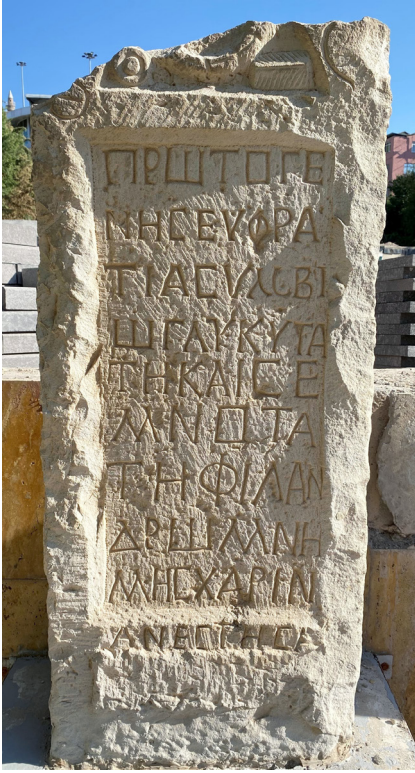


Fig. 7. No. v. Epitaph set up by Protopos for his wife Euphratia. Photograph by Alev Çetingöz.



Fig. 8. No. vi. Epitaph set up by Mazoubine for her husband Antonius Valens and her mother Ma. Photograph by Alev Çetingöz.



Fig. 9. No. 1. Epitaph set up by Aribas for his father and daughter Kyrille. Photograph by Alev Çetingöz.





Fig. 10a. No. 2. Epitaph set up by Loukios for his wife Gemella.  
Photograph by Alev Çetingöz.



Figs. 10b-c. No. 2. Epitaph set up by Loukios for his wife Gemella. Photographs by Alev Çetingöz.





Fig. 11. No. 3. Epitaph dedicated to the katachthonian deities.  
Photograph by Alev Çetingöz.

Fig. 12. No. 4. Epitaph set up by Auillios (Avillius) for his daughter Amate. Photograph by Alev Çetingöz.



Fig. 13. No. 5. Epitaph set up by Klaudios Amiantos for his wife Iphigeneia and himself. Photograph by Alev Çetingöz.





Fig. 14. No. 6. Metrical epitaph set up by Antipas for his daughter Glaphyra. Photograph by Alev Çetingöz.



Fig. 15. No. 7. Epitaph set up by Taurophilos for his wife Ame (Nea). Photograph by Alev Çetingöz.



Figs. 16a-b. No. 8. Metrical epitaph set up by Kyrillos for his mother Alia Stratoneike.

Photographs by Alev Çetingöz.

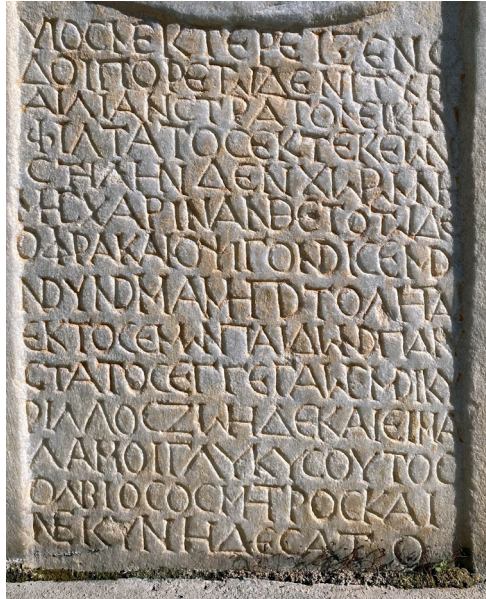




Fig. 17. No. 9. Epitaph set up by Roustikos and Iasonis for their son Roustikos. Photograph by T.B. Mitford.



Fig. 18. No. 10. Epitaph set up by Axios for his wife.  
Photograph by T.B. Mitford.





Fig. 19. No. 11. Epitaph set up by Apollonios and Athenion for Nikias. Photograph by T.B. Mitford.



Fig. 20a. No. 12. Anakon and Proklos. Photographs by Alev Çetingöz.



Figs. 20b-c. No. 12. Anakon and Proklos. Photographs by Alev Çetingöz.





Fig. 21. Appendix. St Theodoros. Photograph by Alev Çetingöz.