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3. ANATOLIA

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Most scholars see the Euphrates as the border between Anatolia and Mesopotamia.¹ We shall not deal here with the importance of Aramaean culture in northern Mesopotamia, today southeastern Asian Turkey, with its Aramaean kingdoms: Nisibis/Nusaybin, Bit Bahiani (Guzana/Tell Halaf), Bit Zamanni (Amida/Diyarbakir), Bit Aşalli (around Harran?), and Qipanu (around Huzirina/Sultantepe),² where there was also a strong Neo-Assyrian cultural influence.³ Anatolia itself is a very large country with various territories and the influence of Aramaean culture was very different according to the various lands, as well as according to the successive periods of the 1st millennium B.C.⁴

1. *Beginning of the 1st Millennium B.C.: Aramaean Culture in Southeastern Anatolia*

The kingdom of Carchemish on the Euphrates was already a center of Luwian culture by the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. It was still alive at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. and Neo-Hittite culture was also dominant in the kingdoms of Kummuh and Gurgum, northwest of Carchemish. However, Aramaean culture was important in all the kingdoms west and southwest of the Euphrates,⁵ especially in the kingdom of Sam'al.⁶ This kingdom, located just east of the Amanus Mountains and north of the Luwian and Aramaean kingdom of Pa(lis)tina/'Umq (Unqi),⁷ was a cross-road of various cultures. In the 9th–8th centuries B.C. its kings are known by local West Semitic inscriptions as well as by Neo-Assyrian texts. The names of these kings are alternatively Luwian and Aramaic. Besides a few inscriptions in Hieroglyphic Luwian,⁸ the monumental local inscriptions are essentially in three West Semitic languages:⁹ Phoenician

¹ See Hawkins 1998: 63.

² See Radner 2006–2008c.

³ See Dion 1997 and Lipiński 2000a: 109–232.

⁴ See Greenfield 1998.

⁵ See Hawkins 1982.

⁶ See, e.g., Schloen – Fink 2009a and iid. 2009b.

⁷ See Harrison 2001a; id. 2001b; id. 2009a; id. 2009b; Hawkins 2009.

⁸ See Lemaire 2001a: 186 and Hawkins 2000: 276, 576; pls. 127, 329.

⁹ See Tropper 1993; Lemaire 2001a; Young 2002.

(Kulamuwa),¹⁰ Official Aramaic (Bar-Rakkab inscriptions, including a seal and inscriptions on three silver ingots),¹¹ and Sam'alian,¹² a local Aramaic dialect (Kulamuwa,¹³ Ördekburnu,¹⁴ Panamuwa I,¹⁵ Panamuwa II,¹⁶ Kuttamuwa¹⁷).¹⁸ Phoenician was apparently used officially about the middle of the 9th century B.C., when Sam'al was under the political influence of the kingdom of Que (Cilicia).¹⁹ However it seems that the main language used locally was an archaic dialect of Aramaic, which appears on monumental inscriptions from the end of 9th until the end of 8th century B.C. During the reign of King Bar-Rakkab (ca. 733–713/711 B.C.), under the strong political influence of Assyria, the language of the royal inscriptions became Official Aramaic, already before the integration of this kingdom into the Neo-Assyrian Empire under Shalmaneser V or Sargon II, ca. 720 B.C.

All the deities mentioned in the royal inscriptions are Semitic deities: El, Arq-Rešep, Ba'al Hammon, Ba'al Harran, Ba'al Šemed, Hadad, Rakkab'el (see also Ördekburnu), Rešep, and Šamaš. One can speak of an official pantheon of Yādiya/Sam'al, with Hadad as the first god, as shown by his statue and its inscription (KAI 214) as well as the Kuttamuwa inscription. Each dynasty seems to have had its own protective god, for instance, Rakkab'el from King Hayyan up to King Bar-Rakkab.²⁰ From this list of gods, Aramaean culture seems clearly dominant in the kingdom of Sam'al, at least from the second half of the 9th century B.C. However, the Sam'alian inscriptions of Ördekburnu and Kuttamuwa also reveal the importance of the goddess Kubaba.

The cult of ancestors played an important role in Sam'al, with special sacrifices taking place near the stele representing the deceased. Actually, the stele was thought to incorporate his *npš* (Kuttamuwa). The deceased, as well as the gods, could receive sacrifices and the dead king was more

¹⁰ KAI 24; Tropper 1993: 27–46.

¹¹ KAI 216–221; Tropper 1993: 132–152.

¹² Dion 1974; Tropper 1993: 287–297; Noorlander 2012.

¹³ KAI 25; Tropper 1993: 50–53.

¹⁴ Lemaire – Sass 2012; iid. 2013; Lemaire 2013b.

¹⁵ KAI 214; Tropper 1993: 54–97.

¹⁶ KAI 215; Tropper 1993: 98–131.

¹⁷ Pardee 2009a; Mazzini 2009: 505–507; Younger 2009a; Masson 2010; Kottsieper 2011; Del Olmo Lete 2011; Lemaire 2012; id. 2013a.

¹⁸ Two other small Aramaic inscriptions, without provenance, on a shield and a seal could also originate from Sam'al. See Lemaire 2001a: 187.

¹⁹ Lemaire 2001a: 189.

²⁰ Tropper 1993: 20–26.

or less deified, according to Hittite/Luwian tradition. Furthermore, the Hadad inscription of Panamuwa I gives us the formula that the son had to proclaim in front of the statue of Hadad: “May the *npš* of Panamuwa eat with you and may the *npš* of Panamuwa drink with you” (KAI 214: 16–18, 21–22).²¹ This ritual can be compared to the Akkadian *kispum*.

We have no indication of an Aramaean influence west of the Amanus in the kingdoms of Que, Hilakku, and Tabal, before their integration into the Neo-Assyrian Empire toward 700 B.C. During that period, the monumental inscriptions of southern Anatolia were engraved either in Hieroglyphic Luwian or in Phoenician (Hassan-Beyli,²² Karatepe,²³ Çineköy,²⁴ Ivriz,²⁵ Cebelireis Dağı,²⁶ cf. also Incirli, north of Sam’al²⁷).

Aramaic, however, could be used in the administration of the Neo-Assyrian Empire west and east of the Amanus.²⁸ Toward the end of the 8th century B.C., the Assyrian governor of Que, Aššur-šar-ušur, apparently had maces/scepters with his name engraved in Aramaic,²⁹ and a cylinder-seal inscribed *h̄tm mšry*³⁰ as well as a stamp-seal inscribed *gytw*³¹ could originate from Cilicia. Furthermore, besides a few Neo-Assyrian cuneiform tablets,³² the excavations of Tarsus have produced what are apparently two small Aramaic graffiti³³ to be dated about 700 B.C., the first one with the inscription *lšlbnt*, “to Šilbanit”, Šilbanit being an Akkadian name meaning “under the protection of Banit.”³⁴

The use of Aramaic probably continued during the Neo-Babylonian period. Cilicia (Ḫume and Pirindu) seems to have been maintained under the political control of Babylon by means of military campaigns.

²¹ Niehr 1994b; Lipiński 2000a: 636–640; Niehr 2001; id. 2004a; id. 2004b; id. 2006; id. 2010a: 279–284.

²² KAI 23.

²³ KAI 26; Röllig 1999a; Schmitz 2009; Amadasi Guzzo 2010.

²⁴ Tekoğlu – Lemaire 2000; Lanfranchi 2005; id. 2009; Lemaire 2006c; Singer 2009.

²⁵ Provisorily, Dinçol 1994 and Hawkins 2000: 526.

²⁶ Mosca – Russell 1987; KAI 287; Puech 2009; Younger 2009b; Bordreuil 2010.

²⁷ Kaufman 2007.

²⁸ See especially the Aramaic tablets found in northern Mesopotamia: Fales 1986; Lemaire 2001b; Fales – Radner – Pappi – Attardo 2005; Lipiński 2010.

²⁹ Lemaire 1987.

³⁰ Dupont-Sommer 1951a and Lemaire 2001a: 189.

³¹ Lemaire 2001c: 17f.

³² Goetze 1939.

³³ Gordon 1940; Garbini 1978: 900; id. 1981: 158.

³⁴ I thank Dr. Asli Özyar for sending me a good picture of this inscription, which he was able to find again although it was not published in Goldman 1963 and Lemaire 2005. It is not mentioned either in Fitzmyer – Kaufman 1992.

In 557/6 B.C. King Neriglissar³⁵ went as far as Kirshu (Meydancikkale in Cilicia Tracheia)³⁶ and the Lydian border but there was apparently a previous Neo-Babylonian campaign under Nebuchadnezzar II, probably in his second year (603/2 B.C.), as hinted in a Sabaean inscription.³⁷ However, thus far, for the Neo-Babylonian period, we do not know of contemporary Aramaic inscriptions in Anatolia itself.

2. Achaemenid Period³⁸

The political situation of Anatolia during the Achaemenid period is mainly known through Greek sources as shown by the synthesis of P. Briant on the Achaemenid Empire.³⁹ Aramaic, however, played an important role in imperial administration. Although Aramaic was not the official script or language of the Achaemenid Empire,⁴⁰ it functioned as a kind of lingua franca and was used in the administration to communicate between all the various parts of this huge empire: we find Aramaic documents from Elephantine in southern Egypt up to Persepolis and Afghanistan.

As expected, the influence of Aramaean culture was especially important in Cilicia. Besides many monetary legends in Aramaic (*trkmw, trbzw, prnbzw, mzdy, mzdy zy 'l 'brnhr' whlk, klk/hlk, trz, b'l trz, b'l dgn,*⁴¹ *nrgl trz, lnrql, 'n', mrlw, 'z, 'rh, 'grh*),⁴² Cilicia produced several monumental Aramaic inscriptions.⁴³ The earliest one (end of 6th–beginning of 5th century B.C.) is probably the Saraydin inscription (KAI 261),⁴⁴ which indicates the hunting place of “Washuwanish son of Appuashi/u, grandson of Washuwanish,” who could be related to Appuashu, king of Pirindu, who is mentioned in the Neo-Babylonian campaign of King Neriglissar (see above). Syennesis and Princess Epyaxa, who met Cyrus the Younger

³⁵ Wiseman 1956: 37–42, 74–77, 86–88; Grayson 1975 = 2000: 103f; Glassner 1993: 201.

³⁶ Davesne – Lemaire – Lozachmeur 1987.

³⁷ Bron – Lemaire 2009: 25–29.

³⁸ See Lemaire – Lozachmeur 1996.

³⁹ Briant 1996.

⁴⁰ Greenfield 1998: 206.

⁴¹ Lemaire 1991d: 47–51.

⁴² Lemaire 1989; id. 2000a; Casabonne et al. 2001; Casabonne 2004: 67–68, 101–136, 174–196, 207–220.

⁴³ Lemaire 2000b; Casabonne 2004: 241–249; Schwiderski 2004: 17 (Abydos), 34 (Agaca Kale), 40–41 (Arebsun), 191 (Daskyleion 1–2), 195 (Gözneh), 202 (Hemite), 291 (Kesecek Köyü), 293 (Limyra), 294 (Sardis), 295 (Meydancikkale 1–2), 364 (Saraïdin), 408 (Sultaniye Köy), 421 (Xanthos 1–3).

⁴⁴ KAI 261; Gibson 1975: 155: no. 35; Casabonne 1996: 111–114; id. 2000: 93–96.

in 401 B.C.,⁴⁵ could also belong to the same family of dynasts.⁴⁶ Two inscriptions were found in Kirshu (Meydancikkale),⁴⁷ the ancient capital of Appuashu, king of Pirindu. They are unfortunately only partly legible: the biggest one is probably an official inscription (perhaps of a cultic law: *dth?*), which begins with a date, perhaps “year seventeen [of Artaxerxes the kin]g”; the other is probably related to the family tomb of “Belshunu,” who may have been a local officer with a Neo-Babylonian name. Another officer, “Sarmapiya the satrap,” is apparently mentioned in the Hemite inscription.⁴⁸ Two inscriptions, Gözne⁴⁹ and Bahadirli I,⁵⁰ indicate the frontier of territories (*thwm*); the first one mentions the Aramaean gods Ba‘alšamayin, Šahr, and Šamaš,⁵¹ and the second the local goddess Kubaba. A few inscriptions are too fragmentary to specify their genre (Bahadirli II,⁵² Hediören⁵³). Most of the inscriptions are apparently funerary inscriptions: Kesecek Köyü,⁵⁴ Bozkuyu Höyük/Yukari Bozkuyu,⁵⁵ Göller (Bostanlar),⁵⁶ Kumkulluk,⁵⁷ Meydancikkale II, Aigeai,⁵⁸ Menekse.⁵⁹ In four of them the funerary stele is called *šmh*, lit. “his name”, which seems specific to Cilicia.⁶⁰

Thus, although, from the monetary legend, it is clear that Greek was also used during this period, especially on the coast, these various Aramaic inscriptions, as well as the mentioned deities, reveal the importance of the written Aramaean culture among the people of Cilicia during the Achaemenid period. This influence was also felt in the other lands of Anatolia.

In Lycia, besides Lycian and Greek inscriptions, we know of a few Aramaic ones. A few bronze coins with the monetary legend *l'ryyn* may

⁴⁵ Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 2, 12–27.

⁴⁶ Casabonne 2005: 71.

⁴⁷ Davesne – Lemaire – Lozachmeur 1987: 366–382; Lemaire – Lozachmeur 1998; Lemaire 2003a.

⁴⁸ Dupont-Sommer 1950; Lemaire 1991c: 205.

⁴⁹ KAI 259; Gibson 1975: 154.

⁵⁰ KAI 278; Gibson 1975: 156f.

⁵¹ Šahr and Šamaš are also mentioned in the Kesecek Köyü inscription.

⁵² Dupont-Sommer 1951b.

⁵³ Lemaire 1993.

⁵⁴ KAI 258; Gibson 1975: 153–154; Lipiński 1975a: 146f; Teixidor 1986: 131, 452–453.

⁵⁵ Lemaire 1993.

⁵⁶ Lemaire 1994: 91–96.

⁵⁷ Lemaire 1994: 96–98.

⁵⁸ Lemaire 2004a.

⁵⁹ Lemaire 2013b.

⁶⁰ Lemaire 2004b.

come from this country⁶¹ and monumental Aramaic inscriptions were discovered in Xanthos and Limyra. In Xanthos, the main Aramaic inscription is the famous trilingual inscription of “Pixodaros, son of Katamnos, the satrap in Caria and Lycia,”⁶² who promulgated a cultic law (*dātāh*) probably “engraved by order of the property-holder, the priest Simias.”⁶³ This inscription commemorates the institution of a “cult/chapel (?) to the god Kandawats Caunina and his colleagues,” which was placed under the protection of “the god(s) Leto, Artemis, Hshatrapati, and others.” Three other fragments of Aramaic inscriptions were bi- or possibly trilingual.⁶⁴ Other than Xanthos, one can only mention the Aramaean Greek funerary inscription of Limyra.⁶⁵

While Ch. Le Roy emphasizes that in Lycia, “. . . moins de 5% des textes inscrits d'époque archaïque et classique sont en araméen. Cette langue apparaît essentiellement comme l'instrument de l'empire,”⁶⁶ one may also note that Aramaic was apparently never used alone but always with another language: Lycian or Greek.

Sardis, the capital of Lydia, was situated at the end of the great imperial road from Susa and she was the “centre de la partie occidentale de l'Empire achéménide.”⁶⁷ It produced a few monumental Aramaic inscriptions. The first one, found in 1912, is the famous bilingual, Lydian and Aramaic,⁶⁸ related to a funerary monument. The Aramaic part contains a few orthographic mistakes and several loan words.⁶⁹

Another Lydian-Aramaic bilingual was found in Falaka, in the Kastros Valley, and dates to “the sixteenth year of King Artaxerxes” (probably 343/2 B.C.). Unfortunately, its Aramaic part is badly damaged. Three other fragmentary Aramaic inscriptions, apparently also dated to the 4th century B.C., were discovered recently: in Kenger (north of Maionia),⁷⁰ Kemaliye (Lydian Philadelpheia),⁷¹ and Çivril (Uşak museum). This last

⁶¹ Lipiński 1975a: 166f and Lemaire – Lozachmeur 1996: 100.

⁶² Dupont-Sommer 1979a; Lemaire 1995a; Briant 1998a; id. 2001: 179–182; Kottsieper 2002.

⁶³ Lemaire 1995a: 431.

⁶⁴ Dupont-Sommer 1979a: 170–175; id. 1979b; Lemaire 1992; Lemaire – Lozachmeur 1996: 101.

⁶⁵ KAI 262; Lipiński 1975a: 162–171.

⁶⁶ Le Roy 1987: 264.

⁶⁷ Chaumont 1990: 586.

⁶⁸ KAI 260; Lipiński 1975a: 153–161.

⁶⁹ Lemaire 1990–1992: 26.

⁷⁰ Lemaire 2002b.

⁷¹ Kwasman – Lemaire 2002.

inscription, probably dated “in year 2 of king Darius” (III), apparently commemorates the setting up of a pillar (*mwd*) “for Arte[mi]s of the Ephesian(s),” a goddess also mentioned in the bilingual Sardis inscription (above). The fragmentary Kenger inscription appears to commemorate the setting up of a *stwn* (“stele”), a word also already mentioned in the funerary Sardis bilingual inscription. The literary genre of the fragmentary Kemaliye inscription is difficult to specify. Most of these inscriptions contain maledictions as well as words or personal names that do not appear to be Semitic. The apparently official character of the Sardis bilingual and of the Çivril stele is indicated by their dating according to the year of the Great King at the beginning of the inscription, a phenomenon also known in the Xanthos trilingual (above). This dating of Aramaic inscriptions can be compared to the dating at the beginning of a Greek copy of an Achaemenid inscription from the Roman period, as is the case with the Droaphernes inscription, the debated original of which could well have been Aramaic⁷² or, better, bi- or trilingual. The problem of an Aramaic original is still more debated for the Gadatas inscription presented as a letter from Darius.⁷³

One could perhaps add to these Aramaic inscriptions from Lydia, a Persian province since 547 B.C., an unprovenanced cylinder-seal with the personal name “Artim(as),”⁷⁴ which can be compared to Artimas “satrap” of Lydia in Xenophon.⁷⁵

North of Lydia, Daskyleion (Hisartepi near Ergili) was the capital of Hellespont. The ancient site has been partly excavated under the direction of Tomris Bakir⁷⁶ and has produced, besides several Phrygian inscriptions, twelve Aramaic bullae and three monumental funerary Aramaic inscriptions.⁷⁷ The names of the deceased (*ʾlnp br ʾšy, ʾd/rh, pdy*) seem to be West Semitic as is the formula *šlm yhwyl km* (“Peace be upon you!”) in Daskyleion II: 5–6. The names of the twelve Aramaic inscriptions on bullae are mostly Iranian, but a few could be Semitic.⁷⁸ To these Daskyleion inscriptions, one may add the bronze lion weight from Abydos. It was

⁷² Robert 1975; Chaumont 1990; Briant 1996: 696f, 1025–1027; id. 1998b; id. 2001: 177–179; id. 2006: 329; Debord 1999: 367–374.

⁷³ Briant 1996: 507–509; id. 2001: 182; id. 2003; Metzler 1997.

⁷⁴ CIS II, 99; Bivar 1961; Lipiński 1975a: 164–166; Bordreuil 1996: III, 152, 174.

⁷⁵ *Anabasis* VII, 8, 25.

⁷⁶ See, e.g., Bakir 2001.

⁷⁷ Gibson 1975: 157f, 166; Lipiński 1975a: 150–153; Altheim-Stiehl – Metzler – Schwertheim 1983; Altheim – Cremer 1985; Lemaire 2001d.

⁷⁸ Röllig 2002c.

found in 1861, weighs 31,808 kg and is now in the British Museum (E 32625).⁷⁹ Its Aramaic inscription reads: *'sprn' lqbl stry' zy ksp'* ("Exact according to the treasurers of silver"). It is obviously connected with the High Achaemenid administration and probably with Xerxes' expedition against Greece in 480 B.C.⁸⁰

Further to the east, Paphlagonia and Pontus did not produce monumental Aramaic inscriptions, but 4th century B.C. coins from Sinop (Paphlagonia) show legends in Aramaic: *'rywrt,*⁸¹ *'bdssn, mtrwpst, [']rwn-tp, wdrn, tyryn.* Except for probable *'bdssn,* these are apparently Iranian names of Achaemenid officials.⁸² In the same period, coins of Gaziura (Pontus) could read *'rywrt* and *b'l gzwr* in Aramaic.⁸³

The center of Anatolia (Phrygia and Cappadocia) did not produce Aramaic inscriptions, but at Gordion a cylinder-seal reads *htm bny br ztwhyšn* ("Seal of Banaya, son of Zatuvaahyashna").⁸⁴ The name of its owner appears to be Semitic with a Persian patronym.

Except perhaps in Cilicia, these Aramaic inscriptions in the various parts of Achaemenid Anatolia suggest that, during that period, Aramaic influence was essentially felt through the direct influence of the high Achaemenid administration. It does not imply that the local population spoke Aramaic.

3. Hellenistic Period

With Alexander's campaign and the change to Hellenistic domination, Aramaic seems to disappear. Instead, we see the quick development of the use of Greek. However, the use of Aramaic went on for a while in eastern Anatolia in Cappadocia, where we know of three inscriptions or groups of inscriptions found in Arebsun, Ağcakale/Akçakale, and Farasha.

The inscriptions of Arebsun were discovered in 1895 in a village located near the river Kizilirmak/Halys and called Jarabusun/Jarepsun/Arebsun/Jarapisson (Greek: *Arabissos*) and are now in the Istanbul Oriental Archaeology Museum. The Aramaic inscriptions are engraved on two

⁷⁹ CIS II, 108; KAI 263; Mitchell 1973.

⁸⁰ Herodotus, *Histories* VII, 44–45.

⁸¹ According to Diodorus of Sicily XXXI, 19, 3, "Ariarates" was a Persian dynast in northern Cappadocia at the time of Artaxerxes III.

⁸² Harrison 1982.

⁸³ Naster 1988: 9.

⁸⁴ Young 1953: 14f and Lemaire – Lozachmeur 1996: 107.

black stones and, after various preliminary presentations,⁸⁵ were only recently published in detail with good photographs:⁸⁶ the inscriptions of both blocks seem to date paleographically to the first half of the 3rd century B.C. Their content is very original. Ahuramazda is clearly mentioned in stele A, line 2, and perhaps in stele B, text 1.1. Both stelae were set up to celebrate the marriage of “Bêl”, perhaps on the 26th of Tammuz. However, this does not seem to be an ordinary marriage: the husband is “Bel” and his wife “Dayanamazdayasnish” is called “queen (?)”, “sister”, and wife of “Bel”. Bel is not only “great” and “king” but also apparently “god”, and “he gets out of the skies.” These inscriptions are probably to be interpreted in the context of the Mazdaean religion.

The bilingual Greek-Aramaic inscription of Ağcakale/Akçakale, 41 km south of Divriği, was discovered in 1900 and has been variously interpreted.⁸⁷ It apparently commemorates the foundation of a fortified city (Greek *teichè* / Aramaic *byrt'*), called Andômon, by the “satraps” Oromanes and Arioukes, his son. Oromanes and Arioukes are probably to be identified with Ariaramnes and his son Ariarathe (III) of Cappadocia⁸⁸ and Andômon with Anda(è)môn/Andoumôn, mentioned in Letter 249 (§ 7) of Gregory of Nazianzus.⁸⁹ Actually, “the Ariarathids of Cappadocia... traced their lineage back to the Achaemenids through the marriage between Pharnaces and Atossa, sister of Cambyze II.”⁹⁰ The Aramaic inscription is to be paleographically dated about the middle of the 3rd century B.C.⁹¹

E. Lipiński notes that, “the bilingual Greek-Aramaic inscription from Faraşa was found ca. 1900 by A. Levidis in the savage gorge of Zamanti-Su, the ancient River Karmalas.”⁹² It is engraved in the rock of the cliff. The two-line Aramaic inscription reads *sgr br mhyprn rb hy[l]' mgyš [lm]trh*⁹³ (“Sagari, son of Mahifarna, chief of the ar[m]y, became magus [of Mi]thra”). The Greek version specifies that Sagari/Sagarios was *stratèg[o]s* of Ariaramneia, apparently a city founded or rather [re]founded⁹⁴ by Ariaramnos, the founder of the ruling dynasty in

⁸⁵ See Clermont-Ganneau 1900; Lidzbarski 1902; RES III, 1785; KAI 264.

⁸⁶ Lemaire 2003b.

⁸⁷ RES II, 954; Lipiński 1975a: 197–208; Lozachmeur 1975.

⁸⁸ Diodorus of Sicily XXXI, 19, 6.

⁸⁹ See Gallay 1967: 141.

⁹⁰ Facella 2009: 383.

⁹¹ Lemaire 1995b: 9.

⁹² Lipiński 1975a: 173.

⁹³ KAI 265.

⁹⁴ The original name of the city was probably *Rhodandos*.

Cappadocia in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., and probably located in Farasha. Thus, this inscription apparently commemorates the initiation of Sagari(os) into the sacred function of mithraic Magus, associating a military with a religious function as often was the case during the Hellenistic period. An approximate date in the second half of the 2nd century B.C. seems likely.

Thus, the Aramaic script and language were clearly still in use in eastern Anatolia during the Hellenistic period for official inscriptions of religious or civic content. This use may be compared to the contemporary use of Aramaic in Armenia.⁹⁵

4. Conclusion

Originally attested in southeastern Anatolia, in the kingdom of Sam'al, the Aramaean culture expanded first in Cilicia under the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian administrations. The use of Aramaic in imperial administrations later expanded to the whole of Anatolia during the Achaemenid period, but nearly fell into disuse finally because of the expansion of Greek. However, the written Aramaean culture was still alive in Cappadocia during the Hellenistic period, apparently in connection with dynasts connected with the Achaemenids and with the Zoroastrian religion.

⁹⁵ KAI 274–275; Perikhanian 1971; Naveh 1971; id. 1982: 128.