

SOME INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE CAPPADOCIAN LIMES

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(Plates IV–VIII)

Since the hurried journey of Hogarth and Yorke in 1894, the Euphrates *limes* has remained virtually unexplored, and uncertainty has continued to surround its geography and organization.¹

The basic structure, established under Vespasian and consolidated by Hadrian, and many of the details of its course, can now be located on the ground.² Three legionary fortresses—at Satala (Plate IV, 1), Melitene and Samosata, with legionary vexillations (replaced under Diocletian by a new legion) at a fourth at Trapezus—blocked the major strategic routes from the east, and are already well known. They were linked by an eight metre military road, whose remains I have managed to trace on foot, almost without a break, for a hundred miles north of Melitene, along the right bank of the Euphrates: barely a fifth of the total distance from the Black Sea to the southern foothills of the Kurdish Taurus. A series of auxiliary forts seems to have stood on, or at points east of, the road at intervals of a day's march. Most of the sites hitherto proposed—by armchair inspection of inaccurate maps—should be dismissed, but genuine sites have proved elusive. Only at Dascusa has excavation been possible, to reveal fourth-century work, rather than the original fort. But an important inscription in re-use attests military activity under Titus or Domitian: along with the Pompeius Collega milestone, it provides confirmation of scattered literary and numismatic evidence for Vespasian's hand in the building of the frontier.³

Other structural remains are confined in the main to bridges and abutments (Plate V, 1), sections of aqueducts (IV, 2), and possible traces of fortlets and of a long range signalling system. For want of systematic excavation, inscriptions are of prime importance in recovering the organization and history of the frontier. In eastern Cappadocia they are sparse. But in Armenia Minor, concentrations are found at Trapezus, Satala, Nicopolis and Zimara; and in the Kurdish Taurus at Derik Kale, above the Severus bridge (Plate V, 1). Some of the more interesting, found in the last decade, are arranged below, for convenience in geographical order running from north to south. Discussion covers their immediate implications for aspects of the military history of the Euphrates frontier.⁴

1. Trapezus (Trabzon). Forming the lintel of the inner door, in the north porch of the Fatih Cami, formerly the Chrysokephalos church, precisely in the centre of the ancient city.

Large block of grey marble, L. 2.525 m; H. 0.60 m; Th. 0.46 m. The face is completely covered by the painting and deep carvings of an Arabic inscription in relief. Of the original surface only a single band survives at the bottom, 9 cm high. It preserves four words of a monumental Greek inscription, which starts half a metre from the left of the stone. L. of the inscription, complete left and probably right, 2.015 m. Regular and well cut, but shallow, letters, 5.75 cm.

Published M. Paranka, *Ελλ. Φιλολ. Συλλ.* 29 (1907), 301, no. 23. Copies of M. H. Ballance and D. R. Wilson; photo and squeeze of TBM in 1963. Plate V, 2.

[Αὐτοκράτορι Κάισαρι θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱῶ θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνῶ Τραϊανῶ]
Ἄδριανῶ Σεβαστῶ δημιουργικῆς ἐξουσίας [τὸ ἐ', ὑπάρτω τὸ γ', π.π., Τραπεζοῦντινος ἡ πόλις]

This enormous block of marble, the largest single inscribed stone in Pontus or Armenia, is likely on account of its sheer weight to have survived more or less *in situ*. It forms an important and central element in the structure of the Chrysokephalos church, and so was probably incorporated in it at an early period. The church itself is the oldest in Trapezus; it was founded, according to the

* I am most grateful to Mr. Norman Hammond and Mr. Richard Harper for epigraphic texts in advance of publication; and to Professor S. S. Frere for his generous advice and criticism in the preparation of this article.

¹ V. W. Yorke, *Geographical Journal* 8 (1896), 317–335 and 453–472. Some sections of the *limes* were briefly visited by Freya Stark, *Rome on the Euphrates* (London 1966). The article *limes* in the *Dizionario epigrafico* has been in suspension for over a decade.

² Several seasons of fieldwork have been made possible by the generous support of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, and of the Craven and Tweedie Exploration Committees.

³ R. P. Harper, *Anatolian Studies* 22 (1972), 27 f., and below, Inscription 8; *ILS* 8904, Melik Şerif, of early 76.

⁴ I hope to publish the inscriptions in *Studia Pontica* 3, fasc. 2; and to discuss the structure and history of the frontier more fully elsewhere.

Metropolitan Chrysanthos, by Hannibalianus, nephew of Constantine the Great, and stands in the very centre of the middle level of Trapezus.⁵ In position and purpose it may be compared with the cathedral of the Illuminator at Eçmiadzin, evidently built directly over the Roman fort at Kainepolis. In both places the triumph of Christianity may be symbolized by the construction of a church, as a deliberate substitute for an important pagan monument.

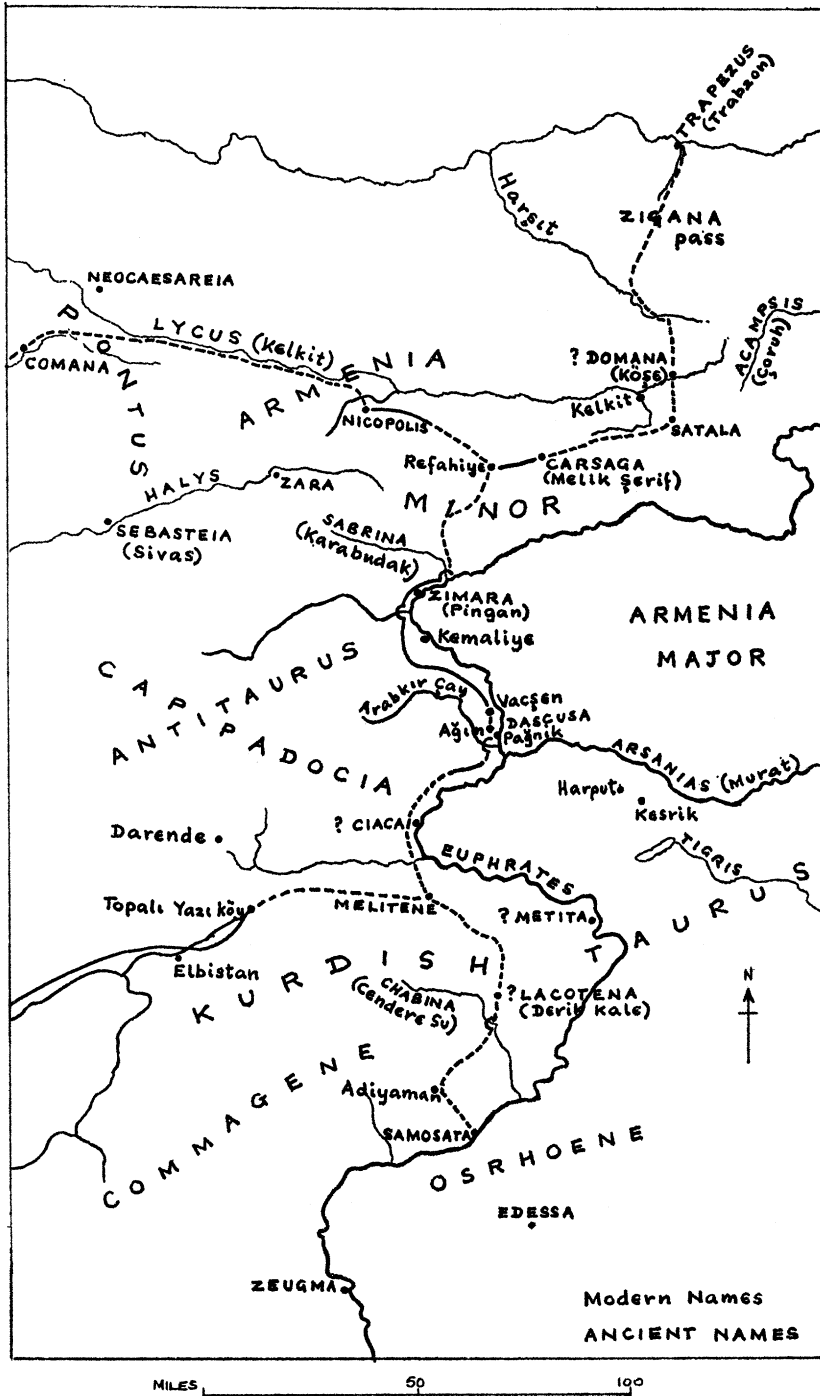


FIG. 3. THE CAPPADOCIAN LIMES ROADS AND SITES IN THE EUFRATES VALLEY

⁵ Chrysanthos, *Ἀρχ. Πόντ.* 4-5 (1933), 380, n. 2: cf. S. Ballance, *AS* 10 (1960), 146-151, and plate XVIIb.

The presence in the middle of Trapezus of a monumental dedication to Hadrian may reasonably be associated with the imperial visit, to be dated in 131 or earlier.⁶ Arrian carried out an inspection here, perhaps later in the same year, and reported the recent erection of two monuments that had been ordered by the Emperor, and were standing in positions of some prestige: one was a temple of Hermes and Philesios, and the other was a statue of Hadrian himself. Either might have incorporated this inscription, and its correct and well-cut Greek may be inspired by a reaction to the governor's criticism of illiterate stone masons at Trapezus.⁷

The temple of Hermes and Philesios was evidently of modest size: Arrian recommended that a 5-ft statue of Hermes would be in keeping. Fragments from the temple may have survived until recent times. Cumont noted hereabouts some Ionic columns, while Hamilton recorded that 'the lintel of the inner gateway on the western side (of the town) is formed of a beautifully worked fragment of an Ionic frieze or cornice'.⁸

The Chrysokephalos lintel may be compared with two series of architrave blocks at Comana Pontica, one from the temple of Trajan, and one from that of Marcus Aurelius and Verus. Of these, the Trajanic architrave, in four blocks, was nearly $9\frac{1}{2}$ m long. Both inscriptions are addressed to their Emperors in Greek and in the dative; and both are arranged in two lines of text that run continuously across the full length of several architrave blocks. In each inscription the first line was carved on a step projecting 1.5 cm beyond the surface of the second.⁹

The Trapezus inscription is similar in each respect. A clumsy break between *ἔξουσίᾳ* and the following number of the tribunician year, if specified, could only have been avoided by adopting a continuous line. Above the Greek text, the deeply cut Arabic inscription offered space for several additional lines, but shows no traces of earlier letters; which suggests that any upper and projecting fasciae and mouldings have been cut back to accommodate it. But minor differences point to a smaller and lower building. Unless the imperial titles were given in full, the total length, assuming two lines, can hardly have exceeded 5 m. Even then the space available for completing the text is meagre; and the omission of *ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ* after *Σεβαστῷ* may imply that the titles following the name were abbreviated. The restoration is shown *exempli gratia*. The letters are substantially smaller than those at Comana, where the Trajanic letters are filled with lead and are 10 cm in height, and the Aurelian are 8 cm. The Trapezus inscription was, moreover, evidently designed to be read from in front, or from not far below. For the surviving letters are very shallow.

The second Roman monument was the statue of Hadrian. Arrian thought its site was ideal for an eternal memorial, and it was probably enhanced by a base large enough to emphasize its pleasing posture: *ἀποδείκνυσιν γὰρ τὴν θάλατταν*.¹⁰ But however elaborate the base may have been, the need for so long an inscribed block is unclear. The huge inscription of Trajan at Artaxata is not a parallel, for it was cut on five smaller blocks, and should be seen as part of a *tropaeum*. In a statue base, we should expect the equivalent of two lines of text above the line preserved, and others below, in much the same form as the Arrian inscription at Pontic Sebastopolis.¹¹

For Hadrian and Arrian, Trapezus was an enclave of Greek civilization already seven and a half centuries old.¹² The temple and the imperial statue were appropriate. But their interest was more than historical. For the city occupied a position of double importance on the eastern *limes*. Not only could it control commercial and military access to Armenia, across the Zigana pass, which had once been fortified by Corbulo and now carried the frontier road to Satala;¹³ but it also protected the approach from the eastern end of the Black Sea, with its short route from Iberia. The construction of the Euphrates frontier under Vespasian confirmed its important functions as a road-head and port. In

⁶ D. M. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* 1470, n. 6; Weber, *Hadrianus* 123, 264.

⁷ *Periplus* 1, 2.

⁸ *Periplus* 2, 1; F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica* 2, 366; W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia* 1 (London 1842), 162.

⁹ Respectively unpublished, and *IGR* 3, 106 and 1440.

¹⁰ *Periplus* 1, 3 f.

¹¹ B. N. Arakelyan, *VDI* 118 (1971, no. 4), 114-118; *ILS* 8801.

¹² Compare Danoff, *R-E Suppl.* 9, 1062 f., s.v. Pontus Euxeinos, para. 17.

¹³ Tac., *Ann.* 13, 39; *Antonine Itinerary* (ed. Cuntz, 1939), 216, 4.

later ages it remained the outlet for a substantial part of the eastern caravan traffic, along a route essentially unchanged since Roman times until the completion in 1938 of the railway linking Erzurum with Sivas and the west.¹⁴

After 64, Trapezus had become the headquarters of the *classis Pontica*, protected initially by an auxiliary cohort: both had been appropriated from Polemon.¹⁵ Hadrian now ordered the construction of an artificial harbour, which may still be traced in the submerged moles. They follow lines that are almost exact projections of the walls of the ancient city.¹⁶ From the harbour Arrian sailed in a trireme to inspect the regular series of strategic anchorages, a day's voyage apart and guarded by auxiliary forts, that extended the *limes* eastwards as far as Sebastopolis and the Caucasus: a massive defensive system equivalent in its function to the installations ranged along the Cumberland coast to protect the flank of Hadrian's wall.¹⁷

Arrian's report suggests that Hadrian had personal knowledge of the composition of the garrisons. In 131 they were of substantial strength: there was apparently an auxiliary cohort at Hyssou Limen, near Rize; no fewer than five cohorts (a στρατία, perhaps of legionaries of XII Fulminata) at Apsarus, near the mouth of the Çoruh; 400 picked soldiers, almost a cohort, at Phasis, beneath Poti; and a *cohors equitata* at Sebastopolis, beneath Sukhumi. These dispositions may represent precautions taken in face of a threat from Iberia: Phasis was even provided with engines to withstand a siege.¹⁸

But the Black Sea forts had existed before Hadrian's reign. Some had been garrisoned by κατάλογοι of Roman soldiers under Trajan. At Phasis, a brick fort stood on a site first occupied in earth and timber, while at Apsarus and Sebastopolis *castella* had been definitely established under Vespasian. Another fort, with an exposed anchorage, had existed at Athenai.¹⁹

2. Trapezus (Trabzon). Provenance unknown. Seen by Mr. Norman Hammond in the back garden of a house near Trabzon in 1965.

Stele, broken in two, but complete. H. 1.19 m; L. 0.62 m; Th. unrecorded. Thin letters, carefully cut, 5.5 cm.

Copy and photograph communicated by Mr. Hammond. Plate VI, 1.

D. M.
T. Aurelio
Apolinario,
militi
5 leg. XV Apol.,
domo Caesar.,
stip. VI, vexill.
leg. eiusdem
B. M.

The *nomen*, implying a grant of citizenship from Antoninus Pius, and the letter forms, which are tall for their width and slightly ornate, suggest a date towards the end of the second century.

Two separate vexillations, one from each of the permanent Cappadocian legions, XII Fulminata and XV Apollinaris, are now attested at Trapezus. They have the appearance of an established garrison. The detachment from XV Apollinaris had a doctor on its strength. The shrine erected by a centurion and vexillation of XII Fulminata, and the careful and ornate working of the present stone, imply something more than passing visits.²⁰

¹⁴ For example, H. C. Barkley, *A Ride through Asia Minor and Armenia* (London 1891), 347.

¹⁵ Tac., *Hist.* 3, 47; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* 2, 16, 4, (s. 367, Niese).

¹⁶ *Periplus* 16, 6; Chrysanthos, map, loc. cit.; J. Brant, *JRGS* 6 (1836), 189 f.

¹⁷ *Periplus* 3, 1; R. G. Collingwood and I. A. Richmond, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain* (London 1969), 85.

¹⁸ *Periplus* 3, 1-10, 4; cf. *ILS* 2660 (Abella). XII Fulminata was not present in full strength in Arrian's army against the Alani, *Extaxis* 6, 15 and 24.

¹⁹ Procopius, *Bell. Goth.* 8, 2, 16; *Periplus* 9,

3 f. and 4, 1 f.; Pliny, *NH* 6, 12 f. Their sites have been identified by the presence of structures of a much later date, and only at Sebastopolis have first- and second-century remains been claimed. For Apsarus, at Gonio, five miles south of Batumi, see V. A. Levkinadze, *Byzantinsk. Vremen.* 20 (1961), 225-242; for Phasis, beneath Poti, F. Dubois de Montpéroux, *Voyage autour du Caucase* 1 (Paris 1839), 65 f., and Atlas, plate XVIII; for Sebastopolis, beneath Sukhumi, Levkinadze, *VDI* 108 (1969, no. 2), 81 ff.

²⁰ *Vexillatio leg. XII Ful.*, *CIL* 3, 6745; *medicus leg. XV Apo.*, *ibid.*, 6747 (Trapezus).

At Trapezus, as distinct from the coastal forts, there is no evidence for a formal garrison under Hadrian. Perhaps he made no attempt to install one, considering the fleet to be a sufficient protection. Against the Alani, the city merely provided a force of hoplites and γυμνήτες.²¹ The presence of a substantial legionary force later in the second century requires explanation. The arrival of XV Apollinaris at Satala, probably under Trajan, is discussed below.²²

A clear parallel is provided by the vexillations found stationed at Kainepolis under Marcus and Commodus.²³ They too were supplied exclusively by the two frontier legions, an advance force to support the Armenian client. Another combined vexillation is perhaps attested on a tile at Petra, 10 miles north of Batumi—formed from the same two legions, and presumably for a similar purpose.²⁴

But at Trapezus, the likelihood of any external threat after the repulse of the Alani is less obvious, and peace was not seriously disturbed until the unexpected and disastrous raid of the Borani in 255.²⁵ The vexillation should be seen as an extension of the Hadrianic coastal garrisons: a guarantee of internal security in face of mountain tribes never satisfactorily controlled in Roman times, and a firm grasp of the point where the land and coastal defensive systems met.²⁶ Although on an altogether larger scale, it might be compared with the post run by the *beneficiarius consularis* at Pontic Sebastopolis, established evidently for police duties, and to control traffic along the strategic road to the north-east.²⁷ Trapezus could also offer a rotation of postings within the legions themselves; it served to give experience to junior commanders, and to occupy large numbers of men to some purpose during the long period of peace. The military value of Trapezus is underlined by the installation at the end of the third century of an entire legion, I Pontica.²⁸

It is interesting to find in XV Apollinaris a native of Caesarea. The name will clearly refer to Mazaca when used without qualification. The administrative centre of Cappadocia, it stood on the strategic route to Melitene, and must have felt the influence primarily of XII Fulminata. Until the middle of the third century, its mint supplied most of the attributable coins found in the Euphrates valley between Melitene and the Antitaurus.

Only one other soldier of XV Apollinaris is known to have been a native of the eastern provinces of Anatolia—Valerius Satornilus, who served for many years at Satala, and returned to die at home, near Neoclaudiopolis.²⁹ Central Cappadocia and Pontus may be seen as one of the recruiting areas for the legion; local non-citizens, as the *nomina* suggest, were enfranchised on enlistment.

The *cognomen* is attested elsewhere in north eastern Cappadocia and Pontus only in the *beneficiarius* at Sebastopolis, Septimius Apollinarius; the name is derived no doubt rather from the legion than from M. Cassius Apollinaris, governor of Cappadocia under Antoninus. The geographical spread of the *cognomen* is probably fortuitous. But significant social movement can be demonstrated in central Cappadocia during the second century: a well-born daughter of Sebastopolis was married to the high priest of Caesarea.³⁰

3. Satala (Sadak). Unearthed by villagers near the centre of the fortress, some 300 m north of the mosque (right foreground in Plate IV, 1).

Stele of whitish limestone, broken above, with a moulding at the sides and below. The back is rough. H. 1.05 m; L. 0.68 m; Th. 0.28 m. Letters 4.5–6 cm.

²¹ Among τὸ συμμαχικόν, Arrian, *Expedition c. Alanos* 7 and 14.

²² See below, Inscription 4.

²³ *ILS* 9117 and 394 (Eçmiadzin).

²⁴ The Zydreitae, whose territory evidently embraced the area in which Petra was later founded, were alone excluded from Hadrian's comprehensive system of clients among the coastal tribes between Trapezus and Sebastopolis. Inherited from Trajan, his policy was evidently continued under Antoninus, who installed a client among the Lazi, and appointed a *praefectus orae gentium Ponti Polemoniani*, presumably to administer and collect taxes from the coastal tribes. The Zydreitae were perhaps included in these later arrangements: they flanked the Lazi

to the south, and had no doubt lost their Iberian support on the defeat of the Alani. Levkinadze, *VDI*, loc. cit., 87; Arrian, *Periplus* 11, 2; Trajan, *Magie, Roman Rule* 1465, n. 32; Antoninus, *SHA Pius* 9, 6, and *AE* 1956, 124.

²⁵ Zosimus 1, 33. See also below, Inscription 5.

²⁶ Arrian, *Periplus* 11, 1 f.

²⁷ Mitford, *Byzantium* 36 (1966), 482 ff.

²⁸ *ILS* 639 (Trapezus). Cf. Bean and Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia (Denkschr. Akad. Wien. 1970)*, no. 50, Colybrassus (?); *Notitia Dignitatum Oriens* 38, 9 and 15.

²⁹ *Studia Pontica* 3, no. 34.

³⁰ Unpublished, at Sebastopolis: Valeria Mais wife of Claudius Chareisios.

Photo and squeeze of TBM in 1964. Plate VI, 2

D. M.
C. Quintianus Maximus sig.
5 leg. XVI F.F.
(centuria) Pudentis, vix.
an. XXXV, Julia
Maxima uxor
eius
10 M. C.

Quintianus is not attested as a *nomen* in *CIL*. Here it may be a *cognomen*, while Maximus, found throughout eastern Pontus, is perhaps an *adnomen*.

At Satala, *uxor* and *coniunx* (*univira piissima pietissima*, remembered by her *maritus*) are each attested once. The presence of a wife need not imply a late date for this inscription; the letter-forms are in accord with the early second century, and the stele must predate the transfer of the signifer's legion, XVI Flavia Firma, to northern Syria.³¹

Satala commanded the strategic cross-roads of north-eastern Anatolia. Immediately below the fortress, in the valley of the snow-fed Sadak Çay, lay the intersection of the natural and historic routes that lead east and west from Persia to the Aegean, and north and south from the Black Sea to the Euphrates valley and Syria. It was a position of crucial importance for the defence of the eastern frontier against Armenia (Fig. 4; Plate IV, 1).

Near Satala, the course of the east-west caravan route is well known from the accounts of Ottoman travellers.³² Climbing out of the Euphrates valley, where it bends south near Karakulak, 25 miles east of Satala, caravans were obliged to cross a high and difficult pass before descending along the right bank of the Sadak Çay—where the route is marked by the ruins of three Hans—to join the Lycus valley at Kelkit. The course of the frontier road is equally clear, and is marked by milestones of Vespasian and Domitian in the valley east

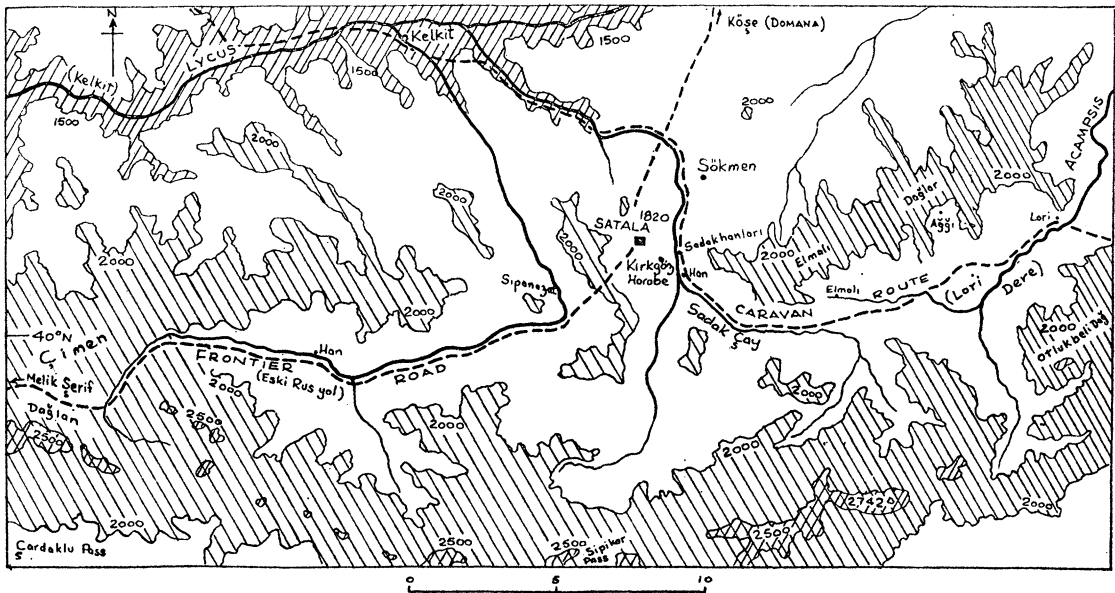


FIG. 4. POSITION OF SATALA
(Scale in English miles)

³¹ Unpublished, Satala. A. Birley, *Life in Roman Britain* (London 1964), 45 f.

³² P. de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant* i (Paris 1717), 169, mentions the aqueduct.

Sir R. Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, etc., etc.*, 1817-20 (London 1822), 684, passed the village of Saddock.

of Refahiye.³³ It crossed the high range of the Çimen Dağları by a now disused pass, leading in two days from Melik Şerif (Carsaga) directly towards the Sıpanazat valley and the fortress at Satala. From its use by Russian troops in 1917, it is still known at Satala as the 'eski Rus yol' (old Russian road). It is said to be paved near the summit of the Çimen Dağları, and for long carried the water-buffalo trade from Suşehri, near Nicopolis. Passing through the fortress, it crossed the Sadak Çay, and so continued northwards to Köşe (Domana) and the valley of the upper Harşıt.

In its position a few miles equidistant from the headwaters of the Lycus and Acampsis (Çoruh), the fortress of Satala was the key to control traffic and resist invasion, or to mount and support offensive operations into Armenia and the Caucasus. Its site illustrates, even more clearly than that of Melitene, fortress of XII Fulminata, the strategic judgement of Roman commanders. In terms of the issues and forces at stake, it is perhaps the most crucially placed legionary fortress in the Empire.

The area was no doubt well known since Claudius' activities in Armenia, and the site had perhaps already held a garrison during Corbulo's campaigns.³⁴ The annexation of Armenia Minor in 71/2 must have been guaranteed from the outset by force.³⁵ With the same period should be associated the establishment of the legionary garrison at Satala, both to police the new province and demonstrate the reality of Roman power, and to protect the exposed salient of Roman territory jutting eastwards into Armenia.

XVI Flavia Firma formed the regular garrison of Satala for nearly half a century. Of its occupation it has left few traces, either in the fortress, where only one other inscription, that of a *miles* C. Trebon[ius], has survived; or in north-eastern Anatolia, which offers only the three centurions posted at the important road centre of Ankyra.³⁶ But the legion's involvement on the eastern *limes* is confirmed by the careers of no fewer than three of its eight attested *tribuni angusticlavii*, who were seconded after service in the legion to command *cohortes miliariae* and an *ala*. Their auxiliary units are otherwise known primarily only from the *Ektaxis* and the *Notitia Dignitatum*, and are unattested in the *diplomata* of other provinces. The reason for their obscurity is clearly that they formed part of the permanent auxiliary garrison of Cappadocia.³⁷

Raised by Vespasian, XVI Flavia Firma is first mentioned probably in the spring of 70, in Syria.³⁸ With the redeployment of Titus' legions after the fall of Jerusalem, on or about 26th September 70, it appears to have moved from Syria, together with XII Fulminata, to garrison the new consular province of Cappadocia. Both legions probably arrived not earlier than spring 71. Like XII Fulminata, which established itself at Melitene (close perhaps to the spot where it had wintered in huts a decade before, 'in extrema Cappadocia'), XVI Flavia Firma also was no doubt making for a destination decided in advance.³⁹

It evidently remained in garrison at Satala until Trajan's Parthian War, in which its participation is proved by the *corona muralis* conferred on a centurion.⁴⁰ But, along with XII Fulminata, it is likely also to have fought in the Armenian campaign, on which Trajan embarked from Satala *cum cognitis militibus*; and the title *Fidelis* first appears at the formation of the province of Armenia Major.⁴¹

During its years at Satala, the legion apparently received the title Firma, almost invariably attached to it from its earliest inscriptions. The occasion is a matter for conjecture—perhaps for operations in the Caucasus in the periods indicated in the inscriptions

³³ ILS 8904, (Melik Şerif), of early 76; F. Cumont, *Bull. Acad. royale de Belgique* (Brussels 1905), p. 197 f., from Sipdiğın, three miles east of Refahiye, of 92-94.

³⁴ Tac., *Ann.* 12, 45 and 13, 39.

³⁵ For the date, T. Reinach, 'Le mari de Salomé et les monnaies de Nicopolis d'Arménie', *REA* 16 (1914), 132 ff.; cf. B. Pick, 'Une monnaie du κοινὸν Ἀρμενίας', id., 283 ff. The coins do not exclude late 71.

³⁶ Unpublished (Satala). *CIL* 3, 264 and 6766/7 (Ankyra).

³⁷ *Cohors III Ulpia miliaria Petraeorum equitata sagittariorum*, *AE* 1931, 36 and 38 (Chellah); cf. Arrian, *Ἐκταξις* 1, and *Notitia Dignitatum, Oriens* 38, 27, stationed later at Metita, in the Kurdish

Taurus. *Cohors I Germanorum miliaria equitata*, *ILS* 8868 (Prusias ad Hypium); cf. *AE* 1931, 36 and 38; Arrian, 2; and *Notitia* 30, stationed at Sisila in Armenia Minor. *Ala I Augusta gemina Colonorum*, *AE* 1926, 150 (Beirut); cf. Arrian, 1; *Notitia* 21, stationed at Chiaca, north of Melitene.

³⁸ Dio 55, 24, 3.

³⁹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* 7, 1, 3; Suetonius, *Vesp.* 8; Tacitus, *Ann.* 15, 6 f.

⁴⁰ N. Marcius Plaetorius Celer, subsequently appointed to command the garrison at Apsarus, *ILS* 2660 (Abella). The legion was perhaps commanded during the war by L. Burbuleius Optatus Ligarianus, who returned to govern Cappadocia under Hadrian and Antoninus, *ILS* 1066 (Minturnae).

⁴¹ Fronto, p. 205; *AE* 1931, 36 and 38 (Chellah).

found at Harmozica or Baku.⁴² After the Parthian War, the legion was probably deployed directly to Samosata, perhaps not until then a permanent fortress, and its place at Satala was taken by XV Apollinaris.⁴³ XVI Flavia Firma remained at Samosata at least until Severus Alexander.⁴⁴

There is no recorded or visible trace at Satala of the original fortress. Previous visitors to Sadak have been few, and excavation has been confined to inconclusive trenching in 1874.⁴⁵ Like Phasis, and its near contemporary at Inchtuthil, it was probably built initially of earth and timber, except, perhaps, for its outer rampart. The earliest surviving remains stand on the hillside 300 m above the fortress site: a large cistern lined with ashlar blocks, probably of the second century, from which water was drawn off through terracotta pipes that still survive. When it was built, the supply was no doubt sufficient for the legion, and it now serves a population of some fifteen hundred. Two vaulted rooms of a bathhouse still stand, just outside the south-west corner of the walls of the fortress. But the growth of the civilian settlement, whose existence is attested by a mass of Christian tombstones, necessitated the subsequent construction of an aqueduct drawing from the headwaters of the Sadak Çay, where similar pipes have been reported. Three of its arches still stand below the fortress (Fig. 5).

4. Satala (Sadak). Inside the house of Osman Nair, on the left of the front door, 100 m NNW. of the mosque.

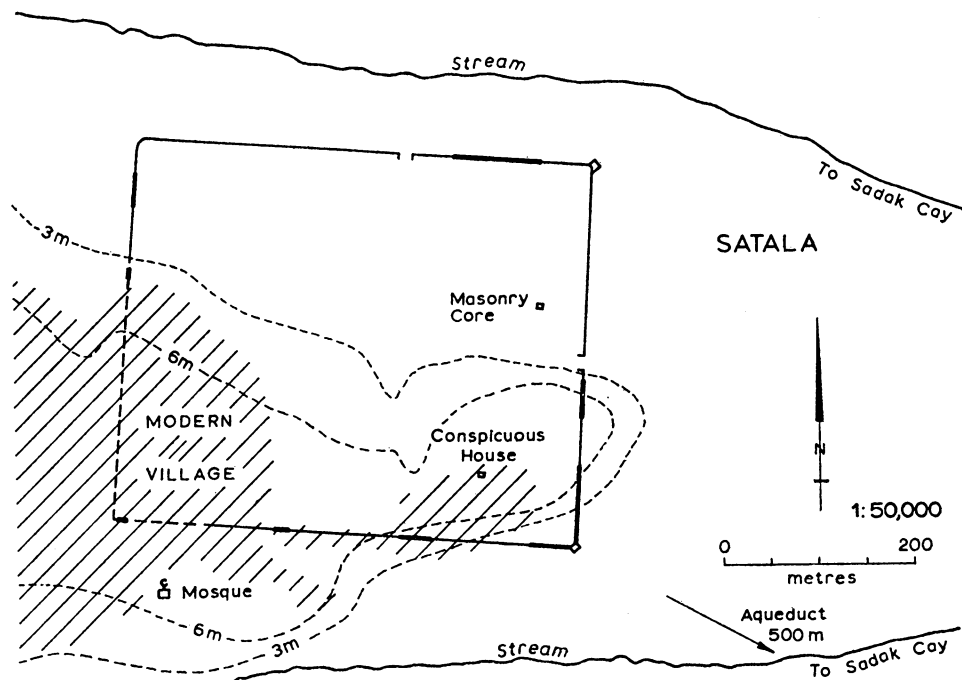


FIG. 5. SATALA: PLAN OF THE LEGIONARY FORTRESS

⁴² *ILS* 8795 (Harmozica), after 1st July, 75; *AE* 1951, 263 (Büyük Taş), above the Caspian, of 84–96. They blocked respectively the southern approaches to the Caucasian and Caspian Gates. With the latter should be associated the lost Latin inscription mentioning XII Fulminata, from the left bank of the lower Araxes, Jampolski, *VDI* 31 (1950, no. 1), 182. The legion's activities may have a connection with the death in 91/2 of Rutilius Gallicus, Statius, *Silvae* 1, 4, 79.

⁴³ Dio 68, 19, 2; and see Inscription no. 4. A move

to Samosata under Hadrian is less conveniently explained, but cannot be ruled out.

⁴⁴ Dio 55, 24, 3; cf. Ptolemy 5, 14, 8; *ILS* 1142 (Rome).

⁴⁵ Satala is usefully described only by Taylor, *JRGS* 38 (1868), (Hogarth and) Yorke, *GJ* 8 (1896), and Cumont, *Studia Pontica* 2. Biliotti's account of his excavations, which failed to recover the body of the bronze head of Aphrodite, is preserved in a consular report in the British Museum, and will be published shortly in *Anatolian Studies*.

Block of hard and darkish limestone, broken above and fractured right. When found the bottom was buried. H. at least 0.70 m; L. 0.51 m; Th. at least 0.34 m; letters 4-4.5 cm.
Photo and squeeze of TBM in 1972. Plate VI, 3.

[L. An]tonio P[ater-]
no armo-
rum custod[i]
leg XV Apolli[n(aris)],
5 vixit annos LIII
militavit ann.
XXVIII evocat.,
Lucius fi-
lius et L. He . . . iu[s]
10 heredes eius f[ec(erunt)]

Apart from legionary tiles, this inscription offers the only epigraphic evidence for the presence of XV Apollinaris at Satala. By style and letter forms it should be dated to the second century.

Transferred perhaps in 114 from Carnuntum in Pannonia Inferior,⁴⁶ XV Apollinaris replaced XVI Flavia Firma at Satala at some point before the invasion in 134 of the Alani, against whom it formed the core of Arrian's army, under M. Vettius Valens.⁴⁷ It had made the same journey once before, in 63, to reinforce Corbulo's army in Armenia.⁴⁸

This second deployment to the east may be satisfactorily explained only in the context of dispositions for Trajan's Armenian and Parthian wars. Two other legions from the Danube, and one from the Rhine, are known to have taken part in the Armenian campaign.⁴⁹ Auxiliary regiments were also transferred, perhaps in company with the legions, in 114: and two *alae* well known in the Danube provinces are attested outside them, during the second century and before Antoninus, only along the strategic route leading up the Lycus valley towards Armenia.⁵⁰ With their deployment may be compared the movement of cavalry detachments under L. Paconius Proculus, evidently for Trajan's Parthian war.⁵¹

XV Apollinaris perhaps reached Satala, along with other reinforcements from the Danube, in time to be met there by Trajan. As there is no evidence for its participation in either the Armenian or the Parthian campaign, the legion perhaps remained behind at Satala, to garrison the western portion of the short-lived province of Armenia Major. It thus released for action XVI Flavia Firma, already accustomed to service conditions in the east, and acclimatized to extremes of temperature and altitude.⁵²

XV Apollinaris remained at Satala at least until the early fifth century.⁵³ But of its three centuries and more of continuous occupation, the epigraphic record is sparse: at Satala itself, we can add only the ten tiles bearing the legionary stamp.⁵⁴ Elsewhere, in Galatia, three centurions may have assumed from XVI Flavia Firma the task of policing the important road centre of Ankyra.⁵⁵ And a soldier retired to die near Neoclaudiopolis.⁵⁶ On the frontier itself the legion's influence is attested only in a single badly worn *aes* at Vacşen, a village three miles north of Dascusa: it bears the freshly struck countermark

⁴⁶ *CIL* 3, 4491, perhaps the latest record of XV Apollinaris at Carnuntum.

⁴⁷ Arrian, *Ἐκτασίς* 5, 15 and 24; cf. *CIL* 11, 383.

⁴⁸ Tac., *Ann.* 15, 25 f.

⁴⁹ From Moesia Superior, VII Claudia took part in *expeditione [P]artica et Ar(meniaca)*, *AE* 1905, 163; cf. Arrian, *Parthica* frag. 80, and *ILS* 2083. From Moesia Inferior, a vexillation of I Italica, which had fought in Dacia, was present at Artaxata, B. N. Arakelyan, *VDI*, loc. cit.; while from Germania Superior XXII Primigenia served in *bellum Armeniacum et Parthic(um)*, *AE* 1962, 311. Some perhaps spent the winter of 113/4 in Ankyra, *IGR* 3, 173.

⁵⁰ *Ala I Flavia Aug. Britannica miliaria c.R.*, attested continuously in diplomata of Pannonia Inferior from 110 to 167, was described on 1st September, 114 as *missa in expeditionem*, *CIL* 16, 61; it must have returned to the Danube by 123, for discharges in 148 included Reidomarus, an Eraviscus, *CIL* 16, 179/80. During this absence it left epi-

graphic trace of its deployment at Amaseia and perhaps at Nicopolis, important stages on the road to Satala, *Studia Pontica* 104 and *AE* 1908, 23. *Ala I Claudia nova* appears to have been similarly transferred from Dacia or Moesia Superior, outside which it is known only at Amaseia, *Studia Pontica* 105.

⁵¹ *praef. vexillation. eq. Moesiae Infer. et Daciae . . . in expeditione Parthic.*, *ILS* 2723 (Rome).

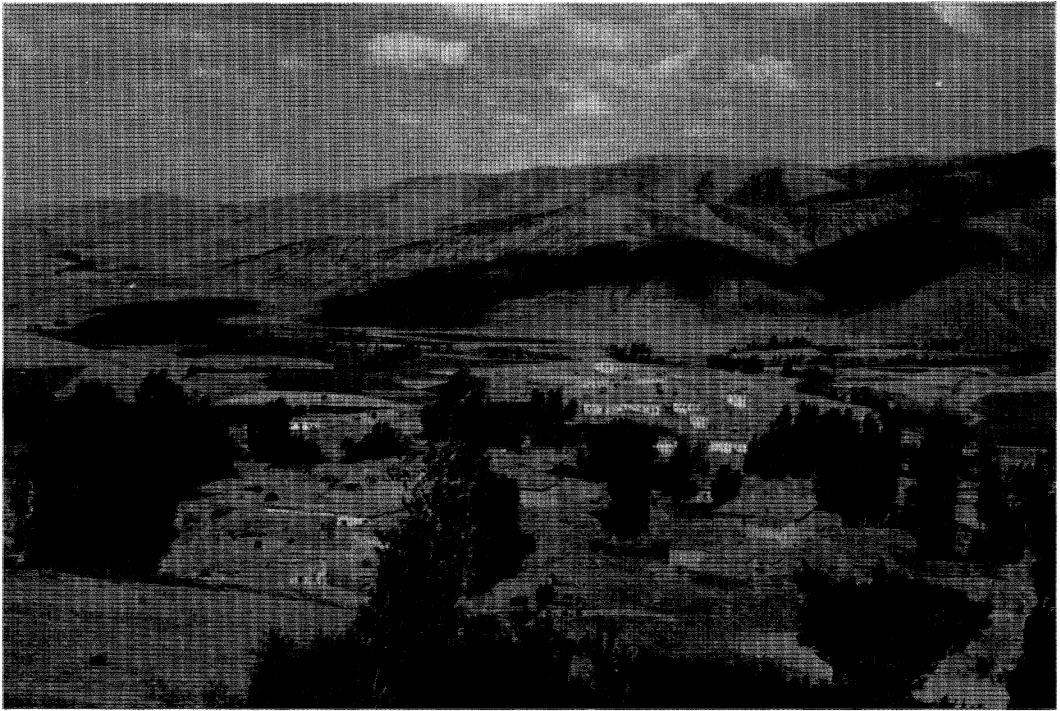
⁵² Dio 68, 19; cf. Fronto, p. 205. IV Scythica, attested at Artaxata in 116, may be considered to have garrisoned the eastern part. Trajan left troops in strategic places, Dio 68, 21, and Arakelyan, loc. cit. Satala lies at 5,900 feet.

⁵³ Dio 55, 23, 5; Antonine Itinerary 183, 5; *Notitia Dignitatum*, *Oriens* 38, 13.

⁵⁴ cf. V. W. Yorke, *JHS* 18 (1898), 321, no. 36.

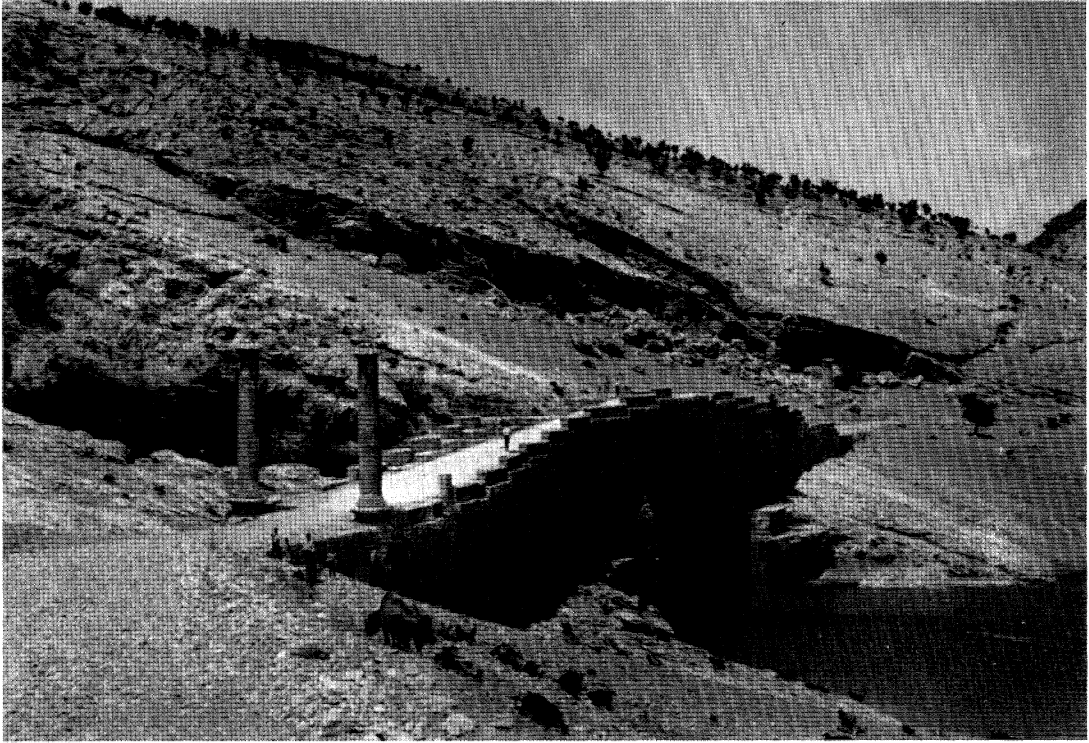
⁵⁵ *CIL* 3, 242, 268, 6761; there may also be a tribune, id., 6752.

⁵⁶ *Studia Pontica* 34.



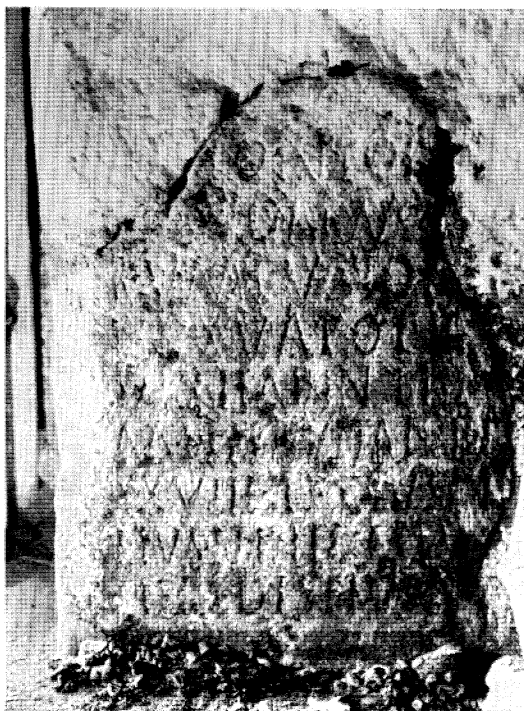
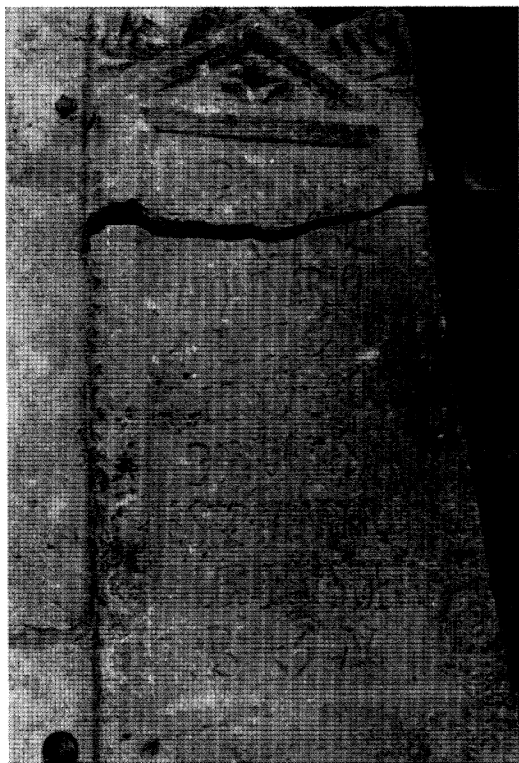
(1) SATALA: VIEW LOOKING EAST OVER THE ROMAN FORTRESS AND MODERN VILLAGE OF SADAK (see p. 164). (2) THE RIVER EUPHRATES AND A SECTION OF THE SAMOSATA AQUEDUCT (see p. 160)

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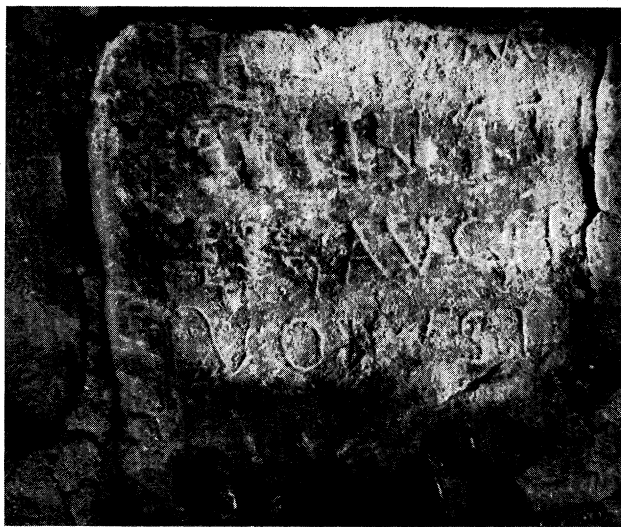
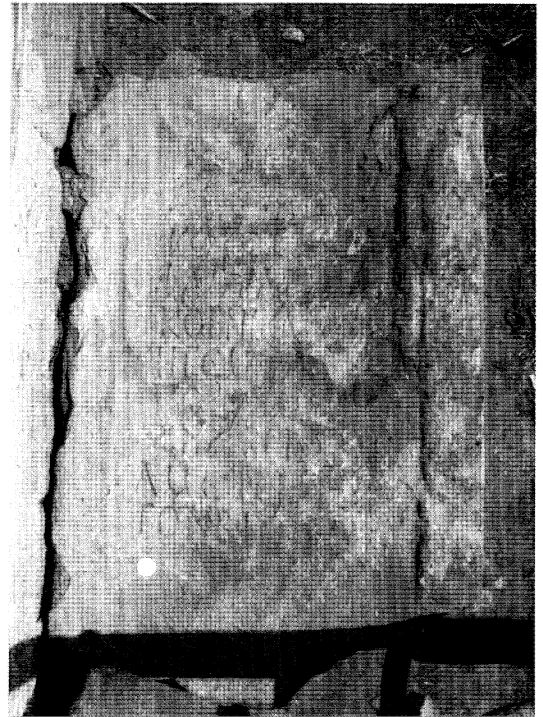
(1) NORTHERN COMMAGENE: BRIDGE OF SEVERUS OVER THE CENDERE SU (see pp. 160, 174). (2) TRAPEZUS: MONUMENTAL DEDICATION TO HADRIAN (see p. 160)

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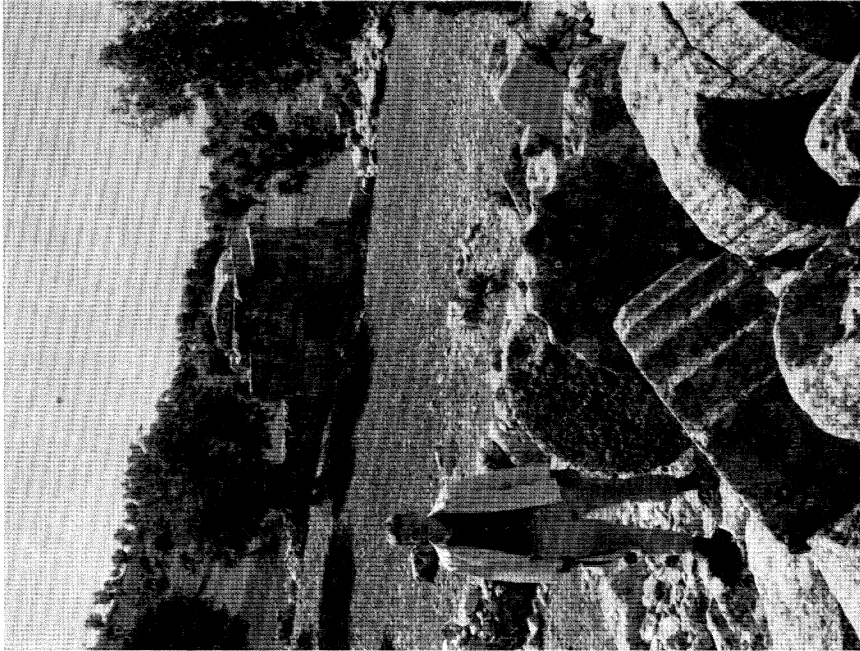
(1) TRAPEZUS: TOMBSTONE OF SOLDIER OF THE LEGION XV APOLLINARIS (see p. 163). (2) SATALA: TOMBSTONE OF SIGNIFER OF THE LEGION XVI FLAVIA FIRMA (see p. 165). (3) SATALA: TOMBSTONE OF CUSTOS ARMORUM OF THE LEGION XV APOLLINARIS (see p. 168)

Photographs (1) by Mr. Norman Hammond, (2) (3) by author. Copyright reserved



(1) SATALA: BUILDING INSCRIPTION OF EMPEROR GALLIENUS (see p. 169) (2) SATALA: TOMBSTONE OF CUSPIUS FABIANUS (see p. 170). (3) ZIMARA: BUILDING INSCRIPTION OF CATILIUS SEVERUS (see p. 171)

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DERIK KALE: (1) (2) DEDICATION BY T. CLAUDIUS CANDIDUS, LEFT-HAND AND RIGHT-HAND PORTIONS (see p. 173). (3) COLUMN DRUMS AND VAULTED TOMB (see p. 173 f.)
 Photographs by author. Copyright reserved

LXV (legio XV).⁵⁷ And by the vexillation and military doctor at Trapezus, which, with the vexillations at Kainepolis and perhaps Petra, have already been discussed.⁵⁸

5. Satala (Sadak). Found in 1963 near the centre of the fortress. Condemned to be built into a house some 300 m NW. of the mosque.

Block of whitish limestone, roughly dressed but complete. The inscription is set in an ansate panel, and traces of red survive in the letters. H. 0.99 m; L. 0.74 m; Th. 0.29 m. Crude letters 4-5.5 cm.

Photo and squeeze of TBM in 1964. Plate VII, 1.

Imp. Galli-
eno Aug.
V et Faus-
tiano cos.

The date is 262.

The inscription provides an alternative form of the name for the *consul ordinarius* of that year. He is otherwise known epigraphically only in an almost identical text from Ostia.⁵⁹

The official language implies a public rather than a private dedication. Professor Richmond suggested that the stone may be one of an inscribed pair erected on either side of the door of a large building. In arrangement and cut the text is of unusual crudeness, for which the date may offer an explanation.

The mid-third century brought a series of disasters upon the central and northern sections of the *limes* guarded by Satala.

In c. 250 the Armenian king was murdered, and his son Tiridates fled to Roman protection when Sapor invaded and conquered his country. Instead of a client, a hostile and aggressive ruler for the first time faced the Romans across the upper Euphrates. Imperial concern for the frontier defences is attested in Decius' restoration of the Sabrina bridge in 249/51.⁶⁰

Under Valerian a new enemy appeared to the north as well. In c. 255 the Borani sacked Trapezus, despite reinforcement in legionary strength, and seized much of the eastern Pontic fleet.⁶¹

Perhaps in the following year, Sapor swept through Cappadocia and Armenia Minor, capturing Satala and its surrounding territory, together with the adjoining stations along the frontier road at Domana and Suissa.⁶² His claim implies the destruction, or the absence, of the legionary garrison, and this lends support to the view that XV Apollinaris had been weakened by involvement in the futile defence of Trapezus. But the legion cannot have been entirely destroyed, for it survived to remain in garrison at Satala more than a century later.⁶³

A few years after Sapor's raid the Goths, allies of the Borani, overran Cappadocia and Galatia; and at this period cities throughout Asia Minor hurriedly constructed protective walls not previously needed.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ It is probably of Trajan, of the mint of Caesarea. The same countermark appears on a coin from Nicopolis, of 113/4, T. Reinach, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, I (ed. 2, 1925), 136, n. 2, and *REA* 16 (1915), 136 f., fig. 5 f.

⁵⁸ See above Inscription 2. A road was apparently constructed from Satala to Kainepolis: *CIL* 3, 13627A, a milestone fragment perhaps of Commodus, was found among the north western foothills of Mt. Ararat, some twenty miles south west of Kainepolis.

⁵⁹ *CIL* 14, 5357, *Imperatore Gallieno Augusto V et Nummio Faustiano cons 2*. *Faustianus* recurs in SHA, *Gallienus* 5, 2; and in *Fasti Theonis Alex.* 3, 378. The variations *Faustinianus* and *Faustinus* are also known from later *Fasti*, *PIR*³ F 125. For the Nummii, brought to prominence by Gallienus' patronage with the consulship, cf. *Diz. Epigr.* 2, 1015.

⁶⁰ Magie, 1568, n. 29. *CIL* 3, 14184¹⁴, where the

reason for his repairs is unstated. The bridge, 30 m long, rested on foundations of solid rock. Its larger Severan counterpart still carries jeeps and trucks across the Chabina; see below, Inscription 9.

⁶¹ Zosimus 1, 33. The extra soldiers defeated at Trapezus must have been drawn from supporting garrisons and from XV Apollinaris itself. $\mu\upsilon\pi\tau\omega\nu$ may indicate no more than an indefinitely large number.

⁶² E. Honigmann, A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (Brussels 1952), para 18. See also 'Res Gestae Divi Saporis', *Syria* 35 (1958), 295: Satala in l. 18.

⁶³ *Notitia Dignitatum, Oriens* 38, 13; A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* 3, 381, dates the whole document 'basically to 408': but the armies of the eastern frontier are in it preserved largely unaltered since the time of Diocletian.

⁶⁴ For instance at Ankyra, *IGR* 3, 206; and perhaps at Dorylaeum, Magie, 1567, n. 28.

The present inscription suggests a programme of reconstruction at the fortress. The more careful and elaborate dedication to Aurelian in 272/5 may be seen as part of the same process; marking perhaps the later completion or repair of an important public building, it may bear witness to a continuing and determined effort to restore the defences of Satala, and to reassert Rome's authority in the north east.⁶⁵ The increased importance of the northern sector of the frontier was recognized under Diocletian by the installation at Trapezus, between 284 and 288, of a new legion, I Pontica.⁶⁶

6. Satala (Sadak). Found in 1962 near the ruins of the fortress wall, in the centre of the northern part of the fortress. Now serving as a bench outside the house of Cemil Nair, some 200 m N. of the mosque.

Block of soft whitish limestone, broken above and below, and with mouldings on each side. The back is smooth. The inscription is complete, but badly worn to the right. There are traces of red in some letters. H. 1.22 m; L. 0.75 m; Th. 0.25 m. Letters 5 cm.

Photo and squeeze of TBM in 1964. Plate VII, 2.

Κούσπι[ον]
 Φαβιαν[ο]ν
 κορνι(κουλάριον) καὶ (ἐκατόνταρχον) τοῦ
 ἡγεμονο[ς]
 5 [Κ]οῦσ[πία] γυνή
 ζήσαντα [πά]ντα
 ἀμέμπτως
 τὸν βίον

This is the earliest Greek inscription known from Satala, and should be assigned on the grounds of its lay-out and the closing formula to the second century.⁶⁷ It is evidently military, mentioning a legate, and perhaps his *cornicularius* or *cornicen*. Unfortunately the right-hand portion of each line was already badly worn by 1964, and the text cannot be restored with certainty. By 1972 the surface had been almost entirely obliterated.

L. 3. The text appears to read ΚΟΡΝΙΚΛΙΜΝΑΙ. The letters ΚΟΡΝΗΛΑΜΝΟΥ are also possible, and the symbol ✕ may be preferred to Μ, for μ is used elsewhere in the text. It is tempting to restore κορνι(κουλάριον) or κορνίκην, and explain the symbol as a centurial sign. The former is closer to the letter traces, and the line should perhaps read κορνι(κουλάριον) καὶ (ἐκατόνταρχον) τοῦ | ἡγεμονο[ς].⁶⁸ A *cornicularius* would serve in the *officium legati legionis* in the legionary headquarters; or serve as one of three secretaries, under a centurion as *princeps officii*, on the staff of the governor of Cappadocia.⁶⁹

An alternative, and perhaps easier, restoration is Κορνηλιανόν, a name found twice at Amaseia.⁷⁰ The following line should then be restored in the accusative, to reveal Cuspius Fabianus Cornelianus as, presumably, legionary legate. Such unwieldy names were not uncommon.⁷¹ But for this interpretation the stone may look rather too modest.

L. 4. Four or five letters may be lost from the end of the line.

L. 5. The text appears to read ΠΟΥΒΟΥΟΥΝC or ΠΟΥ.ΩCKΩ.

The two lines may be expected to contain either the command, whether legionary or provincial, of the legate; or—possibly and—the names of the person commemorating Cuspius and a noun to show the relationship. Word order precludes the name of the legate (if Cuspius is to be restored as his *cornicularius*).⁷²

L. 6. The text appears to read ΠΟΝΑ at the end of the line.

Along the Euphrates frontier, Greek and Latin are equally distributed in pagan inscriptions. Greek is unmistakably the language of civilians. In the Pontic cities, in Armenia Minor at Nicopolis and Trapezus, and in Armenia Major at Kainepolis and Harmozica, it is also found in official and military texts.⁷³ It is invariably used by Christians.

⁶⁵ J. G. Taylor, *JRGS* 38 (1868), 287 f.; cf. *CIL* 3, 14184³.

⁶⁶ See above, Inscription 2.

⁶⁷ Compare *Studia Pontica* 81, 157B, and, for the formula, 221.

⁶⁸ Compare *ILS* 8880, βφ . . . καὶ κορνικουλάριος καὶ ἐκατόνταρχος γενουμένος τῆς ἡγεμο(νίας). And *CIG* 3, 4453.

⁶⁹ Dobson-v. Domaszewski, *Rangordnung* 29 and 38.

⁷⁰ *IGR* 3, 115; *Studia Pontica* 96.

⁷¹ Compare the consul of 142, L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus; and L. Catilius Severus Julianus Claudius Reginus, governor of Armenia Major under Trajan, and associated with a Fabius (?) at Zimara, in Inscription 7.

⁷² The surviving letters suggest, for example, [ΛΕΥ. 1Ε' Α]||[Π]ΟΛ.

⁷³ Compare at Trapezus Inscription 1, above; and at Kainepolis the tombstone erected by P. Aelius Valens, tribune of ΛΕΥ. 1Ε' Απολ., *SEG* 15, 839.

To this general rule, Satala is in striking contrast. During the first and second centuries, Latin is the exclusive language of epigraphy, apart from the present inscription, and is used indifferently for civilian and military purposes. Although evidently preferred for inscriptions by Arrian,⁷⁴ Greek appears only in Christian epitaphs, later in date and recovered in large numbers from an ancient cemetery close to the ruins of the aqueduct.

7. Zimara (Pingan). Built into the north wall of a house a few metres from the river, on the right bank of the Euphrates.

Block of grey limestone, broken above and right. The stone appears to be complete below, but the final line has been split away almost entirely. A moulding survives on the left of the text. H. 0·37 m; L. 0·34 m; Th. unknown. Letters 3·5–4 cm.

Photo and squeeze of TBM in 1963. Plate VII, 3.

Fabium [.v6 . . et L. Ca-]
 [[tilium Se[verum . . v6. .]]
 leg. Aug. p[r.pr. . . v8 . . .]
 Volusi[o v10 . . .]
 5 [. curam agente]

L. 1. The lower half of each letter is preserved. *Fabium*, rather than *Fabianum* (which appears in Inscription 6), seems certain.

L. 2. The line is erased, evidently in antiquity, but appears to contain traces of a *nomen* and *cognomen*. Of the former, the first four letters are almost certainly TILI, while the next two appear to be VM: Stajtilius or Ca]tilius may be discerned.⁷⁵ The *cognomen* is more obscure. Only the first two letters survive, not inconsistent with SE.

If the fragment belonged to a plaque, perhaps an imperial dedication, its original proportions may perhaps be recovered from comparison with the few formal and official texts in Latin from the *limes* and Armenia Major.⁷⁶ They suggest that the surviving fragment represents not more than a quarter of the original text, with three or four lines lost above, and ten to twelve letters lost to the right. A line length of this order is necessary, for as Fabius is not erased, he must be seen as a separate dedicant, possibly a tribune or legionary legate.⁷⁷ The erased names should be attached to the *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. Further restoration is without value.

The only known governor of Cappadocia who may here be restored is L. Catilius Severus Julius Claudius Reginus.⁷⁸ Despite the erasure, his name emerges from the letter traces with confidence. It was probably abbreviated, for there is space for his full names only if a total line length of some 1·20 m is assumed: proportions extremely uncommon in Pontus and on the eastern *limes*. The reason for the erasure remains unexplained.⁷⁹ This identification rules out an equation with L. Fabius Cilo, legate of XVI Flavia Firma at Samosata under Marcus or Commodus.⁸⁰

The original fort at Zimara was presumably contemporary with that at Dascusa, which apparently dates at the latest from the early years of Domitian.⁸¹ If correctly referred to Catilius Severus, this stone would imply continued occupation, perhaps even a subsequent building-phase, at Zimara in the last years of Trajan.

It may reflect work at the fort at about the time of Trajan's march along the military road to Satala, in 114.⁸² But Severus was probably appointed in that year specifically to govern the enlarged but short-lived province of Cappadocia, Armenia Minor and Armenia

⁷⁴ Arrian, *Periplus* 1, 2. His army included three Greek officers in command of cohorts: Daphnis of Corinth, Demetrius, and Lamprocles: Arrian, Ἐκταξις 1 and 3.

⁷⁵ Titianum, suggested by the *nomen* Fabium as well as by the erasure, cannot be supported from the letter traces, *ILS* 741.

⁷⁶ Inscriptions of Nero, *CIL* 3, 6741, 6742, 6742A, Kesrik and Kowank, in the plain of Elaziğ, below Harput; of Marcus and Commodus, *ILS* 9117 and 394, at Kainepolis; of Severus, *AE* 1908, 22, at Carsaga (Melik Şerif); of Decius, *CIL* 3, 14184¹⁴, at the Karabudak bridge, fourteen miles east of Zimara. In each the average line length is of 16–20 letters, distributed over 7 or 8 lines. The Aurelian

inscription at Satala, mentioned under Inscription 5, is too fragmentary for comparison; and the Severan on the Chabina bridge are cut on stelae, *CIL* 3, 6709–11. The fragmentary inscription from Dascusa (below, Inscription 8) appears to be the only exception. In eastern Cappadocia and Pontus, such Latin texts are entirely lacking.

⁷⁷ Compare at Kainepolis *ILS* 9117 and 394.

⁷⁸ *ILS* 1041 (Antium); cf. Groag, *PIR*² C 558.

⁷⁹ Compare at Risingham C. Julius Marcus, governor of Britain in 213, *RIB* 1235, cf. 1202.

⁸⁰ *ILS* 1141/2 (Rome).

⁸¹ Inscription 8.

⁸² Dio 68, 19; Magie, *Roman Rule* 1464 f., n. 31.

Major. If so, it is hard to see why Severus should sponsor what are presumably military constructions or improvements at Zimara, at a time when the frontier was temporarily advanced several hundred miles to the east. It may be that the Flavian *limes* was never actually abandoned, even briefly. For despite the presence of powerful Roman garrisons in Armenia Major, Trajan was evidently willing to surrender a part of the province to Vologaeses after the general revolt of 116.⁸³ The governor's activities at Zimara may reflect a policy, or an anticipation, that Roman control over the whole of Armenia, once demonstrated by force, was not intended to endure. They suggest practical measures to underwrite Trajan's secret instructions, invoked on his accession by Hadrian, for a withdrawal to a defensive frontier on the Euphrates.

It is tempting to infer from this inscription that Severus continued in office under Hadrian for long enough to implement, at least initially, the reversal of Trajan's Armenian policy; and so to refurbish installations at a fort whose importance, at the bend of the Euphrates above the Antitaurus gorge, was once again established by the withdrawal of the frontier from Armenia Major. But Severus was transferred to govern Syria as soon as Hadrian became Emperor,⁸⁴ that is, in August or September 117. His promotion implies not only that he was successful in office in Armenia, but also that he had acquiesced in some measure, and may even have supported Hadrian's new policy.

Pingan may with certainty be identified with Zimara, the last station actually on the *ripa* north of Dascusa.⁸⁵ But despite large quantities of coarse pottery and cut stones, the fort itself has not yet been traced on the ground. The ancient name is preserved in a Turkish village five miles to the north west.

8. Pağnik Öreni, near Ağın. Found in 1971 in the south east corner of Tower VII, in a fort situated beside the Euphrates, a few hundred metres north of the village of Pağnik.

Block, broken right and re-used as a building stone. Around the face the edge, perhaps containing a decorative border, has been chipped away above, left and below. H. 0.49 m; L. 0.62 m; Th. 0.38 m. Regular and well-cut letters.

Copy communicated by Mr. R. P. Harper. Cf. *AS* 22 (1972), p. 27; and Middle East Technical University, *Keban Project* (forthcoming).

Imp. C[æsar divi Vespasiani f. Domitianus Aug.]
pont. max. [trib. potest., cos. VIII desig. VIII, p.p.],
A. Caesenn[io Gallo leg. Aug. pr. pr., per]
Coh. [III Ulp. (mil) Petraeorum]

After *Imp.* and *Coh* is a vine leaf.

In the first line, the fourth letter is lunate, evidently C. The text should be referred to Domitian; rather than to Titus, whose inscriptions generally start *Imp. T. Caesar*.⁸⁶

In a military inscription containing the imperial titles, A. Caesenn[ius] may be identified with confidence with A. Caesennius Gallus, governor of Cappadocia 80–82, and builder of an extensive road system in Pontus, Cappadocia and Armenia Minor.⁸⁷

A date some time later than 82 could be entertained for this inscription, since the next known governor, Ti. Julius Candidus Marius Celsus, cannot have reached the province before c. 88.⁸⁸ But it is perhaps more likely to be contemporary with the extant milestones of Caesennius Gallus: these preserve the earliest record of a widespread programme of construction along the strategic roads leading eastwards across the north east of Anatolia in support of Vespasian's frontier.

⁸³ Perhaps including IV Scythica at Kainepolis, and XV Apollinaris at Satala, Dio 68, 21 and *Exc.* 75, 9, 6; and see Inscription 4, above.

⁸⁴ SHA, *Hadr.* 9, 2, and 5, 10; cf. Fronto, p. 206.

⁸⁵ Pliny, *NH* 5, 83; Yorke, *Gy* 8 (1896), 454; J. Wünsch, *AEMO* 8 (1884), 239 ff. From Pingan, goat skin rafts now carry corn through the Antitaurus gorge to Kemalije.

⁸⁶ Cf. *CIL* 3, 12218 and *ILS* 263. For the imperial titles, cf. *ILS* 268 (Ankyra). The cohort, which formed a part of the early and permanent auxiliary garrison of Cappadocia, is supplied *exempli gratia*.

⁸⁷ *Vias provinciarum Galatiae, Cappadociae, Ponti, Pisidiae, Paphlagoniae, Lycaoniae, Armeniae Minoris stravit*, *ILS* 268 (Ankyra); cf. Groag, *PIR*² C 170. He is attested on five milestones, cited in chronological order, on roads radiating from Ankyra. Under Titus to the west to Dorylaeum, *ILS* 263; and south to Derbe, on the borders of Lycaonia and Pisidia, *CIL* 3, 12218. And under Domitian on the road to Tavium, *AS* 4 (1954), 111 ff., no. 8; at Ankyra, *ILS* 268; and on the road leading south east to Parnassus and Caesareia, *CIL* 3, 14184.⁴⁸

⁸⁸ *PIR*² J 241; *CIL* 3, 250 (Ankyra).

The construction of what are evidently military buildings beside the Euphrates may be seen as a part of the same programme, and attests the continuing importance attached to the frontier by Vespasian's sons. This finely cut inscription, seemingly a fragment of an extremely large dedication, perhaps marks the completion of the Flavian fort at Dascusa. It shows the energetic Gallus in a new light, as someone more than a determined road-builder: indeed it raises the question whether he was a principal architect of the frontier itself—the equivalent perhaps of Aulus Platorius Nepos forty years later on Hadrian's Wall. The text fills the gap in the epigraphic record of activities during the first century between Melik Şerif⁸⁹ and the Euphrates bank south of Samosata.⁹⁰ The inscription of Catilius Severus from Pingan (Zimara) records no doubt similar work at another important *limes* fort at the end of Trajan's reign.⁹¹

The construction of strategic roads in support of Vespasian's frontier continued for a further twenty years. A milestone perhaps of 92–94, three miles east of Refahiye, records work on the frontier road itself.⁹² But the great credit belongs to T. Pomponius Bassus, whose appointment as governor of Cappadocia (95–?100) was confirmed by Nerva and Trajan. His seventeen recorded milestones are concentrated on the roads leading east and north-east from Ankyra to Tavium and Amaseia, and on towards Neocaesareia and the Lycus valley. He is also known to have been active near Sebasteia, and on the road from Caesareia to Tyana.⁹³

From the abundance of literary references, Dascusa emerges as one of the most important forts on the Euphrates *limes*. As early as Claudius it could be reckoned as the westernmost limit of Armenia. It also marked the northern boundary of Cappadocia, and like Zimara was a landmark for the navigation of the Euphrates during the campaigns of Corbulo.⁹⁴ It lay roughly half way between Zimara and Melitene. For these reasons, it must have been located more or less opposite the valley of the Arsanias. But the precise position of Dascusa remains uncertain. The abundance of coins, pottery and early structural remains from the Ağın area suggests that the fort stood north of the Roman bridge over the Arabkir Çay, somewhere on the slopes between Ağın and the Euphrates, and probably not far from Pağnik, the first village, and habitable site, actually on the *ripa* below Pingan. The Flavian fort cannot however be identified with the remains known at Pağnik Öreni, in which the earlier of the two occupation levels has been dated to the third quarter of the fourth century.⁹⁵ The fortification wall and rectangular towers at Kilise Yazısı Tepe, on the promontory below Vaçşen, are associated with coins and pottery of the second century. But their publication to date does not permit positive conclusions.⁹⁶

9. Lacotena (?) (Derek Kale, Plate VIII, 3). Fallen from a building on the very summit of the hill above the ancient site, in a conspicuous position on the ridge overlooking the valley of the Cendere Su (Chabina). From it the summit of Nemrud Dağ is visible, and the Severus bridge over the Chabina is just out of sight some three hours to the south (Plate V, 1).

Two large blocks of white limestone.

A). H. 0.43 m; L. 1.02 m; Th. 0.64 m. Very careful letters of 10 cm. The block is complete, but the corners of the face are fractured, and the letters worn.

⁸⁹ Carsaga, ten miles east of Refahiye, where a milestone of Cn. Pompeius Collega records the construction of the frontier road in early 76, *ILS* 8904.

⁹⁰ The *opus cochliae*, built in 72/3 by III Gallica, *ILS* 8903 (Aini). Presumably as a part of the overall frontier system, M. Ulpius Trajanus constructed the road leading north east from Palmyra to the Euphrates at Sura in 75, Bowersock *JRS* 63 (1973), 133 ff. Support cannot readily be offered for his view, suggested largely *ex silentio* by Syme, *Tacitus* 31, n. 1, that Trajanus may also have organized the frontier against Armenia. It was an immense task. The *limes* stretched across country as difficult as any in the Empire, for five hundred miles north from Samosata. Two kingdoms required organization—Armenia Minor, annexed in 71/2 (see Inscription 3 above, with n. 35), and Commagene, added after

July 72. And Trajanus is attested in Syria as governor by 73/4. Even for the Emperor's father, two years at most were not enough.

⁹¹ Above, Inscription 7.

⁹² Either by L. Antistius Rusticus, who died in office in Cappadocia in 93, Ramsay, *JRS* 14 (1924), 182; or by (L. Caesennius) Sospes, the *praetorius* who apparently relieved him at short notice, *ILS* 1017 (Pisidian Antioch); cf. Syme, *Hermes* 85 (1957), 493, n. 2.

⁹³ See especially *CIL* 3, 14184²³, in the Lycus valley west of Neocaesareia, and an unpublished stone in the Sivas museum, perhaps from the road to Zara; and Magie, *Roman Rule* 1453, n. 10.

⁹⁴ Pliny, *NH* 5, 83 and 6, 26; Orosius 1, 2, 23.

⁹⁵ *AS* 22 (1972), 27 f., and fig. 5.

⁹⁶ *AS* 21 (1971), 49.

B). H. 0·43 m; L. 0·99 m; Th. 0·66 m. Similar letters, very well preserved. The face is damaged left, and all the sides are smooth. The back is rough.

Photos and squeezes of TBM in 1965. Plate VIII, 1, 2.

Κάνδιδος ὠρθωσέν με [τ]ὸν ὠγύγιόν ποτε βῶμον
 [Φ]οίβου Ἀπόλλωνος μα|ντεύμασιν ἀθανάτοισιν.
 [ῥ]μὶ δὲ Ζηνὸς ἄγαλμ[α] ἐρισθένεος βασιλῆος.

The date is probably between 195 and 199.

Candidus has rebuilt an ancient altar, with a statue of Zeus, the mighty king. The altar as well as the oracles may be associated with Apollo, for a base that has tumbled nearly to the foot of the summit cone records the erection of a statue and base of Apollo Επεκοος.

The reference to an oracle of Apollo is obscure. The word is of course familiarly associated with Delphi,⁹⁷ and its use here need not imply the existence of another ancient oracular site, otherwise unknown and standing on the lip of a remote valley, amid ruins that appear to be exclusively Roman. It may be preferable to suppose that Candidus restored the altar and erected a statue of Zeus in obedience to an oracle, in anticipation or on completion of some enterprise: his part of a bargain struck with Apollo. The ruins of his work lie scattered down the slopes below the summit: a long section of an architrave, identical in height and thickness with the blocks of the main inscription, has evidently fallen from the same building; on it the name [Can]didus may be restored at the head of a single line of text. Not far from it three large inscribed blocks appear to record in verse a rebuilding by priests from Zeugma, perhaps of a temple treasury. The same word, ἀ|νὸρθωσαν, is used.

Derik Kale is a site of some grandeur. It towers above the northern lip of a valley distinguished by the monuments of the kings of Commagene—Nemrud Dağ, Arsameia and Karakuş—and by the Severus bridge. The ancient site consists of three distinct groups of standing ashlar walls and rubble:

(a) A mass of rough stones, perhaps from a surrounding wall, has tumbled southwards over the head of the pass.

(b) Four hundred metres to the north a pile of Ionic and composite Corinthian drums, at least 59 in number, marks the front of a temple or large shrine. They appear to have formed a double row of four columns, each of eight drums and some 4·40 m high. At the rear were evidently pilasters. The temple faced south, and its foundations were at least 20 m in length. 50 m in front of the temple stands a large ashlar tomb, of a type found commonly in Rough Cilicia; it is uninscribed but almost intact. Close behind the temple the remains of an ashlar tower still stand to a height of some 10·50 m, above a huge barrel vault. As with the column drums, the height of each course is 55 cm (Plate VIII, 3).

(c) Immediately above the temple complex a conical hill climbs steeply for a further hundred metres. The summit bore the shrine and statue of Zeus. The slopes are strewn with the architectural and epigraphic debris already mentioned.

Work of this style and quality survives elsewhere on the Euphrates frontier only in the Severus bridge; and in the Taurus is virtually unknown to the east of Rough Cilicia. The inscriptions and structural remains are those of a religious site; of civilian or military occupation there is no trace. The population cannot have been large: an ice-cold spring, sufficient now for some forty migratory Kurds, flows throughout the year.

In such a context, the position in which the two stones of the inscription were found should give a clear indication of the status of the man whose *cognomen* heads the text. In a metrical inscription, a single name is likely to record either a man of no consequence, whose identity is of interest only to his friends, or a man of such distinction that he may be recognized without further description. At Derik Kale the latter must apply, and an identity may be proposed with confidence.

Ti. Claudius Candidus played a decisive role at the outset of Severus' reign. Defeating Pescennius Niger at Nicaea in 193, he overran Northern Mesopotamia two years later, and conquered the Arabs in Adiabene.⁹⁸ The campaign was evidently completed by the end of

⁹⁷ In Pindar, and *SEG* 3, 400.

⁹⁸ As *dux exercitus Illyrici expeditione Asiana item*

Parthica, *ILS* 1140 (Tarracennensis); cf. Stein, *PIR*² C 823.

195, and brought three distinct victories for Severus, who assumed the titles *Arabicus* and *Adiabenicus*.⁹⁹ The second campaign, of 197–9, saw the annexation of Osrhoene and Mesopotamia, but of Candidus' participation there is no record.¹⁰⁰

The double reference to rebuilding at Derik Kale suggests that there had been a period of neglect on the part of the Roman authorities; a neglect paralleled close at hand by the Chabina bridge, restored by Severus and his sons in 199.¹⁰¹ There is no evidence for violence along the *limes* in northern Commagene during the first and second centuries. Indeed, the troop movements associated with Trajan's and Marcus' Parthian wars can have formed the only interludes of short-lived activity among decades of peace and relative stagnation in the Kurdish Taurus.

But Severus' campaigns in northern Mesopotamia altered the entire defensive balance of the Hadrianic frontier system, and gave a new and sudden importance to the military road from Caesarea to Melitene. Early in 198 it was entirely rebuilt to the east of Comana.¹⁰² The massive rebuilding of the Chabina bridge in the following year must be seen as a part of the same design, and should be associated with the formation of the new provinces of Mesopotamia and Osrhoene; to which, via the crossing point at Samosata, the Flavian frontier road across the Kurdish Taurus provided the most direct route for reinforcements from the Danube.

Candidus' altar must belong to the same period. Its position ensured prominence for a name linked by victory with the new provinces. For Derik Kale lies on or close to the direct military road from Melitene to Samosata. It is perhaps to be identified with the ancient Lacotena, the last station known before Perre, now Pirun beside Adiyaman.¹⁰³

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⁹⁹ Sometimes with *Parthicus*. For Severus as Imperator V–VII, all while *trib. pot.* III in 195, see *ILS* 417 and 438; and *RIC* 4, 1, 60 and 98 f., nos. 58 f.

¹⁰⁰ Magie, *Roman Rule* 1540 ff., nn. 22, 25, 26.

¹⁰¹ *A solo restituerunt et transitum reddiderunt*, *CIL* 3, 6709–11. Hogarth and Yorke reported an erased inscription of Vespasian on the north east column of the bridge, *JHS* 18 (1898), 315. Of their imagined letters, not one can be traced with any confidence on any drum of the column. In other inscriptions their accuracy is demonstrably poor, and they appear to have been misled by artificial marks on the lowest drum.

¹⁰² Fifteen milestones of C. Julius Flaccus Aelianus, *PIR*³ J 311; cf. Magie, op. cit. 1349 f., n. 3. The road can be traced eastwards from Elbistan, closely following the line of the modern road to Malatya, as far as the final summit four miles west of the junction for Darende and Malatya. There is a group of two badly worn milestones at the summit, above Topalı Yazı Köy, and half a mile east of the village is a third, of Diocletian.

¹⁰³ The road is known only from the *Antonine Itinerary* 207, 10 and 215, 7, and must be distinguished from any that may have followed the precipitous right bank of the Euphrates gorge through the Kurdish Taurus. Of the road *per ripam* no trace survives. The stations along the river can only have been linked by tracks possible at best for pack animals, involving a continuous switch-back of exhausting climbs and descents. The section describe by Freya Stark is altogether easier than the northern half of the gorge (*Rome on the Euphrates* 170 f.). The latter is wholly unsuitable for the passage of an army. The direct route was followed by Constantius in 360, on a journey from Caesarea to Edessa, Ammianus Marcellinus 20, 11, 4; and presumably by Corbulo, with army and baggage train, nearly three centuries before, Tac., *Ann.* 15, 12. Lacotena is known only from the *Antonine Itinerary*, loc. cit., which dates perhaps from the time of Caracalla; and from the visit of Constantius. The earliest coin known from the site is an aes of Commodus, with on the reverse the legend ὙΠΕΡ ΝΙΚ. Ῥωμαίων.