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Notes on Cappadocian Milestones: The Caesaria-Melitene Road

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#### NOTES ON CAPPADOCIAN MILESTONES: THE CAESARIA-MELITENE ROAD

In advance of the full, final publication (in CIL) of the known Cappadocian milestones, the following notes are offered, in preliminary form, by reason of their wider significance.

#### 1. Nervan Milestones at Sakaltutan and Yalak

For many years, indeed for nearly a century, it has been accepted that the Caesaria-Melitene road was constructed under Septimius Severus in the year AD 198. This date was based on the absence of pre-Severan milestones: in fact, a classic *argumentum ex silentio*. Among the guilty parties were Sterrett and Hogarth. The evidence to the contrary was already extant but not immediately recognized. Neither Sterrett nor Hogarth saw the letters, of an earlier (though not datable) inscription, underlying the first lines of a Severan text at Göksun (Hogarth and Munro 1893: 700 "124 ?(i)" = CIL 3. 12186 = RRMAM 2. 757). In exoneration of their omission, it must be admitted that these same letters had passed unnoticed at the time of my own visit and, indeed, went omitted in the catalogue (RRMAM 2) published in 1988.

Unequivocal evidence, however, came to light in 1984 at Sakaltutan (a village c. 25 km SE of Kayseri): a milestone bearing two inscriptions, one of Titus *Augustus* with Domitianus *Caesar* (AD 81), the second of Nerva (AD 96). The first text indicates that, as every road throughout Galatia and Cappadocia, the Caesaria-Melitene road had been constructed by the Flavians, the work being carried out by their governor, A. Caesennius Gallus. The second text on the Sakaltutan stone indicates that the road, after its paving by Titus with Domitianus, had been repaired at least once, by Nerva, through the agency of his governor, T. Pomponius Bassus; this text also allows the restoration of a damaged milestone found at Yalak (c. 30 km N of Göksun) by Sterrett in 1884. A largish number of Nervan and Trajanic milestones bear the name of this governor, the last to administer the joint province of Galatia and Cappadocia. As agent of the Emperor he is known to have carried out extensive restoration work in the joint province, whether of the road or of the milestone is not always clear. Normally the texts bearing his name read simply *restituit* with no indication of road or milestone. Here, at Sakaltutan (and, if correctly restored, at Yalak; see below), there is – almost uniquely – nothing of the usual ambiguity: Pomponius Bassus restored the roads.

#### (1) Sakaltutan

Reference: RRMAM 2. 569 (notice only)

(Text 1)

(on the front face of the shaft)

 $[Imp\ T\ Caesar\ divi\ Vespasiani\ f\ Aug]\ \textbf{pontif}[ex\ maximus\ trib\ pot\ X]$ 

[imp XV p p cos VIII desig V]**IIII censor** (vac)

[Domitianus Caesar divi Vespas]iani f·cos [VII desig VIII sacerd]os

[omnium collegiorum pri]n[ce]ps iuv[entutis]

5 [A Caesennius Gallus cos XVvir s f] leg Aug pro pr stravit
[Αὐτοκρ Τ Καῖσ(αρ) Θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ υίὸς Σεβ ἀρχιερ]εὺς μέγιστο[ς]
[δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ι΄ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ιε΄ πατὴρ] πατρίδ(ος) ὕπατ-

[ος τὸ η' ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ θ' τειμη]**τής** (vac) [Δομιτιανὸς Καΐσαρ Θεοῦ Οὐεσπασια]νοῦ υἰὸς ὕ⟨π⟩ατος τὸ ζ΄ ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ η΄ ἱερεὺς πάντων ἱερατε]υμάτων ἡγούμενος νεότητος [Α Καισέννιος Γάλλος ὕπατος πεντε]καίδεκα ἀνδρῶν μυστήρεων (vac) [πρεσβευτ] ής · καὶ · ἀντιστράτηγος ἔστρωσεν (on the plinth, within a tabula ansata) (vac) **XVIIII** ιθ' (Text 2) (on the 1. of text [1]) (vac) Imp (vac) Nerva Caes Aug pon max tr pot[est] cos II p [p] via[s rest] 5 per Pom[po]nium B[assu]m **leg**⋅**A**[ug pr pr] Αὐτοκρ Νέρουας Καῖσ Σεβ άρχ μέγ δημ έξ ύπ · τὸ β΄ · π π ὁδοὺς ἀποκ 10 δι (vac) ὰ Πομπωνίου Βάσσου πρεσ [ἀντ] [XVIII]I 10' (vac) Imp (vac) Nerva Caes(ar) Aug(ustus) pon(tifex) max(imus) tr(ibuniciae) pot[est(atis)] co(n)s(ul) II p(ater) [p(atriae)] via[s rest(ituit)] 5 per Pom[po]nium B[assu]m **leg**(atum) A[ug(usti pr(o) pr(aetore)] Αὐτοκρ(άτωρ) Νέρουας Καῖσ(αρ) Σεβ(αστὸς) ἀρχ(ιερεὺς) μέγ(ιστος) δημ(αρχικῆς) ἐξ(ουσίας) ύπ(ατος) · τὸ β΄ π(ατὴρ) π(ατρίδος) ὁδοὺς ἀποκ(ατέστησε) διὰ Πομπωνίου Βάσσου πρεσ(βευτοῦ) [ἀντ(ιστρατήγου)] [XVIII]I 10' Date (1) AD 81, mid-iii–13.ix Titus Augustus with Domitianus Caesar

On the basis of the Sakaltutan text (2), it is, therefore, possible to restore the surviving lines of a milestone found by Sterrett at Yalak but now, seemingly, lost.

Reference: Sterrett 1883-84: 260 no. 297; CIL 3. 6941; IGRR 3. 131; RRMAM 2. 572

(2) AD 96, 18.ix-31.xii Nerva

```
No. 25. Copy.
                      [-----δημα]-
 CIACYTATO
                      [ρχικῆς ἐξου]σίας ὕπατο[ς τὸ β΄ πα]-
ОСТАСОДОҮС
TOIOT
                      [τὴρ πατρίδ]ος τὰς ὁδοὺς [ἀποκατ]-
         ΟΥ
    NTICT
                 4
                      [έστησε διὰ] Πομπ[ωνί]ου [Βάσσου πρ]-
                      [εσβευτοῦ καὶ ἀ]ντιστ[ρατήγου]
  PM\Delta
                 6
                          [CXLIV] ρμδ'
Date (?)AD 96 Nerva
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2. The Date of Kanlıkavak 3 (CIL 3. 6924) and the Governor, Catius Clement[ - ] (or Clemens?)

This note was prompted by a question put to me, some years ago, by Professor Eck, Had I seen the Kanlıkavak milestone first found and published by Sterrett under no. 312? My answer was, No, I had not. I had been unable to re-find it during my visit to the village (c. 15 km NE of Göksun). The stone is, it seems, lost.

Professor Eck's interest was directed not only to the name, but also to the date, of the governor.

The milestone was seen and copied by Sterrett on July 29, 1884. The text was reviewed by Townsend in 1955. Sterrett did not offer a date: Townsend did and his suggestion has passed into the literature, albeit with some uncertainty.

Reference: Sterrett 1883-1884: 272 no. 312; CIL 3. 6924; RRMAM 2. 783

Townsend's suggestion (1955: 41) for the date of this text was based (1) on his interpretation of line 2 (Sterrett's text): from **ANII** - **JONO** to **Ant** [Gordi]**ono** (sic), and then (2) on the name of the governor in line 4 (Sterrett's text).

To take argument (2) first: the governor was identified by Townsend with Sextus Catius Clementinus Priscillianus who had been *consul ordinarius* in AD 230. There is no other epigraphic record of Priscillianus as governor in Cappadocia. The Kanlıkavak text is a *hapax*. His governorship was inserted (by Townsend) between those of Licinnius Serenianus and Cuspidius Flaminius – in effect, therefore, between two *termini*: AD 235 or 236 (Maximinus with Maximus *Caesar*) and mid-AD 238 (Gordianus as Caesar before the death of Pupienus and Balbinus at the end of July). Thus:

Licinnius Serenianus	AD 235	Severus Alexander
	235, 22.iii	Maximinus
	236	Maximinus with Maximus Caes.
Catius Clementinus	AD 237(?)	Maximinus with Maximus Caes.
	AD 238, (?) i/ii	Pupienus and Balbinus Augg, Gordianus Caes.
Cuspidius Flaminius S	Severus	
	AD 238, (?) i/ii	Pupienus and Balbinus Augg, Gordianus Caes.
	238, (?) v/vi	Gordianus Aug.

Townsend's argument (1) was based on the identification of the name in Sterrett's *line 1* with that of M. Antonius Gordianus (first as *Caesar* with Pupienus and Balbinus and then as sole *Augustus*). This solution (Townsend's) requires that the governor was changed between 22.iv

and 29.vii, AD 238, while Gordianus was still *Caesar*. Townsend's arguments were followed by Thomasson (1984: 272 no. 45, and earlier references) and by Rémy (1988: 123 no. 188).

Can there have been two *legati* of Cappadocia under Pupienus and Balbinus *Augusti* with Gordianus *Caesar*: Catius Clementinus followed by Cuspidius Flaminius Severus?

In the 3rd century AD, governors changed frequently in Cappadocia: this much is known. If Catius Clementinus was *legatus* in Cappadocia, first under Maximinus and then under Pupienus and Balbinus, before Cuspidius Flaminius Severus was appointed under Pupienus and Balbinus, the change of governor need not necessarily cause surprise.

Are Townsend's suggestions, thereby, acceptable? Is there a possibility that the evidence on which Townsend based his judgement may perhaps be differently interpreted?

Let me emphasize, again at this point, that I have not been able to examine the inscription. Despite diligent search I could not find the milestone nor, if it still existed on the day of my visit, was it shown to me. I base my discussion, therefore, on Sterrett's copy, as, in fact, Townsend had done.

In his published copy of this milestone, Sterrett did not illustrate graphically and unambiguously *all* the areas of loss or damage, e.g. (line 3 of Sterrett's text) in front of **CAT**; his interpretation of the text indicates his belief that there were several missing letters in addition to [NOBI] in front of **LISSIMO** (line 2 of Sterrett's text) and in front of **CRCRCROVINCIA** (line 4 of Sterrett's text). One cannot exclude, therefore, the possibility that there may also have been unrecorded letters both before and after the name, as preserved, **ANI** (line 1 of Sterrett's text). Townsend (1955: 41) made the same observation.

The space (as illustrated by Sterrett) between **ANI** and **ONO** is sufficient to accommodate two letters, possibly three: five letters, i.e. **GORDI**, i.e. [Gordi]ono, are excessive. In defence of **O** for **A** in [Gordi]**ono**, Townsend noted (1955: 41) that the stone-cutter did make mistakes, as in line 4 (of Sterrett's text): **C** for **P**.

There are four possible avenues open for interpretation, and for a plausible restoration, of an unsatisfactory copy, and for the establishment of a full text and, thereby, of a secure date:

- (1) to admit Sterrett's copy as essentially correct and, in the manner suggested by Townsend, to read **Ant** [Gordi]**ono** (sic) in line 1,
- (2) to admit Sterrett's copy as essentially correct and, with minimal emendation ( $\mathbf{G}$  for  $\mathbf{N}$ ), to read  $\mathbf{Ant}[\mathbf{oni}]\mathbf{o}$   $\mathbf{Go}[\mathbf{rdiano}]$  in line 1,
- (3) to admit Sterrett's copy as essentially correct and, in line 1, to restore, again with minimal emendation ( I for **Q**), **Ant**[on]**ino**,
- (4) to abandon completely Sterrett's copy of line 1.

Is it possible to adopt one of the alternative solutions, namely (3), that is to say, to admit Sterrett's copy as essentially correct and, in line 1 (of Sterrett's text), to restore, again with minimal emendation ( $\mathbf{I}$  for  $\mathbf{O}$ ),  $\mathbf{Ant}[on]$  ino, and then to resolve the outstanding difficulty: Who was the *Caesar* named not M. Antonius but M. Antonius?

Speculation has led me to M. Opellius Antoninus Diadumenianus as the *Caesar*. His name occurs on two milestones of Cappadocia: Topakkaya (RRMAM 2.870) and Demirci, c. 12.5 km due E of Aksaray, on the Pilgrim's Road.

Demirci

Imp Caes M [[O[pellius]]]
Severus [[Macrinus]]

```
pius felix Aug sanc-
     tissimu(s) ac provi-
5
     /d/entissimus prin-
     ceps et M [O[p]ellius]
     Antoninus nobi-
     lissimus Caesar
     viam novam i(n)sti-
10
     tutam per/f/ecerunt
     curante Sulla Ce-
     reale v c leg eo-
     rum pr pr
     (vac)
     (vac) MP
     (vac)
15
     (vac) MP
```

On both milestones, Topakkaya and Demirci, the governor is Sulla Cerialis, a known *legatus* of Cappadocia under Macrinus and Elagabalus, "218–222 (sub Macrino et Elagabalo)" (Thomasson 1984: 271 no. 39, quoting Dio 79.4.5 a. 219). On the Demirci and Topakkaya milestones the name of the *Caesar* is given as M. Opellius Antoninus: the name Diadumenianus is omitted.

Here on the Kanlıkavak 3 milestone his full name may have been similarly abbreviated, but there is a strong possibility, I would suggest, that, unrecorded by Sterrett, the names Opellius and Diadumenianus had been erased, as on the milestone Akdam 2 in Cilicia, recorded by Michael Gough (RRMAM 2. 005; IK 56. 11) and dated by him to the months preceding 31 December 217.

On the basis, therefore, of the complete text on the Akdam milestone, with help from the Demirci stone, an alternative [above, no. (3)] to Townsend's solution [above, no. (1)] may be offered for the full text of Kanlıkavak 3, as follows:

```
[Imp Caes M] [[Opellio]]
                                                              [Severo] [[Macrino]]
         N ( N ) N O
                                                           [pio felici Aug - - p m - - - - ]
           WWW_LISSIMOCASA
                                                           [ - - trib pot - - - cos des - - - ]
           CATCLEMENT
                                                           [ - p p - procos - et M] [[Opel]]]-
                                                    5
              CRCRCROVIENCIA
                                                           [[lio]] Ant[on]ino [[Diadumeni]]-
                                                           [[ano]] [nobi]lissimo Ca(e)sa[ri]
                                                           [per .] Cat Clement[ - - leg]
. . . . . . [nobi]lissimo Ca[e]sa[ri]
                                                    10
                                                           [Aug pr] pr pr provincia[e]
[per] Cat(ium) Clement[em]
[leg(atum) \ Aug(ustorum) \ p]r(o) \ [p]r(aetore) \ [p]rovi[n]cia[e]
                                                                 (vac) \{i\} mp
                   \rho \kappa [\epsilon']
                                                                    (vac) ρκε'
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line 9: [per .] Cat(ium) Clement[em leg(atum)], a line of 19 letters line 10: [Aug pro] pr(aetore) pr(aesidem) provincia[e], a line of 20 letters

Governors who continued their office under successive Emperors are well attested in Cappadocia: Sulla Cerialis under Macrinus and Elagabalus (as proposed here), Aurelius Basileus under

Elagabalus (RRMAM 2. 544; Christol and Loriot 1993: 210–211) and then Severus Alexander (Sungurlu near Çorum; RRMAM 2. 352), Licinnius Serenianus under Severus Alexander (Çakırlar, Barcın Geçidi 2; RRMAM 2. 9, an unpublished text) and then Maximinus (Çomar; RRMAM 2. 328), Claudius Longinus (in Pontus) under Probus (at Özükavak near Yozgat; an unpublished text) and then Carus (CIL 3. 14184 24). In Cilicia, Flavius Iulianus was governor under Caracalla in AD 217 (milestone, Akdam 3: RRMAM 2. 006) and then in AD 218 under Macrinus with Diadumenianus *Caesar* (milestone, Akdam 2: RRMAM 2. 005; IK 56. 11).

If the restorations, proposed above, to the text of Kanlıkavak 3 are acceptable, it is then necessary to revise the sequence of governors in Cappadocia for the period AD 217–222 and to accept a rapid, but not unusual, succession of appointments:

Catius Clemen-(s) or -t[inus]	AD 217 (?)	Caracalla
	217–218 (early)	Macrinus with Diadumenianus Caesar
Sulla Cerialis	AD 218 (early)	Macrinus with Diadumenianus Caesar
	218, 16.v–219	Elagabalus
Ofellius Theodorus	AD 219–221	Elagabalus
Aurelius Basileus	AD 221–222, 11.iii	Elagabalus with Sev. Alexander Caesar
	222, 14.iii–(?)	Sev. Alexander Augustus
Asinnius Lepidus	AD 222–(?)	Sev. Alexander Augustus

The proposal, advanced here, for the date of the Kanlıkavak 3 milestone minimizes a return to an unsatisfactory copy. On the other hand, it creates a difficult and intractable question on present evidence: if the man named in line 9 of the Kanlıkavak 3 milestone is, indeed, an otherwise unknown governor, Cat(ius) Clemen(s) [or Cat(ius) Clement(inus)], *legatus* in AD 217–218, who was he? what was the full form of his name? what were his previous posts and his later career (if any)?

The uncertainties of the proposal cannot be overlooked. A more complete text is required.

## 3. Licinnius Serenianus on Milestones of Severus Alexander and Maximinus

On Licinnius Serenianus, governor of Cappadocia, Hogarth and Munro noted (1893: 709): "Prof. Ramsay refers to Cyprian, 'Epp.' 75. 10, where Serenianus, 'acerbus et dirus persecutor', is said to have been governor of Cappadocia in AD 235". The same comment and reference is made by Thomasson (1984: 272 no. 44).

It is of interest to observe that of all the governors of Cappadocia only the name of Licinnius Serenianus was target of erasure. On a number of milestones, on which the full text is no longer intact and the imperial names and titles are lost or damaged, the presence of an erasure then becomes significant, e.g. Çakırlar, Barcın Geçidi 2 (RRMAM 2. 009), and Doğankonak 1 (RRMAM 2. 722): both can now be attributed, with some certainty, to Maximinus.

The name of Licinnius Serenianus was totally and completely erased, more often than not. The governor's name, however, was not universally excised: on the Caesaria-Melitene road it survives intact on two stones, both milestones of Maximinus: Keklikoluk 2 (CIL 3. 6945; RRMAM 2. 807) and Yağmurlu 4 (CIL 3. 6932; RRMAM 2. 827), and, if the restorations are correct, on Kemer 13 (RRMAM 2. 557) and Keklikoluk 4 (CIL 3. 12195; RRMAM 2. 809) and also – on the Tavium-Zela road – at Çomar (RRMAM 2. 328).

The erasure of the governor's name is clearly visible on eight other milestones of Maximinus, e.g. 083. Sar 2 (CIL 3. 6951; RRMAM 2. 028), as follows:

```
[Imp]
             [Caes C]
             I[uli]o (leaf) Ve-
             ro (leaf)
      5
             [M]aximino
             (leaf) pio (leaf) felici
             [i]nvicto (leaf) A[ug]
             (leaf) p (leaf) m (leaf) trib
             (leaf) potest (leaf) p p
             \llbracket ---- 
floor
      10
             per [ ---- ]
             \llbracket ---- \rrbracket
             leg Aug pr pr
             m p · CLVII
      15
             (vac) \rho \nu \zeta'
lines 12–13: per [Licinnium] | [Serenianum]
```

The text of Maximinus (i.e. lines 3–9) on the Sar milestone was cut over an erasure, the edges of which are conspicuous and immediately apparent. The erased area is very clearly cut over an earlier text as far as line 11; line 10 was erased but not re-inscribed. The governor's name (in lines 11–12), although surviving the erasure of the earlier text when the text of Maximinus was inscribed, was itself erased at later date. The earlier inscription must be, indeed can only be, a text of Severus Alexander. A similar space between the text of Maximinus and the name of the governor is visible on other milestones on the Caesaria-Melitene road, e.g. Mollahüseyin 2 (CIL 3.6952); these spatial lacunae constitute additional evidence, therefore, for an earlier inscription (of Severus Alexander) which was erased and replaced by the text of Maximinus.

If the argument above is correct, it can then be concluded that Licinnius Serenianus was appointed governor of Cappadocia in the last year or years (AD 235) of Severus Alexander and continued his office under Maximinus.

### 4. Pupienus and Balbinus, and Gordianus III: A Sequence of Text-forms

Ramsay noted (1941: 109–110 s. no. 92): "In ll. 2–6 the names of M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus et imp. Caes. D. Clodius Calvinus Balbinus pii felices Augusti were erased (without orders by provincials who were ignorant of the happenings in Rome: Wadd, quoted by Mommsen (who compares CIL 8.10342, 10343, 10365). Restituit was substituted for Restituerunt" (sc. when Gordianus, nobilissimus Caesar under Balbinus and Pupienus, became sole Emperor after the death of the two Augusti). Ramsay's remarks are largely based on the comments of Waddington (1883: 144, "Bien que la copie n'indique que les cinq lignes aient été martelées, il est évident que le texte primitif avait été gravé aux noms des Augustes Balbin et Pupien et du jeune Gordien, encore César"), Sterrett (1883-84 [1888]: 266, 274) and Mommsen in 1902 (CIL 3.6953, "Deleta autem sunt omnino non iussu Gordiani, sed errore provincialium longe a turbis remotorum"), all of whom noted the sequence visible on the milestones.

The epigraphical transition from Pupienus and Balbinus, Augusti, to Gordianus, Augustus, can be tabulated as follows, in five text-forms, of which nos (1) and (2) are based on reconstructed texts, since no examples have survived intact in Asia Minor, but cf. the milestones (CIL 8. 10342, 10343, 10365 from the territory of Sitifi in Mauretania) quoted by Mommsen:

(1) A new inscription

Imper Caes Pupienus et Balbinus, .... Augusti, ...., restituerunt per Cuspidium Flaminium Severum

(2) A second, new inscription

Imper Caes Pupienus et Balbinus,...., Augusti,.... et M Antonius Gordianus, nobilissimus Caesar, restituerunt per Cuspidium Flaminium Severum

(3) Erasure of the Augusti on text-form (2); the area of the erasure not re-inscribed; '-erunt' re-cut to '-it'. The initial titles 'Imp Caesar' of text-form (2) were retained for, and applied to, Gordianus; however, the words describing his former status 'nobilissimus Caesar' were not removed.

Imp Caesar [Pupienus et Balbinus, . . . . , Augusti, . . . . et] M Antonius Gordianus, nobilissimus Caesar, restituit

per Cuspidium Flaminium Severum

3 examples, e.g. Kemer 2 (CIL 3. 6953; RRMAM 2. 546)

(4) Erasure of the Augusti on text-form (1); the names and titles of Gordianus inscribed in the area of the erasure; '-erunt' not re-cut to '-it'.

Imp (var. -er) Caesar (var. -i) [Pupienus et Balbinus, . . . , Augusti, . . . . et]

M Antonio Gordiano . . Augusto restituerunt

per Cuspidium Flaminium Severum

14 examples, e.g. 089(B) Kemer 8 (CIL 3. 12198; RRMAM 2. 552)

(5) A new inscription (on a new stone)

Imp Caes M Antonius Gordianus,..., Augustus,... restituit per Cuspidium Flaminium Severum

1 example, Izgin 2 (CIL 3. 6905, 12168; RRMAM 2. 776)

The initial titles 'Imp Caesar' in text-form (1) were retained for Gordianus in text-form (4) but the nominative case of the original was changed to a dedicatory dative for Gordianus; the plural restituerunt of text-form (1) was not altered or removed. From an examination of the surviving stones which carry text-form (4) it is clear that, in the original text (here text-form [1]), there would not have been sufficient space, between 'Imp Caesar' and 'restituerunt' for the name of Gordianus and his title 'nobilissimus Caesar' to be inscribed below the names and titles of the two Augusti, cf. 2+ to 4+ lines for text (4) and 4+ to 6+ lines for text-form (3). I have concluded, therefore, that this series of milestones began with successive forms: initially text-form (1), i.e. Pupienus and Balbinus without Gordianus as Caesar, subsequently text-form (2), i.e. Pupienus and Balbinus with Gordianus as Caesar. It is not certain, however, that text-form (3) preceded text-form (4).

### 5. Truncated Texts of the Tetrarchy

At those points (along or near the Caesaria-Melitene road) where a group of several milestones, all belonging to the same mile position, has survived, it can be observed that the text of the Tetrarchs is truncated and thereby incomplete.

There may be the simplest of explanations for these truncated inscriptions, namely, that the text was not always inscribed on a new, single stone (which was then add to the cluster) but was distributed over three or four of the pre-existing milestones. At Mehmetbey (c. 7.5 km NNE of Göksun) (RRMAM 2. 817, 818) a Tetrarchic text was perhaps cut on three stones: on the first stone (1), Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti (CIL 3. 6944), on the second (2), Constantius Caesar (CIL 3. 6943), and on a third (3), now lost, Galerius Caesar. The composite text, at Mehmetbey, might then have been arranged on three stones, as follows:

(1) (Mehmetbey 1)	(2) (Mehmetbey 2)	(3) (missing)
Imp CC C Aur Val	et Fl Val	et Gal Val
Diocletiano	Constantio	Maximiano
et M Aur Val	nobb Cae-	
Maximiano	SS	
pp ff invi		
Augg		

On the other hand a Tetrarchic milestone at Yaztopallı (c. 40 km ENE of Elbistan) (RRMAM 2. 833 Yaztopallı 2) perhaps indicates that the full text was cut on four, separate stones, each bearing one part of the inscription:

(1) (missing)	(2) (missing)	(3)	(4) (missing)
Imp Caes C	et Imp C M	et Flavio	et Galerio
Aurelio	Aurelio	Valerio	Valerio
Valerio	Valerio	Constantio	Maximiano
Diocletiano	Maximiano	nobilissim	is
pp ff inv	Augg	Caesari	bus

At Ephesus the Tetrarchs were honoured on four individual statue-bases which were erected in front of the Temple of Hadrian; each base bore a dedication to a single member of the Tetrarchy (IK 12. 305). Originally there were four statues: the base and statue dedicated to Maximianus *Augustus* was replaced in antiquity (by a base and statue dedicated to Theodosius, the father of Theodosius I) (IK 12. 306).

#### Note

Three of these five notes (nos 1, 2 and 5) were presented to the meeting – the "Epigraphic Saturday" – organized by Joyce Reynolds and held at the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge, on 28 February, 2004.

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#### Abbreviation

RRMAM 2 Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor. Oxford (Oxbow Int. Ser. no. 392).

## Özet

- 1- Sterrett'in 1884 yılında Göksun'un kuzeyindeki Yalak'daki bir miltaşı üzerinde gördüğü tahrip olmuş yazıt, 1984 yılında Kayseri yakınındaki Sakaltutan'da bulunan bir paralelinden hareketle Nerva dönemine ait bir miltaşı yazıtı olarak tamamlanabilir. Bu iki miltaşı, yalnızca Caesaria-Melitene arasındaki yolun Severuslar öncesi döneme ait olduğunu göstermekle kalmaz, fakat aynı zamanda bu yolun Nerva döneminde bir onarım gördüğünü de doğrular mahiyettedir.
- 2- Yine Sterret'in 1884 yılında Göksun yakınlarındaki Kanlıkavak'da gördüğü miltaşı yazıtı, Aksaray yakınındaki Demirci'de kopya edilmiş olan ve Macrinus ile Diadumenianus dönemine tarihlenen bir yazıtın yardımı ile tamamlanabilir. Demirci yazıtındaki isimler, Kanlıkavak yazıtının Gordianus III ile Macrinus arası döneme tarihlenmesine imkan vermektedir.
- 3- Şar'da bulunan ve ikinci kez kullanılmış olan bir miltaşından öğreniyoruz ki, Licinius Serenianus Cappadocia'ya vali olarak ilk kez Severus Alexander zamanında atanmış ve bu görevini Maximinus döneminde de sürdürmüştü.
- 4- Gordianus III'ün adını taşıyan miltaşı yazıtları İ.S. 238 yılının olaylarına ve özellikle Gordianus'un Caesar'lıktan Augustus'luğa yükselişine tanıklık etmektedir.
- 5- Caesaria-Melitene yolu üzerinde bulunan çok sayıdaki miltaşı üzerinde yalnızca Tatrarşi döneminin baş kısmı eksik olan yazıtları görülmektedir. Göksun yakınlarındaki Mehmetbey'de bulunan iki miltaşı, bu türden başlangıç kısmı bulunmayan yazıtların en güzel örnekleridir.

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