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The Gravestone of C. Iulius, *optio* of the Legio XII Fulminata

**Abstract:** Cappadocia had two legionary garrisons from the very beginning of Vespasian's reign: Legio XII Fulminata at Melitene, and Legio XVI Flavia Firma at Satala (from 120 AD replaced by Legio XV Apollinaris). The evidence for the recruits of these Cappadocian legions is, however, still slight. This is mainly because very few relevant inscriptions have been found in Cappadocia itself. For this reason every new document of veterans who served in Cappadocian legions is crucial. In this context the funerary inscription of C. Iulius who returned to his homeland after serving as *optio* in the Legio XII Fulminata gives new evidence on the subject. It was found in the village of Himmekli situated in the territory of Saimbeyli, the district of the Province of Adana. Judging from the letter forms the inscription can be assigned to the II.–III. century AD. The rural settlement where the gravestone was erected is situated immediately to the north of the border between Cappadocia and Cilicia, lying through the line between Kilikiai Pylai and Mazgaç Pass. Accordingly it must have lied in the territory of the Cappadocian polis Kukusos, an important junction of the roads from Kaisareia to Melitene and from Sebasteia to Tarsos. On the basis of the new inscription the authors conclude that the practice of recruitment from Asia Minor continued on a considerable scale throughout the second and third centuries AD; that new materials concerning veterans may indicate that the number of those who returned to their hometown must not be underestimated; and that the funerary inscription of the Cappadocian veteran, C. Iulius, may support the suggestion that Cappadocia, and especially its frontier areas, supplied a high proportion of the total recruits for the Cappadocian legions, like those of the other eastern provinces.

**Keywords:** *Optio*; Veteran; Cappadocian Legions; Kukusos; Melitene; Satala; C. Iulius; Valeria Ma.

The reign of Vespasian was of particular importance for both the administration and the security of the Province of Cappadocia. After having restored the Rhine garrison and settled the Batavian revolt Vespasian focused on the East. He combined Galatia and Cappadocia into a double province in ca. 70/71,<sup>1</sup> just as Nero did before,<sup>2</sup> and appointed the governors of the province among the ex-consuls.<sup>3</sup> He also transferred two legions which built their bases along the upper Euphrates from which they could control

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<sup>1</sup> Sherk 1980, 963, 997–998; Leschhorn 1993, 145–149; Marek 2010, 422; Adak – Wilson 2012, 19 dn. 67; Takmer 2016, 845 fn. 142. It is likely that some intimates of the emperor who had served during previous expeditions to the East and won his confidence might have advised such an administrative structure: Eck 2007, 199; see further Sherk 1980, 991–996, 1024–1026; Mitchell 1993 (I), 63–64; Sartre 1995, 172–173; Veh 1980, 4; Kissel 1995, 23; Eck 2012, 40.

<sup>2</sup> Galatia and Cappadocia were united into a double province by Nero either at the end of 54 or at the beginning of 55 AD in a way to be the base of operations in Armenia under the supreme command of Corbulo. Nonetheless both provinces were separated again for military reasons either in 64 AD when the expedition to Armenia was over or in 66/67 AD when Corbulo was called back and the troops were sent to Judea for the expedition against the Jews: Sherk 1980, 982–982; Rémy 1986, 39–40; cf. Adak – Wilson 2012, 9; Takmer 2016, 845 and fn. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Suet. Vesp. 8; see further Eck 2007, 199.

the client kingdom of Armenia, and defend Cappadocia against the Alan raiders from the north: the Legio XII Fulminata<sup>4</sup> at Melitene, and the Legio XVI Flavia<sup>5</sup> at Satala.<sup>6</sup> Through such administrative and military measures the emperor aimed at a centralization of authority<sup>7</sup> and especially to ensure the rapid construction of the roads,<sup>8</sup> so that subsistence and logistic support for the expeditionary forces could be organized by a single governor quickly.<sup>9</sup> The Legio XII Fulminata continued to be stationed in Melitene as far as at least the beginning of the 5th century AD,<sup>10</sup> while the Legio XV Apollinaris replaced the Legio XVI Flavia in 120 AD and was stationed in Satala until the beginning of the 5th century AD.<sup>11</sup> Besides these two legions Cappadocia had afterwards four *alae* and at least fifteen *cohortes*.<sup>12</sup> That there are numerous milestones on the road between Kaisareia (capital of the province)<sup>13</sup> and Melitene (base of the Legio XII),<sup>14</sup> and that most of the inscriptions on the milestones are written in Latin with the distance given either from Kaisareia or Melitene, bears the trace of the military mobilization in this period of time.<sup>15</sup> The evidence for the recruits of the Cappadocian legions is, however, still slight. This is mainly because very few relevant inscriptions have been found in Cappadocia itself. For this reason every new document of veterans who served in Cappadocian legions is crucial. In this context the funerary inscription of C. Iulius who returned to his homeland after serving as *optio* in the Legio XII Fulminata gives new evidence on the subject. It was found by one of the authors in the village of Himmetli on a slope known as Kuyu Yanı during the epigraphical survey conducted in Saimbeyli, the district of the Province of Adana in 2010 (for the locations see map 1).

<sup>4</sup> It is not exactly known where the Legio XII Fulminata was stationed. For discussion see Uzunoğlu 2012, 108. For the history and the positioning of the legio see E. Ritterling, RE XII.2, 1925, 1705–1710 s. v. Legio (XII Fulminata); Bertrand – Rémy 2000, 253–257; Farnum 2005, 22; see also the comment on L. 3 below.

<sup>5</sup> The legion was formed in 70 AD by Vespasian with the added honorific “Firma” from the remains of the XVI Gallica which had been disbanded because of its role in the Batavian rebellion. Immediately after its creation Vespasian sent the legion to the East. Around 75 AD, vexillations of the Legio XVI Flavia Firma were used for canal and bridge construction work at Antioch (AE 1983, 927; Stoll 2001, 237–238; cf. Gebhardt 2002, 42). At that time, the legion had its garrison at Satala in northeastern Cappadocia (Edwell 2008, 18). The legion joined the campaigns of Trajan against the Parthians between 114 and 116/7 AD (CIL C 1202). Hadrian replaced the Legio XVI Flavia Firma in Satala by the Legio XV Apollinaris and sent it to Samosata in 120 AD (Edwell 2008, 22; Erdkamp 2007, 250). Under Antoninus Pius vexillations of XVI Flavia Fidelis were transferred to Seleucia Pieria which was then under the threat of the Parthians (AE 1903, 252). The legion was renamed XVI Flavia Firma Pia Fidelis when it failed to join Pescennius Niger in 194 AD (AE 1940, 220; cf. Farnum 2005, 23). During the Severan dynasty the Legion seems to have proven so useful, that it also bore the honorific title Severiana (AE 1937, 244; AE 1940, 220). In 198 AD the legion was transferred from Samosata to Sura in Syria (Farnum 2005, 24; 37; Edwell 2008, 234–235). In the early 5th century, the Legio XVI Flavia Firma was still stationed in Sura and was under the command of the Dux Syriae et Eufkratensis Syriae (Not. Dig. Or. XXXIII,28: Praefectus legionis sextadecimae Flaviae firmae, Sura). For the legion in general see also E. Ritterling, RE XII.2, 1925, 1765–1768 s. v. Legio (XVI Flavia);

<sup>6</sup> Ios. bel. Iud. 7,18; Gwatkin 1930, 56; 60; Mitford 1977, 506ff.; Keppie 1986, 421; Kissel 1995, 24; Cassia 2004, 196; Eck 2012, 39–40.

<sup>7</sup> Sartre 1995, 173.

<sup>8</sup> Veh 1980, 6.

<sup>9</sup> Eck 2007, 199.

<sup>10</sup> See *infra* fn. 44.

<sup>11</sup> Not. Dig. Or. XXXVIII, 13: Praefectus legionis quintaedecimae Apollinaris, Satala.

<sup>12</sup> Speidel 2014, 631.

<sup>13</sup> Haensch 1997, 272–276; 754 fn. 32; cf. Takmer et al. 2006, 171. For the imperial coinage of Caesarea see Wroth 1899, 46ff.; Metcalf 1996.

<sup>14</sup> French 2012, nos. 066–130.

<sup>15</sup> Speidel 2014, 632–633. For the economic results of the military mobilization on the poleis of Asia Minor see Stauner 2005 with a map of important military routes through Asia Minor (p. 45).

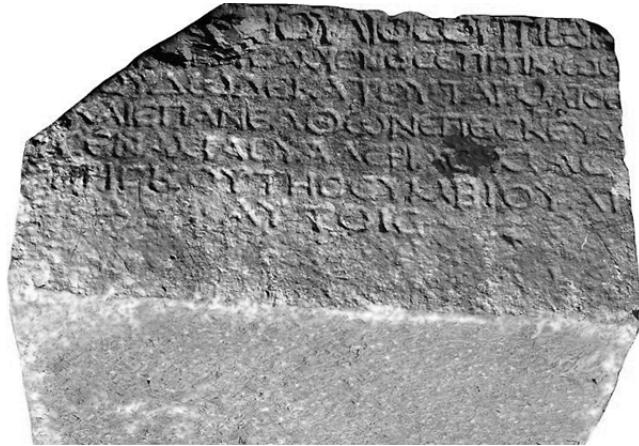
Description: Rectangular block of local limestone lying across a tomb on a podium. Well preserved, but broken at the top left corner. The other sides are plain and undecorated. Letters leaning to the left, and larger in the first and the last lines.

H: 0.55 m.; W: 1.02 m.; D: 0.85 m.; LH: 0.04–0.06 m.

Date: II.–III. century AD (according to the letter forms).

- [Γάιος?] Ἰούλιος ὀπίων  
 2 στρα[τε]υσάμενος ἐπιτίμως  
 τοῦ δωδεκάτου τάγματος  
 4 καὶ ἐπανελθὼν ἐπεσκεύα-  
 σεν ἅμα Οὐαλερίας Μας  
 6 Πρίσκου τῆς συμβίου αἰ-  
 vac. αυτοῖς vac.

«Gaius Iulius erected this gravestone together with his wife Valeria Ma, daughter of Priscus, for themselves when he returned home after serving reputedly as an *optio* in the Legio XII Fulminata.»



L. 1 ὀπίων = *optio*.<sup>16</sup> An *optio* was the tactical deputy of the *centurio*. The word is derived from the verb *optāre*, “to choose”,<sup>17</sup> because an *optio* was chosen by his *centurio*. In the imperial period they existed in all the other military formations, such as the *cohortes urbanae*, *cohortes praetoriae*, *cohortes vigilum*, *cohortes auxiliares*, and the civil administration, such as *optio ab actis urbi*, a sort of secretary of a *praefectus urbi*. In battle, the *optio* had his tactical place behind the last row. Here his primary task was to ensure the observance of the combat formations of the front rows. As an *optio centuriae* or *centurionis*, the second-in-command of a *centuria*, he commanded the *centuria* in the absence of the *centurio*. When an *optio* was marked out for promotion to the rank of *centurio*, he was called *optio ad spem ordinis* or *spei* or *candidatus*. Outside of battle there were different areas of use for the optiones: *optio ad carcerem* or *carceris* (in charge of the prison cells); (marked out for); *optio ballistariorum* (in charge of artillery units); *optio cornicinum* or *tubicinum* (in charge of the trumpeteers); *optio custodiarum* (in charge of guard posts); *optio equitum* (*optio* in the legionary or praetorian cavalry); *optio fabricae* (in charge of a workshop); *optio navaliorum* (in charge of boats); *optio praetorii* (soldier attached to headquarters); *optio signiferorum* (in charge of the standardbearers); *optio speculatorum* (*optio* in the elite cavalry bodyguards); *optio statorum* (*optio* of military police); *optio tribuni* (assistant to a tribune); *optio valetudinarii* (orderly in charge of a hospital).

L. 3 τὸ δωδεκάτον τάγμα = *Legio XII (Fulminata)*.<sup>18</sup> The legion was formed by Julius Caesar in 58 BC and stationed in Gaul and took part in several battles there until 49 BC.,<sup>19</sup> then in Italy until 45 BC. It

<sup>16</sup> For *optiones* in general see Onur 2014, 117–118; Onur 2017, 159–160; Cowan 2013, 27; Le Bohec 2006, 51; Domaszewski 1908, 43–44 nos. 43–45; Cagnat 1907, 183–187.

<sup>17</sup> Veg. mil. 2,7: “Optiones ab adoptando appellati, quod antecedentibus aegritudine praepeditis hi tamquam adoptati eorum atque vicarii solent universa curare”; cf. Lyd. mag. 1,46,4,4: ὀπίωνες, αἰρετοὶ ἢ γραμματεῖς.

<sup>18</sup> For *τάγμα* being the standard literary term for *legio* see Strab. 3,3,8: τριῶν ταγμάτων στρατιωτικὸν ἐπιστήσας; Nic. Dam. frag. 130,28: ἐκράτει Γαλατίαν σὺν δυοῖν τάγμασιν; Plut. Fab. Max. 10,6: τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ταγμάτων καὶ τέταρτον αὐτὸς ἔλαβε; Galb. 27: ἐκ τοῦ πεντεκαίδεκάτου τάγματος; Ios. ant. Iud. 14,48: σὺν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων τάγμασιν ἐστράτευσεν; 14,452: ἔχων δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἐν τάγμα; bel. Iud. 7,18: Μεμνημένος δὲ τοῦ δωδεκάτου τάγματος; Dion. Hal. ant. 6,42,1: γίνεται δέκα στρατιωτικὰ τάγματα, ἐξ ἀνδρῶν τετρακισχιλίων ἕκαστον; 20,1,5: τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς παρενέβαλον τάγμασιν; Luc. hist. conscr. 31: καὶ τὸ τρίτον τάγμα; Cass. Dio 71,9,1: τὸ τάγμα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ κεραυνοβόλον ἰδίως καλούμενον; 71,9,3: καλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τάγμα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι

was discharged in 45 BC, but reformed by Lepidus in 44 BC. It was with Antonius first at Philippi in 42 BC and then in the East between 41 and 31 BC.<sup>20</sup> In ca. 41 BC it was renamed XII Victrix<sup>21</sup> and XII Antiqua<sup>22</sup> in ca. 33 BC to emphasize its age. It was with Antonius at Actium in 31 BC. After 27 BC it was renamed Legio XII Paterna<sup>23</sup> to commemorate its service under Julius Caesar. Under Augustus veterans of the legion were settled in Parma<sup>24</sup> and Thermae Himeraeae<sup>25</sup>. The Legio XII was stationed after the reorganization of the army by Augustus in the province of Aegyptus before it was transferred to Raphaneia (Syria) in 25 BC.<sup>26</sup> Around 16 BC veterans of the Legio X Fretensis and Legio XII Fulminata were settled in the Augustan colony of Patras, here the legion was mentioned for the first with its final name Fulminata (Greek κερωνοφόρος).<sup>27</sup> At the turn of the century, a vexillation of the Legio XII Fulminata was presumably stationed in the province of Africa Proconsularis (Tunisia).<sup>28</sup> In 45 AD Claudius created the Colonia Claudii Cæsaris at Ptolemais for the veterans of the four Syrian legions (Legio III Gallica, Legio VI Ferrata, Legio X Fretensis and Legio XII Fulminata).<sup>29</sup> In the summer of 60 AD Nero settled veterans of the legion in Tarentum.<sup>30</sup> The Legio XII Fulminata took part in the Armenian campaign of the year 62 under the command of Lucius Iunius Caesennius Paetus. After initial minor successes, however, Paetus proved himself unfit for the mission and had to make peace under humiliating conditions and evacuate Armenia.<sup>31</sup> Corbulo, who had then taken over the command, sent the Legio XII Fulminata back to Syria, where the legion built its new camp in Raphaneia.<sup>32</sup> In 63 AD members of the legion were in Thebes (Egypt).<sup>33</sup> In 66 AD Gaius Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, set out with the Legio XII Fulminata under its legate Caesennius Gallus and numerous auxiliary troops from Antioch to put down the Judaeen uprising.<sup>34</sup> The Legio XII Fulminata invaded Galilee. The cities surrendered without a fight and were spared. On Mount Asamon near the city of Sepphoris over 2,000 insurgents were killed in a battle.<sup>35</sup> The legion then returned to the camp at Caesarea Maritima. Then Cestius Gallus attacked Jerusalem, but was forced to abandon the siege and suffered great casualties in his retreat. Maybe the Legio XII lost the legion eagle on the run.<sup>36</sup> In the year 70, under the supreme command of Titus, the XII Fulminata advanced from Caesarea and was used in the siege of Jerusalem. Even on this occasion, the Legio XII seems not to have been particularly prominent, so that it was sent to Melitene on the border between Armenia and Cappadocia as a punishment for the defeat suffered in

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λεγεῶνα; Mason 1974, 5; 148; 163; Roth, 2016, 204.

<sup>19</sup> Caes. Gall. 2,23–25; 3,1–6; 7,62.

<sup>20</sup> Keppie 2000, 85.

<sup>21</sup> CIL XI 6721,29.

<sup>22</sup> E. Ritterling, RE XII.2, 1925, 1705 s. v. Legio (XII Fulminate).

<sup>23</sup> CIL XI 1058; cf. E. Ritterling, RE XII.2, 1925, 1705.

<sup>24</sup> CIL XI 1058.

<sup>25</sup> CIL X, 7349.

<sup>26</sup> Le Bohec 1993, 235.

<sup>27</sup> CIL III 504; 507; 509; cf. E. Ritterling, RE XII.2, 1925, 1705–1706; cf. Rizakis 2001, 48–49.

<sup>28</sup> Syme 1989, 162; cf. CIL VIII 26580.

<sup>29</sup> E. Ritterling, RE XII.2, 1925, 1706.

<sup>30</sup> Tac. ann. 14,27; cf. CIL IX 6156.

<sup>31</sup> Tac. ann. 15,7ff.

<sup>32</sup> E. Ritterling, RE XII.2, 1925, 1706.

<sup>33</sup> CIL III 30.

<sup>34</sup> Ios. bel. Iud. 2,510–555.

<sup>35</sup> Ios. bel. Iud. 2,510–555.

<sup>36</sup> Suet. Vesp. 4,5; cf. E. Ritterling, RE XII.2, 1925, 1706.

66.<sup>37</sup> Around 75 AD fortifications were erected against the Parthians by legionaries of the legion in the client kingdom of Iberia in the Caucasus.<sup>38</sup> Under Emperor Domitian, a vexillation was stationed in Qobustan on the Caspian Sea.<sup>39</sup> The participation of the vexillations in the Dacian and Parthian wars of Trajan between 114 and 116/7 AD seems probable.<sup>40</sup> In 134/5 AD the Legio XV Apollinaris and a major vexillation of the Legio XII Fulminata took part in the campaign of Flavius Arrianus, governor of Cappadocia, against the Alans.<sup>41</sup> A vexillation of the legion stayed in Trapezus,<sup>42</sup> most probably for this occasion.<sup>43</sup> It is possible that the vexillation of the XII Fulminata was involved in the Marcomannic Wars (167–172 AD) of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>44</sup> It was renamed XII Fulminata Firma Constans by Marcus Aurelius in ca. 175 BC when it did not join the revolt of Avidius Cassius.<sup>45</sup> It was defeated with C. Pescennius Niger at Issus in 194 AD. From then on the documents concerning the legion are very scarce which implies that it might have stayed in the reserve, possibly as a punishment for its behavior in the Civil War. In the early 5th century, the Legio XII Fulminata was under the command of the Dux Armeniae and was stationed with its Praefectus in Melitene.<sup>46</sup>

From the very beginning of the Empire, Asia Minor contributed large numbers of soldiers to the Roman legions.<sup>47</sup> For the mid-first century AD Tacitus mentions the recruitments in Asia Minor for Illyricum and in Galatia and Cappadocia for the Euphrates frontier.<sup>48</sup> New epigraphic documents of the veterans, most of all those found in a much less known region like Cappadocia, also contribute to a better understanding of the history of Roman legions and legionaries in many aspects. First of all they support the suggestion that the practice of recruitment from Asia Minor continued on a considerable scale throughout the second and third centuries AD.<sup>49</sup> Second they draw a different picture from G. Forni's conclusion from the vast material he had examined that after a long service in far away bases most veterans forgot their hometowns, and the great majority of them did not return, but spent their years of retirement abroad where they had served.<sup>50</sup> So new materials concerning veterans may warn that the number of those who returned to their hometown must not be underestimated. Furthermore some papyri mentioning that furloughs were granted for returning to one's homeland,<sup>51</sup> and that soldiers kept in touch with

<sup>37</sup> Ios. bel. Iud. 7,18: μεμνημένος δὲ τοῦ δωδεκάτου τάγματος, ὅτι Κεστίου στρατηγοῦντος ἐνέδωκαν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, τῆς μὲν Συρίας αὐτὸ παντάπασιν ἐξήλασεν, ἦν γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν Ῥαφανέαις, εἰς δὲ τὴν Μελιτηνὴν καλουμένην ἀπέστειλε· παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐστὶ καὶ Καππαδοκίας; Cass. Dio, 55,23,5: τὸ δωδέκατον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ τὸ κεραυνοφόρον; Proc. aed. 1,7,3: ἐν λεγεῶνι δὲ δυοδεκάτῃ ἐτάττοντο, ἢ ἐν πόλει Μελιτηνῇ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τὸ παλαιὸν ἴδρυτο; see also CIL III 13639 l. 4–5: et legat(um) I[eg(ionis) XII Fulm(inatae) Me]l[it(ene)].

<sup>38</sup> Mitchell 1993 (1), 119–120.

<sup>39</sup> AE 1951, 263.

<sup>40</sup> Bennett 1997, 96.

<sup>41</sup> Erdkamp 2007, 262.

<sup>42</sup> CIL III 6745.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Mitford 1974, 163–164.

<sup>44</sup> E. Ritterling, RE XII.2, 1925, 1708.

<sup>45</sup> ILS 2748; 2760; AE 1972, 179; IPrusias ad Hypium 45.

<sup>46</sup> Not. Dig. Or. XXXVIII,14: Praefectus legionis duodecimae fulminatae, Melitena.

<sup>47</sup> A well known example is the original recruitment of the Legio XXII Deiotariana in Galatia. Recruits from Asia Minor for the Egyptian legions and many Asiatics in the legions VII (Claudia) and XI (Claudia) during their earlier stay in Dalmatia are also well known: Forni 1953, 6lff.

<sup>48</sup> Tac. ann. 13,7 and 35; 16,13.

<sup>49</sup> As M. Speidel (1980, 744) had pointed out that similar observations might be made for the recruitment of auxiliary units and for the origin of legionary centurions from Asia Minor.

<sup>50</sup> Forni 1953, 41–42; Forni 1974, 359.

<sup>51</sup> PMich 466 (letter from a legionary to his father dating 107 AD) ll. 38–40: ἐργασίαν δὲ δώσω εὐθέως ἐὰν

their countries of origin keeping estates in their homelands and managing them through their intimates,<sup>52</sup> give evidence against Forni's conclusion. Thirdly the funerary inscription of the Cappadocian veteran, C. Iulius, may support Mann's conclusion<sup>53</sup> from the evidence of other provinces that the Cappadocian legions, like those of the other eastern provinces, soon ceased to be dependent on the western provinces for their recruits, and that Cappadocia, and especially its frontier areas, supplied a high proportion of the total. In the area between Anazarbos and Hierapolis/Komana epigraphic documents of the Legio XII Fulminata have been found so far only in the vicinity of Hierapolis.<sup>54</sup> This evidence considered in the light of the inscription introduced here suggests that the southern border of Cappadocia was an important source of manpower for the Legio XII Fulminata.<sup>55</sup>

The ancient cemetery in the village of Himmetli, where the gravestone of C. Iulius was found, is situated immediately to the north of the border between Cappadocia and Cilicia, which lies through the line between Kilikiai Plylai, where an inscription mentions ὄροι [Κι]λί|κων,<sup>56</sup> and the Mazgaç Pass, where in a Byzantine rock inscription the border of a bishopric (probably the bishopric of Kukusos)<sup>57</sup> and thus the border between Cappadocia and Cilicia is mentioned (see map 1).<sup>58</sup> The nearest known settlement in the vicinity is Baka (modern Feke), situated some 15 kilometers to the southwest. But this rural settlement was a village and fortress dated to the Byzantine period.<sup>59</sup> So it is most plausible to suppose that the cemetery in Himmetli must have lain in the territory of the Cappadocian polis Kukusos, lying some 40 kilometers to the northeast. Kukusos<sup>60</sup> was an important station located by the Itinerarium Antonini<sup>61</sup> on the road from Melitene to Tarsus.

There are several grave sites with a few tombs around the village. One of them has three tombs including that of C. Iulius and his wife Valeria Ma. It must be the one situated across the inscribed block (fig. 1). Here stands a sarcophagus broken all around on a podium. Architectural elements of the tomb structure are scattered around. These remains suggest an aedicula tomb with a sarcophagus on a podium. On

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ἄρ|ξεται ὁ ἡγεμὼν διδόναι κομμεᾶτον | εὐθέως ἐλθῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

<sup>52</sup> PMich 562 (agreement given by a soldier for the prepaid lease of a grain-bearing land and of some olive groves dating 109 AD): Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἀπολλινάριος στρατιώτης) λε(γεωνος) γ' Κυρ(ηναικῆς) | φρουμεντάριος Ῥώμη[ς] Σ[αβε]ίνω Σωκράτους | τῶν ἀπ[ὸ] κώμης Καρανίδου τοῦ Ἀρσινοῖτου νο(μοῦ) | χαί(ρειν). ὁμολογῶ μεμισθω- [κέν]αι σο[ι] τὰς ὑπαρ[χ]ούσας μοι περὶ τὴν αὐ[τὴν] κώμην ἀρούρας | γῆς [ε . . . ο] σιτοφόρου δ[ύο] καὶ τῆν περὶ Βακ| χιάδα ἀρ(ούρης) ἡμισυ τέταρ[τον] καὶ περὶ Καρανίδα | ἐλαιῶνος ἀρούρ(ας) δύο ἐν τῷ Ὀ|γκω λεγομένω | καὶ περὶ Ἀλκιάδα ἐλαιῶνος ἀρ(ουραν) μία|ν καὶ περὶ Ἱερὰν |<sup>10</sup> [ἀρ]ούρας δύο ὧν καὶ [τ]οὺς φόρους ἀπέσχον | ε[ἰ]ς ἔτη τρία ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους δ' Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου· πρ[ὸς] σ[ε] ὄντων πάντων | τῶν ἀναλωμάτων καὶ ἔργων καὶ δημοσίων | καὶ ὅ τι ἐὰν περὶ αὐτῶν [ὀ]φίληται δημόσιον |<sup>15</sup> ἢ ἰ[δ]ιωτικόν, κατὰ μη[δὲ]ν ἐλαττωμένων | τῶν ἐδαφῶν καθ[ὸ]τι [συν]εφωνήθη· | ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ τὰς περὶ [Βακχιάδα] Ἱερὰν ἀρούρας) δύο | ἐ[λ]αιῶνος συνφύτους παραδώσι ὁ Σαβεῖνος | Σ[ωκ]ράτου[ς].

<sup>53</sup> Mann 1983, 44.

<sup>54</sup> For a dedication of C. Helvius Capreolus, *centurio* of the Legio XII Fulminata, to Asklepios Soter see IKomana no. 93. The Ulpius Apollinarius mentioned in a funerary inscription (IKomana no. 296) had served as *centurio* probably in the Legio Fulminata.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Kaya 2005, 94. For the legionary recruitments of XII Fulminata see also Mitchell 1993 (I), 139; for the inscriptions of legionaries of XII Fulminata found in Asia Minor see Öztürk – Pilevneli 2013, 111. For the Asian recruits of other legions see Eck 2009, 138–139; Speidel 1983, 17–20; Speidel 1980, 736.

<sup>56</sup> CIL III 228 = IGR III 892; cf. Hild 1977, 58.

<sup>57</sup> Bean 1950, 561: ὄροι | Μαξί|μ(ου) ἐπι|σκό(που).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Hild 1977, 134; Hild – Restle 1981, 41; French 2012, 15; Sayar 2012, 454.

<sup>59</sup> Hild – Hellenkemper 1990, 207–208 s. v. Baka.

<sup>60</sup> For Kukusos see W. Ruge, RE XI.1, 1921, 1065 s. v. Kokussos; Hild 1977, 89; 134; Hild – Restle 1981, 217–218; Cassia 2004, 144–146.

<sup>61</sup> Itin. Ant. 176,3; 178,5–6; 180,5–6; 181,6; 211,10; 212,5; 213,1; 214,11.14; cf. Hild 1977, 89; 134; Hild – Restle 1981, 217–218 fn. 1–2 s. v. Kukusos; Cassia 2004, 144–145.

the same axis there are two other tombs with a similar structure. The well preserved door frames and the lintels of the tombs can still be seen (fig. 2). These three tombs are situated ca. 60 m. away from each other. It is likely to suppose that the other two tombs might have belonged to individuals who had family ties with C. Iulius. The tombs were probably constructed by a road.<sup>62</sup> Two more tombs were also found in the rural settlement. One of them has a vaulted roof and a sword relief on the inner narrow wall (fig. 3–4). Some architectural remains with cross decoration (fig. 5) scattered all around the village indicate settlement continuity into the Byzantine period.



Map 1. The Find Spot of the Inscription and the Provincial Borders between Cappadocia and Cilicia.

Neither Iulii nor Valerii are known from Kukuşos. But some are known from the neighboring poleis, Hierapolis/Komana in the north and Anazarbos in the south.<sup>63</sup> It is hard to determine if the *optio* of the Legio XII had had family ties with any one of these Iulii. As to the name of his wife, Valerii are not known in the vicinity of Hierapolis, but several examples are known from Anazarbos: Lucius Valerius Niger and his son Lucius Valerius Varus Pollio both of whom hold the office of *demiurgia* and the priesthood of *Dea Roma*,<sup>64</sup> Valeria Plutina, wife of Marcianus, an imperial freedman,<sup>65</sup> and Valeria

<sup>62</sup> For the tombs by the roads see e.g. Hesberg – Zanker 1987, 17–18; Cormack 1997, 140; Spanu 2000, 172; Cormack 2004, 29; IItjana 91–93.

<sup>63</sup> For Hierapolis see IKomana 322 (index); for Anazarbos see IAnazarbos 287 (index).

<sup>64</sup> IAnazarbos no. 21.

<sup>65</sup> IAnazarbos no. 371.

Atinnia<sup>66</sup> who died young. On the other hand the cognomen Ma was a very common name in Hieropolis/Komana.<sup>67</sup> The name owes its popularity in the city to the famous temple of the goddess Ma which had more than 6,000 temple slaves in Strabo's time.<sup>68</sup> Mas, a version of the name, is known in Anazarbos.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Twenty individuals bearing this name are known, of whom two had Roman citizenship (Aeliana Ma and Aemillia Ma): IKomana 323 (index); for Ma and her granddaughter, Ma alias Claudia on an inscription from Hierapolis in the Kayseri Museum see Takmer et al. 2006, no. 1.

<sup>68</sup> Strab. 12,2,3; see also IKomana 146–149; Baz 2009, 65–67.

<sup>69</sup> IAnazarbos nos. 287; 391 (uncertain). The name is also documented as a male name: Zgusta 1964, 177 § 839–3.



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### Özet

#### Legio XII Fulminata'da *optio* olarak Askerlik Yapmış Olan C. Iulius'un Mezartaşı

Kappadokia'da Vespasianus Devri'nin hemen başından itibaren iki lejyon bulunmaktaydı: Melitene'de Legio XII Fulminata ve Satala'da Legio XVI Flavia Firma (İ.S. 120 yılından itibaren Legio XV Apollinaris). Bununla birlikte Kappadokia'da konuşlu lejyonlarda görev yapmış askerlere ilişkin veri hala son derece kısıtlıdır. Bunun temel sebebi Kappadokia'da konuya ilişkin çok az yazıt bulunmuş olmasıdır. Kappadokia lejyonlarından terhis olmuş askerlere dair her bir yeni belge tam da bu nedenle son derece önemlidir. Legio XII Fulminata'da *optio* olarak askerlik yaptıktan sonra memleketine geri dönen C. Iulius'un burada tanıtılan mezar yazıtı bu bağlamda ilgili konuya dair yeni bir veri sunmaktadır. Yazıt Adana İli, Saimbeyli İlçesi'ne bağlı Himmetli Köyü'nde bulunmuştur. Harf karakterleri temelinde yazıtı İ.S. II.–III. yüzyıla tarihlendirmek mümkündür. Mezar yazıtının dikildiği kırsal yerleşim Kappadokia ile Kilikia arasında Gülek Boğazı'ndan Mazgaç Geçiti istikametinde ilerleyen sınır hattının hemen kuzeyinde yer almaktadır. Buna göre Kappadokia sınırları içinde kalan kırsal yerleşim, biri Kaisareia ile Melitene, diğeri ise Satala ile Tarsos arasındaki yolların kesiştiği önemli bir kavşak noktası olan Kukusos Kenti'nin territoryumunda yer almış olmalıdır. Bu yeni yazıt temelinde yazarlar şu sonuçlara ulaşmaktadır: 1) Roma lejyonlarına Anadolu'dan asker alımları İ.S. 2. ve 3. yüzyıllar boyunca önemli oranda devam etmiştir; 2) terhis olmuş askerlere ilişkin yeni malzemeler askerlik hizmetinin ardından memleketine dönenlerin sayısının azımsanmaması gerektiği yönünde uyarıcı olarak görülebilirler ve 3) Kappadokia'lı emekli asker C. Iulius'un mezar yazıtı, Kappadokia'nın özellikle de sınır bölgelerinin, Kappadokia lejyonları için önemli bir asker kaynağı olduğu görüşünü destekler mahiyettedir. Makaleye konu olan yazıtın çevirisi şöyledir:

«Gaius Iulius, 12. Legio'da *optio* olarak saygın bir şekilde askerlik hizmeti yaptıktan sonra (vatanına) geri dönünce Priscus'un kızı olan eşi Valeria Ma ile birlikte (bu mezarı) kendileri için yaptırdı.»

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** *Optio*; Veteran; Kappadokia Lejyonları; Kukusos; Melitene; Satala; C. Iulius; Valeria Ma.



Fig. 1. The tomb of C. Iulius and Valeria Ma.

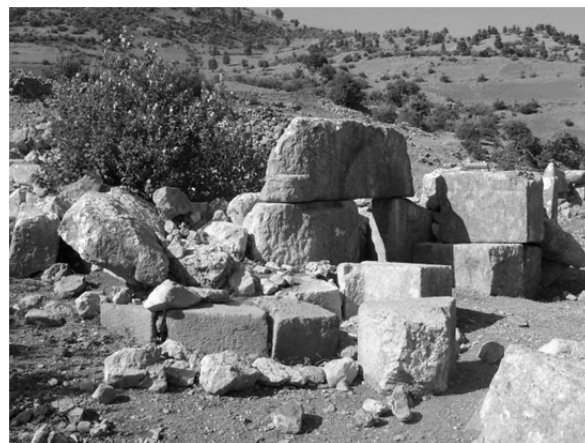


Fig. 2. Two other tombs on the same axis with the tomb of C. Iulius and Valeria Ma.



Fig. 3. Another cemetery in Himmetli with two tombs.



Fig. 4. Tomb with vaulted roof and a sword relief on the inner narrow wall.



Fig. 5. Architectural remains with cross decoration.