



<https://publications.dainst.org>

iDAI.publications

DIGITALE PUBLIKATIONEN DES
DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUTS

Das ist eine digitale Ausgabe von / This is a digital edition of

Reger, Gary

A Letter of Septimius Severus to the Lykian League on the Misbehavior of Soldiers : A New Inscription from Choma (Hacımusalar Höyük), Northern Lykia".

aus / from

Chiron : Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts., 50 (2020). 253–285

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34780/vbc9-69le>

Herausgebende Institution / Publisher:
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Copyright (Digital Edition) © 2022 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Podbielskiallee 69–71, 14195 Berlin, Tel: +49 30 187711-0
Email: info@dainst.de | Web: <https://www.dainst.org>

Nutzungsbedingungen: Mit dem Herunterladen erkennen Sie die Nutzungsbedingungen (<https://publications.dainst.org/terms-of-use>) von iDAI.publications an. Sofern in dem Dokument nichts anderes ausdrücklich vermerkt ist, gelten folgende Nutzungsbedingungen: Die Nutzung der Inhalte ist ausschließlich privaten Nutzerinnen / Nutzern für den eigenen wissenschaftlichen und sonstigen privaten Gebrauch gestattet. Sämtliche Texte, Bilder und sonstige Inhalte in diesem Dokument unterliegen dem Schutz des Urheberrechts gemäß dem Urheberrechtsgesetz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Die Inhalte können von Ihnen nur dann genutzt und vervielfältigt werden, wenn Ihnen dies im Einzelfall durch den Rechteinhaber oder die Schrankenregelungen des Urheberrechts gestattet ist. Jede Art der Nutzung zu gewerblichen Zwecken ist untersagt. Zu den Möglichkeiten einer Lizenzierung von Nutzungsrechten wenden Sie sich bitte direkt an die verantwortlichen Herausgeberinnen/Herausgeber der entsprechenden Publikationsorgane oder an die Online-Redaktion des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (info@dainst.de). Etwaige davon abweichende Lizenzbedingungen sind im Abbildungsnachweis vermerkt.

Terms of use: By downloading you accept the terms of use (<https://publications.dainst.org/terms-of-use>) of iDAI.publications. Unless otherwise stated in the document, the following terms of use are applicable: All materials including texts, articles, images and other content contained in this document are subject to the German copyright. The contents are for personal use only and may only be reproduced or made accessible to third parties if you have gained permission from the copyright owner. Any form of commercial use is expressly prohibited. When seeking the granting of licenses of use or permission to reproduce any kind of material please contact the responsible editors of the publications or contact the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (info@dainst.de). Any deviating terms of use are indicated in the credits.

CHIRON

MITTEILUNGEN
DER KOMMISSION FÜR
ALTE GESCHICHTE UND
EPIGRAPHIK
DES DEUTSCHEN
ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN
INSTITUTS

Sonderdruck aus Band 50 · 2020



DE GRUYTER

Inhalt des 50. Bandes (2020)

DIMITRIS BOSNAKIS – KLAUS HALLOF, Alte und neue Inschriften aus Kos VI

JÉRÉMIE CHAMEROY, Early Silver Coinage of Elaea and Pergamum – A Comparative Study

ANNA DOLGANOV, A new date for the Oxyrhynchite epitome of the Gnomon of the Idios Logos (P.Oxy. XLII 3014)

RUDOLF HAENSCH – CLAUDIA KREUZSALER, Drei Kandidaten, bitte! Die Rolle des *praefectus Aegypti* bei der Ersatznominierung öffentlicher Funktionsträger zu Beginn des 2. Jahrhunderts

MARTIN HALLMANNSECKER, The Ionian Koinon and the Koinon of the 13 Cities at Sardis

FRÉDÉRIC HURLET – CHRISTEL MÜLLER, L'Achaïe à l'époque républicaine (146–27 av. J.-C.): une province introuvable?

WOLFGANG KAISER, Stiftungen in Hypaipa

MYLES LAVAN, Quantifying the spread of Roman citizenship in the province of Asia in the second century CE

ULRIKE PETER – VLADIMIR F. STOLBA, Zur Typologie kaiserzeitlicher Prägungen in Moesia inferior: Der Leuchtturm auf Münzen von Istros

GARY REGER, A Letter of Septimius Severus to the Lykian League on the Misbehavior of Soldiers. A New Inscription from Choma (Hacimusalar Höyük), Northern Lykia

SEBASTIAN SCHMIDT-HOFNER, An Empire of the Best: Zosimus, the monarchy, and the Eastern administrative elite in the fifth century CE

JACK SCHROPP, Wahl, Amtsdauer und Vorgehen der gracchischen *IIIviri agris iudicandis adsignandis*

GARY REGER

A Letter of Septimius Severus to the Lykian League
on the Misbehavior of Soldiers
A New Inscription from Choma (Hacımusalar Höyük),
Northern Lykia

During the 2007 excavation season at ancient Choma (modern Hacımusalar Höyük) in Northern Lykia (see Fig. 1), a large inscribed block was discovered re-used as the threshold for the southern entrance to the West Church.¹ Holes had been cut into it to hold components of the door, and a good part of the surface in the middle of the stone

First and foremost I am very grateful to İLKNUR ÖZGEN, Director of the Hacımusalar excavations, who first invited me to participate in the excavations as epigrapher and has encouraged my work over many years, and to Bilkent University in Ankara, the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the University of Richmond, which generously supported the excavations, and Trinity College for financial support. ELIZABETH BAUGHAN and JACQUES MORIN supported my work at the excavation. I have benefitted from early comments and suggestions from ANTHONY BIRLEY. I presented a very preliminary version of the text to the Epigraphy Seminar organized by ROBERT PARKER at the Classics Centre in Oxford, in February 2012; helpful suggestions are owed to CÉDRIC BRÉLAZ, ANDREW LINTOTT, JOHN MA, and others present on that occasion. Several colleagues and friends deserve special mention. For reconstruction of the text and careful critique of a draft I am grateful to MICHAEL PEACHIN, RUDOLF HAENSCH, DENIS FEISSEL, CHRISTOF SCHULER, and especially MICHAEL WÖRRLE, whose work with a photograph enabled him to suggest several important readings. I owe thanks to MARK CIOC-ORTEGA, chair of the Department of History at New Mexico State University, who arranged for visiting faculty status at the University, and to the Interlibrary Loan department of the Zuhl Library.

¹ The West Church is «a monumental Byzantine church, built on the top of the mound, its façade atop the western edge of the *höyük*, facing the ancient road leading to the city. Only the foundations of the church as well as fragments of pavement actually remain. (...) The original location of the inscription cannot be ascertained; however, given the size of the stone, its thickness, and the care with which it was carved, it must have been placed in a prominent area of the Roman city, no doubt the civic center of the town, identified, although unexcavated, at the southern edge of the mound, perhaps as a free standing stele (given the presence of a moulding, now carved off, at its summit), or on an orthostat of a public building» (JACQUES MORIN, per. comm., 21 February 2019; he will publish the church separately). The date of the church has not been well established, but it is obviously a major structure into which many earlier spolia were incorporated, and may have served as the seat of the bishop of Choma, whose existence is attested in a number of late Roman and early Byzantine bishops lists; see DARROUZÈS 1981, e.g. 210, 224, 238, 256. For a preliminary report on survey and excavation work at the site, see ÖZGEN – BAUGHAN 2016. For another new inscription from Choma, see REGER 2010.

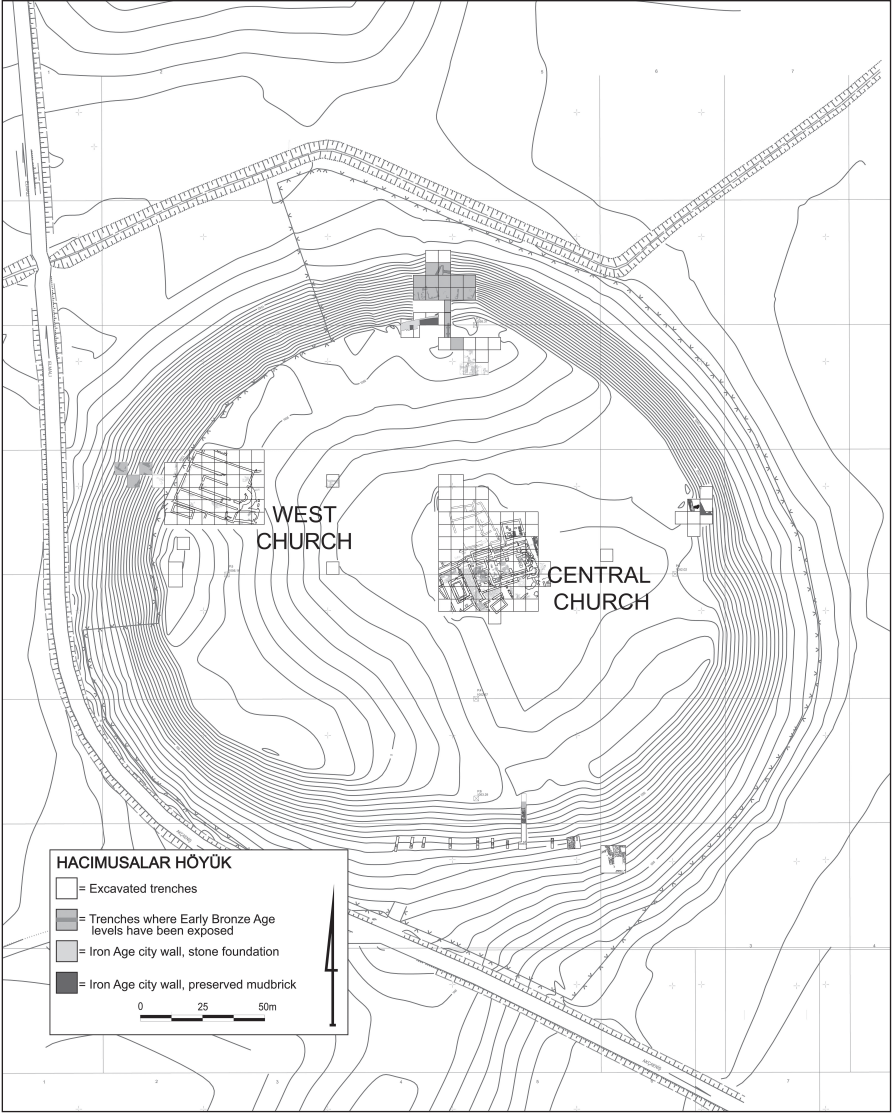


Fig. 1

was effaced, the result of years of wear by the feet of congregants, but it was immediately apparent that the inscription contained on the block was a letter from Septimius Severus addressed to the Lykian koinon (League) rectifying misbehavior of soldiers stationed in some or all of the cities of the League. This new letter, which is known only from this copy at Choma, sheds light on the relations between Severus and the Lykian League and has bearing on the role of torture in the Roman legal system and its application by soldiers.

In light of the complexity of this new document, I begin with a brief summary of the argument I offer below for the date and historical circumstances of the text. This rescript was written less than two months after the final defeat of Clodius Albinus, Severus' last competitor, at Lugdunum in Gaul; this battle fell on February 19, 197 CE. The emperor was responding to a complaint by the Lykian League regarding the application of torture in the Lykian cities by soldiers. Severus granted the Lykians' request to stop the application of torture by soldiers, denying that authorization for such acts had ever existed or been extended to the soldiers by Severus, and instead reaffirmed the appropriate procedure for accused persons to be interrogated and a report of the results to be forwarded to the governor of the province for disposition; the governor could then order torture if appropriate, in the presence of the soldiers. This decision essentially re-established the long-standing approach to investigation, interrogation, and disposition of persons accused of serious crimes in the Roman Empire. Finally, Severus forbade soldiers who had tortured inappropriately to be sent again to cities where they had misbehaved and authorized persons who had been tortured to bring complaints about the soldiers who had carried out the torture, now that they no longer need fear retribution.

April 10, 197 CE

The stone is a large marble block, left by our team in its reused phase as the threshold of the southern door to the West Church. It bears cuttings for the pivot and stops of the door. The text is badly effaced, often to the point of unreadability, in the middle of the stone. The right edge has been trimmed back. The number of missing letters on the right varies as a result. Two lines at the beginning which contained the opening formula of Severus' titles must have appeared originally on the moulding or on a more elaborate decoration attached to the top of the stone. The surface where such a moulding would have sat is roughly worked and shows no trace of lettering.²

Height: 140 cm. Width: 80 cm. Letters: 2.0–2.5 cm, Φ 3.5 cm; despite some variation letters are fairly consistently 2.0–2.2 or 2.3 cm tall. Fig. 2.

² Compare the gable and moulding of HAUKEN – TANRIVER – AKBIYIKOĞLU 2003, on which a gable surmounting the stele accommodates the first three lines of the text in the tympanum of the gable; line 4 is inscribed on the lower border of the gable and line 5 added to the ridge transitioning from gable to stele (see their photograph at p. 35). For the restoration of these lines, see for example F.Delphes III 4, 329, 1–11.

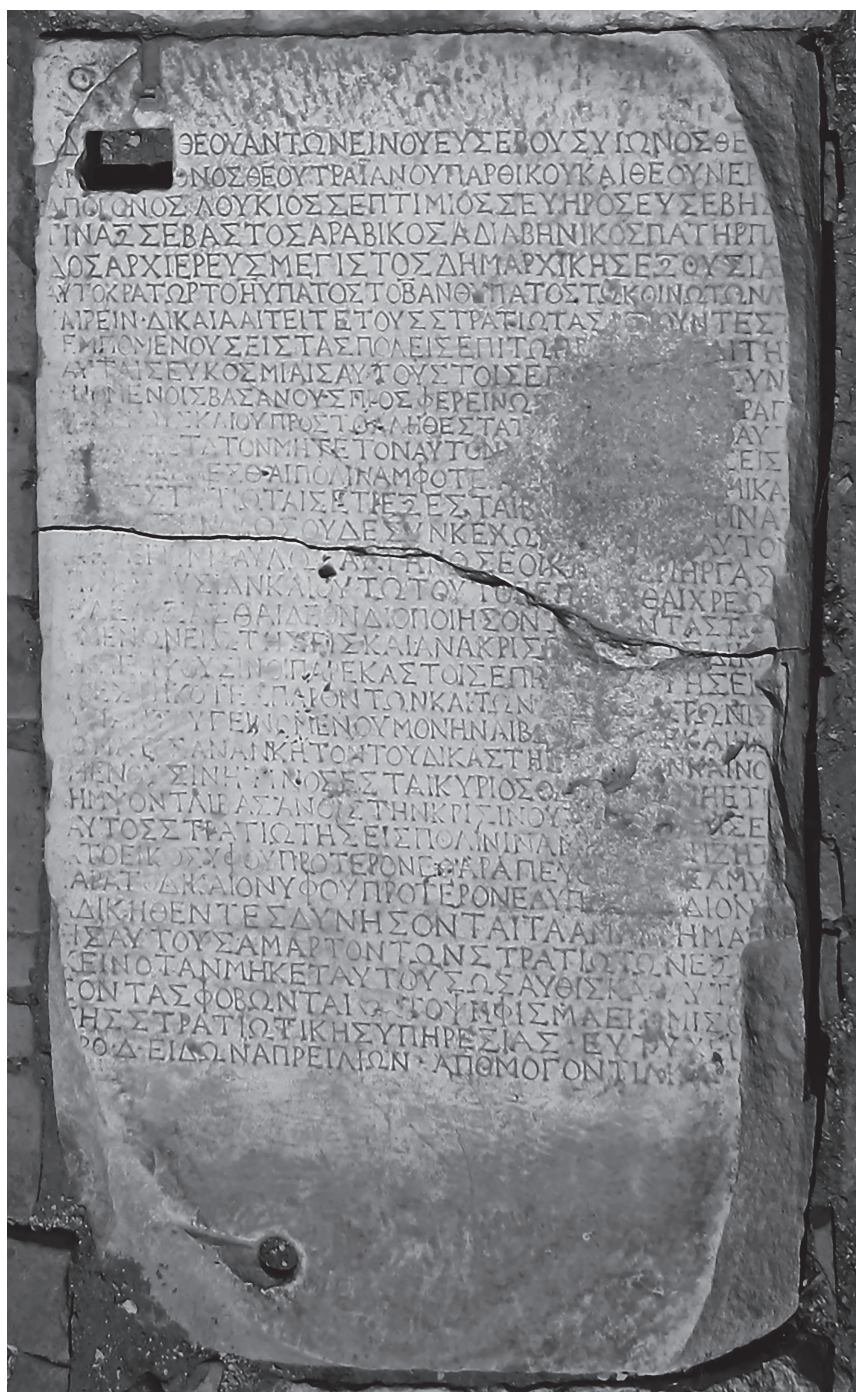


Fig. 2

- [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνεῖνου]
 [Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Κομμόδου]
 ἀδ[ελφός], θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς υἱωνός, θε[οῦ Ἀδρι]-
 αν[οῦ ἔχγ]ονος, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρ[ουα]
 ἀπόγονος, Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεῦῆρος Εὐσεβῆς [Πέρ]-
 4 τινὰ Σεβαστός, Ἀραβικός, Ἀδιαβηνικός, πατήρ πα[τρί]-
 δος, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας [τὸ ε',]
 αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ η', ὑπάτος τὸ β', ἀνθύπατος, τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Λυ[κίων],
 χαίρειν. Δίκαια αἰτεῖτε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀξιοῦντες τ[οὺς]
 8 [π]εμπομένους εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ τῷ πρ[οστῆ]ναι τῆς ἐ[ν]
 [vac.] αὐταῖς εὐκοσμία[ι]ς <μήτε> αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐπ[ὶ] βήματος] συν-
 [γ]ενομένοις βασάνους προσφέρειν ὡς [εἰς ἐξέτασιν π]αραγ[ε]-
 [γεν]ημένους καὶ οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἀληθέστατ[ον ἀλλ' εἰς τ]ὸ αὐτ[οῖς]
 12 [κ]ερδαλεώτατον, μήτε τὸν αὐτὸν στ[ρατιώτην δι]ς εἰς [τῇν]
 [αὐ]τῇν πέμπεσθαι πόλιν. ἀμφοτέρω τ[ὰ δίκαια δίδω]μι κα[ὶ]
 [οὗτ]ε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔτι ἐξέσται β[ασανίζειν] τινὰς,
 [οὐ γὰρ] ἐξῆν ὅλως οὐδὲ συνεχώρη[κά ποτε] αὐτοῖς
 16 [ἀλλ]᾽ ἔ[θ]ει τινὶ φαύλῳ ταύτην ὡς ἔοικε[ν π]εριηργάσ[αντο]
 [τ]ῇν ἐξουσίαν καὶ οὕτω τοῦτο πεπαῦσθαι χρεώ[ν ὡς]
 [μ]ηδὲ ἄρξασθαι δέον· διὸ ποιήσοντ[αι μὲ]ν τὰς τῶν [ἡ]τι-
 [ω?]μένων ἐρωτήσεις καὶ ἀνακρίσει[ις καὶ] εἰς δικα[σ]-
 20 [τ]ῇν πέμψουσιν οἱ παρ' ἐκάστοις ἐπὶ φ[υλακῇ] τῆς εἰ[ρήνης]
 [κ]<α>θεστήκοτες, παρόντων καὶ τῶν στ[ρατιω]τῶν ἰς [μαρ]-
 [τ]υρίαν τοῦ γεινομένου μόνην· αἱ β[ά]σανοι δὲ καὶ ἡ δ[ιὰ]
 [σ]ώματ[ος] ἀνάγκη τὸν τοῦ δικαστηρ[ίου λό]γον καινῶν πε]-
 24 [ρι]μενοῦσιν, ἢ τινος ἔσται κύριος ὁ δ[ικαζ]ών ἢ ἔτι [δία]-
 λήψονται βασάνοις τὴν κρίσιν· οὔτε [πεμφ]θήσε[ται δις]
 [ὁ] αὐτὸς στρατιώτης εἰς πόλιν ἵνα μήτ[ε χ]αρίζητ[αι πα]-
 [ρ]ὰ τὸ εἶδος ὑφ' οὗ πρότερον ἐθαραπεύθη [μή]τε ἀμύ[νηται]
 28 παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ὑφ' οὗ πρότερον ἐλυπήθη [vac.?] διὸ ν[ῦν οἱ]
 ἀδικηθέντες δυνήσονται τὰ ἀμαρτήματ[α τῶν]
 εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀμαρτόντων στρατιωτῶν ἐξε[λέγ]-
 χεῖν ὅταν μηκέτ' αὐτοὺς ὡς αὐθις καθ' αὐτῶν ἀδική]-
 32 σοντας φοβῶνται. ♡ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐκ[ο]μίσθη ὑπὸ
 τῆς στρατιωτικῆς ὑπηρεσίας· εὐτυχεῖ[τε].
 [π]ρὸ · Δ · εἰδὼν Ἀπρελίων · ἀπὸ Μογοντιακοῦ[υ].

8 The alternative προ[στατ]ῇ[σ]αι (SCHULER) is attractive but the nu seems secure. [ἐν] FEISSEL || 9 εὐκοσμία[ι]ς FEISSEL. <μήτε> SCHULER, omitted by error by the engraver; <μή> WÖRRLE. ἐπ[ὶ] βήματος] WÖRRLE || 10 [εἰς ἐξέτασιν] WÖRRLE || 11 [ἀλλ' εἰς] FEISSEL; [ἀλλὰ πρὸς] is too long for the lacuna || 12 [κ]ερδαλεώτατον is certain || 13 τ[ὰ δίκαια] WÖRRLE || 15 [οὐ γὰρ] SCHULER. [ποτέ] KOKKINIA. Alternative restorations at the end: συνεχώρη[ρηταί ποτε] WÖRRLE; συνεχώρη[μένον ἦν] FEISSEL || 16 [ἀλλ]᾽ ἔ[θ]ει FEISSEL || 17 χρεώ[ν ὡς]

WÖRRLE; χρεώ[ν τὸ] FEISSEL || 19–20 δικα[στήρι]ον (FEISSEL) is too long for the lacuna || 20 The iota and phi of ἐπὶ φ[υλακῇ] are in ligature || 22–23 δ[ιὰ] σ[ώ]ματ[ο]ς FEISSEL || 23 The nu and kappa of ἀνάνκη are in ligature || 24 Rather than δ[ικαζ]ών WÖRRLE suggests possibly δε[κν]ύων, which however seems slightly too long for the space. FEISSEL suggests ἡ ἔτε[ροι] at the end, but then there would be no room for the δια- || 24–25 [δια]λήμψονται WÖRRLE. See PREISIGKE 1925, s.v. διαλαμβάνω for many papyrological attestations || 25 [δ]ις WÖRRLE || 26 μήτε [χ]αρίζε[ται] παρὰ WÖRRLE; μὴ [ξε]νίζη[ται] FEISSEL || 27 [μη]δὲ ἀμύ[νηται] FEISSEL. For θαραπεύ- rather than θεραπεύ-, see LSJ⁹ s.v. || 28 ἐλυπήθη [vac.?] WÖRRLE, FEISSEL. Perhaps there was punctuation in the vac.? || 30–31 ἐξε[λέγ]χειν FEISSEL || 31–32 [ἀδική]σοντας SCHULER; [ῆ]ξοντας FEISSEL || 32 Alternatively [διὰ] WÖRRLE || 33–34 ὑπηρεσίας · [π]ρὸ · Δ · εἰδὼν Ἀπριλίῳ · ἀπὸ Μογοντιακοῦ punctuation on stone.

«Emperor Caesar, son of the divine Marcus Antoninus Pius Germanicus Sarmaticus, brother of the divine Commodus, grandson of the divine Antoninus Pius, descendant of the divine Hadrian, descendant of the divine Trajan Parthicus and the divine Nerva, Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus, Arabicus, Adiabenicus, Father of the Country, Pontifex Maximus, in the fifth year of tribunician power, Imperator for the eighth time, consul for the second time, proconsul, to the koinon of the Lykians, greetings. You are making legitimate claims, asking, with respect to the soldiers sent into the cities to be in charge of good order in them, that they, acting not indeed for the whole truth but for their own greatest advantage, neither apply torture for examination against those who came before a tribunal, nor that the same soldier be sent into the same city twice. I grant both claims and it will no longer be permitted to the soldiers to torture people, for it was not allowed at all, nor have I ever granted it to them, but they exercised this authority, as seems likely, out of a base disposition, and this necessity has been ended inasmuch as the need never began. Therefore, those who have been appointed in each (demos) to be in charge of the peace will on the one hand do the questioning and preliminary investigation of those who have been accused and will send (the results) to the judge, in the presence only of the soldiers to bear witness in the matter. Torture and compulsion of the body on the other hand await the new word of the court; either the one judging will have authority over a matter or they will yet take the decision by means of tortures. Nor will the same soldier be sent twice into a city so that he shall not show favoritism, as it is likely, to him by whom he was formerly courted, nor take revenge against what is just against him by whom he was formerly harmed. Therefore now those who have been mistreated will be able to lay charges against the misdeeds of the soldiers who mistreated them when they no longer fear that they will again mistreat them. ♡ The decree was conveyed by military assistance. Good bye. Before the 4 Ides of April. From Mogontiacum (Mainz).»

Severus' Titles, the Date of the Letter, and the Emperor's Movements, 196–197 CE

The day on and place at which Severus issued this rescript are unambiguous: April 10 (four days before the Ides of April) at Mainz (Mogontiacum). Among other matters, he surely went there to thank the *legio XXII Primigenia*. Stationed at Mainz, it had

defended Trier successfully against Albinus when he attacked the city after defeating the governor of Lower Germania, Virius Lupus. The *civitas Treverorum* set up a dedication in Mogontiacum, *legioni XXII Pr. p. f. honoris virtutisq. causa*, because the legion had defended it in the siege (*in obsidione ab ea defensa*).³ The problem is the year, represented by the number of Severus' tribunician power, which has been lost at line 5 due to the trimming of the stone. The emperor's titulature restricts the possibilities to either 196 or 197 CE. His «adoption» by Marcus Aurelius, marked by the title *divi Marci Pii filius*, *divi Commodi frater* and the addition of *Pius* to his name, occurred in the spring of 195 CE. By August 14, 195, he had received the titles *Arabicus* and *Adiabenicus* and his fifth, sixth, and seventh imperial acclamations as a result of his achievements in Mesopotamia. He refused the title *Parthicus*, also offered then, but accepted *Parthicus maximus* on January 28, 198, upon completion of his Parthian war. His titulature, then, firmly fixes the letter in 196 or 197 CE.⁴

The emperor's movements following his defeat of Pescennius Niger and his activities in Mesopotamia exclude the possibility that he was on the Rhine in April 196. The SHA Severus (10, 3) reports that Severus elevated his son Bassianus to Caesar and renamed him Aurelius Antoninus at Viminacium on the Danube. In a careful study of Severus' movements, M. HEIL has dated this event to April 14, 196 CE. The year of the letter must then have been 197, his fifth year of tribunician power, issued in the aftermath of the battle of Lugdunum during a sojourn visiting troops stationed on the Rhine who had supported him against Clodius Albinus in the civil war.⁵

This date, however, poses a putative problem, because Severus holds only his eighth imperial acclamation. It has been generally agreed that he received his ninth acclamation for the victory at Lugdunum; how, then, could it be absent from a letter written six weeks after the battle? The answer would seem to be that Severus did not add *Imperator IX* to his titulature until after it had been officially conferred by the Senate, even if his troops had proclaimed it in the field. Confirmation of this acclamation by

³ BIRLEY 1988, 122; CIL XIII 6800 (ILS 419); Dio 76, 6, 2, for the defeat of Lupus; BIRLEY 1981, 149–151, AE 1957, 123 with ALFÖLDY 1968, 139.

⁴ KIENAST – ECK – HEIL 2017, 149f.; HEIL 2006, 67; BIRLEY 1988, 130 with 249 n. 4; see PIR² S 487, p. 194. PFam. Tebt. XLVII 33, for the titles on August 14, 195. The absence of Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla) from the dating formula despite his elevation to Caesar in 196 (see n. 5) poses no problem, since Caracalla's name does not appear consistently in dating formulae.

⁵ HEIL 2006, 65–70 for a detailed chronology and 73f. for the date of Caracalla's elevation; see also WÖRRLE 2019a for a discussion of the chronology of Severus' movements. He has suggested (per ep.) that the inscription could be dated to 196, but that is not possible if HEIL's date for Caracalla's elevation is accepted. On the battle of Lugdunum, see now LE BOHEC 2013. On April 11, 197, Septimius decided a dispute about a dowry; this decision must have been rendered at or near Mainz (CJ 5, 18, 1; CORIAT 2014, 163 no. 50; the year assured by mention of the consuls Lateranus and Rufinus). MAGIE 1950, 2, 1541f. n. 23, and CURTIS CLAY in an unpublished thesis (CLAY 1972) have argued for dating Lugdunum to 196, but this is untenable. I am very grateful to CLAY for sharing a copy of the relevant pages of his thesis.

the Senate, which was technically required,⁶ would probably have occurred only after his arrival in Rome. His personal mounted guard, the *numerus equitum singularium Augusti*, made a dedication in Rome to Hercules on June 9, 197 CE, «on account of the return of the unit», *ob reditum numeri*.⁷ Since it seems extremely unlikely that Severus and his personal guard would have entered the capital separately, the emperor's arrival in Rome must have fallen in late May or early June, and the Senate's vote to award or confirm his ninth acclamation followed soon thereafter. The problem of a date of April 197 and the eighth rather than ninth acclamation disappears.⁸

The only other possible issue with the date of 197 CE is the celebration on May 4–7 in Lugdunum of an elaborate *taurobolium* by officiants of the cult of the Magna Mater carried out «for the health of the emperor L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus and M. Aurelius Antoninus Caesar, *imperator destinatus*, and Julia Augusta *mater castrorum*, and their whole divine house and for the status of the Colonia Copia Claudia Augusta Lugdunum», [*pro*] *salute imp. L. Septimi [Seve]ri Pii Pertinacis Aug. et M. Aureli Antonini Caes. imp. destinati et Iuliae Aug. Matris Castrorum, totiusque domus divinae eorum et statu C. C. C. Aug. Lug.*⁹ If Caracalla would not have been granted the title *imperator designatus* without senatorial confirmation, then time would be required for Severus to return to Rome «angry at the people and the senators»¹⁰ and the news of his son's new title to have reached Lugdunum. Three weeks

⁶ See LORETANA DI LIBERO, DNP 6 (2005) 750, on the Senate's right to confirm or reject an acclamation of *imperator* given by troops in the field; also TALBERT 1984, 364 n. 27 (followed by ANDO 2012, 32 n. 11); DAVIDSON 1901. On the «general agreement», however, KIENAST – ECK – HEIL 2017, 150, mark the standard date with a question mark. Unfortunately the many Egyptian papyri presenting Severus in their dating formulae do not mention the imperatorship; see BURETH 1964, 93–101, updated by the references in the HGV; the most expansive formula for 196 appears in P.Stras. V 386, 10–12, with Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus, also in P.Prag. I 55, 1–3 (May 26) and SB XII 11008, 26–27 (May 26 – June 24). A version without *Arabicus* and *Adiabenicus* appears in P.Fay. 42, of January 30. For 197, P.Lond. III 925, 1–3, has «year 5 of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus» (March 4). In 198 the emperor is also *Parthicus Maximus*: P.Rain.Cent. 63, 1–6 (March 28 – August 28); SB X 10293, 28–31 (September 29); and SB XXII 15718, 1–4 (April 17).

⁷ CIL VI 224 (ILS 2185), to be read in SPEIDEL 1994, 79 no. 55, who proposes that the date commemorates the fourth anniversary of Severus' original entry into Rome. See also SHA Sev. 12, 7, and Herod. 3, 8, 3.

⁸ See REGER 2018 for a more detailed discussion.

⁹ DUBOSSON-SBRIGLIONE 2018, 493 no. 86 with 192f. (CIL XIII 1754; ILS 4134). The date is assured by the mention of the consuls. HEIL 2006, 74, argues for April 14, 196, against 195, as the date for Julia's elevation to *mater castrorum*.

¹⁰ SHA Sev. 12, 7: *Ultus igitur graviter Albinianam defectionem interfectis plurimis, genere quoque eius extincto, iratus Romam et populo et senatoribus venit*. Herod. 3, 8, 2; Dio 75, 8, 3–4; SHA Sev. 13, 1–9; SHA Alb. 9, 5. SPIELVOGEL 2006, 99, insists on the senatorial bias of our sources against Severus and warns against taking their characterization of his actions too uncritically. Severus also rewarded his soldiers with the right to marry: Herod. 3, 8, 4–5; see SPIELVOGEL 2006, 106f. CIL VIII 7062 (ILS 1143), on the Rhine. See HALFMANN 1986, 217; REGER 2018 on the return to Rome. Some corrections to the discussion there (at p. 205) of CIL

separate the date of the letter and the festival, which seems to me enough time, if tight, for these events. It is also possible that Severus made this designation unilaterally after his defeat of Albinus.

Nature and content of the text

This inscription bears a letter, *epistula*/ἐπιστολή, from the emperor to the Lykian koinon redressing certain complaints the koinon had lodged against soldiers stationed in Lykia. The complaints had been cast in the form of a «decree», ψήφισμα, which the provincial governor will have forwarded to Severus with «military assistance» (lines 32–33);¹¹ the koinon probably sent ambassadors, πρεσβευταί, to accompany their letter, but the absence of any reference to them would seem to mean they did not reach Mogontiacum. It is possible but less likely that none were sent at all. Imperial replies to corporate bodies like a koinon always took the form of a letter, and lines 6–34 answer to the standard form. The body of the letter restates the complaint (lines 7–13) and gives (in this case) the relief the emperor has granted (lines 13–32); the letter ends with the standard complimentary closing, εὐτυχεῖ[τε] (line 33).¹² Rescripts in the form of a letter are typically addressed to cities, corporate groups with the same status as or similar to a city, imperial officials, or individuals of high status. They represent a higher level of engagement and more respectful response than the *subscriptio*, in which the emperor (or rather a member of his staff, the *a libellis*) simply writes his reply at the bottom of the petition.

This rescript grants the request of the Lykian koinon for relief from soldiers' abuses; as such, it falls into the category JEAN-PIERRE CORIAT calls «lettres de nature gracieuse». These favorable replies typically were not published in any form by the imperial government, and hence publication was up to the recipient, as in the cases of Severus' letters to Smyrna or Severus' and Caracalla's letters to Aphrodisias in Karia.¹³ In this case, Severus' reply will have been delivered to officials of the Lykian League, perhaps at Patara, the site of the koinon's archives, on the coast. Presumably the

XIII 1754 (ILS 4134): the date of the celebration attested in the inscription should be May 4–7, not 7–9; the officials presiding are not priests of the imperial cult but local officials; and I imprecisely called the colony Augustum Lugdunum. I regret these errors. I am grateful to MICHAEL WÖRRLE for advice here.

¹¹ HAUKEN 1998, 221 no. 6, line 21 for the ψήφισμα of the village of Takina to which the emperor has replied; WÖRRLE 2019a, 62f. lines 16–17 (OLIVER 1989, 430–433 no. 213; CORIAT 2014, 97–99 no. 20), for the decree of Aizianoī, now dated to 197 thanks to WÖRRLE's reading.

¹² Standard since the reign of Hadrian: REYNOLDS 1982, 124.

¹³ On the taxonomy of imperial legislation (of which the rescript with its two sub-types is one of four), see CORIAT 1997, 71–113, whom I follow; on the standard format of letters, CORIAT 1997, 77–85; HONORÉ 1994, 45. SIRKS 2001, 122f., on the status of the recipient represented by a letter from the emperor. CORIAT 1997, 582f. for the imperial administration not inscribing these types of texts. I.Smyrna 602 (OLIVER 1989, 485–488 no. 255); REYNOLDS 1982, 124–129 no. 17–18 (OLIVER 1989, 441–444 no. 218–219).

secretary of the League, the γραμματεὺς, its second highest official, will have been responsible for receiving and authenticating the letter. It is likely that the συνέδριον of the League met to vote thanks to Severus for his decision and had copies dispatched to each city. It seems possible – but we cannot know for sure unless the block is removed from its position in the West Church – that the stone was in fact a base supporting a statue of Severus.¹⁴

There is no indication in Severus' response that the provincial governor was in any way directly involved. The original complaint had been transmitted to Severus with the «military assistance»; precisely what this refers to is not clear, but it is surely not the same as the *cursus publicus*, which, at least since the reign of Claudius, had required authorization to be used in the form of proper written permission from the emperor himself. This permission took the form of pre-signed documents dispatched from time to time by the central bureaucracy (perhaps called a *diplomatibus*; ILS 1677 and 1678) to governors and other local officials; there is no indication at this date (that is, before the fourth century) of delegation to officials other than the emperor of the power to issue permits.¹⁵

The koinon of the Lykians, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λυκίων, is one of two standard expressions used to designate the Lykian League, the other being «the ethnos of the Lykians», τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Λυκίων. The two expressions seem to be equivalent and no significance seems to attach to the use of one or the other.¹⁶ Both terms appear in Antoninus Pius' letter about Iason, son of Nikostratos; a decision of the League is [τ]ῆν τοῦ ἔθνους γν[ώ]μην, and elsewhere the emperor addresses the League as τῷ [κ]οινῷ τῷ Λ[υ]κ[ί]ων, while the League's decree is twice recounted as emanating from τῇ κοινῇ τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους ἐννόμῳ βουλῇ.¹⁷

¹⁴ But see MORIN's other suggestions at n. 1. TAM II 247, with HAENSCH 1997, 296, and now especially BÖNISCH-MEYER 2018, 399f., on Patara's role as the capital of the province and likely seat of the koinon. No other inscribed copies of this letter are known, but copies may turn up in other cities since the emperor's decision clearly affected all the koinon. See the classic formulation of MILLAR 1977, 260: «Imperial pronouncements of whatever kind, if they survive on inscriptions, do so because cities (or private persons) had them inscribed (...) if and only if they were of direct interest or advantage to themselves.»

¹⁵ KOLB 2000, 99f., 80–82. OGIS II 665; P.Lond. III 1171; IGLS V 1998, 81–96; PSI V 446, 133–137. Plut., Otho 3, 2; Plin., Ep. 10, 45–46, 64, 120–121; SHA Pert. 1, 6. For the situation before Claudius, see KOLB 2000, 75–82.

¹⁶ See BEHRWALD 2000, 169–174.

¹⁷ OLIVER 1989, 295–299 no. 136, III B–C, 19–20, 11; III D, 8; III B–C, 27–28 (IGR III 704). See also OLIVER 1989, 306f. no. 141, 12–13 (IGR III 702), koinon only, but in the heading, written by the Lykians, ethnos, [Λυκίων ἔ]θνει (line 1); and repeatedly in the imperial letters collected about himself by Opramoas: see KOKKINIA 2000, 260 s.v. ἔθνος and κοινὸν Λυκίων (many examples). An early example of koinon and ethnos used interchangeably in the same document: the statue base for Marcus Antonius Idagras of 40–30 BCE, SCHULER – ZIMMERMANN 2012, 583 no. 4, lines 10, 15, and 18.

Rescripts and letters from the emperor to the Lykian koinon are well attested; seven are preserved in the long Opramoas inscription from Rhodiapolis alone.¹⁸ Except for the new letter from Severus, the other epigraphically preserved imperial letters to Lykia are anodyne in content, acknowledging honors and praise for individual Lykians and thus enhancing their status. But as in the case of this new letter from Severus, we also have instances of responses to complaints about misbehavior elsewhere. Several deal with soldiers passing by a community and leaving the road to requisition supplies or shake down whole villages;¹⁹ other complaints address abuses by individual soldiers or small groups of soldiers.²⁰ This back-and-forth between koina and cities and the emperor is a standard feature of the Roman imperial world of the first, second, and third centuries CE; it has been the subject of a number of detailed studies.²¹

The substance of the Lykians' complaint (lines 7–13)

In a single long sentence covering lines 7–13 of the inscription Severus summarizes the Lykians' complaint. The emperor begins, using the second person plural, by stating: «You are making legitimate claims», δίκαια αἰτεῖτε. Although the verb αἰτέω can have the sense of «demand» as well as «ask» (LSJ⁹ s.v.; note for example Ξέρξην αἰτέειν δίκας τοῦ Λεωνίδεω φόνου, Hdt. 8, 114, 1), it must have a softer force in an appeal to the emperor. Vespasian responds to a request by an association of athletes in Hermoupolis in Egypt that he confirms privileges granted by Claudius: «everything that the divine Claudius granted to you when you asked», πάντα ὅσα [θεὸς] Κλαύδιος αἰτησαμένοις ὑμῖν συνεχώρησε. In their response to Smyrna in 202 CE regarding the philosopher Claudius Rufinus, Severus himself and Caracalla grant «this favor which you ask», ταύτην ὑμῶν αἰτούντων χάριν.²² This verb in this form is commonly used to introduce the problem stated and remedy requested by the petitioner. Severus and Caracalla deploy the verb in summarizing the request of a petitioner they respond to in Alexandria in 200 CE: «you are not asking reasonably», οὐ δικάίως ἀξιοῖς,

¹⁸ KOKKINIA 2000, 47–49 no. 41–42, 50 no. 45, 52 no. 50, 53f. no. 52 (TAM II 905, XI B–D, XI D–F, XI F–H, XII A–B, XII B–C), and now also WÖRRLE 2019b, esp. no. 4, and the two mentioned in n. 17.

¹⁹ For instance: HAUKEN 1998, 74–137 no. 5; OGIS II 665; HAUKEN 1998, 140–161 no. 6 (MAMA X, 114; OGIS II 519); HAUKEN 1998, 217–243 no. 6; HAUKEN – MALAY 2009. In general, SCHWARTZ – STAUNER 2007; KOLB 2000, 286–289, on misbehaving troops on the move.

²⁰ For instance: HAUKEN 1998, 247–250 no. 8 (TAM V 611) and 244–246 no. 7 (TAM V 154).

²¹ See HERRMANN 1990 and now HAENSCH 2019; CORIAT 1998; HAUKEN 1998, 298–317. DEININGER 1965 remains fundamental; EDELMANN-SINGER 2015 is a useful study but does not directly address these matters.

²² OLIVER 1989, 118–119 no. 37, 34–35 (P.Lond. III 1178); OLIVER 1989, 485–488 no. 255, 10–11 (I.Smyrna 605). See also OLIVER 1989, 77–88 no. 19, II 52–53 (Sel.Pap. II 212): περὶ δὲ τῶν αἰτημάτων ἃ παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν ἐσπουδάκα τε οὕτως γεινώσκωι.

etc. Hadrian used the verb to capture the requests made to him by embassies from Delphi.²³

The adjective δίκαια as a substantive for «legitimate claims» is common in the Imperial period.²⁴ It implies that Severus has accepted the requests the Lykians are making as reasonable. A nice parallel occurs in a letter of Hadrian to Stratonikeia Hadrianopolis of 127 CE, who begins his decision on the matters asked about with: «you seem to me to be putting forward legitimate claims and necessities for a city just come into being», δίκαια ἀξιοῦν μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἄ[ρ]τι γεινομένη πόλει;²⁵ the emperor proceeds to give the city the right to taxes on its land. The same emperor, writing about the appeal of (probably) Barca in the Cyrenaica to be admitted to the Panhellenion, says explicitly: «Nevertheless they are not putting forward legitimate claims by yearning for the same ones as the Kyrenaicans», οὐ μέντοι δίκαια ἀξιοῦσιν τῶν αὐτῶ[ν ἐφιέμενοι ὥνπερ οἱ Κυρηναῖοι]. Other examples include a rescript of 197 CE from Severus and Caracalla to Delphi and a letter from the two to Aphrodisias in Karia. Finally, an excellent and precise parallel occurs in the famous exchange of letters of 174 CE between the *statio* of Tyrians in Puteoli and their home community. After reviewing the requests of the Tyrians in Puteoli for relief due to financial obligations they are struggling to cover, the Tyrians in Phoenicia declare, «they in Puteoli are making legitimate claims», δίκαια ἀξιῶσι οἱ ἐν Ποτιόλοις.²⁶

The substance of the Lykians' «just claims» is a request that Severus forbid his soldiers from torturing accused persons brought before the tribunal of the governor for their own benefit, and that the same soldier not be sent again into the same city. The soldiers are those «sent into the cities to be in charge of good order in them» (that is, in the cities). They are clearly a subset of all the soldiers who may have been present in Lykia. The phrase ἐπὶ τῷ πρ[οσ]τή[ναι] τῆς ἐ[ν vac.] αὐταῖς εὐκοσμία[ς] (lines 8–9) indicates that the purpose for which the soldiers are being sent into the cities is the very common one of keeping good order, expressed by the verb προϊσθῆμι, «to be in charge of». Hellenistic inscriptions from Iasos and Priene in Karia bear the phrase, «for the purpose of being in charge of the judgments», ἐπὶ τῷ προστήναι τῶν κρίσεων,²⁷ and the infinitive fits perfectly in the lacuna. The trace of a letter – a small bit of an apex at the top of the line after the eta – at the end of the line is best taken as a sigma to give

²³ CPR XVII A 6, 15–16; OLIVER 1989, 55f. no. 13, 10–11; P.Col. VI 123, 16 (OLIVER 1989, 453 no. 229). For ἀξίωμα as «petition», see LSJ⁹ s.v. II 3; MONTANARI 2015, s.v. B; MASON 1974, 23; OLIVER 1989, 25f. no. 1, 1 (REYNOLDS 1982, 104–196 no. 13) and P.Yadin XIII 1 and XXXIII 4. F.Delphes III 4, 329, 24 (OLIVER 1989, 434–436 no. 215). OLIVER 1989, 181–183 no. 74bis, 16.

²⁴ ANASTASIADIS – SOURIS 2000, 68f. s.v. δίκαιος for many examples. ROBERT 1959, 29 cites I.Delphinion 156 as the earliest instance of this usage (under Claudius).

²⁵ I.Mus. Manisa 6, 8–9; OLIVER 1989, 201–204 no. 79.

²⁶ REYNOLDS 1978, 111–121 (OLIVER 1989, 275–278 no. 120); F.Delphes III 4, 329, 22–25 (OLIVER 1989, 434–436 no. 215) and REYNOLDS 1982, 127–129 no. 18 (OLIVER 1989, 443f. no. 219). LOMBARDI 2013 (IG XIV 830; OGIS II 595; IGR I/II 421).

²⁷ I.Iasos 78, 20 (restored); I.Priene² 108, 21–22 (I.Priene 53). See MASON 1974, 80.

τῆς, the genitive depending on the πρ[οστῆ]ναι. The balance of the sentence I restore, following a suggestion of DENIS FEISSEL, as ἐ[ν vac.] αὐταῖς εὐκοσμία{ι}ς: «good order in them», i.e. the poleis of the Lykian koinon.

Εὐκοσμία marks out «good, orderly behavior», often of strangers, including troops, in a city. The Termessians of Oinoanda in northern Lykia praised Valerius Statilius Castus when he «sojourned in our brilliant city with complete orderliness for 12 days», ἐπιδημήσαντα τῇ ἡμῶν λαμπρᾷ πόλει μετὰ πάσης εὐκοσμίας ἡμερῶν ἰβ.²⁸ Here, however, it is not the «orderly behavior» of the soldiers that is in question but that of the inhabitants of the Lykian poleis. The Lykians' request that the same soldier not be sent into the same city may imply emergency measures; in any case, it does not seem that these are troops permanently stationed in the cities but rotated or sent as needed.²⁹

The heart of the Lykians' complaint follows in the balance of the indirect discourse: the Lykians ask the emperor to forbid that soldiers in the cities «apply torture for examination against those who came before a tribunal» because they had acted «not indeed for the whole truth but for their own greatest advantage», <μήτε> αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐπ[ὶ] βήματος συν[γ]ενομένοις βασάνους προσφέρειν ὥς [εἰς ἐξέτασιν π]αραγ[εγε- ν]ημένους καὶ οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἀληθέστατ[ον ἀλλ' εἰς τ]ὸ αὐτ[οῖς κ]ερδαλέωτατον (lines 9–12). The Lykians couch their complaint in careful language. They are not contesting the right of the soldiers to be present in the cities or to impose good behavior, nor do they deny their right to conduct examinations and even apply torture as part of investigations conducted in official judicial acts (ἐπ[ὶ] βήματος);³⁰ rather, the sole focus of the complaint is the soldiers' self-interest in conducting the examinations rather than simply going after «the truth and the whole truth», to borrow an American legal phrase. As far as I know κ[ε]ρδαλέωτατον is a *hapax* in inscriptions. The meaning «profitable» of the adjective appears in Herodotus in the comparative; Thucydides uses it to mean «to one's own advantage», that is the opposite of δικαίως, which must be the meaning here: «for their own greatest advantage».³¹ This language indicts

²⁸ IGR III 481 (ILS 8870). See BRÉLAZ 2005, 85–87, who reviews the semantic range of the term; he quotes this inscription at 423 no. I 4.

²⁹ A number of texts imply long-term presence of soldiers in various Lykian cities; for example, TAM II 567, 594, 569, 485, 949, 987, and 953; BÖNISCH – LEPKE 2013, 516–518 no. 7; IGR III 394 = 503.

³⁰ Βῆμα as the governor's tribunal is frequent in the papyri. For instance: P.Tebt. II 434, a petitioner asks that persons «come to the most sacred tribunal of the powerful governor», παραγ[ι]-νονται ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερώτατον τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμ[ό]νος βῆμα (104 CE), an example analogous to the use and phrasing in Severus' letter; P.Lond. II 368, 19 (M.Ch. 52), refers to persons who will come «to the most sacred tribunal of the governor», ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερώτατον τοῦ ἡγεμόνος βῆμα (150–152 CE); BGU VII 1578, a complainant «comes to the sacred tribunal» to expose his daughter's dastardly acts against him, ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βῆμα ἐρχόμενος δηλῶ τὰ εἰς ἐμὲ κα[τ]ὰ ἀσέβειαν ὑπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς μου Λογγεινί[ας - ca. ? - τ]ολμηθέντα (after 212 CE). See FÄRBER 2014, 175–233, esp. 176–181. The restoration here fits the space and corresponds well with the allusions in the letter to the governor.

³¹ Hdt. 9, 7, α'; Thuc. 3, 56; LSJ⁹ s.v. II.

soldiers for in fact seeking false confessions (based, perhaps, on false and vindictive accusations by the enemies of the accused) and hints at corruption.

The phrase «apply torture», βασάνους προσφέρειν (line 10), appears first in Plato, *Phlb.* 23a, where the philosopher speaks of «applying torture to someone», τιτι βασανον προσφέρειν. It recurs repeatedly in the Roman Imperial period, notably – but not exclusively – in ecclesiastical writers.³² Josephus uses it in describing the treatment of the Essenes by the Romans during the Jewish War (*Bell. Jud.* 2, 152–153):

«The war against the Romans tested their souls in every way, during which they were stretched on the rack (στρεβλούμενοι) and twisted and burned and broken and conveyed through every torture device (διὰ πάντων ὀδεύοντες τῶν βασανιστηρίων ὀργάνων) in order that they blaspheme against the lawgiver or eat something forbidden, but they refused to suffer either thing, never flattering their assailants or crying. Smiling in their agonies and gently mocking those who were applying the tortures (κατειρωνευόμενοι τῶν τὰς βασάνους προσφερόντων) they happily released their souls, in order to get them back again.»

Josephus applies the same phrase also to Catullus, governor of Creta et Cyrenae (Josephus writes, imprecisely, «governor/ἡγεμών of the Libyan Pentapolis»), in describing the madness God afflicted him with due to his persecution of Jews (*Bell. Jud.* 7, 452): «For he was thrown into confusion by fears and kept shouting that standing around him were visions (εἶδωλα) of the people murdered by him, and unable to contain himself kept jumping out of bed as though tortures and fire were being applied to him» (ὡς βασάνων αὐτῷ καὶ πυρὸς προσφερομένων).

The Lykians' second request is simple and straightforward: they ask that the same soldier not be sent a second time into the same city. Behind this request lie the fear and distrust of troops who have abused their authority. At the same time, it does not challenge the right of the emperor or his representatives in Lykia to send soldiers into the Lykian poleis for legitimate purposes. Again, it is a modest request. The Lykians are not asserting that soldiers should not be sent into Lykian cities nor that soldiers should not be involved in dealing with these legal cases. Their assertion of legitimate claims is restricted to a simple request that soldiers behave appropriately and that the same soldier should not be sent twice into the same city. These requests are hardly different from those seen in many other cases where individuals or communities complained about the actions of imperial troops: they just want them to act the way they are supposed to.³³ In other words, the requests here seem an effort to balance out local grievances against a recognition of imperial authority, embodied, in part, in locally stationed forces.

³² See n. 67, below.

³³ Indeed, many of the requests for good behavior by soldiers are crafted in far more aggressive terms than those in which Severus' chancellor has here recast the Lykians' complaints.

The substance of Severus' reply and remedies (lines 13–32)

Lines 13–32 give Severus' reply and outline the relief he orders for the Lykians. There are three components to the relief as well as a clear statement that the soldiers had not been authorized to undertake torture on their own authority. The emperor starts his response with a lapidary concession indicating that the matter is settled and closed:³⁴ «I grant both claims», ἀμπότερα τ[ὰ δίκαια δίδω]μι.³⁵ Severus then proceeds to clarify his own stance with respect to the abuses the soldiers are alleged to have committed. Soldiers will no longer be permitted to engage in torture in the future.

Lines 15–18 add another statement of Severus' position on torture to the apparently lapidary restriction of lines 13–15. The first question is the restoration of the governing verb συνκεχωρη[- -] at line 15. The reduplication and the copulative οὐδέ indicate that it must be a finite verb in the perfect, and it seems most reasonable to me to take it as a first-person singular referring, like [δίδω]μι above, to Severus himself: «nor have I ever granted it to them». Restoring συνκεχώρη[κα] leaves space for about 5–6 letters in the lacuna. Following a suggestion of CHRISTINA ΚΟΚΚΙΝΙΑ, I restore the adverb ποτέ in the lacuna, giving powerful force to Severus' assertion that he never authorized his soldiers to torture: οὐδὲ συνκεχώρη[κά ποτε] αὐτοῖ[ς], «nor have I ever granted it to them».³⁶ Thus Severus insists that they never enjoyed this right «at all» (the force of ὅλως)³⁷ and that he had never conceded it to them. At the same time, Severus' placing of the blame on the soldiers, which comes out clearly in line 16–17, «but they exercised this authority, as seems likely, out of a base disposition», [ἀλ]λ' ἔ[θ]ει τινὶ φαύλῳ ταύτην ὡς ἔοικε[ν π]ερὶ ἡργήσ[αντο τ]ῇ ἐξουσίαν, is not at all unusual in inscribed letters from emperors answering complaints about the misbehavior of troops. When the emperor conceded his soldiers were in the wrong, it was obviously in the interests of the recipients of his missive to commemorate it publically.³⁸

³⁴ Cf. MOURGUES 1995, 273. In responding to complaints against third parties, emperors sometimes fudged their remedy with the qualification, «if the complaints are true»; see, for example, *si preces verae sunt* in CIL III 13640, I, 15 (Greek version at III, 7); HAUKEN 1998, 39, lines 40–41 with p. 54f.; CJ 1, 12, 7, *si preces veritate nitantur*. The absence of such a qualification in Severus' reply here suggests that he may have had corroborating evidence of the truth of the Lykians' claims. But see the slight qualification, ὡς ἔοικε[ν], at line 16.

³⁵ Another possible restoration, suggested by GEORGE SOURIS, would be ἀξιώματα, which however is probably too long.

³⁶ DENIS FEISSEL suggests an alternative restoration of συνκεχωρη[μένον ἦν]; I prefer the perfect active, with CHRISTINA ΚΟΚΚΙΝΙΑ's ποτέ, as continuing the emperor's personal pronouncement starting with [δίδω]μι and his insistence that he had never authorized his troops to engage in torture on their own initiative. Even though β[ασανίζειν] is almost completely restored, the word fits the space perfectly and captures the activity that Severus says has been and will be prohibited. Another possibility would be β[ιάζεσθαι], which also fits perfectly. The prohibition would then be from applying force (to extract confessions). The general idea would be the same.

³⁷ See REYNOLDS 2000, 11, line 10, and 14 with LSJ⁹ s.v. ὅλος III, 2.

³⁸ For a recent discussion of the relevant material with references, see now HAENSCH 2019.

The governing verb, συγχωρῶ, «concede, grant», appears frequently in analogous contexts where emperors are granting a favor or privilege. So Severus and Caracalla write to the Paianistai of Old Arsinoe in Egypt about «the matters conceded by the emperors before us», τὰ γὰρ [ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων] συγ[κε]χωρημένα.³⁹ In a letter to Beroia, Hadrian, in an incompletely preserved context mentioning «reasonable claims», δίκαια, asserts, «everything you asked of me I granted», [ὅσα ἐ]δείθητέ μοι συνεχώρησα.⁴⁰ In Marcus Aurelius and Commodus' response to the Milesians recurs vocabulary from our inscription, reporting that the emperors told the Senate «that they should concede to you that which you request», ὅπως συγχωρήσειεν ὑμῖν ὅπερ ἠξιοῦτε.⁴¹ Perhaps especially telling is Josephus' report of Tiberius' response to the Herodian kings: «When king Agrippa and Herod, very dear to me, asked, that I concede that the same rights be guarded also for Jews in the whole realm under the Romans just as also for those in Alexandria, I happily granted (it)», αἰτησαμένων με βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα καὶ Ἡρώδου τῶν φιλάτων μοι, ὅπως συνχωρήσαιο τὰ αὐτὰ δίκαια καὶ τοῖς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίᾳ Ἰουδαίοις φυλάσσεσθαι καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἥδιστα συνεχώρησα.⁴²

The sense of ἐξουσία (line 17) as «authority», particularly as «legal authority», comes through nicely in Marcus Aurelius' lengthy decision in the case of Herodes Atticus, delivered in 174/175 CE, in which he remarks «I think it has been made clear, through what I said, that I have given forethought to each of these matters not through authority rather than careful reflection», ἡγοῦμαι δεδηλώσθαι, δι' ὧν ἀπεφηνάμην, ὅτι ἕκαστα π[ρ]οϊδόμην ο[ὐκ ἄ]π' ἐ[ξ]ουσίας μᾶλλον ἢ φροντίδος.⁴³ Marcus Aurelius and Commodus assure the gerousia of the Athenians that they had «given you this authority and the right to write», in connection with the cutting of wood on property under the control of the gerousia, [ἐξου]σίαν ταύτην καὶ δίκαιον ὑμῖν ἐδίδομεν τοῦ γράφειν.⁴⁴ In a letter to the Jews of Jerusalem from Claudius (45 CE), the emperor assures them that they will have «the holy garment and crown under your authority», τὴν ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸν στέφανον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑμεῖν εἶναι (Jos., Jud. Ant. 20, 12).

With these two prohibitory sentences, strikingly formulated with first-person singular verbs, Severus completes his comments on the use by soldiers of torture in the manner about which the Lykians are complaining; he will now move on to lay out remedies. But several points should be stressed. Notably, Severus is only saying that the soldiers did not enjoy the right to decide on their own authority whether someone should or should not be tortured. It goes without saying that the emperor has that

³⁹ P.Oxy. XLII 3018, 8–9 (OLIVER 1989, 462–466 no. 242).

⁴⁰ I.Beroia 6; OLIVER 1989, 226–228 no. 89 A–B, A, 7 and 8.

⁴¹ I.Milet 3, 1057, 13–14; OLIVER 1989, 398–401 no. 192.

⁴² Jos., Jud. Ant. 19, 287 (OLIVER 1989, 583–585 App. 5). There are many other examples, like REYNOLDS 2000, at lines 6–9.

⁴³ OLIVER 1989, 366–388 no. 184, II, 87–88; see OLIVER's translation, «not based on what the law permits but rather good sense», p. 378.

⁴⁴ OLIVER 1989, 404f. no. 195, 44–45.

authority and may deploy it as he sees fit. But another crucial actor has gone so far completely unmentioned: the provincial governor. As will become clear later, governors also had the right to determine whether torture was required in some legal case or other, and indeed were clearly quite jealous of that right. The governor will appear in the next section of the letter.

Preliminary interrogation and examination (lines 18–22)

Having insisted that he had not previously authorized soldiers to torture, Severus proceeds to lay out procedures to be followed from now on when, evidently, the possibility of judicial torture arises. He begins with local institutions: «Therefore, those who have been appointed in each (demos) to be in charge of the peace will on the one hand do the questioning and preliminary investigation of those who have been accused and will send (the results) to the judge», διὸ ποιήσου[ται μὲ]ν τὰς τῶ[ν ἡτιώ?]-μένων ἐρωτήσεις καὶ ἀνακρίσει[ς καὶ] εἰς δικα[στ]ήν πέμψουσιν οἱ παρ' ἐκάστοις ἐπὶ φ[υλακῇ] τῆς εἰρήνης κ[αὶ] <α>θεστήκοτες (lines 18–21).

To officials described by the circumlocution «those who have been appointed in each (demos) to be in charge of the peace» (lines 20–21) Severus assigns two duties: to undertake inquiries and investigations about persons accused from now on, and to present these findings to a judge. Who are these officials? Although officials called εἰρηνάρχαι – who might be implied here by εἰρήνη – are well-attested throughout western and central Asia Minor and seem to have proceeded occasionally against misbehaving soldiers,⁴⁵ they are not known from Lykia. There their duties seem to have been undertaken by the koinon's ἀρχιφύλακες. These officials were concerned especially with the collection of taxes, although the Opramoas dossier praises him, when he held the ἀρχιφυλακία, for his «outstanding care for the peace», ἀρχιφ[υλ]ακίαν τετέλεκεν (...) τῇ περὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπιμελείᾳ διαφερόντως.⁴⁶ This seems to suggest that he had some responsibilities to preserve the peace by undertaking police duties.

Another potential candidate magistracy is the παραφύλαξ, so far attested in six Lykian poleis, but not in the small town of Choma. These officials were charged with «[der] polizeiliche[n] Überwachung des städtischen Territoriums».⁴⁷ They could be regarded as officials overseeing the peace, but again the problem arises that if παραφύλακες were intended, they should have been named. The simplest and most likely solution is that Severus knew or was informed that there were different and/or various institutions in different Lykian poleis that undertook the duties he is outlining.

⁴⁵ BRÉLAZ 2005, 90–122. The edict of Antoninus Pius preserved at Dig. 48, 3, 6, 1, entrusts to the *irenarchae* a procedure much like that here, but in reference to bandits. For action against soldiers, see HAUKEN 1998, 253 (I.Mus. Manisa 21).

⁴⁶ KOKKINIA 2000, 28, V B 12–V C 1 (TAM II 905).

⁴⁷ BÖNISCH – LEPKE 2013, 487–496 no. 1, line 14, with references at 491 n. 18, and BRÉLAZ 2005, 123–145; quotation at BÖNISCH – LEPKE 2013, 491.

Who precisely those officials would be and what their titles were could vary from polis to polis, and so the vagueness of the stipulation would be explicable.

The phrase παρ' ἐκάστοις supports the view that each polis was itself empowered to name the officials who would serve. In IG XII 7, 506, the expression already points to the various members of the Nesiote League acting according to local practice in setting up an inscription in the sanctuary where they customarily do so: ἀναγραφάτωσαν εἰς στήλας λιθίνας [κ]αὶ ἀναθέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ ἐν οἷς καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τιμαὶ εἰσὶν ἀναγεγραμμέναι παρ' ἐκάστοις (lines 51–53). An analogous example closer in time to Severus' letter appears in Aelius Aristides' *On Rome*. He proclaims that «since people have been divided in this way, many in each city are citizens of yours no less than of their fellow natives», τούτων δὲ οὕτω διηρημένων πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει πολῖται ὑμέτεροι οὐχ ἦττον ἢ τῶν ὁμοφύλων.⁴⁸ The strong similarity of these phrases to οἱ παρ' ἐκάστοις ἐπὶ φ[υλακῇ] τῆς εἰρήνης κ<α>θεστήκοτες here seems to assure that officials with the same duties who came into office through the same mechanisms must be in question, but with titles and further duties varying from polis to polis.⁴⁹

I now turn to the «questioning and preliminary investigation of those who have been accused», ποιήσου[ν]ται μὲν τὰς τῶν ἡτιώμενων ἐρωτήσεις καὶ ἀνακρίσει[ς] (lines 18–19). We find τὴν ἐρώτησιν ποιήσῃ in the Greek translation of a *senatus consultum* preserved at Ephesos; the Latin text, which has *rogationem faciat*, shows that here ἐρώτησις means «inquiry».⁵⁰

Ἀν ἀνάκρισις is a «preliminary investigation». While the term appears frequently in sale contracts for slaves from Roman Egypt, where it indicates an examination of the slaves on behalf of the buyer,⁵¹ in judicial usage the term typically refers to a pre-

⁴⁸ Ael. Arist., Or. 26, 64 (KEIL = 14, 214–215 DINDORF), translation from BEHR 1981. Again, I owe this suggestion to CÉDRIC BRÉLAZ. See also Ael. Arist., Or. 50, 72, with BRÉLAZ 2005, 95f.; Or. 26, 6 and 64.

⁴⁹ In some cases the provincial governor could have had a hand in the choice of these officials. Aelius Aristides describes the provincial governor of Asia choosing an analogous official from a list of candidates sent up to him by the cities: he must «appoint a guardian of the peace», καθιστάναι φύλακα τῆς εἰρήνης. In refusing an appointment as εἰρήναρχος in his native city of Hadrianoi in Mysia, the orator notes that «the names of ten men of first rank were sent to the governors at those times from each city each year», from whom the εἰρήναρχοι were selected, ἐπέμπετο τοῖς ἡγεμόσι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἀφ' ἐκάστης πόλεως ἐκάστου ἔτους ὀνόματα δέκα ἀνδρῶν πρώτων. See BRÉLAZ 2011, 627 with n. 66 on Ael. Arist., Or. 50, 72 and 73, with BRÉLAZ 2005, 94f.

⁵⁰ CRAWFORD 1996, 1, 493–495 no. 35 (I.Ephesos 4324; SEG 46, 2302).

⁵¹ M.Ch. 171; CPR VIII 18; P.Abinn. 64 (M.Ch. 270; P.Lond. II 251); P.Köln V 232; P.Oxy. XXXVI 2777; PSI IX 1055a; PSI XII 1254; P.Turner 40. In P.Oxy. XII 1463 of 215 CE, the prospective buyer of a slave requests an examination: ἀξιῶ τὴν ταύτης ἀνάκρισιν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα, «I ask that an examination of this woman be conducted according to the rules». P.Oxy. XLIX 3477 presents a «copy of the examination», ἀν[τί]γρ(αφον) ἀνακρίσεως of a female slave being sold. P.Oxy. LV 3784 of 227–228 or 281–282 CE records a request to one Aurelius Hierax to examine a slave the petitioners intend to buy, ending «therefore we present her to you asking that the necessary examination of her be conducted according to the rules», δι[ὸ]

liminary investigation undertaken by persons dependent on the provincial governor in order to try to assess the culpability of person(s) accused of some malfeasance.⁵² A crucial early judicial usage appears in the famous letter of 6 BCE from the emperor Augustus to the magistrates, boule, and demos of the Knidians. A married couple had been accused of murder. The case came to the attention of the emperor, who ordered the governor, Asinius Gallus, to conduct an examination of the couple's slaves under torture, ἐξετάσαι προστάξας Γάλλωι Ἀσινίωι τῶι ἐμῶι φίλῳ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοὺς ἐνφερομένους τῇ αἰτίᾳ διὰ βασάνων (lines 11–13). The slaves testified that the couple had been assaulted by the dead man and his brother; the death was, the slave insisted, an accident. «I have sent you also», Augustus then added, «these preliminary investigations», πέπονθα δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἀ[ὐ]τὰς τὰς ἀνακρίσεις (lines 27–28).⁵³ The same term is also used in earlier, late Classical and Hellenistic texts to mean a preliminary investigation before an actual trial. Again in a long inscription reporting the results of a Knidian arbitration of a dispute between a citizen of Kos and the polis of Kalymna, the στρατηγοὶ are to make an examination of the witnesses of each side, διδόντω δὲ καὶ ἀνάκρισιν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῶν μαρτύρων ἐκατέροις. An inscription found at Klaros in Ionia speaks of «false investigations», ψευδεῖς ἀνακρίσεις.⁵⁴

The results of the questioning and investigation, which would be cast in the form of an *elogium*,⁵⁵ are then to be dispatched «to the judge». Who is this judge to whom Severus refers? It seems that the only real possibility is the governor of Lykia-Pamphylia.⁵⁶ The fact that only a single judge is contemplated means he must be a Roman official (as JOHN MA noted), and that official must be the governor. It was a basic duty of provincial governors to hear cases, often by undertaking assizes. In one of the apokrimata Severus delivered during his stay in Alexandria, regarding a tax collector named Apion who might have been involved in the «daring acts» of one Komon, the emperor averred that «unless he is implicated in the accusations against Komon, you will have the governor as judge», εἰ μὴ κοινωνῇ τῶν ἐνκλημ[ά]των Κόμωνι, τὸν ἡγούμενον τοῦ [ἔ]θνους ἕξεις δικα[σ]τήν.⁵⁷ Finally, and most importantly, the governors of Lykia-Pamphylia were the only provincial governors in the Imperial period

πρ[ο]σάγομε[ν] ὑμῖν αὐτή[ν], ἀξ[ιοῦσαι] τὴν δέουσαν ἀνάκρισιν αὐτῆς [γενέ]σθαι κατὰ τὰ κελευσ[θέ]ντα (lines 13–15).

⁵² See the review of some of the evidence in MAROTTA 2003, 88–95.

⁵³ I.Knidos 34 (IG XII 3, 174; SHERK 1969, 341–345 no. 67; OLIVER 1989, 34–39 no. 6); this document is discussed in its larger context in HURLET 2016, especially at 18–20 and 34f., with further bibliography at 19 n. 37. For a solution to the conundrum of the preservation of this inscription on the little island of Astypalaia, see HAENSCH 2009, 186f.

⁵⁴ I.Knidos 221, 67–68 (Tit. Calymnii 79). ROBERT – ROBERT 1989, 64 line 53 (SEG 39, 1244).

⁵⁵ See MAROTTA 2003 for a thorough treatment of this term.

⁵⁶ Note the use of *iudex* for governor in Late Antique legislation.

⁵⁷ P.Col. VI 123, 51–52 = P.Apokrimata (OLIVER 1989, 434 no. 236, 49–51). On τὸν ἡγούμενον τοῦ [ἔ]θνους as the governor, see OLIVER's translation (p. 436).

who were sometimes even officially addressed as «judge» (δικαιοδότης), before it became a common practice in Late Antiquity.⁵⁸

And indeed it is the provincial governor whom we see repeatedly enjoying the authority to apply torture in legal cases.⁵⁹ Only a few years after Severus resolved the problems of the Lykians, his governor in Egypt, Quintus Maecius Laetus (governor 200–203 CE), faced an analogous problem. A non-commissioned officer named Julius, serving as *decurio* (δεκάδαρχος) in the Arsinoite nome, and a compatriot – probably the *duplicarius* mentioned also in the text – had, on their own authority, applied torture to a person suspected of being one of 650 bandits who had been captured. A record of the interrogation of the soldiers by the governor was committed to a document apparently compiled a few years later. The governor first extracted from a certain Longus, who may have been the ranking officer in the case (JOHN REA thinks the *stationarius*⁶⁰), that the suspect «was tortured in the absence [- - -]» of, surely, the governor: ἐβασανίσθη ἀπόντος [τοῦ ἐπάρχου or ἡγέμονος]).⁶¹ The governor then turned to Julius and a remarkable interrogatory ensued:⁶²

Λαῖτος [Ιο]υλίῳ (δεκαδάρ)χ(ω) εἶπεν, «διὰ τί ἐπέτρεψας σεαυτῷ τοῦ[το ποιεῖν;]»
ἀπεκρίνατο, «π[α]ρόντος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἐξετάσθη».

Λαῖτος [εἶπεν, «ἀλλ]᾽ πρότερον – πρὸ τοῦ με παρατυχεῖν, φησὶν – ἐβασανίσθη, τοῦτο δὲ πῶς
[σεαυτῷ ἐπ]έτρεψας;»

ἀπεκρίνατο, «ἐὰν θορυβηθῇ, τοῦτο βάσανός ἐστιν».

Λαῖτος εἶπεν, «[- - - ἐ]ὰν θορυβηθῇ ἀγατ[ί] [ο]υς πέμπεις καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοφόρῳ εἰλημένους ἀπολύεις;»

⁵⁸ See e.g. M. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Priscus: TAM II 568; T. Aurelius Quietus: TAM II 21; probably too the ignotus in: TAM II 569.

⁵⁹ JÖRDENS 2011 on the authority of the governor in capital cases.

⁶⁰ See NELIS-CLÉMENT 2006 on *stationes* and *stationarii*; also FRANCE – NELIS-CLÉMENT 2014; BRÉLAZ 2005, 254–267. *Stationarii* in Lykia: TAM II 953, 987, and 1165; ADAK – TÜNER 2004, 62f. no. 5 (all from Olympos).

⁶¹ Governors’ attendance at torture sessions comes out almost causally in an anecdote in Philostratos’ life of the rhetor Polemon. Present «while the governor was putting to the rack a bandit accused of many crimes» – ληστήν δὲ πολλαῖς αἰτίαις ἐαλωκότα στρεβλοῦντος ἀνθυπάτου – and asked what punishment he thought suited the crimes, Polemon made a tasteless joke (Philos., Vit. Soph. 51, 33 [541]). The image of wealthy, highly educated men sitting around watching and joking as a man was being put to torture offers insight into social attitudes perhaps even more shocking than gladiatorial games and wild beast shows, although as KANTOR 2017, 70, argues, Polemon was surely present formally as a member of the governor’s *consilium*. On Polemon, see now JANISZEWSKI – STENICKA – SZABAT 2015, 302–304 no. 860.

⁶² REA 1983, 92, lines 5–10 (SB XVI 12949). I am very grateful to RUDOLF HAENSCH for pointing out the relevance of this document. On Maecius Laetus, see PIR² M 54. The minutes of another court case are also revealing. In this case a judge named Archias interrogates a suspect. Frustrated, apparently, with the answers, Archias «ordered him (the suspect) to be tortured and said, ‘Tell the truth. Were [- - -]’s people with the bandits?», κελεύσας αὐτὸν βασαν[ί]σθαι εἰ(πεν)· [λέγε] τὴν ἀλήθειαν. συνῆσθαι τοῖς λησταῖς οἱ περ[ὶ] - ca. ? -], P.Ant. II 87, 13 (c. 275–300 CE). There is a mention here also of one Anoubion, the *stationarius*.

«Laetus said to Julius the δεκάδαρχος, «Why did you permit yourself to do this?»

He answered, «He was examined in the presence of the strategos and the royal (secretary)».

Laetus said, «But before – before I was present,» he says «– he was tortured. How did you allow yourself this?»

He answered, «If there should be a disturbance, this is (a reason for) torture».

Laetus said, «[- - -] if there should be a disturbance you send blameless persons (to torture) and those taken in the act you set free?»»

A number of features of this incident are relevant to the Lykians' situation. First, the persons conducting the torture were soldiers, precisely as in the Lykian case. Iulius was a *decurio* (δεκάδαρχος); his associate was probably the *duplicarius* mentioned later in the badly mutilated text, and so possibly also a non-commissioned officer. They justify their application of torture on the grounds of an emergency – and certainly the arrest of 650 bandits would seem to constitute an emergency⁶³ – and the presence of two local, non-military officials, the strategos of the nome and the royal secretary. But Laetus insists this is no justification: it is apparent that, in his view, torture should not be applied until and unless he is present and has authorized it (clearly the implication of line 8, where the repetition of «before» and the amplification of the circumstances vividly convey the governor's outrage).⁶⁴

These considerations point to the restrictions the system placed on who might authorize torture and under what circumstances. The person tortured by the *decurio* and his associates was surely of low social standing, suspected as he was of being a bandit or supporting them. Nevertheless, the governor was outraged at the usurpation of his authority to authorize torture (and to be present when it was conducted). In precisely the same way, Severus has ordered his soldiers to cease torturing – insisting that it was not allowed, had never been allowed, and had never been authorized by him – and instead placed in the hands of the governor's final determination, after a preliminary examination and with the advice of his *consilium*, whether a given accused ought to be tortured (as made clear in lines 22–25 of Severus' letter). There is nothing in Laetus' rancor to suggest any principled opposition to torture as a judicial methodology, quite the contrary; but he does insist that the right to decide whether torture should be used resided with himself as governor alone and no «emergency», not even the presence of hundreds of bandits, could override the governor's sole authority over the application of torture. Likewise, Severus is perfectly willing to let his governor in Lykia torture once the preliminaries have been seen to and the *praeses* has determined that torture is necessary. But the balancing pressure to make sure that torture is applied appropriately – which means both right circumstances and right victims and, most

⁶³ The text also alludes to problems in manning ships; for some ideas about the connection of this to the case, see the cautious remarks of REA 1983, 95. On the basic duty of governors to track down and punish bandits, see BÉRENGER 2014, 246–251; BRÉLAZ 2005, 52–56.

⁶⁴ And note the effort of the *decurio* to mitigate his guilt by using ἐξετάζω to describe his deeds rather than the governor's βασανίζω.

importantly, sanctioned by the right official – makes itself felt, too. When a governor wanted to impose torture, he had specialists in its application at hand in his *officium*, which included seconded soldiers. The most resonant such *officiales* were the *quaestionarii*, described by MICHEL CHRISTOL and THOMAS DREW-BEAR as «interrogators authorized to use *tormenta* in the exercise of their assignments: *quaestio* implies investigation, interrogation, and even torture».⁶⁵

Inscriptions and literary sources make it quite clear that a governor's *officium* would include such *quaestionarii* as a matter of course.⁶⁶ A dedication made by a *collegium* of *officiales* at Lambaesis in Numidia during the reign of Septimius Severus names five *quaestionarii*. Another inscription from Mauretania Caesariensis commemorates a *quaestionarius* who was promoted to *beneficiarius*. The explicit duty of *quaestionarii* as interrogators and torturers comes through clearly in the Theodosian Code and a number of literary texts.⁶⁷ No doubt the governor of Lykia would likewise have enjoyed the services of soldiers seconded as *quaestionarii* to his office. It should also be noted, however, that other soldiers in the *officium*, including *beneficarii* and *speculatores*, and other officials like the *stationarii*, might also apply torture (if the governor had ordered them to apply it)⁶⁸ and that the governor always had at his disposal troops stationed in the province, like the *cohors I Flavia Numidorum* present in Lykia in 197, whence soldiers could be seconded for such duties.⁶⁹

Lines 21–22 contain a genitive absolute which clearly stipulates the persons who may be present (παρόντων) during the questioning and preliminary investigation.⁷⁰ Who were they? A plausible possibility would be the soldiers involved in the cases, a suggestion offered by both DENIS FEISSEL and MICHAEL WÖRRLE. I find this very attractive and believe it can be reconciled with the traces on the inscription. There is a horizontal stroke coming off the right top of the nu of τῶν which ends in an apparent apex. Below there appear to be traces of an angled letter: thus a sigma. At the right end of the lacuna is a mark angled down from left to right which cannot be an omega, but I think it is simply damage to the stone. We may then restore τῶν σ[τρατιω]τῶν.⁷¹

Severus' insistence that his soldiers had never been authorized to torture and that they never should have undertaken it, and his decision to impose on municipal of-

⁶⁵ CHRISTOL – DREW-BEAR 2002, revising I. Tralleis und Nysa 189 (ILS 8875), quotation at 36.

⁶⁶ On the composition of the *officium*, see HAENSCH 1997, 710–724 and 721f. on the *quaestionarii*, with two chilling citations.

⁶⁷ SCHALLMAYER et al. 1990, 606f. no. 783, 45–50 (CIL VIII 2586), 608f. no. 784, 50–54 (AE 1917/1918, 57), and 629f. no. 821 (CIL VIII 20251); CTh 16, 12, 3; Jerome, On Joel 2, 21/27; schol. Juv., Sat. 6, 480; Cyprian, Ep. 66, 7.

⁶⁸ See NELIS-CLÉMENT 2000; BÉRENGER 2014, 120, 123f.; RANKOV 1999; AUSTIN – RANKOV 1995, 152–154; CLAUS 1973, 46–81.

⁶⁹ On Roman troops in Lykia see BENNETT 2007.

⁷⁰ Once again, thanks are due to DENIS FEISSEL on these lines.

⁷¹ WÖRRLE read [σ]τ[ρ]ατιωτῶν on the photo, but I have been unable to confirm his dotted letters.

ficials the duty of conducting initial investigations into accused persons' culpability constitute no innovation but a re-imposition of standard judicial practice. As Laetus' anger at the usurpation by soldiers of his right to determine torture illustrates, this right belongs properly to the governor – although, of course, the actual torture would be undertaken typically by members of the governor's *officium* or other soldiers under his supervision. Placing the initial examination of possible malefactors under the umbrella of local municipal officials appointed to guard the peace aligns with the practices well attested. In other words, all Severus is doing – and in fact all the Lykians have asked for, except the barring of soldiers who committed torture from returning to the scene of their misbehavior – is re-establishing investigatory procedures standard from the early principate, which had been violated.

Proper procedure is reflected in a well-known edict issued by the emperor-to-be Antoninus Pius when he served as proconsul of Asia in 135/136 CE. His edict, which lays out a procedure for investigation of alleged bandits and conveyance of the findings to the governor, bears a striking resemblance to the process Severus has imposed here:⁷²

Sed et caput mandatorum extat, quod divus Pius, cum provinciae Asiae praeerat, sub edicto proposuit, ut irenarchae, cum adprehenderint latrones, interrogent eos de sociis et receptatoribus et interrogationes litteris inclusas atque obsignatas ad cognitionem magistratus mittant. Igitur qui cum elogio mittuntur, ex integro audiendi sunt, etsi per litteras missi fuerint vel etiam per irenarchas perducti. Sic et divus Pius et alii principes rescripserunt, ut etiam de his, qui requirendi adnotati sunt, non quasi pro damnatis, sed quasi re integra quaeratur, si quis erit qui eum arguat. Et ideo cum quis ἀνάκρισιν faceret, iuberi oportet venire irenarchen et quod scripserit, exsequi.

«But there is also a chapter on *mandata*, which the divine Pius proposed through an edict when he was governor of Asia, that the *irenarchae*, when they should arrest bandits, should question them about their associates and supporters and send the results of the questioning sealed and enclosed by letters to the decision of the governor (*magistratus*). Therefore, those who are sent with an accusation (*elogium*) must be heard in full, even if they have been sent with letters or even conducted by the *irenarchae*. So did the divine Pius and other emperors reply, so that even concerning those who have been stipulated for examination there shall not be an investigation as if already condemned but from beginning to end, if there shall be anyone who is charging him. And likewise when some shall undertake a preliminary investigation (ἀνάκρισις), the *irenarcha* ought to be ordered to come and follow through on what he shall have written.»

Pius refers here to *irenarchae*, who, as we have seen, cannot be the officials referred to by Severus. But the procedure and principles lying behind it are surely parallel.

What follows in lines 24–25 is unambiguous, except perhaps for the unstated plural subject of the future middle [δια]λήμψονται; I suppose, however, that the unstated

⁷² Dig. 48, 3, 6, 1 (Marcianus, *de iud. publ.* 2) with MAROTTA 2003, 72–87. Marcianus was a contemporary of Ulpian, which may well be relevant, since both were active under Severus. See also the description of the duties of *irenarchae* under Diocletian: they are those «who are in charge of public order and the correction of morals», *qui disciplinae publicae et corrigendis moribus praeficiuntur* (Dig. 50, 4, 18, 7).

subject is «the (members of) the court», that is, the governor's *consilium*. The meaning of the whole, then, would be: «Tortures and compulsion of the body await the new word of the court; either the one judging will have authority over a matter, or they will yet take the decision by means of tortures.» The one judging being, it goes without saying, the governor. In other words, the governor may decide the guilt or innocence of persons accused on the basis of the *elogium* presented by the municipal officials who undertook the initial investigation, or, if he or the court he uses in the case feels it necessary, may order the accused to be tortured: to suffer «the compulsion of the body».

In the next clause, lines 25–28, Severus forbids the dispatch of the same soldier into the same city: οὐτε [πεμφ]θήσε[ται δις ὁ] αὐτὸς στρατιώτης εἰς πόλιν ἵνα μή[τε χ]αρίζη[ται παρ]ὰ τὸ εἶκος ὑφ' οὗ πρότερον ἐθαραπεύθη [μη]δὲ ἀμύ[νηται] παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ὑφ' οὗ πρότερον ἐλυπήθη [vac.?],⁷³ «nor will the same soldier be sent twice into a city so that he shall not show favoritism, as it is likely, to him by whom he was formerly courted, nor take revenge against what is just against him by whom he was formerly harmed».⁷⁴ Severus envisions the possibility that a soldier might show favoritism toward a person who had flattered him while the soldier was stationed in that city.⁷⁵

Once again, the restrictions Severus places on his troops in Lykia do not constitute punishments against those who have misbehaved, but rather limited provisions to guarantee that mistreated Lykians and cities where a given soldier has engaged in unauthorized torture will not face the same mistreatment again. The purpose seems simply, as made clear in the subsequent lines 28–32, to reassure Lykians who want to register complaints against soldiers who engaged in torture. Severus, in other words, treats his soldiers as gently as he can while still responding to the Lykians' plea. This section, interestingly, goes beyond the Lykians' stated complaints. If Severus' summary of their decree is complete, the Lykians had said nothing about potential favoritism or revenge.

The rest of the text, falling outside the area abraded by centuries of feet, is clear and unproblematic in terms of the language. Severus now turns to offer a final assurance to Lykians who had been tortured in the way he has now forbidden: «Therefore, now those who have been mistreated will be able to lay charges against the misdeeds of the soldiers who mistreated them, when they no longer fear that they will again mistreat them», διὸ ν[ῦν οἱ] ἀδικηθέντες δυνήσονται τὰ ἀραρτήματ[α τῶν] εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀμαρτόντων στρατιωτῶν ἐξε[λέγ]χειν ὅταν μηκέτ' αὐτοὺς ὡς αὐθις καθ' αὐτῶ[ν ἀδική]σοντας φοβῶνται (lines 28–32). With whom these denouncements are to be

⁷³ Thanks again to DENIS FEISSEL for help with this phrase. The verb λυπέω appears in a fragmentary context in F.Delphes III 4, 335, 3, dated to the third century CE.

⁷⁴ For θαραπεύ- instead of θαραπεύ-, see IG II² 2337; I.Délos 2224; I.Cret. III 2, 1, and TAM V 1613, line 3, with the commentary there.

⁷⁵ For θαραπεύομαι, «to flatter, to court, to wheedle», see e.g. SB XXVIII 16943 (ptol.); Nov. Iust. 30, 5, 1; FEISSEL 2006, 196f. no. 623. For this behavior towards Roman officials in general see e.g. P.Oxy. II 294; P.Coll. Youtie 66; SB V 7662.

registered and how they will be judged is left unsaid, but presumably once again it would be the governor who would hear and decide (as Maecius Laetus did). This may not have been necessary to state since hearing all sorts of complaints was one of his basic duties.⁷⁶ As often no actual punishment is stipulated for soldiers who engaged inappropriately in torture; thus we do not know what happened to them besides the addition of a soldier's name to a list of men not to be sent back into the same polis where the complaint originated. That such detailed record-keeping did indeed exist is attested by a recent edict of Hadrian from the province of Asia, in which the names of offenders accused of lesser crimes are to be forwarded to the provincial governor and the imperial *procurator*. Similar regulations are attested in the Theodosian Code.⁷⁷

The letter ends with a statement that the Lykians' decree had been transmitted by «military assistance», Severus' complimentary closing, and the date and place of composition.

The social and historical circumstances and torture

I turn now to some broader considerations of the circumstances of the complaint and the emperor's response. There are, I think, some hints in the letter that may suggest details about the application of torture in the Lykian cities and the concerns that drove Severus in his decision-making.

I begin with consideration of who the victims of the soldiers' over-zelaousness might have been. Lines 11–12 and 26–28 adumbrate the motivations of the soldiers: they were seeking their own greatest advantage and not the uncovering of the truth when they applied torture, and they were either showing favoritism to people who had courted them or taking revenge on those who had harmed them. The superlative [κ]ερδαλέωτατον strongly implies acts of corruption and efforts to enrich themselves by extortion. Combined with the later statement in the emperor's letter about favoritism and revenge, the corruption implied is likely to have concerned either money and/or the concealment or false accusations of wrong-doing by the victims of the torture. It seems likely that for the most part the victims of the soldiers' over-zealousness to torture were members of the Lykian elite: persons of wealth and high social standing.⁷⁸

But were they the actual persons tortured? It is possible that the soldiers applied torture not to wealthy Lykians themselves but to members of their households – especially, their slaves. Torture of slaves to extract information about their owners' crimes was a standard feature of Roman practice. Section 18 of book 48 of the Digest,

⁷⁶ See JÖRDENS 2011 on the tasks the governor must undertake and those he may delegate, with special reference to judicial duties, on the basis of a new interpretation of SB XII 10929 (133–137 CE) as an imperial constitution.

⁷⁷ HAUKEN – MALAY 2009, 329f., lines 35–38; CTh 8, 5, 8 and 14 and 48; 8, 6, 2.

⁷⁸ HAENSCH 2019, 253, on the publication of documents like Severus' letter here by the elite to «protect their rights or to represent themselves positively».

which deals with judicial torture, *quaestio*, collects the opinions of Roman jurists who adverted again and again to the circumstances under which slaves might be tortured. Ulpian's famous meditation on the effectiveness of torture as a technology for extracting truth comes in the context of a discussion of torture of slaves.⁷⁹ It is possible, then, that slaves were the immediate victims of the unauthorized torture in an effort to extract incriminating confessions about their owners.

But some of the language of the letter seems to imply that the victims may have been the members of the elite themselves. Especially suggestive is the concession Severus grants at lines 28–32. There he explicitly assures persons who have been mistreated by the soldiers the right to lodge complaints against those soldiers without fear that they may be again tortured without proper authority. Severus quite clearly speaks of mistreatment applied «against them», εἰς αὐτούς, that is those who would be making the complaints. Since the complainants would of course not be slaves, this language may suggest members of the elite were themselves subjected to torture. Of course, these possibilities are not mutually exclusive. Soldiers may have tortured slaves to obtain information against their owners and also free persons directly. And the sense of harm «against them» could be the harm inflicted by unauthorized torture applied to an owner's slaves.

The next matter I would like to consider is the circumstances under which the unauthorized torture was taking place and in particular whether the crisis of 193–197 CE may have contributed to or enabled the soldiers' decision to torture Lykians on their own authority. In general, the problem was that the authority to order torture lay in the hands of the governor; the soldiers had usurped this authority on their own, as the emperor emphasizes. But that still leaves open the question of why the soldiers were acting as they did.

It may be simply that soldiers were taking advantage of their presence in the Lykian cities corruptly to enrich themselves or otherwise incur some kind of advantage at the expense of members of the Lykian elite or, more generally, to take vengeance on persons who had harmed them.⁸⁰ Severus' wording at lines 26–28 says as much. This would imply no more general driver of the soldiers' actions than their anger at provincials who had mistreated them somehow (in the view of the soldiers, of course).

At the same time, the larger historical circumstances may not be irrelevant. In early 197 the great civil war that had begun in the East with Niger's declaration of his succession as emperor was still underway in the West with the contest against Albinus. The eastern provinces had been hotbeds of support for Niger. Dio (74, 6, 3–5) reports Severus' punishments of Niger's supporters in the East after Niger's defeat and death. Subsequently at least some anti-Severans shifted their allegiance to Albinus. These included officers who had served under Niger, his relatives and adherents of Asellius Aemilianus (who was executed after his defeat at Kyzikos and may have been related

⁷⁹ Dig. 48, 4, 1.

⁸⁰ So CHRISTOF SCHULER has suggested, *per. ep.*

to Albinus), and, importantly for our purposes, easterners like Claudius Arabianus, Claudius Rufus, Iulius Rufus, and Iulius Solon.⁸¹ It is therefore possible that the troops in Lykia had taken into their own hands efforts to identify, through torture, supporters of Severus' defeated enemies, whose crime would have been *lèse-majesté*.⁸² If this were the case, soldiers might have felt liberated to pursue their own interests using torture while accusing their victims of that highest of crimes, treason, for supporting one or both of Severus' opponents.

The use of torture as a technology of examination in Roman judicial procedure has a long history. In theory, during the Roman Empire, persons of higher status, like senators, equestrians, decurions, and veterans, among others, were supposed to be exempt from torture except in cases of *lèse-majesté*. But as JILL HARRIES has noted, «even in the Antonine and Severan periods (...) little attention is given to the exemption of *honestiores* and other privileged categories, as such, from judicial torture. Instead (...) exemptions were taken for granted unless, or until, they were challenged and an imperial ruling sought. Thus rescripts on the subject dealt with the cases and categories of people whose rights were challenged in a particular instance.»⁸³ In a careful study of the uses of torture in the 170s and 180s CE, YAN THOMAS has insisted too on the application of torture to free citizens and persons of higher status.⁸⁴

The stationing of soldiers in cities is nothing unusual; as noted, we have good evidence for this practice in Lykia itself. So we need not invoke the emergency circumstances of the civil war to explain the presence of soldiers in the cities. It therefore seems most likely they were acting out of personal motivations, in hope of self-enrichment, revenge, or settling of a grudge. But it may also be that the unsettled environment of the civil wars encouraged the soldiers' misbehavior: that they either felt their authority expanded or that they could appeal to their loyalty to Severus as excuse or explanation for their usurpation of the authority to torture without the governor's authorization.

⁸¹ ALFÖLDY 1968, 121, 135, 138f., 144f. Dio 74, 6, 2, for Asellius as a relative of Albinus.

⁸² BIRLEY 1988, 114: «Presumably other prominent men, including most of the eastern governors and legionary legates, lost everything» for siding against Severus; see also ONOÑ 2014, 20. For persons in Asia Minor known or suspected of harboring anti-Severan sympathies, see ALFÖLDY 1968, 121, 135, 138, 144f.; Dig. 22, 1, 6; SÜNSKES THOMPSON 1990, 138 n. 8, 155–157; JACQUES 1992; DAGUET-GAGEY 2000, 463, for a list of units supporting Niger and Severus. WÖRRLE 2019a, 65–69, reviews the evidence in his revision of OLIVIER 1989, 430–433 no. 213, 12–25 (IGR IV 566; ILS 8805). The loci classici for Severus' retributions after Lugdunum are SHA Sev. 12, 1–3. 7; 13, 1–9; Herod. 3, 8, 2; Dio 75, 8, 3–4; SHA Alb. 9, 5. SPIELVOGEL 2006, 99, insists on the senatorial bias of our sources against Septimius and warns against taking their characterization of his actions too uncritically.

⁸³ HARRIES 1999, 124. See RILINGER 1988 on the whole question of *honestiores* and *humiliores*.

⁸⁴ THOMAS 1998, 492.

Appendix

The ab epistulis Graecis and Antipatros of Hierapolis in Phrygia

The responsibility for drafting the emperor's letters in Greek lay in the hands of the *ab epistulis Graecis*; as JEAN-LOUIS MOURGUES put it, «the shaping of the emperor's will into written form is not the work of the emperor». In so far as the evidence allows a determination, this office was often filled by a sophist/rhetor of Greek origin; unlike the head and staff of the *a libellis*, whose duties included drafting *subscriptiones* and other imperial rescripts in response to legal questions, the holders of *ab epistulis Graecis* do not seem usually to have undergone any legal training. For many occupants, the office served as a step in an equestrian career.⁸⁵ In the case of the letter to the Lykians, there may be a candidate for the drafter: Aelius Antipater alias Antipatros of Hierapolis in Phrygia.⁸⁶

Several texts testify to Antipatros' connection with the Severan dynasty. He was appointed as tutor to the young Caracalla and Geta, perhaps – if the view is accepted that the older brother's formal education began at age seven – around 195 CE.⁸⁷ A letter of Caracalla recorded in an inscription from Ephesos mentions not only that duty but also his position as *ab epistulis Graecis*: Ἀντίπατρος ὁ φίλος μου καὶ διδάσκαλος καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῶν Ἑλλη[νι]κῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπιτετραμμένος. The perfect ἐπιτετραμμένος in the phrase that Antipatros had been «entrusted with the post *ab epistulis Graecis*» clearly implies that he held the office at the date of Caracalla's inscription. The date of this inscription falls between 200 and 205 CE or perhaps more precisely 200 or 201 CE.⁸⁸ The rather scurrilous tale of Antipatros' efforts to marry off his «bad-looking» daughter to the rhetor Hermokrates, which came off only when Severus summoned Hermokrates «to the East» and gave the bride away himself (εἰς τὴν ἑξῶν δοῦναι οἱ τὴν κόρην), cannot be assigned with certainty to either of the emperor's sojourns in the East, although it does confirm the close relations between Antipatros and Severus. If these events

⁸⁵ MOURGUES 1995, 273, with 262–264 and n. 18 there on the basic task of the *ab epistulis Graecis* to render the emperor's will into Greek. For the *ab epistulis Graecis* see MILLAR 1977, 240–252, also CORIAT 1997, ECK 1992, TOWNSEND 1960 and especially CARBONI 2017. The recent study of the relations between this office and the «lawyers» of the *consilium* in PEACHIN 2015 now makes an excellent starting point (further bibliography at 211 n. 2). The names of many occupants of the equestrian order are known and can be tracked through PFLAUM 1960–1961, III 1313f., and his convenient list at II 684 n. 1.

⁸⁶ RITTI 1988 for a comprehensive study. See also: PIR² A 137; PFLAUM 1960–1961, II 610–613 no. 230; MILLAR 1977, 92f.; PUECH 2002, 88–94; CARBONI 2017, 77, 79, 84, 86–89, 94, 193f., 211, 215, 227.

⁸⁷ Philost., Vit. soph. 607; MARROU 1956, 256f.

⁸⁸ I.Ephesos VI 2016, 15–16 (SEG 31, 995; OLIVER 1989, 469–474 no. 244); for 200 or 201, PUECH 2002, 91; «vielleicht 201», WÖRRLE 2019a, 69 n. 40. On the meaning of φίλος – not a title – see ECK 2006, 69. OLIVER 1989, 471f., argues for 201, RITTI 1988, 97, for 203, relying on her interpretation of Dio 76, 1, 3, and Herod. 3, 1; see PIR² A 161, for Aelius Coeranus, who is mentioned also in this inscription but was implicated in 205 in the fall of Plautianus, for the terminus ante quem. Caracalla's titles give the terminus post quem.

happened in 195, they might imply Antipatros was already then *ab epistulis Graecis*; but they may just as well, and perhaps more likely, have fallen in 199 or 200.⁸⁹

Philostratos insists that Antipatros was an especially skilled drafter of imperial letters, for once he was

«appointed to the *ab epistulis Graecis*, he made something brilliant echo in them. For let me declare that, although many took care and wrote history better than this man, no one was better at letter-writing, but just as a brilliant tragic actor understands the drama, he created expressions worthy of the persona of the emperor. For his language had clarity and greatness of thought and expression of present circumstances and pleasant asyndeton, which especially brightens a letter.»⁹⁰

A review of Greek letters written at about the same time does not reveal any features that can be linked decisively to Philostratos' characterization of Antipatros' style. In the letter to the Lykians, perhaps the only element especially striking – which might be seen as an expression of «greatness of thought» – is the use of the superlative κερδαλώτατος. But in general «clarity and greatness of thought» are in the eye of the beholder, and «pleasant asyndeton», while praised by rhetorical manuals in oral presentation, is not advised by them in letters. Although it is perhaps appealing to hypothesize that Antipatros may have written this letter, nothing in what is known of his career or the contents of the text bears the notion beyond the simple realm of possibility.⁹¹

History Department

Trinity College

Hartford

CT 06106

USA

gary.reger@trincoll.edu

⁸⁹ For the story, Philost., Vit. soph. 610–611; RITTI 1988, 103–108; see also HABICHT 1969, 77, who suggests the possibility of 195; PUECH 2002, 94 n. 2, however, favors 199 or 200.

⁹⁰ Philost., Vit. soph. 606. RITTI 1988, 92, 98–101; MOURGUES 1995, 262f. n. 18; PUECH 2002, 93, reads Philostratos as claiming that Antipatros «avait en somme inventé un nouveau genre littéraire, en élevant la correspondance impériale au rang des beaux-arts».

⁹¹ RITTI 1988, 100f., thinks five letters dated between 195 and 198 do show marks of Antipatros' style as described by Philostratos and can be linked stylistically to Caracalla's letter to Ephesos and his father's to Smyrna: to Ephesos, I.Ephesos VI 2016, 15–16 (SEG 31, 995; OLIVER 1989, 469–474 no. 244); to Smyrna, I.Smyrna 602; to Aphrodisias, OLIVER 1989, 441–443 no. 218 and 443f. no. 219 (REYNOLDS 1982, 124–127 no. 17 and 127–129 no. 18), both 198 CE; to Nikopolis, OLIVER 1989, 437–441 no. 217 (IGBulg II 659), 198 CE; to Aizanoi, CORIAT 2014, 97f. no. 20, and now WÖRRLE 2019a (CIL III 3837–3838; ILS 8805; IGR IV 566; OLIVER 1989, 430–433 no. 213). With WÖRRLE's confirmation that this letter dates to 197 it would be the earliest letter written by Antipatros and would place him in office by 197, if RITTI's claims are accepted. LEWIS 1995 warns cogently against drawing conclusions too pointed from stylistic analysis of imperial letters; see also PEACHIN 2015, esp. 220f.

Bibliography

- ADAK, M. – TÜNER, N. 2004. Neue Inschriften aus Olympos und seinem Territorium I, *Gephyra* 1: 53–65.
- ALFÖLDY, G. 1968. Septimius Severus und der Senat, *BJ* 168: 112–160.
- ANASTASIADIS, V. I. – SOURIS, G. A. 2000. Index to Roman Imperial Constitutions from Greek Inscriptions and Papyri.
- ANDO, C. 2012. Imperial Rome AD 193 to 284. The Critical Century.
- AUSTIN, N. J. E. – RANKOV, N. B. 1995. *Exploratio*. Military and Political Intelligence in the Roman World from the Second Punic War to the Battle of Adrianople.
- BEHR, C. A. 1981. P. Aelius Aristides. The Complete Works. Vol. II. *Orationes* XVII–LIII.
- BEHRWALD, R. 2000. Der lykische Bund. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Verfassung.
- BENNETT, J. 2007. The Roman Army in Lycia and Pamphylia, *Adalya* 10: 131–151.
- BÉRENGER, A. 2014. Le métier de gouverneur dans l'empire romain. De César à Dioclétien.
- BIRLEY, A. R. 1981. The *Fasti* of Roman Britain.
- BIRLEY, A. R. 1988. Septimius Severus. The African Emperor. Revised Edition.
- BÖNISCH, S. – LEPKE, A. 2013. Neue Inschriften aus Patara II: Kaiserzeitliche Ehren- und Grabinschriften, *Chiron* 43: 487–525.
- BÖNISCH-MEYER, S. 2018. Neue Inschriften aus Patara IV: Likatoren und ihr *legatus Augusti*. Eine bilingue Ehrung für L. Luscius Odra und seine Familie, *Chiron* 48: 375–400.
- BRÉLAZ, C. 2005. La sécurité publique en Asie mineure sous le Principat (I^{er}–III^{ème} s. ap.J.-C.). Institutions municipales et institutions impériales dans l'Orient romain.
- BRÉLAZ, C. 2011. Aelius Aristide (Or. 50.72–93) et le choix des irénarques par le gouverneur. À propos d'une inscription d'Acmonia, in BADOUD, N. (ed.). *Philologos Dionysios. Mélanges offerts au professeur Denis Knoepfler*, 603–637.
- BURETH, P. 1964. Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte (30 a.C. – 281 p.C.).
- CARBONI, T. 2017. La parola scritta al servizio dell'imperatore e dell'impero: L'ab epistulis e l'a libellis nel II secolo d.C.
- CHRISTOL, M. – DREW-BEAR, T. 2002. Le **tutor cessionarius* de Tralles, *Tyche* 17: 31–38.
- CLAUS, M. 1973. Untersuchungen zu den principales des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Diokletian. *Cornicularii, speculatores, frumentarii*.
- CLAY, C. L. 1972. The Types and Chronology of the Severan Coinage of Rome, A. D. 193–8. Bach. Lett. Thesis Oxford.
- CORIAT, J.-P. 1997. Le prince législateur. La technique législative des Sévères et les méthodes de création du droit impérial à la fin du principat.
- CORIAT, J.-P. 2014. Les constitutions des Sévères. I. Règne de Septime Sévère.
- CRAWFORD, M. (ed.) 1996. *Roman Statutes*. 2 vols.
- DAGUET-GAGEY, A. 2000. Septime Sévère. Rome, l'Afrique, et l'Orient.
- DARROUZÈS, J. 1981. *Notitiae episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*.
- DAVIDSON, J. L. S. 1901. s.v. Imperium, in SMITH, W. W. W. – MARINDIN, G. E. (eds.). *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.
- DEININGER, J. 1965. Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis zum Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.
- DUBOSSON-SBRIGLIONE, L. 2018. Le culte de la Mère des dieux dans l'Empire romain.
- ECK, W. 1992. P. Aelius Apollonides, ab epistulis graecis, und ein Brief des Cornelius Fronto, *ZPE* 91: 236–242.
- ECK, W. 2006. Der Kaiser und seine Ratgeber. Überlegungen zum inneren Zusammenhang von *amici, comites* und *consilarii* am römischen Kaiserhof, in KOLB, A. (ed.). *Herrschaftsstruk-*

- turen und Herrschaftspraxis. Konzepte, Prinzipien und Strategien der Administration im römischen Kaiserreich, 67–77.
- EDELMANN-SINGER, B. 2015. Koina und Concilia: Genese, Organisation und sozioökonomische Funktion der Provinziallandtage im römischen Reich.
- FÄRBER, R. 2014. Römische Gerichtsorte. Räumliche Dynamiken von Jurisdiktion im Imperium Romanum.
- FEISSEL, D. 2006. Chronique d'épigraphie byzantine (1987–2004).
- FRANCE, J. – NELIS-CLÉMENT, J. (eds.) 2014. La statio. Archéologie d'un lieu du pouvoir dans l'empire romain.
- HABICHT, C. 1969. Die Inschriften des Asklepieions.
- HAENSCH, R. 1997. Capita provinciarum. Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit.
- HAENSCH, R. 2009. Die Städte des griechischen Ostens, in HAENSCH, R. (ed.). Selbstdarstellung und Kommunikation. Die Veröffentlichung staatlicher Urkunden auf Stein und Bronze in der römischen Welt, 173–187.
- HAENSCH, R. 2019. Übergriffe römischer Soldaten in den östlichen Provinzen des Imperium Romanum, in HARTER-UIBOPUU, K. (ed.). Epigraphische Notizen zur Erinnerung an Peter Herrmann, 249–276.
- HALFMANN, H. 1986. Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich.
- HARRIES, J. 1999. Law and Empire in Late Antiquity.
- HAUKEN, T. 1998. Petition and Response. An Epigraphic Study of Petitions to Roman Emperors 181–249.
- HAUKEN, T. – MALAY, H. 2009. A New Edict of Hadrian from the Province of Asia Setting Regulations for Requisitioned Transport, in HAENSCH, R. (ed.). Selbstdarstellung und Kommunikation. Die Veröffentlichung staatlicher Urkunden auf Stein und Bronze in der römischen Welt, 327–348.
- HAUKEN, T. – TANRIVER, C. – AKBIYIKOĞLU, K. 2003. A New Inscription from Phrygia. A Rescript of Septimius Severus and Caracalla to the *coloni* of the Imperial Estate at Tymion, EA 36: 33–44.
- HEIL, M. 2006. Clodius Albinus und der Bürgerkrieg von 197, in WIEMER, H.-U. (ed.). Staatlichkeit und politisches Handeln in der römischen Kaiserzeit, 55–86.
- HERRMANN, P. 1990. Hilferufe aus römischen Provinzen. Ein Aspekt der Krise des römischen Reiches im 3. Jhdt. n. Chr.
- HONORÉ, T. 1994. Emperors and Lawyers. Second Edition. Completely Revised, with a Palimpsest of Third-Century Imperial Rescripts, 193–305 AD.
- HOOGENDIJK, F. A. J. – VAN MINNEN, P. 1987. Drei Kaiserbriefe Gordians III. an die Bürger von Antinopolis, Tyche 2: 41–74.
- HURLET, F. 2016. Les origines de la juridiction impériale: Emperor Caesar Augustus Iudex, in HAENSCH, R. (ed.). Recht haben und Recht bekommen im Imperium Romanum: das Gerichtswesen der römischen Kaiserzeit und seine dokumentarische Evidenz, 5–39.
- JACQUES, F. 1992. Les *nobiles* exécutés par Septime Sévère selon l'Histoire Auguste. Liste de proscription ou énumération fantaisiste?, Latomus 51: 119–144.
- JANISZEWSKI, P. – STENICKA, K. – SZABAT, E. 2015. Prosopography of Greek Rhetors and Sophists of the Roman Empire.
- JÖRDENS, A. 2011. Eine kaiserliche Konstitution zu den Rechtsprechungskompetenzen der Statthalter, Chiron 41: 327–356.
- KANTOR, G. 2017. Qui in consilio estis: The Governor and his Advisers in the Early Empire, Istoricheskij vestnik 19: 50–86.

- KIENAST, D. – ECK, W. – HEIL, M. 2017. Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie. 6th revised edition.
- KOKKINIA, C. 2000. Die Opramoas-Inschrift von Rhodiapolis. Euergetismus und soziale Elite in Lykien.
- KOLB, A. 2000. Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im römischen Reich.
- LE BOHEC, Y. 2013. La bataille de Lyon, 197 apr. J.-C.
- LEWIS, N. 1995. Personal Style or Imperial Style, *Latomus* 54: 634–641.
- LOMBARDI, P. 2013. I Tirii en Potiolois katoikountes e la statio di Tiro (IG XIV, 830), *MediterrAnt* 16: 633–679.
- MAGIE, D. 1950. Roman Rule in Asia Minor. 2 vols.
- MAROTTA, V. 2003. *L'elogium* nel processo criminale (secoli III e IV d.C.), in LUCREZI, F. – MANCINI, G. (eds.). *Crimina e delicta nel tardo antico*. Atti del seminario di studi, 69–114.
- MARROU, H. 1956. A History of Education in Antiquity, tr. G. LAMB.
- MASON, H. J. 1974. Greek Terms for Roman Institutions. A Lexicon and Analysis.
- MILLAR, F. 1977. The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC – AD 337).
- MONTANARI, F. 2015. The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek.
- MOURGUES, J.-L. 1995. Les formules «rescripsi» «recognovi» et les étapes de la rédaction des souscriptions impériales sous le Haut-Empire romain, *MEFRA* 107: 255–300.
- NELIS-CLÉMENT, J. 2000. *Les beneficiarii*. Militaires et administrateurs au service de l'empire (I^{er} s. a.C. – VI^e s. p.C.).
- NELIS-CLÉMENT, J. 2006. Les *stationes* comme espace et transmission du pouvoir, in KOLB, A. (ed.). *Herrschaftsstrukturen und Herrschaftspraxis. Konzepte, Prinzipien und Strategien der Administration im römischen Kaiserreich*, 269–298.
- OLIVER, J. H. 1989. Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri.
- ONON, D. 2014. Septimius Severus et senatores. Septimius Severus' Personal Policy towards Senators in the Light of Prosopographic Research, tr. B. ZAWADKA.
- ÖZGEN, İ. – BAUGHAN, E. 2016. Hacımusalar/Choma. A Regional Center in Northern Lycia, from the Early Bronze Age to the Byzantine Era, in IŞIK, H. – DÜNDAR, E. (eds.). *Lukka'dan Likya'ya / From Lukka to Lycia*, 318–335.
- PEACHIN, M. 2015. Weitere Gedanken zum Prozess des Verfassens kaiserlicher Reskripte, in BABUSIAUX, U. – KOLB, A. (eds.). *Das Recht der «Soldatenkaiser»*. Rechtliche Stabilität in Zeiten politischen Umbruchs?, 211–224.
- PFLAUM, H.-G. 1960–1961. *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le haut-empire romain*. 4 vols.
- PREISIGKE, F. 1925. Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienbilder usw., aus Ägypten. 2 vols.
- PUECH, B. 2002. Orateurs et sophistes grecs dans les inscriptions d'époque impériale.
- RANKOV, N. B. 1999. The Governor's Men. The «officium consularis» in Provincial Administration, in GOLDSWORTHY, A. K. – HAYNES, I. P. (eds.). *The Roman Army as a Community*, 15–34.
- REA, J. R. 1983. Proceedings before Q. Maecius Laetus, Praef. Aeg., etc., *JJP* 19: 91–101.
- REGER, G. 2010. New Inscriptions of Choma in Northern Lykia, I. Statue Base for an Unknown Honorand, in REGER, G. – RYAN, F. X. – WINTERS, T. F. (eds.) 2010. *Studies in Greek Epigraphy and History in Honor of Stephen V. Tracy*, 87–94.
- REGER, G. 2018. The Coinage of Septimius Severus and the Battle of Lugdunum, in ELKINS, N. T. – DE ROSE EVANS, J. (eds.). *Concordia Disciplinaryum. Essays on Ancient Coinage, History, and Archaeology in Honor of William E. Metcalf*, 201–208.
- REYNOLDS, J. M. 1978. Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and the Cyrenaican Cities, *JRS* 68: 111–121.
- REYNOLDS, J. M. 1982. Aphrodisias and Rome.

- REYNOLDS, J. M. 2000. New Letters from Hadrian to Aphrodisias. Trials, Taxes, Gladiators and an Aqueduct, *JRA* 13: 5–20.
- RILINGER, R. 1988. Humiliores – honestiores. Zu einer sozialen Dichotomie im Strafrecht der römischen Kaiserzeit.
- RITTI, T. 1988. Il sofista Antipatros di Hierapolis, *Miscellanea greca e romana* 13: 71–128.
- ROBERT, L. 1959. Review of REHM, A. 1958. *I.Didyma*, *Gnomon* 83: 7–74.
- ROBERT, L. – ROBERT, J. 1989. *Claros. Decrets hellénistiques*, I, 1.
- SCHALLMAYER, E. – EIBL, K. – OTT, J. – PREUSS, G. – WITTKOPF, E. 1990. Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken, I: *Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiärer-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches*.
- SCHULER, C. – ZIMMERMANN, K. 2012. Neue Inschriften aus Patara I: Zur Elite der Stadt in Hellenismus und früher Kaiserzeit, *Chiron* 42: 567–626.
- SCHWARTZ, H. – STAUNER, K. 2007. Die Parapompé des Kaisers und seines Heeres im nord-westlichen Kleinasien, *Gephyra* 4: 1–35.
- SHERK, R. K. 1969. Roman Documents from the Greek East. *Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus*.
- SIRKS, A. J. B. 2001. Making a Request to the Emperor: Rescripts in the Roman Empire, in DE BLOIS, L. (ed.). *Administration, Prosopography and Appointment Policies in the Roman Empire*, 121–135.
- SPEIDEL, M. P. 1994. Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter. *Equites singulari Augusti*.
- SPIELVOGEL, J. 2006. *Septimius Severus*.
- SÜNSKES THOMPSON, J. 1990. Aufstände und Protestaktionen im Imperium Romanum. Die severischen Kaiser im Spannungsfeld innenpolitischer Konflikte.
- TALBERT, R. J. A. 1984. *The Senate of Imperial Rome*.
- THOMAS, Y. 1998. Les procédures de la majesté, torture, et l'enquête depuis les Julio-Claudiens, in HUMBERT, M. – THOMAS, Y. (eds.). *Mélanges de droit romain et d'histoire ancienne. Hommages à la mémoire de André Magdelain*, 477–499.
- TOWNSEND, G. 1960. The Post *ab epistulis graecis* in the Second Century, *Historia* 10: 375–381.
- WÖRRLE, M. 2019a. Der Brief des Septimius Severus an Aizanoi, in HARTER-UIBOPUU, K. (ed.). *Epigraphische Notizen zur Erinnerung an Peter Herrmann*, 61–78.
- WÖRRLE, M. 2019b. Neue Freunde von Antoninus Pius. Ein Kaiserpriester und ein *proconsul Asiae* in Hierapolis, *Chiron* 49: 475–488.

Figures

Fig. 1: map: SABRI AYDAL, © Hacimusalar Excavations.

Fig. 2: photo: BEN CLAASZ COOKSON, © Hacimusalar Excavations.