

THE HONOURING OF THE LEGIO CHIEF PHYSICIAN
L. HORTENSIVS PAVLINVS*

ABDURRAHMAN UZUNASLAN**

The *cursus honorum* appears to have belonged to a legion physician by the name of L. Hortensius Paulinus. It is made from limestone, and is located on the frontal side of a well-chiseled rectangular block. The lower part of the *cursus* is broken; however, this does not pose any problem with regards to the condition of the inscription. The inscription was discovered within the city limits of Antiocheia in 2011, while the excavation for the construction was carried to a military garrison, and it was later moved to the Yalvaç Museum. However, the inscription has not yet received an inventory number.

The broken stone has a height of approximately 53.5 cm, a width of approximately 59 cm, and a lateral depth of approximately 45 cm. The frontal surface on which the inscription is located has been chiseled rather smoothly, and the inscription area is approximately 32 cm.

The height and width of the letters varies slightly between the upper and lower parts of the inscription. On the 1st and 2nd lines of the inscription, the height for the letters (L) and (P) is 4 cm; while on the 5th line, the height for the letter (H) is approximately 0.60 cm. The width of the letters on the 1st line varies between 2.70 cm and 3.60 cm.

Ligature has been applied for the letters (TP) of the 3rd line, and (NT) and (IP) on the 7th line. This practice is commonly observed in inscriptions from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD found in the city of Antiocheia.

* The abbreviations for ancient authors and periodicals used in this manuscript are based on the list from *Der Neue Pauly*.

I would like to sincerely thank Prof. Dr. Mehmet Özhanlı, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fikret Özcan, Erdal Kaya and Ö. Çomak, the Vice Director of the Yalvaç Museum, and the other personnel of the museum for their assistance in the publication of this inscription.

** Assoc. Prof. Dr., Gaziantep University, Faculty of Science and Letter, Department of History, Gaziantep/TURKEY, abdurrahmanuzunaslan@gmail.com

Date: First half of the 3rd century AD.



A cursus honorum belonging to L. Horte(n)sios Pauleinos
(Drawn by. M. Ağgül)

Λ(ούκιον) Ὀρτήσιον
 Παυλεῖνον
 ἀρχίατρον λεγεῶνος
 δ' Φλαουίας Εὐτυχοῦς
 5 καὶ λεγεῶνος β' Ἰταλικῆς,
 ταμίαν, ἀγορανόμον,
 ἄρχοντα πρῶτον, εἰρή-
 ναρχον, ἱερέα διὰ βίου
 θεοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ

Translation

L(ucios) Horte(n)sios Pauleinos, the chief physician of the IV Flavia Eutyches and II Italica legions, treasurer, controller of the market, first archon, ruler of peace (and) the lifelong priest of Asclepius (has been honored).

It is the first time to encounter any inscriptions from Antiocheia written on behalf of Λ(ούκιος) Ὁρτήσιος Παυλεῖνος (Lines 1-3)¹. The inscription does not specify the party or parties which are honoring L. Hortensius Paulinus². The important official services and tasks assumed by this person in the city suggests that he was honored by public authorities. We have no information about his homeland or his family. The legions in which he was assigned, as well as his *nomen gentilicium*, clearly indicate that he was not native to Antiocheia.

It is possible that L. Hortensius Paulinus might be a relative of M. Cassius Hortensius Paulinus, who is described as a *patricius puer* in an inscription from Ankara³. This child, presumed to be native to Northern Italy⁴, is believed to be the same person Senator M. Cassius Hortensius Paulinus⁵, and the owner of a pottery by the name of Hortensius Paulinus in Rome during the Commodus' reign⁶. Furthermore, another inscription from a later period found in Rome describes the same person as a *praetor urbanus* and *XVvir sacris facundis*⁷.

¹ For gens Ὁρτήσιος, see G. E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 3. Aufl. II. Hälfte, Braunschweig, 1911, p. 1077; Plut. *Sylla* 35, 4; *AE* 1953, p. 262 (Ostia); *ILS* III, 1 (p. 76); M. Corbier, "La descendance d'Hortensius et de Marcia", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* T. 103, No. 2, 1991, pp. 684-685; *Greek Personal Names*, Vol. VA 2010, p. 348; *PIR* 2 IV H 211 [= S. Mitchell-D. French (ed.), *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra). Vol. I: From Augustus to the end of the third century AD* [Vestiga 62], München 2012, pp. 335-336; H. Solin-O. Salomies, *Repertorium gentilicium et cognominum Latinarum*, Hidesheim-Zürich-New York 1988, pp. 94, 343: qui, pour Hortesius, renvoient à Hortensius et, pour Hortesius, à Hortensius.

² A. Uzunaslán, "Epigrafik ve Arkeolojik Arařtırmalar Işığında Pisidia Antiocheia: Kent Tarihine İliřkin Yeni Gözlemler", *Pisidia Arařtırmaları I* (ed. B. Hürmüzlü-M. Fırat-A. Gerçek), Isparta 2013, pp. 332-333.

³ M. Cassio Hortensio Paulino c(larissimo) p(ue)ro patricio C. Iul(ius) Proculus specul(ator) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) Mart(jae) Victr(ici)s[e] [t] I. Valer. Marcianus b(ene)ficarius legati leg(ionis) eiusdem patrono. S. Mitchell, "Notes und Studies I: Inscriptions of Ancyra", *AS* 27/1977, p. 65, no. 3; *AE* 1977, p. 811; E. Schallmayer, *Der römische Weibbezirk von Osterburken I: Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Benefiziarier-Inschriften des römischen Reiches*, Stuttgart 1990, p. 529, no. 684; Mitchell-French, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara*, 2012, pp. 135-136, no. 156.

⁴ *PIR* 2 IV H 211; Mitchell, *Notes and Studies* 1977, p. 66; *AE* 1977, p. 811; G. Alföldy, "Senatoren aus Norditalien. Regionen IX, X", in: *Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio II*, Rome 1982, p. 361, no. 6; G. Alföldy, *Städte, Eliten und Gesellschaften in der Gallia Cisalpina*, Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien Bd. 30, Stuttgart 1999, pp. 330-331, no. 6; Z. Várhelyi, *The Religion of Senators in the Roman Empire. Power and the Beyond*, Cambridge 2010, p. 97; Mitchell-French, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara*, 2012, p. 336.

⁵ *PIR* 2 IV H 211; L. Schumacher, *Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur Besetzung der vier hohen römischen Priesterkollegien im Zeitalter der Antonine und Severer*, (phD.) Mainz 1973, p. 88; S. Mitchell, "Legio VII and the garrison of Augustan Galatia", *CQ* 26, 1976, p. 66; H. G. Pflaum, "Avgstianivs Alpinvs Bellicivs Sollers membres de la gens Cassia", *Archivo Español de Aqueología* 39, 1966, pp. 22-23; Várhelyi, *The Religion of Senators in the Roman Empire*, 2010, p. 97.

⁶ *PIR* 2 IV H 211; Schumacher, *Prosopographische Untersuchungen*, 1973, p. 88; A. M. Andermahr, *Totus in Praediis: Senatorischer Grundbesitz in Italien in der frühen und hohen Kaiserzeit (Antiquitas. Reihe 3)*, Bonn 1998, p. 295, no. 257; Alföldy, *Städte, Eliten und Gesellschaften*, 1999, p. 331, no. 7.

⁷ *CIL* VI 318 [= *ILS* 3407]; Várhelyi, *The Religion of Senators*, 2010, p. 97.

The same surname and family origins in Northern Italy suggests that the two individuals in question might have been relatives. The fact that all of the soldiers serving in legio II Italica were selected from people living in Northern Italy further reinforces this possibility. If this is indeed the case, then it is somewhat difficult to determine why L. Hortensius Paulinus choose medicine as an occupation – a profession generally preferred by emancipated slaves and non-citizens in the Roman Empire. Therefore, it is clear that more evidence and information other than a similarity in name and origin is necessary before reaching a definite conclusion regarding the kinship between these individuals.

In line 3, the title of ἀρχιατρός (*medicus ordinarius* or *medicus legionis*) carried by Hortensius Paulinus reflects his extensive experience in the profession of medicine⁸. The time and legion in which L. Hortensius Paulinus began his profession are both unknown. The term ἀρχιατρός is encountered quite frequently in inscriptions⁹, and has been used for many royal physicians since the Hellenistic period¹⁰. This word is also quite common in inscriptions from the Imperial period, and has been employed not only for *legion physicians* (*medicus legionis*), but also for experienced physicians serving in palaces and gladiator schools¹¹. It is known that Galen of Pergamum, who acquired his fame by working in gladiator schools for a long period, was eventually able to rise to the office of palace physician at Marcus Aurelius Antoninus' palace¹².

In lines 3 to 5, it can be seen that L. Hortensius Paulinus has served as chief physician in both the IV Flavia Felix and the II Italica legions. The fact that the names of the legions have been explicitly stated is highly important for the correct dating of the inscription. Since these types of honorary documents are generally organized by taking into account the chronological order of the relevant person's successive assignments, it is highly likely that legio IV Flavia Felix was L. Hortensius Paulinus' first assignment.

⁸ R. W. Davies, "The Medici of the Roman Armed Forces", *Epigraphische Studien* 8, 1969, p. 89; V. Nutton, "Archiatros and the Medical Profession in Antiquity", *Papers of the British School at Rome*, Vol. 45, 1977, pp. 191-226; J. C. Wilmanns, "Der Arzt in der römischen Armee der frühen und hohen Kaiserzeit", (ed. Ph. J. van der Eijk-H. F. J. Horstmannhoff-P. H. Schrijvers), *Ancient Medicine in its Socio-Cultural Context, Papers read at the Congress held at Leiden University, 13-15 April 1992*, Amsterdam-Atlanta 1995, pp. 80-88. V. Nutton, "Roman Medicine 250 BC to AD 200", (ed. L. L. Conrad-M. Neve-V. Nutton-R. Porter- A. Wear), *The Western Medical Tradition*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 71-88.

⁹ M. Wellmann, "Archiatros", *RE* III, 1895, pp. 564-466; V. Nutton, "The Doctor and the Oracle", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, Vol. 47/1, 1969, pp. 37-48; A. Krug, *Heilkunst und Heilkult. Medizin in der Antike*, München 1993, pp. 203-208; J. B. Campbell, "Legio", *DNP* 7, 1999, pp.15-16; Christol&Drew-Bear 2004, pp. 85-118, SEG LIV 1368-1370.

¹⁰ Wellmann, *Archiatros.*, 1895, pp. 464-466; Campbell, "Legio", 1999, pp.15-16; I. Delos 1547; *TAM* V, 1, 689.

¹¹ P. Ö. Ayaçlar, *Yazıtlar ve Antik Kaynaklar Işığında Batı Anadolu'da Entellektüeller*, İstanbul 2006, pp. 85-227. Krug, *Heilkunst und Heilkult.*, 1993, pp. 203-204; R. Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire* (transl. Ş. Mumcu), İstanbul 1999, pp. 109-135; A. Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, London 2011, pp. 99-101.

¹² Nutton, *The Doctor and the Oracle*, 1969, pp. 37-38; Krug, *Heilkunst und Heilkult.*, 1993, pp. 64-69; Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases.*, 1999, pp. 51-81.

IV Flavia Felix was formed from the remaining soldiers of the legio IV Macedonica, which was disbanded immediately after the Batavian Revolt (69/70 AD)¹³. The legion was founded by Emperor Vespasian, receiving the name *Flavia* in his honor¹⁴. The epithet *fēlix* (εὐτυχής) included in the legion's name indicates a previous military success¹⁵. The first headquarters of the legio IV Flavia Felix was located at Burnum (Kistanje), and was later moved to Singidunum in 86 AD¹⁶. This legion was responsible for the safety of the route known as the *via militaris*¹⁷, which stretched from Singidunum (Belgrade) to Constantinopolis. The legion participated to Trajan's Dacian Wars (101-106 AD), and was stationed for a short period of time at Sarmizegetusa after the war¹⁸. Inscriptions referring to the officers and soldiers serving in this legion have been found in Ephesus¹⁹, Alexandria/Troia²⁰, Synnada/Phrygia²¹, Ankara²² and Zeugma²³. Some of the units associated with legio

¹³ N. Pollard-J. Berry, *The Complete Roman Legions*, London 2012, pp. 65-66.

¹⁴ E. Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum*, Ankara 1967, p. 331; E. Dabrowa, "Sur la création de la légion XVI Flavia", *Latomus* 41, 1982, pp. 614-619; I. Piso, "Les légions dans la province de Dacie", (ed. Yann Le Bohec), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon 2000, p. 208; Y. L. Bohec-C. Wolf, "Legiones Moesia Superioris", (ed. Yann Le Bohec), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon 2000, p. 239; Pollard-Berry, *The Complete Roman Legions*, 2012, p. 184.

¹⁵ Pollard-Berry, *The Complete Roman Legions*, 2012, p. 184; Piso, *Les légions dans la province de Dacie*, 2000, p. 209.

¹⁶ D. Bojovič, "La Camp de la Légion IV Flavia à Singidunum", (ed. P. Petrovic), *Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube*, Belgrade 1996, pp. 53-68; Bohec-Wolf, *Legiones Moesia Superioris*, 2000, p. 239.

¹⁷ Inscriptions of military epitaphs found in cities on this route confirm this. See *CIL* III 8249 (Nasisus); *CIL* III 8173 (Ulpiana); Pollard-Berry, *The Complete Roman Legions*, 2012, pp. 184-186; K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans. Studien zur Geschichte des mittleren unteren Donauraumes in der Hohen Kaiserzeit* (Reihe 1, Band 33), Bonn 1984, p. 90; M. Mirkovič et S. Dusanic, *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, Vols. I, Belgrade 1976, pp. 29-30; Piso, *Les légions dans la province de Dacie*, 2000, p. 211.

¹⁸ Piso, *Les légions dans la province de Dacie*, 2000, pp. 209-210; Pollard-Berry, *The Complete Roman Legions*, 2012, p. 184.

¹⁹ About *Lu[c]ius [Ped]anius Se[c]undus Pompeius Festus [M]unatianus* serving as Cheiliarch in the legio IV Flavius Euytyches, see *ÖJh* 47, 1964, Beibl. 23-24, no. 12; I. Ephesos III, no. 701 (together with detailed literature).

²⁰ The inscription has been dated to the period between 70 AD and 117 AD. See M. Ricl, *The Inscriptions of Alexandria Troas* (IK 53), Bonn 1997, pp. 128-129, no. 116.

²¹ The inscription on the grave of a IV *Flavia Felix* legionnaire at Synnada indicates the presence of a military unit in the region for ensuring the security of marble quarries and/or of the central administration. M. Christol-Th. Drew Bear, *Un castellum romain près d'Apameé de Phrygie*, (DÖAW, PH 189, Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 12), Wien 1987, p. 46, no. 6 and no. 9 (= *CIL* III 13663); S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor. Volume I: The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman Rule*, Oxford 1993, p. 121.

²² D(īs) M(anibus) Asklepiade (!), {te} vet(r)ano (!) ex leg(ione) IIII F[la]v[i]a convet[ran]ji (!) et hredes (!) [memo]riam posuer[unt], cf. Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara*, 1967, pp. 330-331, no. 271.

²³ See T. Albustanlıoğlu, "Zeugma (Arulis/Ehneç) Taş Ocaklarında İsmi Belirlenen Bir Başka Lejyon: Legio IIII Flavia Felix", *Anadolu* 41, 2015, pp. 135-158.

IV Flavia Felix are known to have taken part in the civil wars that occurred in the East towards the end of the 2nd century AD; however, this is the first time to encounter the name of this legion in inscriptions from Antiocheia.

The presence of legio II Italica in Antiocheia was first suggested by a disputed inscription published by M. A. Byrne and G. Labarre²⁴. The reason why this inscription belonging to a high-ranking military official by the name of C. Flavonius Paullinus Lollianus was subject to debate was due to the uncertainty as to whether the legion mentioned in the inscription's line 4 referred to II Italica or III Italica. Since there have been no published documents concerning the legions stationed in the city, it has not been possible to determine the exact identity of this legion until now. However, with the new inscription regarding L. Hortensius Paulinus, we are now able to identify the legion mentioned in line 4 of the inscription below as legio II Italica. As such, the inscription in question can be revised as follows:

C. Flavonio

[Pa]u[lli]no Lollian[o]

[tri]b(uno) laticlav(io)

L[eg(ionis)] II Italicae

5 *filio C. Flavoni*

Aniciani Sancti

Patr(on)i col(oniae) munici-

pes vici fel(iciter) vac.

d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Legio II Italica was – along with the similarly named legio III Italica – founded by Marcus Aurelius in 165/6 AD²⁵. Marcus Aurelius was compelled to create these

²⁴ M. A. Byrne-G. Labarre, *Nouvelles inscriptions d'Antioche de Pisidie, d'après les Note-books de W. M. Ramsay* (IK Bd. 67), Bonn 2006, pp. 94-96, no. 173.

²⁵ Ἀντωνίνος ὁ Μάρκος τὸ τε δεῦτερον τὸ ἐν Νοῦρίῳ καὶ τὸ τρίτον τὸ ἐν Ῥαιτίῳ, ἃ καὶ Ἰταλικά κέκληται, see Cass. Dio 55, 24, 4; also, Hist. Aug. *Max. Aur.* 14, 6; 21, 8; Hist. Aug. *Verus* 9, 10; E. Ritterling, “Legio”, *RE* XII/2, 1924/1925, col. 1300, 1468, 1532; G. Winkler, “Legio II Italica. Geschichte und Denkmäler”, *Jahrbuch des Oberösterreichischen Musealvereines* 116, Bd. I. Abh., Linz 1971, pp. 85-87; Y. L. Bohec, *The Imperial Roman Army* (transl. R. Bate), London and New York 2000, p. 26; B. Lőrincz, “Legio II Italica”, (ed. Yann Le Bohec), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon 2000, pp.145-149; Pollard-Berry, *The Complete Roman Legions*, 2012, pp. 197-198.

legions²⁶ due to the shift of most Roman legions towards the East due to the Parthian Wars, and the continuous border raids performed by the *German* and *Marcomanni* tribes in the West²⁷. The mention of this legion's name in the inscription indicates a *terminus post quem* for the document. Although the location of the legio II Italica's initial headquarters²⁸ is still subject to debate, it is known that the legion was temporarily relocated to a fort in Lotschitz (Lociča) in 168/169 AD, or a later year²⁹. The legion was later transferred by Commodus to Lauriacum (Lorch/Austria) within the boundaries of Noricum, where they remained until the 5th century AD³⁰. Initially, the legion only bore the title of *pia* in its name³¹; this was changed to *pia fidelis* after 170 AD³². On the other hand, in the inscription belonging to L. Hortensius Paulinus, the legion is only named as II Italica. Unless this is due to a writing error, it seems possible to suggest that the legion was only designated as II Italica starting from the first half of the 3rd century AD.

²⁶ Ritterling, "Legio", 1924/1925, col. 1468; J. Fündling, *Marc Aurel. Gestalten der Antike*. (Hrsg. M. Claus), Darmstadt 2008, pp. 93-95; Pollard-Berry, *The Complete Roman Legions*, 2012, p. 197.

²⁷ Hist. Aug. *Marc. Aur.* 12, 13; Ritterling, "Legio", 1924/1925, col. 1299-1300; Winkler, *Legio II Italica.*, 1971, pp. 87-88; Lörincz, *Legio II Italica.*, 2000, pp. 145-146; Pollard-Berry, *The Complete Roman Legions*, 2012, p. 197.

²⁸ Ritterling, "Legio", 1924/1925, col. 1300-1301, 1469; Lörincz, *Legio II Italica.*, 2000, pp. 145-146; Pollard-Berry, *The Complete Roman Legions*, 2012, p. 197.

²⁹ Numerous epitaphs belonging to legionnaires of the legio II Italica have been found in this region. See *CIL* III 5757, 4; *CIL* III 14369, 2 L; *CIL* III 14369, 2N; Ritterling, "Legio", 1924/1925, col. 1469; Winkler, *Legio II Italica.*, 1971, pp. 88-91; M. Kandler, "Zu den Grabungen F. Lorgers im Legionslager LoËica (=Lotschitz)", *Arheološki vestnik* XXX, 1979, pp. 172-207; W. Zwickler, *Studien zur Markussäule I*, Amsterdam 1941, pp. 101-102; J. Šašel, "Über Umfang und Dauer der Militärzone Praetentura Italiae et Alpium zur Zeit Mark Aurels", *Museum Helveticum* XXXI 1974, pp. 228-232; Lörincz, *Legio II Italica.*, 2000, pp. 147; Pollard-Berry, *The Complete Roman Legions*, 2012, p. 197.

³⁰ Ritterling, "Legio", 1924/1925, col. 1469-1470; K. Genser, *Der österreichische Donaulimes in der Römerzeit. Ein Forschungsbericht* (Der römische Limes in Österreich 33), Wien 1986, pp. 126-178; E. Weber, "Bemerkenswerte Inschriften vom österreichischen Donaulimes", (ed. W. S. Hanson-L., J. F. Keppie), *Roman Frontier Studies* 1979: Papers presented to the 12th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies B.A.R. 71, Oxford 1980, pp. 613-614; H. Vettors, "Lauriacum", *ANRW* II. 6, 1977, pp. 363-364; Bohec, *The Imperial Roman Army*, 2000, pp. 169-170; Lörincz, *Legio II Italica.*, 2000, pp. 147; J. H. Farnum, *The Positioning of the Roman Imperial Legions* (BAR International Series 1458), Oxford 2005, pp. 10-11; Pollard-Berry, *The Complete Roman Legions*, 2012, p. 197.

³¹ *CIL* III 1980, 8570; Winkler, *Legio II Italica.*, 1971, pp. 108-110; J. B. Campbell, *The Roman Army 31 BC-337 AD. A Sourcebook*, London-New York 1994, p. 89; Lörincz, *Legio II Italica.*, 2000, p. 147.

³² This is confirmed by an inscription found in Vransko in 1995. See I. Lazar, "The Roman Tile Factory at Vransko near Celeia (Noricum)". Part One: Excavation Report, *RCRF* XXXV, 1997, pp. 159-164; *CIL* III 1980, 8570, 15208; Ritterling, "Legio", 1924/1925, col. 1468-1476; Winkler, *Legio II Italica.*, 1971, pp. 108-110; Campbell, "Legio", 1999, pp. 15-16; Lörincz, *Legio II Italica.*, 2000, p. 147; P. Southern, *The Roman Army*, London 2006, pp. 98-100; Pollard-Berry, *The Complete Roman Legions*, 2012, p. 197.

Assuming that the *cursus* has been written in a chronological order, it appears possible that L. Hortensius Paulinus came to the East while serving in the legio II Italica; however, this does not necessarily exclude the possibility that he might have come East while serving in the legio IV Flavia Felix. Regardless of the legion with which he came to the East, it is clear that the reason for his (as well as the legions') presence in the region was the civil war between Septimius Severus and Pescennius Niger. New evidence indicates that Septimius Severus actively used both of these legions during the civil war against Pescennius Niger³³. It is known that the legio IV Flavia Felix and the legio II Italica both fought in the Battle of Issus, in which all or some of the units belonging to approximately 12 legions participated³⁴. The new inscription for L. Hortensius Paulinus serves as definite evidence of these legions' involvement in this battle. This suggests that L. Hortensius Paulinus came to the East in 193/194 at the earliest, and that, some time after the end of the civil war, he retired to settle in Antiocheia. We have no information as to why he might have preferred to stay at Antiocheia. In this context, it is likely that he was honored in the second quarter of the 3rd century AD. This chronology appears to be compatible with the writing style of the inscription.

On the other hand, another military inscription dated towards the end of the 2nd century AD³⁵ suggests that the legio II Italica may have also participated in Septimius Severus' Parthian campaign³⁶. Although this inscription does not, at first, seem significant when considered on its own, its relevance can be better understood when considered together with the inscriptions relating to C. Flavonius Paullinus Lollianus and L. Hortensius Paulinus. The inscription in question indicates that the reason for these two individuals' arrival to the East may have been related to Septimius Severus' Parthian campaign. However, further evidence is clearly necessary before reaching a definite conclusion on this matter.

It appears that L. Hortensius Paulinus assumed highly prestigious public offices in the city of Antiocheia. Individuals assigned to such offices can certainly be expected to have significant economic strength and social reputation to support their tenure. It

³³ Farnum, *The Positioning of the Roman Imperial Legions*, 2005, p. 10, fn. 114; Pollard-Berry, *The Complete Roman Legions*, 2012, pp. 184-186 and 197-198.

³⁴ The legions III Italica from Raetia; II Italica from Noricum; I Adiutrix, II Adiutrix and XIV Gemina from Pannonia; and I Italica, IV Flavia, VII *Claudia* and XI *Claudia* legions from Moesia have taken part in this war on Septimius Severus' side. To prevent any gaps in the defense and security of the Balkans, the legion X *Gemina* was assigned in Pannonia, while the legions V *Macedonica* and XIII *Gemina* were assigned in Dacia. See Farnum, *The Positioning of the Roman Imperial Legions*, 2005, p. 10, fn. 14.

³⁵ [M. Aurel](io) Urso, / [mil(iti) legionis] II Ital(icae) ob(ito) / [ann(orun)... i]n expedit(ione) / [...] t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) sibi / [et suis. Max]imina / [uxor et A]cutius / [...] us victric(us) / [b(ene) m(erenti)] f(ecerunt). See Alföldy, *Epigraphica Norika*, 1969, p. 21, no. 30 (=AE 1936, 84).

³⁶ Due to the damage on the inscription, the region in which the campaign was performed cannot be easily deciphered from the text. Opinions regarding possible locations for this campaign have so far focused on two possibilities, which are [*German(ica)*] and [*Parth(ica)*]. See Lörincz, *Legio II Italica*, 2000, p. 148.

thus appears that Paulinus was able to amass considerable wealth before his retirement certainly enough to gain important offices and duties in the society in which he lived.

In line 6, it can be seen that L. Hortensius Paulinus assumed highly strategic offices in the city, such as ταμίας (tamias) and ἀγορανόμος (agoranomos). The presence of these two public offices in Antiocheia demonstrates that the administrative approach of Roman colonies was compatible with those of traditional Hellenistic cities³⁷. The ταμίας³⁸ – which corresponds to the office of “public treasurer” or “revenue officer” – was the leading public official dealing with the city’s financial affairs. The financial office of ταμίας and ἀργυροταμίας can be observed in many other Anatolian cities of the Imperial Era³⁹.

Similarly, the ἀγορανόμος was responsible for ensuring price stability at markets or bazaars, as well as the reliability of scales and measures⁴⁰. Depending on a city’s requirements and level of activity, the number of ἀγορανόμος in a city could reach two or three. The ἀγορανόμος had prime responsibility in guaranteeing that wheat, olive oil, and other foodstuffs could enter the city market in sufficient amounts and suitable prices⁴¹. The duty of these officials became even more important during times of famine, scarcity, war, or extraordinary events. In times of difficulty, individuals holding this office were responsible for ensuring the adequate supply of basic foodstuffs required by the people⁴². It was possible for a person to be assigned more than once to this post. While most public offices in Hellenistic cities were held for a period of at least one year, the term of an agoranomos’ office was generally limited to several months due to weight of the financial responsibilities he assumed⁴³. Agoranomos remained in office

³⁷ B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, Oxford 1967, pp. 74-75; Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*, 1993, pp. 89-90.

³⁸ D. Magic, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the Third Century After Christ* (Vol. I-II), Princeton 1950, pp. 646, 1513-1514; Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*, 1993, p. 89; Chr. Marek, *Orbis Provinciarum. Pontus et Bithynia. Die römischen Provinzen im Norden Kleinasien*, Mainz am Rhein 2003, p. 87.

³⁹ Magic, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 1950, pp. 1513-1514.

⁴⁰ Magic, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 1950, pp. 645-646, 1511-1513; C. J. Fuhrmann, *Policing the Roman Empire: Soldiers, Administration and Public Order*, Oxford 2012, p. 58; Marek, *Orbis Provinciarum.*, 2003, p. 87; S. Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford 2005, p. 257; Chr. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasien in der Antike*, München 2010, pp. 530-532.

⁴¹ Epigraphic sources provide detailed information about numerous *agoranomos*, who were charged with ensuring the supply of wheat, olive oil and other foodstuffs at low prices, and with stabilizing or preventing the rise of food prices. See Magic, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 1950, pp. 1511-1512; F. Quaß, *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens: Untersuchungen zur politischen und sozialen Entwicklung in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*. Stuttgart 1993, pp. 260-264.

⁴² Quaß, *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens.*, 1993, p. 260; Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, 2005, p. 257.

⁴³ Magic, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 1950, p. 645; M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien: Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oinoanda*, München 1988, p. 112; Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasien in der*

for a period of four months in cities such as Thyateira⁴⁴ and Erythrai⁴⁵, while those in Side and Perge assumed this office for a period of only three months⁴⁶. However, certain honorary inscriptions from the Imperial Period indicate that, in rare instances, the term of office of certain agoranomos could be extended up to a full year⁴⁷. In this context, the office of agoranomos held by L. Hortensius Paulinus further illustrates the wealth and reputation he held in the city.

Lines 7 and 8 of the inscription indicate that, in addition to his many other public offices, Paulinus also served as ἄρχων πρῶτος and εἰρηναρχός. These two official duties described in the last lines of the cursus were highly strategic and expensive offices that could only be assumed by the city elite. *Archons*, who assumed their office through election, were the highest ranking and most influential public official of a city. References to archons can be found since the Hellenistic period⁴⁸; these officials have existed in ancient Athens since the 8th century BC⁴⁹, were quite common in the Hellenistic cities of Anatolia during both the Hellenistic and Roman Period⁵⁰. The expression ἄρχων πρῶτος or πρῶτος ἄρχων in the inscription, which means “first archon”⁵¹, indi-

Antike, 2010, p. 531.

⁴⁴ *AM* 21, 1996, p. 262.

⁴⁵ I. Erythrai 104.

⁴⁶ G. E. Bean-T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-1968*, (DÖAW, PH. 102), Wien 1970, pp. 38-40.

⁴⁷ A citizen from Tralleis by the name of Marcus Nonius Eutyches was praised and commended for duly performing this duty for a period of one year. Μάρκον Νόνιον Εὐτύχη τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον γραμματέα βουλῆς δήμου, σειτωνῆσαντα, εἰρηναρχήσαντα, στρατηγήσαντα, δεκαπρωτεύσαντα καὶ δι’ ὅλου τοῦ ἔτους πρῶτον καὶ μόνον φιλοτειμῶς ἀγορανομήσαντα (...), see I. Tralleis, no. 90 [=CIG 2929]; Wörle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien.*, 1988, p. 112; Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasien in der Antike.*, 2010, p. 531.

⁴⁸ The *archon* was the highest ranking official in Hellenistic cities, and the head of the civilian administration. Archons were elected for a period of one year, with two archons serving at the city at any given time. The archons assumed and performed duties similar to those of Roman consuls. See Fuhrmann, *Policing the Roman Empire.*, 2012, pp. 58-61.

⁴⁹ Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 51.

⁵⁰ For more information on inscriptions found in different cities concerning the *first archon*, see E. Varinlioğlu, “Die Inschriften aus dem Museum von Uşak”, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 15, 1990, pp. 90-91 [=SEG 40, 1095]; For the honorary inscription of Lucius Ma<r>cus Pollianus of Thyateira, see *TAM* V 2, 990; M. Adak, “Korrekturen zur Postumen Ehrung des Neos Heros Gn. Domitius Ponticus Iulianus aus Bithynion/Klaudiupolis”, *Gephyra* 6, 2009, pp. 169-170, 173.

⁵¹ For more information on individuals honored as πρῶτος ἄρχων in different cities of Anatolia, see Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara*, 1967, no. 140 (Ankara), L. 5-6: (...) τὸ β’ πρῶτον [ἄ]ρχοντα καὶ (...); Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara*, 1967, no. 250 (Ankara), L. 3-4: (...) κὲ δις τὴν πρῶτην ἀρχ[ὴν] ἄρχων[τα]; Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara*, 1967, no. 251 (Ankara), L. 3-4: καὶ δις τὴν πρῶτην ἀρχ[ὴν] ἄρχων[τα]; Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara*, 1967, no. 252 (Ankara), L. 3-4: (...) δις [τὴν πρ]ῶτην ἀρχ[ὴν] ἄρχων[τα] κὲ; Varinlioğlu, *Die Inschriften.*, 1990, pp. 90-91, no. 41 [=SEG 40 1095] (*Lydia*), L. 2-3: (...) Τρύφωνα Βίθιος ἀρχοντα πρῶτον τὸ γ’; *TAM* V 2, 990 (*Thyateira*), L. 11-12: τὸν ἐπόνυμον ἀρχοντα

cated that the city had an “official committee” (βουλευτικαὶ ἀρχαί)⁵² consisting of high-ranking officials of different assignments, and that this committee was presided by L. Hortensius Paulinus under the title of πρῶτος ἄρχων. In other words, this expression reflects that L. Hortensius Paulinus was a ἄρχων ἐπόνυμος, an “archon eponymos”, and that the city recorded the calendar year corresponding to his tenure by using his name⁵³. Numerous epigraphic documents found in the cities of the Province of Asia, as well as the cities of the other Roman Provinces established in Anatolia, indicate that many individuals holding the office of πρῶτος ἄρχων were honored in a similar fashion⁵⁴.

The title εἰρηναρχός, which can be described as the “preserver of public peace” or the “police director” of a city, is also mentioned in various inscriptions as εἰρηναρχης, εἰρηνηφύλακης, εἰρήνης ἄρξας, all of which have nearly the same meaning⁵⁵. The

πρῶτον καὶ (...); TAM V 1, 693 (Gördes), L. 13-14:(...); ἐπὶ συνα[ρ]χίας Ἰουλιανοῦ Φλώρου ἄρχοντος πρώτου; TAM V 1, 621 [=BE 1993, 495] (Daldis), L. 6-7: [...?]λακκίου ἄρχον[τος] πρ[ι]ώτου κ[αὶ]; TAM V 2, 1233 (Süleymanköy), L. 7-8: (...) Τρύφωνος τοῦ πρώτου ἄρχον[τος] καὶ (...); TAM V 2, 1361 (Manisa), L. 6-7: Ἐρμογένους Καρικοῦ τοῦ πρώτου ἄρχοντος; TAM V 2, 1363 (Manisa), L. 5-7: (...) ἐπὶ Σηίου Ὀπάτου Κλεομάχου τοῦ πρώτου ἄρχοντος; SEG 43, 919 (Pompeïopolis), L. 15-17: διὰ Κλαυδίου Αἰλιανοῦ ἱερέως τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ πρώτου ἄρχοντος (...); IGR III, 1447; BCH 27, 1903, p. 324, no. 28 (Pompeïopolis), L. 12-15: (...) διὰ Π(ο)υβλίου Δομπίου Αὐγορείου Κλωδίου Καλβεῖνου πρώτου ἄρχοντος; MAMA VI 183 (Apsameia/Dinar), L. 9-11: Μ. Αὐρηλιανὸν Δωρόθεον πρῶτον ἄρχοντα τὸ γ' ἄρχόντων.

⁵² Quaß, *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens*, 1993, pp. 389-390; C. Schuler, *Ländliche Siedlungen und Gemeinden im hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien* (Vestigia 50), München 1998, pp. 237-238; S. Eckhard, *Honoratioren, Griechen, Polisbürger: Kollektive Identitäten innerhalb der Oberschicht des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (Hypomnemata Band 143), Göttingen 2002, pp. 60-61; Marek, *Orbis Provinciarum*., 2003, p. 85; Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, 2005, p. 257; Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike*., 2010, pp. 530.

⁵³ Marek, *Orbis Provinciarum*., 2003, p. 85; Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, 2005, p. 223; Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike*., 2010, pp. 529-530.

⁵⁴ Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, 2005, pp. 224-225, 231-238.

⁵⁵ O. Hirschfeld, *Die Sicherheitspolizei in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin), Berlin 1891, pp. 602-609; O. Schulthess, “Εἰρηναρχαί”, *RE Suppl.* III, 1918, col. 419; A. H. J. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford 1971, pp. 212-213; Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 1950, pp. 647, 1514-1515; Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*, 1993, pp. 165-166, 195-197, 234; C. Drecoll, *Die Liturgien im römischen Kaiserreich des 3. und 4. Jh. n.Chr.: Untersuchung über Zugang, Inhalt und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der öffentlichen Zwangsdienste in Ägypten und anderen Provinzen* [=Historische Einzelschriften 116], Stuttgart 1997, pp. 158-165; W. Riess, *Apuleius und die Räuber: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Kriminalitätsforschung*, Stuttgart 2001, pp. 204-212; J. L. Rife, “Officials of the Roman Provinces in Xenophon’s Ephesiaca”, *ZPE* 138, 2002, pp. 93-108; Eckhard, *Honoratioren, Griechen, Polisbürger*, 2002, pp. 61-62; C. Wolff, *Les Brigands en Orient sous le haut-empire romain* (Collection de l’École française de Rome 308), Rome 2003, pp. 177-182; P. Sängler, *Die Eirenarchen des römischen Ägypten*, (phD.) Wien 2004; C. Brélaz, *La sécurité publique en Asie Mineure sous le Principat (Ier-III s. Ap. J.-C.)*, Basel-Schwabe 2005, pp. 90-122, 338-341 and 349-381; H. D. Saffrey, “Un nouveau duovir à Antioche de Pisidie”, *AS*, 38, 1988, pp. 67-69; Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*., 2005, p. 206-213; H. S. Öztürk, *MÖ. II.-MS. IV. Yüzyllarda Likya-Pamfilya Bölgesinde Kirsal Alan Güvenliği*, Marmara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

honorary inscription shows that L. Hortensius Paulinus also successfully assumed the public office of εἰρηναρχία at the city. A number of honorary inscriptions described other important individuals who have also assumed this office at Antiocheia⁵⁶. Eirenarches were public officials that were commonly found in many Anatolian cities since the Hellenistic period⁵⁷. It is known that in the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire, duties relating to public peace and security were generally under the responsibility of military officials of the Roman legions referred to as *beneficiarii* and *stationarii*⁵⁸. However, in the cities of Anatolian provinces that did not have a permanent military presence, duties relating to public peace and security were largely assumed and executed by the εἰρηναρχαί – the equivalent of present-day “police directors” – who were assigned for a period of one year⁵⁹. A decree issued by Antoninus Pius (130-135 AD), the governor of the Asia Province during Hadrian’s Period, strictly delineated the tasks and areas of responsibility of eirenarches⁶⁰. These officials assumed a highly important role and duty in their city, and were assigned directly by the provincial governor for a period of one year. Eirenarches were only appointed among leading citi-

(phD.), Istanbul 2006, pp. 134-137; I. Milet VI, 3, 2006, p. 96; A. Zamai, “Gli irenarchi d’Asia Minore”, *Patavium* 17, 2001, pp. 53-73; Fuhrmann, *Policing the Roman Empire*, 2012, pp. 66-75.

⁵⁶ Τόνδε σε Μυγδονίη Διονύσιον ἀντί βίβλου πολλῶν καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης στέμμα, see W. M. Calder, “Colonia Caesarea Antiocheia”, *JRS* 2, 1912, pp. 80-84, no. 1; Saffrey, “Un nouveau duovir à Antioche de Pisidie”, 1988, pp. 67-69; C(aio) Valerio, Galli F(ilio), Ser(gia tribu), Nigro, Q(uaestori), Aed(ili), Duov(iro), Irenarch(o), Valeria Paula Patri optumo, H(onoris) C(ausa), D(ecreto) D(ecurionum), see. *SEG* 38, 1988, no. 1320; *AE* 1988, no. 1988.

⁵⁷ Magic, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 1950, p. 647; Saffrey, *Un nouveau duovir à Antioche de Pisidie*, 1988, pp. 67-69; N. Yannakopoulos, “Preserving the Pax Romana: The Peace Functionaries in Roman East”, *MedAnt*. 6, 2003, pp. 883-897.

⁵⁸ These soldiers, who were generally stationed at main cross-roads and strategic routs, served as a type of gendarmerie force. See Calder, “Colonia Caesarea Antiocheia”, 1912, pp. 82; Hirschfeld, *Die Sicherheitspolizei in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 1891, pp. 845-877; A. von Domaszewski, “Die Beneficiariereposten und die römischen Straßennetze”, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, Vol. 21, 1902, pp. 158-211; R. K. Sherk, “The Inermes Provinciae of Asia Minor”, *The American Journal of Philology* 76, no. 4, 1955, pp. 400-413; E. Schallmayer, “Zur Herkunft und Funktion der Beneficiarii”, *Roman Frontier Studies* 1989, pp. 400-406; Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*, 1993, pp. 233-234.

⁵⁹ The security system in the Eastern parts of the Empire was far better organized than the security system in the Western parts. See O. Schulthess, “Εἰρηναρχαί”, 1918, col. 419-423; Sherk, *The Inermes Provinciae of Asia Minor*, 1955, pp. 400-413; Yannakopoulos, *Preserving the Pax Romana*, 2003 pp. 832; Riess, *Apuleius und die Räuber*, 2001, pp. 203-209; Drecoll, *Die Liturgien im römischen Kaiserreich*, 1997, pp. 158-165; Saffrey, *Un nouveau duovir à Antioche de Pisidie*, 1988, pp. 67-69; K. Feld, *Barbarische Bürger: Die Isaurier und das Römische*, Berlin 2005, pp. 181-182; K. Hopwood, “Bandits between Grandees and State: The Structure of Order in Roman Rough Cilicia”, *Organised Crime in Antiquity* (ed. K. Hopwood), London 1999, pp. 192; E. Meyer-Zwifelhoffer, *Politikōs archein: zum Regierungsstil der senatorischen Statthalter in den kaiserzeitlichen griechischen Provinzen*, Stuttgart 2002, pp. 148, fn. 27; Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, 2005, p. 207; Fuhrmann, *Policing the Roman Empire*, 2012, pp. 73; T. B. Williams, *Persecution in 1 Peter: Differentiating and Contextualizing Early Christian Suffering* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 145), Leiden 2012, pp. 144-146.

⁶⁰ *Dig.* 48, 3, 6. 1; *C.Th.* 12, 14, 1; *Hist. Aug. Ant. Pius.* 3, 2-4; Williams, *Persecution in 1 Peter*, 2012, p. 170.

zens who willingly applied for this post⁶¹. Under the command of the eirenarches was the *διωγμίται*⁶², a large and well-armed security force⁶³. Considering that eirenarches were personally responsible for financing this force, it is clear that those assigned to this office were required to spend an immense sum during their tenure⁶⁴. For this reason, this office does not appear to be one very enthusiastically assumed by the city elite⁶⁵. Beginning with the period of Antoninus Pius, the cities of Asia Minor saw a significant rise in banditry and pillage. The problem gradually became so severe that cities were compelled to hire experts on security from other provinces to deal with the issue⁶⁶. Antiocheia was inevitably affected by this general deterioration in security across Asia Minor. In this context, Antiocheia's strategic and logistic importance due to its location on the *via Sebasta*, as well as its proximate location to mountain tribes engaged in banditry, rendered the duty of eirenarches even more important for this city⁶⁷.

Line 9 of the inscription describes L. Hortensius Paulinus as a lifelong priest of the god of medicine Asclepius, a title which he clearly received owing to his profession. Epigraphic evidence found in Antiocheia reveals other famous physicians who have received this lifelong title, or task, at the city⁶⁸, such as L. Gellius Maximus, the close friend and physician of Caracalla⁶⁹. Furthermore, it is also known that cult of

⁶¹ Aristeid. *or.* 50, 72-74; *CTh.* 8, 7, 21; *Clust.* 10, 77 [75].

⁶² This security force possibly consisted of paid soldiers/personnel, and may have included both infantry and cavalry units. See Calder, *Colonia Caesareia Antiocheia.*, 1912, pp. 81-82; Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 1971, p. 212; Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor.*, 1993, p. 234; Rife, *Officials of the Roman Provinces in Xenophon's Ephesiaca.*, 2002, pp. 100, 108; Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor.*, 2005, pp. 212-213.

⁶³ *SEG* VI 688, 690 (Hisar Mountain); *BCH* 52, 1928: 407-409; Hirschfeld, *Die Sicherheitspolizei in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 1891, pp. 606-607; Calder, *Colonia Caesareia Antiocheia.*, 1912, pp. 80-84; Magic, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor.*, 1950, p. 1514-1515; Feld, *Barbarische Bürger.*, 2005 pp. 181-182; Hopwood, *Bandits between Grandees and State.*, 1999, pp. 144-146; Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor.*, 2005, p. 212-213.

⁶⁴ *Dig.* 50. 4. 18.7 (Watson transl.).

⁶⁵ Feld, *Barbarische Bürger.*, 2005 pp. 181; Meyer-Zwifelhoffer,

⁶⁶ E. Schindler, *Die Inschriften von Bubon*, Wien 1972, p. 14; B. D. Shaw, "Bandits in the Roman Empire", *Past & Present* 105, 1984, p. 12; Öztürk, *Kırsal Alan Güvenliği.*, 2006, pp. 134-134-135.

⁶⁷ Hopwood, *Bandits between Grandees and State.*, 1999, pp. 173-187; A. N. Scherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy in the East. 168 B.C.-to A.D. I.*, London 1984, pp. 155-156; S. Mitchell, "Termessos, King Amyntas and the war with the Sandaliotai. A new inscription from Pisidia", *Studies in the History and Topography of Lycia and Pisidia, in memoriam A. S. Hall* (ed. S. French), Ankara 1994, pp. 95-105; R. Syme, *Anatolica, Studies in Strabo*, Oxford 1995, pp. 209-210; Calder, *Colonia Caesareia Antiocheia.*, 1912, pp. 80-82.

⁶⁸ Levick, *Roman Colonies.*, 1967, pp. 39-71.

⁶⁹ *PIR* II G 131; J. R. S. Sterrett, *An Epigraphic Journey in Asia Minor. Papers of American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Vol. 2, 1883-1884, p. 136, no. 109; D. M. Robinson, "Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Asia Minor", *TAPA* 57, 1926, pp. 224, no. 48 (= *SEG* VI 554); *CIL* III 6820; W. M. Ramsay, "Studies in the Roman Galatia. VI. Some Inscriptions of Colonia Caesarea Antiochea", *JRS* 14, 1924, p. 199, no. 35

Asclepius has played an important role in the establishment of close relations between Antiocheia and Pergamum⁷⁰. New and unpublished inscriptions indicate the presence of a cult of Asclepius in Antiocheia, as well as a sacred area in the city dedicated to this cult and its deity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adak, M., “Korrekturen zur Postumen Ehrung des Neos Heros Gn. Domitius Ponticus Iulianus aus Bithynion/Klaudiupolis”, in: *Gephyra* 6, (2009), pp. 169-174.

Albustanhoğlu, T., “Zeugma (Arulis/Ehneş) Taş Ocaklarında İsmi Belirlenen Bir Başka Lejyon: Legio IIII Flavia Felix”, in: *Anadolu* 41, 2015, pp. 135-158.

Alföldy, G., “Epigraphica Norica”, in: *Epigraphische Studien* 8, Düsseldorf 1969.

_____, “Senatoren aus Norditalien. Regiones IX, X”, in: *Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio II*, Rome (1982), pp. 309-368.

Alföldy, G., *Städte, Eliten und Gesellschaften in der Gallia Cisalpina, Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien*, Bd. 30, Stuttgart 1999.

Andermahr, A. M., *Totus in Praediis: Senatorischer Grundbesitz in Italien in der frühen und hohen Kaiserzeit* (Antiquitas. Reihe 3), Bonn 1998.

Aytaçlar, P. Ö., *Yazıtlar ve Antik Kaynaklar Işığında Batı Anadolu'da Entellektüeller*, İstanbul 2006.

Bean, G. E.-Mitford, T. B., *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-1968*, (DÖAW, PH. 102), Wien 1970.

Benseler, G. E., *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 3. Aufl. II. Hälfte, Braunschweig, 1911.

Bojovič, D., “La Camp de la Légion IV Flavia à Singidunum”, in: *Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube* (ed. P. Petrovic), Belgrade (1996), pp. 53-68.

Bohec, Y. L.-Wolf C. “Legiones Moesiae Superioris”, in: *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire* (Ed. Yann Le Bohec), Lyon (2000), pp. 239-245.

Bohec, Y. L., *The Imperial Roman Army* (transl. R. Bate), London and New York 2000.

Bosch, E., *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum*, Ankara 1967.

Brélaz, C., *La sécurité publique en Asie Mineure sous le Principat (Ier-III s. Ap. J.-C)*, Basel-Schwabe 2005.

(=SEG VI 563); Calder, *Colonia Caesareia Antiocheia.*, 1912, pp. 95-96, no. 25; V. Nutton, “The Doctor and the Oracle”, *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, Vol. 47/1, 1969, pp. 39-40.

⁷⁰ Levick, *Roman Colonies.*, 1967, pp. 124-127.

Byrne, M. A.-Labarre G., (Hg.), *Nouvelles inscriptions d'Antioche de Pisidie, d'après les Note-books de W. M. Ramsay* (IK Bd. 67), Bonn 2006.

Calder, W. M., "Colonia Caesareia Antiocheia", in: *JRS* 2, (1912), pp. 78-109.

Campbell, J. B., *The Roman Army 31 BC-337 AD. A Sourcebook*, London-New York 1994.

_____, "Legio", in: *DNP* 7, (1999) pp. 7-22.

Christol, M.-Drew Bear Th., *Un castellum romain près d'Apamee de Phrygie*, (DÖAW, PH 189 Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 12), Wien 1987.

Corbier, M., "La descendance d'Hortensius et de Marcia", in: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* T. 103, No. 2, (1991), pp. 655-701.

Dabrowa, E., "Sur la création de la légion XVI Flavia", in: *Latomus* 41, (1982), pp. 614-619.

Davies, R. W., "The Medici of the Roman Armed Forces", in: *Epigraphische Studien* 8, (1969) pp. 83-99.

Dmitriev, S., *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford 2005.

Drecoll, C., *Die Liturgien im römischen Kaiserreich des 3. und 4. Jh. n. Chr.: Untersuchung über Zugang, Inhalt und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der öffentlichen Zwangsdienste in Ägypten und anderen Provinzen* [=Historische Einzelschriften 116], Stuttgart 1997.

Eckhard, S., *Honoratioren, Griechen, Polisbürger: Kollektive Identitäten innerhalb der Oberschicht des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*. [Hypomnemata Band 143], Göttingen 2002.

Farnum, J. H., *The Positioning of the Roman Imperial Legions*, BAR International Series 1458, Oxford 2005.

Feld K., *Barbarische Bürger: die Isaurier und das Römische*, Berlin 2005.

Fuhrmann, C. J., *Policing the Roman Empire: Soldiers, Administration, and Public Order*, Oxford 2012.

Fündling, J., *Marc Aurel. Gestalten der Antike*. (hrsg. M. Clauss), Darmstadt 2008.

Genser, K., *Der österreichische Donaulimes in der Römerzeit. Ein Forschungsbericht* (Der römische Limes in Österreich 33), Wien 1986.

Goldsworthy, A., *The Complete Roman Army*, London 2011.

Hirschfeld, O., *Die Sicherheitspolizei in der römischen Kaiserzeit, Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Berlin 1891.

Hopwood, K., "Bandits between Grandees and State: The Structure of Order in Roman Rough Cilicia", in: *Organised Crimi in Antiquity* (ed. K. Hopwood), London (1999), pp. 177-206.

_____, "Policing the Hinterlands: Rough Cilicia and Isauria", in: *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia: Proceedings of a Colloquium Held at University College, Swansea in April 1981* (ed. S. Mitchell; BARIS 156; Oxford B.A.R.) (1983), pp. 173-187.

Jackson, R., *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire* (transl. Ş. Mumcu), Istanbul 1999.

Jones, A.H.J., *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford 1971.

Kandler, M., *Zu den Grabungen F. Lorgers im Legionslager LoËica (=Lotschitz)*", in: *Arheološki vestnik XXX*, (1979), pp. 172-207.

Krug, A., *Heilkunst und Heilkult. Medizin in der Antike*, München 1993.

Lazar, I., "The Roman Tile Factory at Vransko near Celeia (Noricum)". Part One: Excavation Report, in: *RCRF XXXV*, (1997), pp. 159-164.

Levick, B., *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, Oxford 1967.

Lörincz, B., "Legio II Italica", in: *Yann Le Bohec, Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon (2000), pp. 145-149.

Magie, D., *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the Third Century After Christ. Vol. I-II*, Princeton 1950.

Marek, Chr., *Orbis Provinciarum. Pontus et Bithynia. Die römischen Provinzen im Nordern Kleinasien*, Mainz am Rhein 2003.

Chr. Marek Chr., *Geschichte Kleinasien in der Antike*, München 2010.

Meyer-Zwiffelhofer E., *Politikōs archein: zum Regierungsstil der senatorischen Statthalter in den kaiserzeitlichen griechischen Provinzen*, Stuttgart 2002.

Mirkovič, M.-Dusanic S. (ed.), *Inscriptiones de la Mésie Supérieure (Vols . I)*, Belgrade 1976.

Mitchell, S., "Legio VII and the garrison of Augustan Galatia", in: *Classical Quarterly* 26, (1976), pp. 298-308.

_____, "Notes und Studies I: Inscriptions of Ancyra", in: *AS 27/(1977)* pp. 63-103.

_____, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor. Volume I: The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman Rule*, Oxford 1993.

_____, “Termessos, King Amyntas and the war with the Sandaliotai. A new inscription from Pisidia”, in: *Studies in the History and Topography of Lycia and Pisidia, in memoriam A. S. Hall* (ed. S. French), Ankara (1994), pp. 95-105.

Mitchell, S.-French D. (ed.), *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)*. Vol. I: *From Augustus to the end of the third century AD*. [Vestiga 62], München 2012.

Nutton, V., “Archiatri and the Medical Profession in Antiquity”, in: *Papers of the British School at Rome*, Vol. 45, (1977) pp. 191-226.

_____, “The Doctor and the Oracle”, in: *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, Vol. 47/1, (1969), pp. 37-48.

_____, “Roman Medicine 250 BC to AD 200”, in: L. L. Conrad-M. Neve-V. Nutton-R. Porter- A. Wear (ed.), *The Western Medical Tradition*, Cambridge (1995), pp. 71-88.

Pflaum, H. G., “Avgvstanivs Alpinvs Bellicivs Sollers membres de la gens Cassia”, in: *Archivo Español de Aquelología* 39, (1966), pp. 3-23.

Piso, I., “Les legions dans la province de Dacie”, in: *Yann Le Bohec, Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon (2000), pp. 205-225.

Pollard, N.-Berry J., *The Complete Roman Legions*, London 2012.

Quaß, F., *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens: Untersuchungen zur politischen und sozialen Entwicklung in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*. Stuttgart 1993.

Ramsay, W. M., “Studies in the Roman Galatia. VI. Some Inscriptions of Colonia Caesarea Antiochea”, in: *JRS* 14, (1924), pp. 172-205.

Ricl, M., *The Inscriptions of Alexandria Troas*, IK 53, Bonn 1997.

Riess, W., *Apuleius und die Räuber: ein Beitrag zur historischen Kriminalitätsforschung*, Stuttgart 2001.

Rife, J. L., “Officials of the Roman Provinces in Xenophon’s Ephesiaca”, in: *ZPE* 138, (2002), pp. 93-108.

Ritterling, E., “Legio”, in: *RE* XII/2, 1924/1925: col. 1211-1829.

Robinson, D. M., “Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Asia Minor”, in: *TAPA* 57, (1926), pp. 195-237.

Saffrey, H. D., “Un nouveau duovir à Antioche de Pisidie”, in: *AS* 38, (1988), pp. 67-69.

Sänger, P., *Die Eirenarchen des römischen Ägypten*, (phD.) Wien 2004.

Šašel, J., “Über Umfang und Dauer der Militärzone Praetentura Italiae et Alpium zur Zeit Mark Aurels”, in: *Museum Helveticum* XXXI, (1974), pp. 228-232.

Schindler, E., *Die Inschriften von Bubon*, Wien 1972.

Schallmayer, E., “Zur Herkunft und Funktion der Beneficiarier”, in: *Roman Frontier Studies* (1989), pp. 252-256.

_____, *Der römische Weihbezirk von Osterburken I: Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Benefiziarier-Inschriften des römischen Reiches*, Stuttgart 1990.

Scherwin-White A. N., *Roman Foreign Policy in the East. 168 B.C.-to A.D. 1*, London 1984.

Schumacher, L., *Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur Besetzung der vier hohen römischen Priesterkollegien im Zeitalter der Antonine und Severer*, (phD.) Mainz 1973.

Schuler, C., *Ländliche Siedlungen und Gemeinden im hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien*. (Vestiga 50), München 1998.

Schulthess, O., “Εἰρηνάρχαι”, in: *RE Suppl.* III, (1918), pp. 419-423.

Shaw, B. D., “Bandits in the Roman Empire”, in: *Past & Present* 105, (1984), pp. 3-52.

Sherk, R. K., “The Inermes Provinciae of Asia Minor”, in: *The American Journal of Philology* 76, no. 4, (1955), pp. 400-413.

Solin, H.-Salomies O., *Repertorium gentilicum et cognominum Latinarum*, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1988.

Southern, P., *The Roman Army*, London 2006.

Sterrett, J. R. S., *An Epigraphic Journey in Asia Minor*. Papers of American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Vol. 2, (1883-1884), pp. 120-164, no. 92-154.

Strobel, K., *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans. Studien zur Geschichte des mittleren unteren Donauraumes in der Hohen Kaiserzeit, Reihe I, Band 33*, Bonn 1984.

Syme, R., *Anatolica. Studies in Strabo*, Oxford 1995.

Öztürk, H. S., *MÖ. II.-MS. IV. Yüzyillarda Likya-Pamfilya Bölgesinde Karsal Alan Güvenliği*, Marmara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü (phD.), Istanbul 2006.

Uzunaslana, A., “Epigrafik ve Arkeolojik Araştırmalar Işığında Pisidia Antiocheia: Kent Tarihine İlişkin Yeni Gözlemler”, in: *Pisidia Araştırmaları I* (ed. B. Hüürmüzlü-M. Fırat-A. Gerçek), Isparta (2013), pp. 294-312.

Varinlioğlu, E., “Die Inschriften aus dem Museum von Uşak”, in: *Epigraphica Anatolica* 15, (1990) pp. 73-105.

Várhelyi, Z., *The Religion of Senators in the Roman Empire. Power and the Beyond*, Cambridge 2010.

Vetters, H., "Lauriacum", in: *ANRW* II. 6, (1977), pp. 355-379.

Von, Domaszewski A., "Die Beneficiariierposten und die römischen Straßennetze", in: *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, Vol. 21, (1902), pp. 158-211.

Yannakopoulos, Y., "Preserving the Pax Romana: The Peace Functionaries in Roman East", in: *MedAnt.* 6, (2003), pp. 825-905.

Weber, E., "Bemerkenswerte Inschriften vom österreichischen Donaulimes", (Ed. W. S. Hanson-L. J. F. Keppie), in: *Roman Frontier Studies 1979: Papers presented to the 12th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies B.A.R. 71*, Oxford (1980), pp. 613-614.

Wellmann, M., "Archiatros", in: *RE* III, (1895), pp. 564-466.

Williams, T. B., *Persecution in 1 Peter: Differentiating and Contextualizing Early Christian Suffering* (Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* 145), Leiden 2012.

Wilmanns, J. C., "Der Arzt in der römischen Armee der frühen und hohen Kaiserzeit", Ph. J. van der Eijk-H. F. J. Horstmanshoff-P. H. Schrijvers (Ed.), in: *Ancient Medicine in its Socio-Cultural Context, Papers read at the Congress held at Leiden University, 13-15 April 1992*, Amsterdam-Atlanta (1995), pp. 171-188.

Winkler, G., "Legio II Italica. Geschichte und Denkmäler", in: *Jahrbuch des Oberösterreichischen Musealvereines* 116 Bd. I. Abhandl., Linz (1971), pp. 85-138.

Wolff, C., *Les Brigands en Orient sous le haut-empire romain*. (Collection de l'École française de Rome 308), Rome 2003.

Wörle, M., *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien: Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oinoanda*, München 1988.

Zamai, A., "Gli irenarchi d'Asia Minore", in: *Patavium* 17, (2001), pp. 53-73.

Zwicker, W., *Studien zur Markussäule I*, Amsterdam 1941.

ABBREVIATIONS

AM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
AE	L'Année épigraphique
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
AS	Anatolian Studies
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CIust	Codex Iustinianus, The Digests of Justinian. II volumes (ed. A. Watson), Philadelphia 1998.
CTh	Codex Theodosianus, Theodosiani libri XVI, I-II, (ed. Th. Mommsen-P. M. Meyer), Berlin 1954.
Dig.	Digesta, Corpus Iuris Civilis, (ed. P. Krüger-Th. Mommsen et alii, I: Institutiones et Digesta), Dublin/Zürich 1973.
DNP	Der Neue Pauly
I. Delos	Inscriptions de Délos [nos. 1497-2879]: décrets, dédicaces, listes, catalogues, textes divers, postérieurs à 166 av. J.-C., (ed. P. Rousset-M. Launey), Paris 1937.
I. Ephesos III	Die Inschriften von Ephesos (ed. H. Engelmann-D. Kinibbe-R. Merkelbach), IK 13, Bonn 1980.
I. Erythrai	Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai (no. 1-200), (ed. H. Engelmann-R. Merkelbach) IK 1, Bonn 1972.
IGR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinenses
IK	Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae
I. Milet VI, 3	Inschriften von Milet [no. 1020-1580], (ed. P. Herrmann-W. Günther-N. Ehrhardt), Berlin 2006.
I. Tralleis	Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa, (ed. M Poljakov) IK 36, Bonn 1985.

JRS	The Journal of Roman Studies
LGPR	A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, (ed. P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews with the Collaboration of many scholars). Volume VA Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia, (ed. T. Corsten Assistant Editor R. W. V. Catling Associate Editor M. Riel), Clarendon Press, Oxford 2010.
MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua
ÖJh	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts
PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani
RE	Paulys Real Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
RECAM	Regional epigraphic catalogues of Asia Minor (B.A.R. Oxford 1982-)
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
TAM	Tutuli Asiae Minoris
TAPA	Transactions of American Philological Association
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik



Ek-1: Cursus honorum belonging to L. Horte(n)sus Paulinus (Yalvaç Museum).

