

*EPIGRAPHICA CAESARIENSIA*

In the courtyard of the Caesarea Museum at Kibbutz Sedot Yam, Israel, stands a column of purplish/pale yellow limestone breccia with two dedicatory inscriptions (fig. 1). A bulldozer uncovered the monument in soil southeast of the Roman theater at Caesarea during reconstruction operations about 1968–70. Because of the stone's complex hues and friable surface it is difficult to read the inscriptions; yet they make an important contribution to our knowledge of imperial administrative personnel.

The column is 1.50 meters high, including a taenia 0.06 meters broad; its diameter is 0.48 meters just below the taenia, 0.54 meters with taenia. On top are eight holes. Seven, cut roughly in a circle, have remains of lead in them. The eighth, larger ( $3 \times 3 \times 4$  cm.) and without lead, is inside the circle (fig. 2). This arrangement must have been intended to receive some kind of figural representation associated (probably) with one of the inscriptions. Since the viewer must now look down to read the inscriptions, the column will at one time have been set upon a substantial base.

## I

The first inscription, beginning eleven centimeters below the top of the column, is in five lines (fig. 3); letter height: line 1, 10 cm.; line 2, 7–8 cm.; line 3, 6 cm.; line 4, 9 cm.; line 5, 4.5 cm. The height of the inscribed surface (max.) is 46.5 centimeters, its width 52.0 centimeters. Letters are shallow cut, long and oval, with serifs. A large gouge on the right breaks the end of line 1. Dots are used as word dividers, apparently between most words in lines 2–5, but the broken surface makes it difficult to identify an intentional dot in every case.

ALPVRN IANOL  
 IMAT MESORE JSR PATR MER  
 ER D-D P-P  
 IVK ITH IOPH LO EQ R ET  
 DEC METR

- 1 Val(erio) Calpurniano, v(iro) [p(erfectissimo)],
- 2 praef(ecto) Mesop(otamiae) et Osr(hoenae), patr(ono) metr(opolis),
- 3 ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica).
- 4 Aur(elio) Fl(avio) Theophilo, eq(uiti) R(omano) et
- 5 dec(urioni) metr(opolis).

"In honor of Valerius Calpurnianus, *vir perfectissimus*, prefect of Mesopotamia and Osrhoene, patron of the metropolis; by decree of the decurions, at public expense."

"In honor of Aurelius Flavius Theophilus, Roman knight and decurion of the metropolis."

This is the second inscription to attest the combination of Mesopotamia and Osrhoene under one prefect. The first mention of a *praefectus Mesopotamiae et Osrhoenae*, on a sarcophagus published by R. Duncan-Jones,<sup>1</sup> concerns L. Valerius Valerianus, a *vir perfectissimus*. Duncan-Jones showed that Mesopotamia and Osrhoene were combined probably between 212/13, when Caracalla deposed the local dynast of Edessa, Abgar IX, and 240, when the dynasty was briefly restored.<sup>2</sup> Since inscriptions soon after this period mention the prefects of Mesopotamia and Osrhoene separately,<sup>3</sup> it seems that the joint command of the two provinces was not at the time revived.<sup>4</sup>

The prefecture of Mesopotamia and Osrhoene, a trecenarian post, was one of the two most important equestrian governorships in the provincial administration.<sup>5</sup> Attainment of this post implies long and distinguished public service on Calpurnianus' part, and it is a pity that we know nothing of it. The careers of Valerianus and C. Julius Pacatianus, who may have held the same command,<sup>6</sup> give us a hint of the kind of accumulated military and administrative experience Calpurnianus must have had. Interestingly enough, Valerianus' *cursus* is inscribed on another column from Caesarea.<sup>7</sup> After his *tres militiae* in Pannonia and Dacia,

1. "*Praefectus Mesopotamiae et Osrhoenae*," *CP* 64 (1969): 229–33 = *AE*, 1969–70, 109: "*Dardanius, carui avaritia, metu, sollicitudine hominum*," L. Valerio Valeriano, v(iro) p(erfectissimo), praefecto Mesopotamiae et Osrhoenae. Duncan-Jones returned to Valerianus with "*Praefectus Mesopotamiae et Osrhoenae*: A Postscript," *CP* 65 (1970): 107–9.

2. "*Praefectus*" (1969), pp. 231–32; for a recent discussion of the Edessan dynasts of this period, see H. J. W. Drijvers, "Hatra, Palmyra und Edessa," *ANRW* 2. 8 (Berlin and New York, 1977): 878–83.

3. For Mesopotamia: H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Paris, 1960–61), nos. 324, 324a. For Osrhoene: H. Petersen, "A Roman Prefect in Osrhoene," *TAPA* 107 (1977): 265–82 (the observations of Duncan-Jones on the administration of the two provinces are preferable to those of Petersen, who did not know of Valerianus' joint command). One should note, however, that much later, under Justinian, there was once again a single prefecture of Osrhoene and Mesopotamia; *Just. Nov.* 134. 1 (1 May 556); cf. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. 2, ed. J.-R. Palanque (Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam, 1949), p. 752. I owe this reference to the kindness of W. E. Kaegi.

4. Valerianus' prefecture fits easily within the period 212/13–240, probably sometime in the early 220s. C. Julius Pacatianus was *praefectus Mesopotamiae* [about 216, certainly after 215 (Pflaum, no. 229)]. Thus the end of his inscription may perhaps be restored *praefectus Mesopotamiae et Osrhoenae* [–], and Pacatianus enrolled with Valerianus and Calpurnianus as one of three prefects whom we know to have governed the combined provinces (cf. Duncan-Jones, "*Praefectus*" [1969], p. 232, with n. 47).

5. Duncan-Jones, "*Praefectus*" (1969), p. 232, citing H.-G. Pflaum, *Les procureurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Paris, 1950), p. 83.

6. See above, n. 4.

7. *AE*, 1971, 476; of special importance is J. Fitz, "La carrière de L. Valerius Valerianus," *Latomus*



FIG. 1.—Dedicatory column from Caesarea



FIG. 2.—Top of column, cut to receive figural decoration



FIG. 3.—Latex impression of dedications to Calpurnianus and Theophilus



FIG. 4.—Latex impression of dedication to Julianus

and a procuratorship of Cyprus, Valerianus served as *praepositus vexillationis* in Septimius Severus' marches on Rome and against Niger. After commanding a peregrine cohort against the Parthians, he received the special assignment of *praepositus summae* [*rationis* or *rationis privatae*] of the new province Mesopotamia. Later, under Caracalla or Elagabalus, he became ducenarian procurator of Syria Palaestina, after an earlier procuratorship in an unknown province. Some time in the 220s, probably, he became prefect of Mesopotamia and Osrhoene. Pacatianus' career is even more impressive. After his *militiae*, he became the first ducenarian procurator of Osrhoene (in 195), prefect of one of the Parthian legions, praesidial procurator of the Cottian Alps, and *comes* of the emperors. After praesidial procuratorships in each of the Mauretanias, separated by a term as *procurator ludi magni*, he served as *praepositus vexillationis*, probably in Caracalla's eastern war, and then became prefect of Mesopotamia (and Osrhoene?). We can certainly assume, then, that Calpurnianus held a number of ducenarian posts as well as other military and administrative commands, many of them probably in the East, before his prefecture.

The location of the monument suggests that Calpurnianus held the procuratorship of Syria Palaestina before his prefecture, just as Valerianus did, and that while in Palestine he became patron of his capital city. One can imagine that the grateful city council honored Calpurnianus with this dedication soon before or not long after he left Palestine to take up his superior post in Mesopotamia and Osrhoene.<sup>8</sup> If so, and if Calpurnianus' career was in fact comparable to Valerianus' and Pacatianus', we can perhaps understand the presence of this unusually experienced person in Palestine as an expression of imperial concern for the East in the troubled third century. Such seems to have been the case for other Palestinian procurators.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, Calpurnianus may not have been procurator of Syria Palaestina at all, but a Caesarean who followed a successful equestrian career and used his position to benefit his native city.<sup>10</sup> This possibility seems less likely than the former, particularly since all similar Caesarea inscriptions (with the significant exception of the rest of this text) are dedicated to governors and procurators of the province (see below).

Lines 4–5 are evidently a separate dedication, presumably also by the local council, to a less august but still locally important man, Aurelius Flavius Theophilus. It is well known that even in the second century equestrian rank was

28 (1969): 126–40 (reprinted with a few changes in id., *Les Syriens à Intercisa* [Brussels, 1972], pp. 204–18, 249). For a photograph, see the original edition: M. Avi-Yonah, "Lucius Valerius Valerianus, Governor of Syria-Palaestina," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 135–41, pl. 16. The column is now in the Israel Museum.

8. Inscriptions from the location of one command frequently mention the next command; cf. E. Birley, "Inscriptions Indicative of Impending or Recent Movements," *Chiron* 9 (1979): 495–505.

9. For example, the famous C. Furius Sabinus Aquila Timesitheus (Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 317) was, as procurator of Syria Palaestina, *exactor reliquorum annonae sacrae expeditionis* (Dessau, 1330. 10–11), i.e., the Persian campaign of 231–32. Valerianus was also unusually experienced to have been procurator of Syria Palaestina, unless he was similarly charged with mobilization and fund raising (e.g., in connection with Caracalla's eastern expedition of 215–17?). For other procurators, see below, n. 15.

10. For the various ways to attain the patronate, see L. Harmand, *Le patronat sur les collectivités publiques* (Paris, 1957), pp. 287–328. A list of local patrons who became procurators and prefects is on pp. 261–65.

becoming a coveted refuge from civic obligations; Theophilus, however, was of some benefit to his fellow citizens, as the honor he received from them implies. African dedications to municipal officials and patrons who were granted equestrian rank throw some light on Theophilus' titles and his standing in the community. In Africa the earlier term *equo publico* was replaced in the third century by *eques Romanus*, the phrase used in our inscription.<sup>11</sup> Many of these third-century *equites Romani* were also *decuriones*.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, our information is too meager to allow us to determine whether equestrian rank was, for Theophilus, purely honorific, or whether he in fact served in important administrative posts. But in any case, the rise in rank probably ended his activity in municipal affairs.<sup>13</sup>

Positioning, letter size, and use of identical letter forms indicate that the two parts of this inscription were meant to be viewed together: I follow the intention of the stonecutters in printing them together. One can infer that they are contemporary or very nearly so, and the monument's provenance tends to reinforce this conclusion (see below). Calpurnianus' office gives broad limits for the date of his dedication: about 212/13–240. The reference to Caesarea as a metropolis narrows this span by at least a decade, since numismatic evidence indicates that it was Severus Alexander who elevated the city to that rank.<sup>14</sup> Thus Calpurnianus was honored some time after Alexander's accession in 222 and before the restoration of the Edessan dynasty in 240. Theophilus' dedication dates from the same time or slightly later.

## II

On the opposite side of the column is an inscription in three lines, beginning seventeen centimeters below the top of the column (fig. 4); letter height: line 1, 9–10 cm.; line 2, 8–9 cm.; line 3, 8 cm. The height of the inscribed surface (max.) is 36.0 centimeters, its width 45.0 centimeters. Letters are as in the first inscription, without word dividers.

11. R. Duncan-Jones, "Equestrian Rank in the Cities of the African Provinces under the Principate: An Epigraphic Survey," *PBSR* 35, n.s. 22 (1967): 150–51, 152, 185.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 169–74, nos. 42, 48, 55, 58, 67, 76, 77, 85, 116, 117.

13. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 151, 165. For other *decuriones* of *metropoleis*, cf., e.g., *CIL* 3. 1441, 1495 (= Dessau, 7135), 1519.

14. All Caesarean coins minted under Alexander (and none before) bear the title *Metropolis*, or can be so restored (L. Kadman, *The Coins of Caesarea Maritima* [Jerusalem, 1957], nos. 88–107). This fact seems to indicate that the grant of metropolitan rank occurred nearer Alexander's accession, and not as late as 231–32, during a (conjectured) visit of the emperor to Caesarea (so Kadman, pp. 24, 46–47). Indeed, a unique coin of Julia Maesa with the legend *CAES MET*, minted under Alexander (Kadman, no. 87; cf. p. 74), makes Kadman's suggestion impossible, since Maesa had died probably by the middle of 224, certainly by 227 (E. Kettenhofen, "Zum Todesdatum Julia Maesas," *Historia* 30 [1981]: 244–49). A more likely context for the grant of metropolitan rank would be the accession of Severus, when an embassy from the city may have asked for the favor while extending its congratulations. Such an embassy, of course, could have been dispatched on some other occasion between 222 and 224 (cf. F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* [Ithaca, 1977], pp. 394–434, esp. 409). I thank Brian D. Hyland for drawing my attention to the Maesa coin and for discussing with me the problems which it raises.

On Caesarea's metropolitan rank, see, in general, J. Ringel, *Césarée de Palestine* (Paris, 1975), pp. 58, 146; and L. Levine, *Caesarea under Roman Rule* (Leiden, 1975), p. 47, and n. 11 on p. 180.

AELIO IULIAN[O]  
 VIR EREGIUS N  
 PATRONUS METROPOLIS

- 1 Aelio Iulian[o],
- 2 v(iro) e(gregio), proc(uratori) Aug(usti) n(ostri),
- 3 pat(r)ono metr(opolis), ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

"In honor of Aelius Julianus, *vir egregius*, procurator of our Augustus, patron of the metropolis; by decree of the decurions."

Like Valerius Calpurnianus in the first inscription, Aelius Julianus was a patron of the city. Although his province is not made explicit, there is no doubt that it was in the course of his activities as procurator of Syria Palaestina that he acted as patron for the people of Caesarea. This inscription, then, attests another previously unknown provincial procurator.<sup>15</sup>

The title *patronus metropolis*, again, puts the inscription after 222. And since Julianus is a *vir egregius*, his dedication probably predates 270: by that time procurators of ducentarian rank had the right to be styled *virī perfectissimi* in order to distinguish them from honorary ducentarians.<sup>16</sup> But a comparison with the inscription on the opposite side of the column, with its similar letter forms

15. For a list of the procurators in addition to Julianus and, probably, Calpurnianus, see E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule* (Leiden, 1976), pp. 555–57. One should note in reference to her list: (1) Valerianus was certainly a procurator, not a "Governor of Varying Rank" (cf. Fitz, "Carrière," pp. 135–36); (2) the other inscriptions on the Valerianus column have been restudied, for Clemes (M. Christol, "A propos d'inscriptions de Césarée de Palestine: Compléments aux fastes de Syrie Palestine," *ZPE* 22 [1976]: 169–70; and M. Speidel, "The Last of the Procurators," *ZPE* 43 [1981]: 363–64), and for Aurelius Maro (not in Smallwood's list), who now becomes a third-century *procurator agens vice praesidis* (Christol, pp. 170–76); (3) the freedmen procurators T. Aelius Restitutus (Smallwood, p. 556) and Aelius Amphigethes (J. Rea, "Two Legates and a Procurator of Syria Palaestina," *ZPE* 26 [1977]: 217–22) are not to be confused with equestrian procurators, who were superior in function and status (cf. P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris* [Cambridge, 1972], pp. 276–81); (4) another forthcoming Caesarea inscription attests the already known Timesitheus. The new inscription honoring Timesitheus, like the one honoring Julianus, fails to specify the honorand's province. In Timesitheus' case it was already known from his Lyons *cursus* (Dessau, 1330).

16. Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 951.

and titulature, strongly suggests that both texts are more or less contemporary, and that a date after mid-century is too late for the Julianus dedication. For these reasons I am inclined to date it very roughly to the second quarter of the third century. Within this period the mention of only a single Augustus excludes the joint reigns of Philip, Decius, Gallus, and Valerian with their sons (247–49, 251–60).<sup>17</sup>

A word on the monument's place among other Caesarean finds is in order. Although Latin dedications on columns which were probably free standing are not unknown in the empire,<sup>18</sup> it is remarkable that at Caesarea alone six have been found, four with multiple texts.<sup>19</sup> While different from each other in size and material, the Caesarean columns bear similar dedications to (for the most part) governors and procurators of Syria Palaestina. All datable texts are from the third century, and most are from the first half of the century, after the first decade. The present monument is thus part of an unusual but homogeneous group of Caesarean dedications, which contribute a great deal to our knowledge of the *fasti* of Syria Palaestina.

These two inscriptions, then, attest three officials of the third century who are otherwise unknown. Aelius Julianus was a procurator of Syria Palaestina and a patron of Caesarea. It is very possible that Valerius Calpurnianus, another patron, was also a procurator. More noteworthy is the fact that he was a prefect of the combined provinces of Mesopotamia and Osroene, only the second (possibly third) known. Finally, Aurelius Flavius Theophilus was a local decurion who acquired equestrian rank. Provenance, titulature, and similarity of letter forms indicate that both inscriptions were dedicated roughly in the second quarter of the third century.<sup>20</sup>

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17. Another Aelius Julianus is known from a dedication to Gordian III (238–44) from Moesia: *AE*, 1972, 545. As a local aristocrat he may have entered upon an equestrian career and become procurator of Syria Palaestina, but the identification with our man is no more than a remote possibility.

18. M. Gichon and B. H. Isaac, "A Flavian Inscription from Jerusalem," *IEJ* 24 (1974): 122, with nn. 32–33, give a short list while publishing another column inscription. None of these honors governors or procurators.

19. In addition to the present column: the Valerianus column with its three dedications (Christol, *Fitz*, opp. cit.); an unpublished dedication to the legate C. Julius Titianus, from the second decade of the third century (cf. W. Eck, *PW Suppl.* 15 [1978]: 124–25), with an unreadable inscription, possibly to a governor, on the back; an unpublished dedication to Timesitheus, who is already known (above, n. 9); a recently discovered column with an erased inscription honoring an unknown legate and a dedication by the *praeses* Arbaeus Africanus to the emperor Maximianus (C. M. Lehmann, "Another Inscribed Column from Caesarea Maritima," *ZPE* 51 [1983]: 191–95); and a dedication to an unknown legate, inscribed on a pier with an engaged half-column (F.-M. Abel, "Notes d'épigraphie palestinienne," *RB* 11 [1914]: 110).

20. I am grateful to Mr. Aaron Wegman, Director of the Caesarea Museum, for information regarding the discovery of the monument, and to the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums for permission to publish it. I also gratefully acknowledge assistance from the University of Maryland Caesarea Project, the Zion Research Foundation, and the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima, Robert J. Bull, Director. Lee F. Levin prepared the drawings: I am greatly indebted to her for her excellent work. This paper grows out of work on a proposed corpus of all of Caesarea's Greek and Latin inscriptions, which I am preparing in collaboration with Kenneth G. Holum. Style and substance of the article have been greatly improved by the generous suggestions of the Editor and anonymous readers.