Fresh Light on the Governors of Judea

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Behold, the nations are like a drop in a bucket; they are regarded as dust on the scales.

Isaiah 40:15
The events of the Bible are steeped in history, so discoveries about political figures from the time of the Bible raise a certain amount of curiosity and excitement. This was the case in January 2016, when an inscription was discovered that mentioned the name of a previously unproven governor of Judea. But before examining the new discovery, a little background on Judea and who a Roman governor was and what he did is in order.

Judea

From 63 BC until AD 6, following its conquest by the Roman general Pompey in 63 BC, Judea was initially ruled by descendants of the Hasmonean house without royal title, and later by the Herodian dynasty. Pompey reduced the territory of Judea by annexing the Decapolis and all the coastal cities to the new province of Syria, although the province of Judea did not initially include Galilee, Gaulanitis (the Golan), Perea or the Decapolis, it later came to include Judea proper, Idumea, Samaria, the Perea and the Galilee. Its capital was at Caesarea Maritima, not Jerusalem. The governor lived at the capital of his province in a palace-fortress called the Praetorium (Acts 23:35), which, in the case of Judea province, was located at Caesarea. There was also a Praetorium in Jerusalem for when the governor was in residence there (Mt 27:27; Mk 15:16; Jn 18:28, 19:9). According to Josephus, the province of Judea during the late Second Temple period was divided into five administrative districts (conclaves): Jerusalem, Gadara, Amathus, Jericho, and Sepphoris.

Governors

A Roman governor (praeses provinciae, ἡγεμὼν, hēgemōn) or senator was an official appointed to be the chief administrator of Roman law in a province, and included military and administrative duties. In the senatorial provinces (i.e., Italy, Macedonia, Asia, Africa) during the time of Augustus (reigned 27 BC–AD 14), the provinces were governed by former praetors called proconsuls, who usually served for twelve months. However, in the border imperial provinces (i.e., Syria, Arabia, and Judea), the “envoy of the emperor—acting praetor” (legati Augusti pro praetore) was divided into two further categories. Those in the regions where legions were stationed, like Syria, were governed by legates appointed by the emperor, and their office typically lasted 36 months. However, in the smaller imperial provinces like Judea, where small auxiliary armies, rather than legions, were based, the governor was of a lower “equestrian” rank (Equites Romani) called a prefect (equestrian praefecti). Later, under Claudius (r. AD 41–54), governors in these provinces were fiscal officials rather than soldiers, and were designated procurators (see discussion below). In late antiquity (e.g., Diocletian AD 284–305), provincial governors were known by the titles consularis, corrector and praeses. The administration of the provinces involved a supervisory role where the governor utilized the council of elders (τοπάρχης, toparchiēs, “leader of a district”) and a diversity of advisors and staff (comites, “companions”).

The duties of the governor of a Roman province usually involved four main tasks:

• First, they were the commanders of the army. In the important senatorial provinces they commanded the legions, but in the imperial provinces, such as Judea, they commanded auxiliary forces. There was a small number of forces, perhaps comprising a cohort (speires) or two (e.g., one cohort consisting of 300–600 men). Acts mentions that “at Caesarea there was a man named Cornelius, a centurion of what was known as the Italian Cohort” (Acts 10:1 ESV). This is probably the Cohors II Italica voluntariorum civium Romanorum that was located at Caesarea and comprised Italian volunteers.
Kennedy goes on to explain:

These governors had no legionaries at their direct disposal but relied instead on the Caesarean and Sebastenian regiments formed by Herod. These troops are not actually mentioned under either Archelaus (4 BC–AD 6), the prefects (AD 6–41), or Herod Agrippa II (AD 41–44), when he briefly recovered his grandfather’s kingdom. However, at Herod’s death in 4 BC, Josephus reports that Herod’s cavalry and infantry commanders, Rufus and Gratus, supported the Romans with “3,000 Sebastenians.” They are almost certainly the predecessors of “the regiment of Caesarean cavalry (500 men) and five regiments of Sebastenian infantry (2,500 men)” stationed at Caesarea in 44.20

- Second, as the Senate’s financial agents, they were responsible for minting coins21 and overseeing the collection of taxes using tax collectors (publicans22). They would interact with monetary institutions, such as temples, to negotiate the advance of money as needed.
- Third, they were personally responsible (personalia munera) for inspecting the accounting books (kalendarii) entrusted to the curatores kalendarii,23 and supervising major building projects24 under the direction of curators.25
- Finally, as the provinces’ supreme judges, they were responsible to travel through the districts of their provinces hearing cases in the assize (δικαστήριον; dikasterion, “ten-man court”) towns.26 While one could appeal (prouoçatio, provocation) to Rome,27 the cost made the trip prohibitive for most28 (Paul could afford to appeal to Rome; Acts 25:11;
Life in Judea Before Governors

The Roman history of the province of Judea is rather complex. In 47 BC, Julius Caesar appointed Antipater I, the Idumean (died 43 BC), the procurator (regent) of Judea, establishing the Herodian dynasty. Antipater appointed his two sons to the most important state offices: Phasael (d. 40 BC) was appointed governor of Jerusalem, while Herod the Great (73–4 BC) was appointed governor of Galilee.

In 41 BC, Mark Anthony (Marcus Antonius) appointed Herod the Great and his brother Phasael as tetrarchs (τετράρχης, tetrārchēs, kings) of Judea under the high priest and ethnarch (ἐθναρχής, ethnarchēs; from etnos “nation” + arkein “to rule”) Hyrcanus II (r. 47–40 BC). Herod lived from 73 BC until his death at Jericho in 4 BC. He was the Roman puppet king of Judea. Herod was not a true Jew, but an Idumean (Edomite) from the Nabataean area around modern Petra, Jordan. He had ten sons with ten different wives, one of whom was Malthace, a Samaritan who was Herod Antipas’ mother.

In 20 BC, Herod the Great was granted more control of the region by Augustus, and Herod appointed his brother Phasael as tetrarch of Perea in Transjordan. While often referred to as Herod the Great, his official status was that of “a king who was an ally and friend of the Roman people” (rex socius et amicus populi Romani).

Herod is famous for several significant events, such as building the Temple in Jerusalem in 22 BC and for the massacre of the innocents recorded in Matthew 2. According to Matthew, he gave orders to kill all boys in Bethlehem and its vicinity of the age of two and under. While some have considered this event to be a myth, it is certainly not out of character for him, since Herod was paranoid of rivals and is known for many atrocities, including having killed one of his wives and two of his sons. Augustus is reported to have said, “It is better to be Herod’s pig (Gr. hus) than his son (Gr. huios).” As France points out, given the political climate, the execution of a small number of children in a small town would not have drawn the attention of any but God. Upon Herod’s death, his kingdom was divided among three of his sons. Archelaus would rule as ethnarch (cf. 2 Cor 11:32) over Herod’s entire kingdom, an office distinct from military command, with considerable latitude of application, and not as king. Herod Antipas would rule as tetrarch over Galilee and Perea (Transjordan), and Philip would rule over Gaulanitis (the Golan), Trachonitis, Batanea, and Panias. Herod Antipas and Philip held lesser-ranking tetrarchies from Archelaus.

Hannah Cotton makes several helpful observations on this period:
From 63 BC to the end of the first century AD, the area of Judea/Syria-Palæstina was subject to fluctuation between direct Roman and dynastic rule. Secondly, even after the introduction of direct Roman rule, the history of the province of Judea/Syria-Palæstina is characterized by violent political, administrative, and military changes reflected in the changing ranks of its officials.54

Governing Who Ruled Judea

There is debate whether Judea was an independent province (provincia Iudaea) from AD 6, or whether it received this distinction later in its history. Cotton, quoting Schürer, sets forth the consensus:

From the beginning there existed an independent Roman province of Judea, first ruled by a governor with the title of praefectus, who later on was designated procurator, and that the difference was merely semantic: “the difference between praefectus and procurator in imperial provinces was one in name only.”55

But Cotton feels “more likely that the change of name coincided with a change in the status of the former praefecti.”56

Roman Prefects of Judea (AD 6–41)

The term “prefect” (Lat. praefectus, “superior, head”),57 is derived from praeficere or praefectura, meaning “to place a person at the head of an office.”58 It was a magisterial title that referred to the person, usually military,59 in charge of any department of administration (a prefecture), such as the official in charge of the distribution of food to the poor (praefectus alimentorum); military administrator (praefectus civitatis and praefectus aedificii militaris); commander of a military camp (praefectus castrorum); fire chief (praefectus collegii fabrum and praefectus vigilum); commander of a legion (praefectus legionis); municipal administrator (praefectus municipii); commander of the praetorian guard (praefectus praetorio), the king’s representative (praefectus urbis); the postmaster (praefectus vehiculorum); etc.60 Werner Eck points out, “There was, however, a significant difference between the two functionaries, the imperial legates of the province of Syria and the prefects in Judea, who were subordinate to these statesmen.”61 Eck also states that “Praefecti were normally appointed by the princeps without Senate involvement.”62 While Roman provinces were usually ruled by a high-ranking official, the less important provinces, such as Judea and Perea, were entrusted to a prefect or procurator (ἐπιτρόπος, epitropos), especially during the reigns of Augustus (27 BC–AD 14) and Tiberius (AD 14–37).63

In 4 BC, Archelaus, the son of Herod the Great, became the tetrarch of Judea, Idumea and Samaria.65 Judea became a province under administration directly from Rome and was governed by Coponius, a procurator (ἐπιτρόπος) of the equestrian order.66 Cotton argues that in this initial stage of Judean government, “Coponius did not act as an independent governor of an independent provincial unit, but was part of the praefectus Iudaeae.”67

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governor’s Name</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date of Rule (AD)</th>
<th>Years of Rule</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coponius</td>
<td>Josephus J.W. 2.117</td>
<td>6–9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcus Ambivulus</td>
<td>Josephus, Ant. 18.31</td>
<td>9–12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annius Rufus</td>
<td>Josephus, Ant. 18.32</td>
<td>12–15</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontius Pilate</td>
<td>Philo, Legat. 299–305; Mt 27:2; Lk 3:1</td>
<td>26–36</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcellus</td>
<td>Josephus, Ant. 18.89</td>
<td>36–37</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marullus</td>
<td>Josephus, Ant. 18.237</td>
<td>37–41</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pontius Pilate limestone inscription (82 cm high x 65 cm wide), Caesarea, Israel. Building dedication with four lines of writing in Latin.64

Prutah coin of Pontius Pilate from the Khirbet el-Maqatir excavation. It was struck in Judea under Tiberius (AD 30).65

Bible and Spade 30.3 (2017)
In AD 6, when Archelaus was removed from power, the governance of Judea was transferred to Publius Sulpicius Quirinius (51 BC–AD 21),68 the imperial legate (governor) of the province of Roman Syria,69 and governed by its own praefectus, likely due to Judea’s small size.70 According to Josephus, one of the first responsibilities for Quirinius was to carry out a census for tax purposes in Syria71 and Judea.72 However, Rhoads argues that Josephus was in error (as he is known to be73) rather than Luke, and misdated the census, supporting Luke’s claim that the census took place during Herod’s reign before his death at the time of Jesus birth (Lk 2:2; Acts 5:3774). (For a survey of the various arguments to reconcile Josephus and Luke, see Porter.75) These events may have occurred much earlier in 3/2 BC, as Eusebius indicated.76 Rhoads argues that “Quirinius arrived earlier, possibly 5 BC, to begin the census which, because of the tumult surrounding Herod’s death, was not completed until 3/2 BC.”77 Based on an inscription on a Roman standard,78 Di Segni re-dates the governors of Syria, which also impacts the date of the census of Quirinius and supports the accuracy of Luke’s account.79 Of the thirty known governors (prefects, procurators, and legates) of Judea (AD 6–135), three are known from the NT: Pontius Pilate (the trial of Jesus; AD 26–36), Felix (Acts 23–24; AD 52–60), and Festus (Acts 25–26; AD 60–62). Three other governors are also mentioned in the NT, but did not govern Judea: Quirinius, governor of Syria (Lk 2:2); Sergius Paulus, governor of Cyprus (Acts 13:6–1280); and Gallio, governor of Achaia (Acts 18:12–1781).

Governor Pontius Pilate (Mt 27:2; Lk 3:1; AD 26–36)

Pontius Pilate (Lk 3:1; Acts 4:27; 1 Tm 6:13), was the governor (ἡγεμόν, ἐγεμόν; Mt 27:2; Lk 3:1), prefect (Lat. praefectus Iudaeae;82 ἐπίτροπος epipropos) or procurator (Lat. Procurare83) of Judea from AD 26–36. The discrepancy had led to debate over his title and rank.84 It should be noted that procurator was the title used for the governor during the time when Tacitus lived (AD 56–ca. 120) and wrote his work. The Gospels used the generic term for his position, while the inscription85 used his official title of “prefect.”

During the 1961 excavations of the Roman theater near Caesarea Maritima, Pilate’s residence, archaeologists led by Antonio Frova uncovered a limestone block with an inscription that read:

It is now on display in the Israel Museum88 in Jerusalem with a replica at Caesarea Maritima. The inscription is believed to be the first larger inscription, dedicating a temple to the emperor Tiberius in Caesarea,89 or commemorating the restoration of the Caesarea Maritima harbor.90 Alföldy proposed that [NAUTI]S TIBERIÉVM [PON]TIVS PILATVS [PRAEFECTVS IVDAEAE] [...] translated as “[Seaman]’s Tiberium “[Pon]tius Pilate, [Prae]fect of Jude[a [restor]e[...]]”91 Recent archaeological research around the harbor would support Alföldy’s proposal.92 While Pontius Pilate has been mentioned in ancient texts (Jn 19:6),93 this was the first physical evidence that Pilate existed. It is known that Pilate lived in Caesarea Maritima, the capital of Judea (established in AD 694) and only went to Jerusalem on special occasions,95 so it is not surprising to find an inscription with his name on it in Caesarea.

The mention of Pilate with Tiberius (42 BC–37 AD) puts Pontius Pilate in the same time period as Jesus, in the first century. Pilate is most noted in the NT for being the Roman procurator before whom Jesus was brought to trial after the Sanhedrin. Cornelius Tacitus (AD 55–120) also wrote that “Christus, the founder of the name, had undergone the death penalty in the reign of Tiberius, by sentence of the procurator Pontius Pilatus.”96 The inscription also clarifies Pilate’s rank and title. The Gospels speak of him as a governor (ἡγεμόν, ἐγεμόν; Mt 27:2, Lk 3:1), while Tacitus speaks of him as procurator (ἐπίτροπος, epipropos87). This led to debate over his title and rank98 until the discovery of the Pilate inscription99 in 1961, which settled the issue and provided his official title as prefect (Lat. praefectus). While this discovery does not prove that Pilate spoke with Jesus or demonstrate that the crucifixion took place, it supports the historical reliability of the Gospels by corroborating the existence of one of their major characters.100 In addition, Keener points out that:

The technical details of the trials here accord so well with other evidence on Roman legal procedure that some noted Roman historians use them as major source material for understanding Roman Provincial Judicial proceedings.101 From numismatics (the study of coins) we learn that Pilate did not strike any Roman coins that would have been considered blatantly offensive to the Jews over which he was governor. There were no coins from the time of Pilate with the image of the Roman emperor or other

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The procurators who ruled until the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in AD 70:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governor’s Name</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date of Rule (AD)</th>
<th>Years of Rule</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cuspius Fadus</td>
<td>Josephus, Ant. 19.363</td>
<td>44–46</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiberius Julius Alexander</td>
<td>Josephus, Ant. 20.100</td>
<td>46–48</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ventidius Cumanus</td>
<td>Josephus, Ant. 20.103</td>
<td>48–52</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiberius Claudius Felix</td>
<td>Acts 23–24; Josephus, Ant. 20.142</td>
<td>52–60</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcius Festus</td>
<td>Acts 25–26; Josephus, Ant. 20.182</td>
<td>60–62</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucceius Albinus</td>
<td>Josephus, Ant. 20.197</td>
<td>62–64</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gessius Florus</td>
<td>Josephus, Ant. 20.215</td>
<td>64–66</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcus Antonius Julianus</td>
<td>Josephus, J.W. 6.238</td>
<td>66–70?</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Bible and Spade 30.3 (2017)
offensive images or claims of divine status for the emperor.\textsuperscript{102} The Roman governors were guided by the ruling priests, and no doubt proceeded cautiously when making policies.

Pilate was a praetor of equestrian rank who was likely a former military tribune, and had auxiliary troops at his command that comprised five infantry cohorts and a cavalry regiment.\textsuperscript{103} While Pilate had absolute authority in his own province, he was ultimately responsible to the legate in Syria and to the emperor in Rome.\textsuperscript{104} However, it is significant that during the first six years of Pilate’s governorship (AD 26–32), there was no Syrian legate in residence overseeing Judean affairs, so there was only distant communication with Rome.\textsuperscript{105} This allowed Pilate to exercise a bloody governorship that resulted in the massacre of several Galileans (Lk 13:1) and Samaritans, provoking protests directed at the legate Vitellius in Syria (AD 35) and Pilate’s recall to Rome.\textsuperscript{106} Eusebius reports that he eventually committed suicide.\textsuperscript{107}

**Roman Procurators of Judea (AD 44–ca. 70)**

Upon the death of Agrippa I in AD 44, the region of Judea reverted back to an independent Roman procuratorial province.\textsuperscript{108} Due to the impact of the Roman peace (Lat. *Pax Romana*), the governorship was gradually transferred from the military prefects to civilian officers called *Procurator Augusti*,\textsuperscript{109} who originally would have had backgrounds in finance\textsuperscript{110} and would have been made provincial procurators. Civilian and military command was split, and new smaller provinces were governed by civilian *praesides* (or *rectores*), who also took over some of financial functions of procurators under the control of vicars of diocese.\textsuperscript{111} Jeffers explains that “Judea province once again was governed by a Roman of equestrian rank, now called a procurator, but no different in function or authority from the earlier prefects.”\textsuperscript{112}

In AD 41, Emperor Claudius appointed Agrippa I (Herodes Iulius Agrippa, named after Augustus’ friend Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa) as king of Judea; he would rule from AD 41 until his death in AD 44.\textsuperscript{113} Following Agrippa I’s death, Claudius appointed Cuspius Fadus (AD 44–46), as procurator of Judea,\textsuperscript{114} since Agrippa II was only sixteen at the time.\textsuperscript{115} Then in AD 48, Claudius appointed Agrippa’s son, Marcus Iulius Agrippa II (r. AD 50–92), as Roman tetrarch, “King of the Jews,”\textsuperscript{116} in a sense reinstating the Herodian dynasty under the control of the governor of Syria.\textsuperscript{117} All the procurators listed in the table on page 78 served under his rule. Two of the procurators are mentioned in the NT, Felix (Acts 23–24) and Festus (Acts 25–26), and deserve further discussion.

**Governor Tiberius Claudius Felix (Acts 23–24; AD 52–60)**

In the late spring of AD 58, a riot at Jerusalem’s Temple ultimately led to the arrest of the apostle Paul by the Romans. Paul was escorted by armed guards from Jerusalem to the capital, Caesarea, to be questioned before Tiberius Claudius Felix\textsuperscript{118} (AD 52–60)\textsuperscript{119}, the procurator of Judea,\textsuperscript{120} before whom Paul “reasoned” (Acts 24:25\textsuperscript{22}). There, in the custody of Felix, the Roman procurator (*hégeomēn*; Acts 23:26), Paul would be safe from the local mob and could be safely examined. The commander wrote a letter to Felix that accompanied them, stating:

Claudius Lysias, to his Excellency the governor Felix, greetings. This man was seized by the Jews and was about to be killed by them when I came upon them with the soldiers and rescued him, having learned that he was a Roman citizen. And desiring to know the charge for which they were accusing him, I brought him down to their council. I found that he was being accused about questions of their law, but charged with nothing deserving death or imprisonment. And when it was disclosed to me that there would be a plot against the man, I sent him to you at once, ordering his accusers also to state before you what they have against him (Acts 23:26–30 ESV).

Paul stated in his defense that Felix had been governor for many years (AD 52–60), until he was replaced by Porcius Festus in AD 60. Therefore, it is assumed that Paul was imprisoned by Felix from AD 57 to 59. After several hearings before Felix and his wife Drusilla, a Jewess, he confined Paul to Herod’s palace (the Praetorium) in Caesarea for two full years (Acts 24:1–27\textsuperscript{22}), though he had freedom of movement within his place of confinement and could have visitors (Acts 24:23). Felix was apparently looking for a bribe, so he would often ask for Paul and hear him talk about faith in Jesus Christ, but as a favor to the Jews, Felix kept Paul in prison (Acts 24:27\textsuperscript{22}). At the end of his two years’ term, in AD 60, Felix was replaced as procurator of Judea (Acts 24:27; 25:12) by Porcius Festus.\textsuperscript{124} Felix was summoned to Rome and was there

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**Prutah coin of governor (procurator) Antonius Felix of Judea, struck under Emperor Claudius (AD 54). Found at Khirbet el-Maqatir. The obverse inscription is translated “Nero Claudius Caesar—son of Claudius.”**

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**Bronze prutah minted by Porcius Festus. Obverse: Greek letters NEP WNO C (Nero) in wreath. Reverse: Greek letters KAICAPOC (Caesar) and date LE (year 5=58/59 A.D), palm branch.**

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accused of cruelty and corruption of office by the Jews of Caesarea. The accusation was rendered nugatory by the influence of his brother Pallas with Nero.\textsuperscript{125}

**Governor Porcius Festus (Acts 25–26; AD 60–62)**

A few weeks after Porcius Festus (AD 60\textsuperscript{126}) had been in office, the case of Paul, who had been a prisoner at Caesarea under Felix, was reported to him. Luke states that “three days after Festus had arrived in the province, he went up to Jerusalem from Caesarea. And the chief priests and the principal men of the Jews” (Acts 25:1–2 ESV) appealed to the new Roman procurator to have Paul returned to Jerusalem for trial in Jewish courts. Festus instructed the Jews to come to Caesarea, the capital of Judea, for the trial. About two weeks later in Caesarea, Paul was brought to court before Festus and accused by the Jews. Their accusations proved empty (Acts 25:10). Festus instructed the Jews to come to Caesarea to welcome Festus as the new governor (Acts 26:1), and to argue his case in person in Caesar’s tribunal, where I ought to be tried. To the Jews I have done no wrong, as you yourself know very well. If then I am a wrongdoer and have committed anything for which I deserve to die, I do not seek to escape death. But if there is nothing to their charges against me, no one can give me up to them. I appeal to Caesar.” Then Festus, when he had conferred with his council, answered, “To Caesar you have appealed; to Caesar you shall go” (Acts 25:10–12 ESV).

A few days later, when Herod Agrippa II and his sister Bernice came to Caesarea to welcome Festus as the new governor (Acts 25:13), Festus asked Herod what charges he could use to send Paul to Caesar (Acts 25:14–19). Agrippa stated that he would like to hear Paul for himself. The next day in front of Festus and the Jews, Paul spoke openly. When Paul spoke to king Agrippa he delivered one of his most famous addresses (Acts 26:1–23). Festus thought Paul might be mad but was certainly no criminal, and had nothing much to send in his report to Emperor Nero (AD 54–68) along with the prisoner (Acts 25:27\textsuperscript{127}). Agrippa wondered if Paul was trying to convert him (Acts 26:28).

Paul’s situation in Palestine was going from bad to worse, as he was caught between Jewish hatred and Roman indecision, and to argue his case in person in Caesar’s court would provide

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### AD 70–135 was the time period when the following Roman legates\textsuperscript{136} governed Judea:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governor’s Name</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date of Rule (AD)</th>
<th>Length of Rule</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sextus Vettulenus Cerialis</td>
<td>Josephus, <em>J.W.</em> 6.237</td>
<td>70–71</td>
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<td>Sextus Lucilius Bassus</td>
<td>Josephus, <em>J.W.</em> 7.163</td>
<td>71–72137</td>
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<td>Lucius Flavius Silva</td>
<td>Josephus, <em>J.W.</em> 7.252</td>
<td>72–81</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>M. Salvicensus</td>
<td>Mionnet 1807: 5.2; Madden 1881: 218</td>
<td>80–85</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cnaeus Pompeius Longinus\textsuperscript{138}</td>
<td><em>CIL</em> 3.857; 16.33, 36, 39</td>
<td>ca. 86</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sextus Hermetidius Campanus</td>
<td>Smallwood 1981: 548; <em>CIL</em> 16.12= <em>ILS</em> 9059</td>
<td>ca. 93</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes\textsuperscript{139}</td>
<td>Eusebius <em>Hist. eccl.</em> 3.32.1–6; Smallwood 1962: 131–33</td>
<td>ca. 99/100–102/103</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gaius Julius Quadratus Bassus\textsuperscript{140}</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1934: 176; <em>CIL</em> 3.14387; Pliny <em>Ep.</em> 4.9.6–16; Sherk 1988: 178–9</td>
<td>102/3–104/5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintus Coelius Pompeius Falco\textsuperscript{141}</td>
<td>Tacitus <em>Ann.</em> 1.222.5; <em>ILS</em> 1035, 1036; Birley 2012: 1179</td>
<td>105–108</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucius Cossonius Gallus\textsuperscript{142}</td>
<td><em>RMD</em> 4.229; <em>CIIIP</em> no. 1227; Eck 2006a: 12/2 col. 934</td>
<td>119–120</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcus Paccius Silvanus Quintus Coredius Gallus Gargilius Antiquus</td>
<td><em>SEG</em> 37.1477; 41.1547; 45.1946</td>
<td>ca. 122–125?</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar Kokhba Revolt AD 132–135</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caius Quinctius Certus Publius Marcellus</td>
<td>Applebaum, 1989: 117–18</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sextus Julius Severus</td>
<td>Cassius Dio <em>Hist. Rom.</em> 69.13.1–2</td>
<td>ca. 135</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
him with an opportunity to proclaim the Gospel before the most exalted audience in the world. Festus and Herod both agreed that justice would demand Paul’s release, but Paul had appealed to Caesar (provocatio ad Caesarem; Acts 25:11–12), and so had to go to Rome (Acts 26:32).  

After being in office less than two years, Festus died in Judea and was succeeded by Lucceius Albinus, who governed until AD 66. In that year, under the new procurator Gessius Florus, a dispute arose between Greeks and Jews in Caesarea that was resisted by the Romans, so Nero appointed the Roman general Vespasian as legate in charge of the Jewish rebellion in Judea. Jeffers mentions that Vespasian’s forces “consisted of three regular Roman legions, accompanied by around 14,000 auxiliary troops and cavalry and some 18,000 soldiers supplied by neighboring dependent kingdoms.” However, it was his son, Titus, who carried on the fight, as Vespasian remained in Rome to seek support for becoming the emperor. The conflict eventually led to the seizure of the Masada fortress in AD 73. Cotton summarized the events of the Great Revolt of AD 66–70 as follows:

The Roman field commanders ruled Judea, and Antonius Iulianus, the procurator mentioned in Josephus [AD 66–70] as taking part in Titus’ war council, must now have been in charge of finance only. After the revolt, Judea became a one-legion praetorian province ruled by a legatus Augusti pro praetore in charge of the province as well as the legion—the Legio Decima Fretensis. In fact, it was the first province to have a legatus Augusti pro praetore of praetorian rank in charge of a legion.

**Roman Legates of Judea (AD 70–135)**

While the term legatus (anglicized as “legate”) was generally understood as an ambassador either sent to or by Rome, a third classification was the “Legati who accompanied the Roman generals into the field, or the proconsuls and praetors into the provinces.” It is this last definition which applied to Judea. Following the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD, the city lay in ruins. (Josephus recounts Titus’ reaction upon visiting the city after AD 70: “And contrasting the sorry scene of desolation before his eyes with the former splendour of the city, and calling to mind the grandeur of its ruined buildings and their pristine beauty, he commiserated its destruction.”) This grievously affected the surviving population of Jews in Judea, who began to take up arms against the perceived oppressors. From AD 70 until 135, the resulting Judean rebellions (Quietus Rebellion, AD 115–117, and Bar Kokhba revolt, AD 132–136) required Rome to appoint a governing Roman legate capable of commanding the military. Agrippa II was loyal to Rome, so he was appointed the tetrarch until his death ca. AD 100, when Judea came under complete Roman control.

During this period, when a legion was stationed in Judea, the legatus iuridicus was accountable to a praetorian proconsul governor, whose rank was that of a senator. These were invested with the power to administer the province (propraetorian imperium and legatus pro praetore). The legate supported the provincial governor in legal and administrative matters such as corrector (correctores) and census taker (censitores). Schmitz points out that:

During the latter period of the republic, it sometimes happened that a consul carried on a war, or a proconsul governed his province through his legati, while he himself remained at Rome, or conducted some other more urgent affairs.

Cotton describes that sometime in the early second century Judea became:

A consular province, with two legions, as well as three cavalry alae and twelve cohorts at the disposal of the governor [AD 139]—and all that in what was, after all, an exceedingly small province. The Romans must have felt themselves faced with special problems calling for special administrative and military measures.

**As Syme points out:**

What had begun as the provincia of Caesar Augustus [27 BC–AD 14], managed for him by his legati, praetorian or consular according to circumstances (and the former predominated at first), evolves into the system and hierarchy of the imperial provinces...Judea was soon elevated to consular status.

Syme records that:

An emergency in the East may be the reason for Falco’s transfer, calling for the employment of an experienced vir militaris. In 105–6, Arabia was annexed by the legate of Syria, A. Cornelius Palma. Disturbances may have arisen in Judea about this time, or a threat from Parthia. However that may be, Falco will have been transferred to Judea in 105: his predecessor had been C. Julius Quadratus Bassus, also a military man, who assumed the fasces on 1st May of that year.

The appointment of Lusius Quietus in AD 120 as governor (consular legate) is described by Eusebius as due to Emperor Hadrian’s suspecting a Jewish rebellion in Mesopotamia. Eusebius states that Hadrian “instructed Lusius Quietus to clear them [the Jews] out of the province. He later took an army and massacred a huge number of the inhabitants, and as a reward for this success was appointed governor of Judea.”

Gallus, whose full name is Lucius Cossonius Gallus Vecilius Crispinus Mansuanius Marcellinus Numisius Sabinus, had a long military career as the legate of Asia (AD 100–111), proconsul of Sardinia, and legatus Augusti praeprofetare of Galatia, before being appointed the legatus Augusti propraetore of Judea in AD 118 by the new emperor Hadrian (AD 117–138).

Trajan had had his hands full with his preoccupation with the threatened Jewish uprising and the war in Mesopotamia. Hadrian, no doubt, wanted to suppress this as quickly as
possible, and so appointed experienced military governors in Judea. Little is known about the events leading up to the Bar Kokhba revolt. The new discovery about Gargilius Antiquus, the governor of Judea from ca. AD 122–125, helps fill some of this gap.

New Discovery About Gargilius Antiquus, AD 122–125?

In January of 2016, a new seven-line Greek dedicatory inscription, believed to be part of a statue base, was recovered from off the coast of Dor\(^\text{159}\) by Haifa University underwater archaeologists under the direction of Professor Assaf Yasur-Landau.\(^\text{160}\)

The Greek (not Latin) inscription translates as, “The City of Dor honors Marcus Paccius, son of Publius, Silvanus Quintus Coredius Gallus Gargilius Antiquus, governor of the province of Judea, as well as [...] of the province of Syria, and patron of the city of Dor.”\(^\text{161}\) However, this was not the first time that someone had been identified with the name Gargilius Antiquus, as both his son and grandson also carried the same name (see below). The details in the inscriptions help to identify and date the corresponding Gargilius Antiquus.\(^\text{162}\)

First Mention of Gargilius Antiquus Before AD 135

He was first mentioned in an inscribed circular stone, discovered in 1948 by the East Gate of the ancient city of Dor, during the Israeli War of Independence.\(^\text{163}\) In 1978, the stone was again located in the same vicinity\(^\text{164}\) and transferred to the Center of Nautical and Regional Archaeology at Nahsholim, where it is now on display.\(^\text{165}\) Gera and Cotton translated the Greek of the reconstructed circular stone inscription as, “(Someone)...honored Marcus Paccius son of Publius... Silvanus Quintus Coredius Gallus Gargilius Antiquus, imperial governor with praetorian rank [of the province Syria Palaestina].” Found near Dor (area of Bir el Malik), displayed at the Center of Nautical and Regional Archaeology at Nahsholim, Dor.

Honorary inscription for T. Mucius Clemens, shortly after AD 70. Circular stone inscription fragment\(^\text{221}\) on a round base for a statue of the governor (h 75 cm, w ca. 73 cm). Translation “(Someone)... honored Marcus Paccius son of Publius...Silvanus Quintus Coredius Gallus Gargilius Antiquus, imperial governor with praetorian rank [of the province Syria Palaestina].” Found near Dor (area of Bir el Malik), displayed at the Center of Nautical and Regional Archaeology at Nahsholim, Dor.

What is Known About Gargilius Antiquus?

Gargilius Antiquus was a Roman politician in the first half of the second century AD. He held the position of praetorian governor of the province of Arabia Petraea in approximately AD 116–119,\(^\text{171}\) and in May of AD 119 became the consul sufectus.\(^\text{172}\) He was likely confirmed as governor at Dor between 122 and 125 (see dating below).\(^\text{173}\) He is believed to have been the proconsul of Asia in circa AD 134–135.\(^\text{174}\) His position as the governor of Judea, once suspected,\(^\text{175}\) has now been confirmed.\(^\text{176}\)

The father of Gargilius Antiquus was likely Publius Gargilius Antiquus.\(^\text{177}\) Antiquus also had a relative by the name of Quintus Gargilius Antiquus (Tiberius Claudius Quartinus Gaius Oppius Severus Gaius Herennius Caecilianus Marcius Julius Clarus Publius Cassius Clarus Dexter)\(^\text{178}\) from Africa.\(^\text{179}\)

It is believed that Marcus Paccius Silvanus Goredius [or Coredius] Gallus Lucius Pullaienus Gargilius Antiquus\(^\text{180, 181}\)
was his son and a senator and governor of Arabia.\textsuperscript{182} His son was also the governor of Thracia (\textit{legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Thracie}) and patron of Thugga, Tunisia in AD 159/160\textsuperscript{183} and a Roman senator, whose career is documented up to his \textit{consul suffectus} in AD 160/162.\textsuperscript{184} The son’s name, Gargilius Antiquus, appears on coins of Hadrianopolis,\textsuperscript{185} Perinthus,\textsuperscript{186} Philippopolis,\textsuperscript{187} Plotinopolis,\textsuperscript{188} and Pautalia\textsuperscript{189} during the reign of Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161) and Marcus Aurelius/Lucius Verus (AD 161–169).\textsuperscript{190}

\textbf{What Has Been Learned?}

First, according to Prof. Yasur-Landau of the University of Haifa, the inscription stone “is the longest discovered in maritime excavations in Israel.”\textsuperscript{191} It consists of seven lines, and the statue base measures 27.5 by 25.5 inches (70 x 65 cm) and weighs over 1322 lb (600 kg), and was encrusted by sea shells when it was discovered.\textsuperscript{192}

Second, not only does this discovery confirm the identity of another governor of Judea, but it is only the second time that Judea has been mentioned in an inscription outside of the Bible.\textsuperscript{193} The other occurrence is in the inscription from Caesarea of Pontius Pilate.\textsuperscript{194} Immediately following the Bar Kokhba revolt, the Romans abolished the province of Judea, obliterating any mention of its name.

The historical context of the two inscriptions mentioning Gargilius Antiquus is less clear. Certainly, he is being honored on two sculptures and lauded as the Prefect Antiquus. The reason for this is unclear. Do they celebrate two different events, or do cities erect commemorative monuments without a special reason? These questions remain unanswered.

\textbf{Dating}

Werner Eck, based on the first inscription, convincingly argued that Gargilius Antiquus was not the governor of Syria. He reasoned that Gargilius Antiquus could not have obtained the governorship of Syria, which was reserved for senior consuls, before 128 AD or later (i.e., at least ten years after the consulate). However, Publius Marcellus, consul in 120, is attested in Syria in March 129,\textsuperscript{195} and his governorship there had started at the latest in summer 128, and continued till 134/5 AD. In other words, there was no room in Syria for Gargilius Antiquus of the inscription from Dor till [sic] 134/5, when he is attested in Asia.\textsuperscript{196}

The new inscription mentions “the province of Judea, as well as [...] of the province of Syria.” Hadrian united the province of Judea with Syria to create a single province called Syria Palaestina just prior to AD 136, following the Bar Kokhba revolt (AD 132–136).\textsuperscript{197} So, this inscription must date to just before Judea joined Syria as a province. This recent discovery is the latest of the two inscriptions and may be the last mention of Judea as an independent province in an inscription that will ever be found, given the rare occurrence of the name Judea on inscriptions and that Judea’s name was changed shortly after 135.
This indicates that Gargilius Antiquus was the governor of Judea sometime before AD 135. This criterion has at least two timeframes that work. Firstly, based on the first inscription, Werner Eck speculated that “Gargilius Antiquus (cos. 119) could have followed Cossonius Gallus as governor of Judea, ca. 123/5.” But secondly, between Quintus Tineius Rufus, who was governor from AD 130–132, and Caius Quinctius Certus Publius Marcellus who was governor in 134, there is room for Gargilius Antiquus to have been governor between AD 132–134, for a post of one to two years. This would also fit within the list of governors and match the existence of an independent Judea, as mentioned in the inscription. Not only is there now another inscription confirming the governor of Judea, but it has provided the missing governor of Judea before the province was combined with Syria, under the governance of Syria Palaestina.

The Bar Kokhba Revolt

The Jews suspected that Hadrian had plans to build a temple to Jupiter in Jerusalem where once the Jewish Temple stood. This was anathema to the Jewish nation and led to increased discontent in Judea. Gargilius Antiquus no doubt had his hands full. It is clear, however, that whatever measures Gargilius Antiquus took to quell the Jewish uprising, they were generally unsuccessful, as the Bar Kokhba revolt began in the summer of AD 132 and continued to about AD 136, when the uprising was eventually crushed. The victory was marked by Emperor Hadrian banning circumcision and exiling some of the Jews. Roman Syria and Judea were merged into the new province of Syria Palaestina, removing the Jewish provincial identity, and Jerusalem was renamed Aelia Capitolina (AD 130–638).

Some of the Parchment Letters found in the Cave of Letters in Nahal Hever, in the Judean Desert, were written by the leader Shim’on Bar Kokhba himself. One is addressed to Yehuda bar Menashe at Kiryat Aravaya, and instructs his friend to bring several items to the cave. Among the items are myrtle leaves, citrons, and palm branches, all used in preparations for the celebration of the Passover meal.

Cotton continues to explain that once the Bar Kokhba revolt was under control, in AD 136 if not before, the province remained under a senator of consular rank, since he was in charge of two legions at least until the reign of Probus (276–82): two governors of senatorial rank from this reign are now attested on two columns from Caesarea Maritima. At the latest by 293–305 the governor became an equestrian as twice attested on the same columns for Aufidius Priscus…This brings us down to the end of the third century.
Notes


7 Egypt was directly ruled by the Emperor, so the governor of Egypt held a unique role called *Praefectus Aegypti*. Ulpian, *The Digest of Justinian*. Trans. and ed. A. Watson (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 1.16.1–16, 1.17.1.


12 Ibid.


24 Ibid, 1.18.7.


35 See also “Antipas.” Rv 2:13; 6:9–11.


41 Ibid, 1.28.4.


43 Ibid, 1.483.


48 Robert A. Kaster ed., Macrobius Saturnalia 2.4.11.


50 Flavius Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 17.8.1.


This word was not known to scholars, but they speculate that it was perhaps a temple (Tiberium) built to honor the emperor Tiberius.

97 Ibid.


On the historical accuracy of the provocatio ad Caesarem and surrounding events see the description by Riesner (Ibid, 155–56).


Roman Empire during the Principate,” *Opuscula Romana* (1973), 9.7: 63.


131 Paul Gallivan dates his consulship to 72 or 73 (Paul Gallivan, “The Fasti for AD 70–96,” *Classical Quarterly* [1981], 31: 219); however Wener Eck dates his office to 83 or 84 (“Jahres-und Provinzialfasten der senatorischen Statthalter” von 69/70 bis 138/139, 1 Teil [1982], *Chiron* 12: 307 n. 108).


136 His full name was Lucius Cossonius Gallus Vecilius Crispinus Mansuanius Marcellinus Numisius Sabinus.


> Soon, however, all Judaea had been stirred up, and the Jews everywhere were showing signs of disturbance, were gathering together, and giving evidence of great hostility to the Romans, partly by secret and partly by overt acts; many outside nations, too, were joining them through eagerness for gain, and the whole earth, one might almost say, was being stirred up over the matter. Then, indeed, Hadrian sent against them his best generals. First of these was Julius Severus, who was dispatched from Britain, where he was governor, against the Jews. Severus did not venture to attack his opponents in the open at any one point, in view of their numbers and their desperation, but by intercepting small groups, thanks to the number of his soldiers and his under-officers, and by depriving them of food and shutting them up, he was able, rather slowly, to be sure, but with comparatively little danger, to crush, exhaust and exterminate them. Very few of them in fact survived. Fifty of their most important outposts and nine hundred and eighty-five of their most famous villages were razed to the ground. Five hundred and eighty thousand men were slain in the various raids and battles, and the number of those that perished by famine, disease and fire was past finding out. Thus
nearly the whole of Judaea was made desolate, a result of which the people had had forewarning before the war. For the tomb of Solomon, which the Jews regard as an object of veneration, fell to pieces of itself and collapsed, and many wolves and hyenas rushed howling into their cities. Many Romans, moreover, perished in this war. Therefore, Hadrian in writing to the senate did not employ the opening phrase commonly affected by the emperors, “If you and your children are in health, it is well; I and the legions are in health.” (Cassius Dio, *Roman History*: Books 51–55. Trans. E. Cary and H.B. Foster. Vol. 6, Loeb Classical Library 83 [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917], 69:13–14.

153 Ibid (Syme), 48.1/2: 4.


159 Dor (Gr. *Dora*) is a coastal city, just 9 Roman miles (8.3 mi) north of Caesarea Maritima (G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville and Joan Taylor, eds., *The Onomasticon by Eusebius of Caesarea and the Liber Locorum of Jerome: Palestine in the Fourth Century AD*. Trans. G.S.P. Freedman-Grenville [Jerusalem: Carta, 2003], 78.9; 136.16). In the early second century AD their status changed when it was annexed to the province of Phoenicia and in the late Roman period (AD 390) it became part of *Palaestina Prima* (Avraham Negev and Shimon Gibson, eds., *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land*. 3rd ed. [New York, NY: Continuum International, 2001], pp. 144–45.


Dov Gera and Hannah M. Cotton, “A Dedication from Dor to a Governor of Syria,” Israel Exploration Journal (1991), 41.4: 499 n.3.


First published in Hebrew in Qadmoniot (Dov Gera and Hannah M. Cotton, “A Dedicatory Inscription to the Ruler of Syria [Hebrew],” Qadmoniot [1989], 22.1/2: 42), but also found listed in the Dor inspection file (1951), of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA).


178 The name of Quintus Gargilius Antiquus (Tiberius Claudius Quartinus Gaius Oppius Severus Gaius Herennius Caecilianus Marciius Julius Clarus Publius Cassius Clarus Dexter), is mentioned in an inscription from AD 138 AD (Theodor Mommsen, Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. 20 vols. [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974], 8.23246; Brent D. Shaw, “Rural markets in North Africa and the political economy of the Roman Empire,” Antiquités Africaines [1981], 54 n. 1). Permission was granted to the owner of an estate in southern Numidia, an area which had been settled by rebellious Musulamians during the reign of Tiberius (AD 14–37). The limestone inscription fragments were found at Henschir Begâr (ancient Casae) in Tunisia, Africa in 1860 and in 1873. A portion of the inscription translated as:

Quintus Gargilius Antiquus, son of Quintus, of the tribe Quirina, Tiberius Claudius Quartinus, son of Tiberius, of the tribe Palatina, Gaius Oppius Severus, son of Gaius, of the tribe Velina, Gaius Herennius Caecilianus, son of Gaius, of the tribe Palatina, Marcus Julius Clarus, son of Marcus, of the tribe Quirina, Publius Cassius Clarus Dexter, the quaestor, son of Publius, and Publius Nonius Macrinus, the quaestor, son of Marcus, of the tribe Oufentina, assisted in drafting the decree (Paul Robinson Coleman-Norton, Allan Chester Johnson, and Frank Card Bourne, Ancient Roman Statutes, eds. C. Pharr [Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 2009], 207 no. 250.3).

An inscription found in the theater in Thugga (Dougga) in the province of Africa proconsularis mentions the name of M. Paccius Silvanus Coredius Gallus L. Pullaenus Gargilius Antiquus (Theodor Mommsen, Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. 20 vols. [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974], 8.26579 = L’Année épigraphique, ed. R. Cagna [Villejuif: Collège de France, 1893], p. 100; see Fig. 11; cf. L’Année épigraphique [1951], p. 75; Giorgio Bejor, “Documentazione epigrafica di complessi statuarii nell’Africa romana:


180 The son of M. Paccius Silvanus Coredius Gallus L. Pullaienus Gargilius Antiquus (AD 160) is believed to be L. Pullaienus G. Antiquus (AD 190–192; Elimar Klebs, Paul von Rohden, and Hermann Dessau, *Prosopographia imperii Romani*, 3 vols. Georgivm Reimervm [1933], G 80). He was a Roman aristocrat who became a consul toward the end of the reign of emperor Commodus (AD 180–192) and participated in the Secular Games of AD 204 (Werner Eck and Christmann Eckhard, “Gargilius,” *BrillPauly* [2006], http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e419020 [accessed December 2016]).


186 Andrew Burnett, Michel Amandry, and Pere Pau Ripollés Alegre, eds. *Roman

187 Ivan Varbanov, Greek Imperial Coins and Their Values. 3 vols. (Bourgas: Adicom, 2007), p. 690 = CIG 673.


189 Ibid, 4.8755.


192 Ibid.

193 Ibid.


199 Ibid, 2:1227.


[Endnotes 214-218 were associated with illustrations not used in the final article due to space considerations, but are included for interested researchers]


