



Endnotes for *Fresh Light on the Governors of Judea*

Summer 2017 *Bible and Spade*

Notes

¹ Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC–AD 135)*, eds. G. Vermes, F. Miller, and M. Black. 4 Vols. (Edinburgh, UK: T&T Clark, 1979), p. 240.

² Shimon Applebaum, *Judaea in Hellenistic and Roman Times: Historical and Archaeological Essays*, eds. J. Neusner (Leiden: Brill Academic, 1989), p.123.

³ Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Volume VI, Books 14–15. Trans. R. Marcus and A. Wikgren. Vol. 10. Loeb Classical Library 489 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1943), 14.5.4.

⁴ For a list of Latin terms used in ancient sources for Governor, see Appendix G in Simon Corcoran's *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government, AD 284–324* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon, 2000), pp. 337–39.

⁵ Fred K. Drogula, *The Office of the Provincial Governor under the Roman Republic and Empire [to AD 235]: Conception and Tradition*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Virginia, 2005; Walter Eder, "Governor," *BrillPauly*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1121630, 2006 (accessed December 2016); Daniëlle Sloopjes, *The Governor and His Subjects in the Later Roman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

⁶ Ruth B. Edwards, "Rome," *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, eds. J.B. Green, S. McKnight, and I.H. Marshall (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992), p. 712.

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.

⁸ Ruth B. Edwards, "Rome," *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, eds. J.B. Green, S. McKnight, and I.H. Marshall (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992), p. 712.

⁹ Michael Speidel, "The Roman Army in Judaea under the Procurators," *Roman Army Studies*, Vol. 2, ed. M. Speidel (Stuttgart: Gieben, 1992), pp. 224–32; James S. Jeffers, *The Greco-Roman World of the New Testament Era: Exploring the Background of Early Christianity* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1999), p. 134; Walter Eder, "Governor," *BrillPauly*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1121630, 2006 (accessed December 2016).

¹⁰ Ruth B. Edwards, "Rome," *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, eds. J.B. Green, S. McKnight, and I.H. Marshall (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992), p. 712; Walter Eder, "Governor," *BrillPauly*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1121630, 2006 (accessed December 2016); Monika Bernett, "Der Kaiserkult in Judäa unter den Herodiern und Römern: Untersuchungen zur politischen und religiösen Geschichte Judäas," *von 30 v. bis 66 n. Chr.* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007, pp. 310–12; Werner Eck, "Die Römischen Repräsentanten in Judaea: Provokateure Oder Vertreter Der

Römischen Macht?" *The Jewish Revolt Against Rome: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Mladen Popovic (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 48.

¹¹ Walter Eder, "Governor," *BrillPauly*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1121630, 2006 (accessed December 2016).

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Ulpian, "Notitia dignitatum," *British Archaeological Reports, International* 63.2. Robert I. Ireland, ed. (Stuttgart: Teubner), Or. 13; Christian Gizewski and Franz Tinnefeld, "Comes, Comites," *BrillPauly*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e303300, 2006 (accessed December 2016).

¹⁴ For the duties of governor see: Ulpian, "Notitia dignitatum," *British Archaeological Reports, International* 63.2. Robert I. Ireland, ed. (Stuttgart: Teubner), Or. 13, 1.18.1–21; Simon Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government, AD 284–324* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon, 2000), pp. 234–54.

¹⁵ Christopher J. Fuhrmann, *Policing the Roman Empire: Soldiers, Administration, and Public Order* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 171.

¹⁶ Michael Speidel, "The Roman Army in Judaea under the Procurators," *Roman Army Studies*, Vol. 2, ed. M. Speidel (Stuttgart: Gieben, 1992), pp. 224–32.

¹⁷ Ruth B. Edwards, "Rome," *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, eds. J.B. Green, S. McKnight, and I.H. Marshall (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992), p. 712.

¹⁸ Theodor Mommsen, *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*. 20 vols. (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1974), 16.106. Online database: <http://cil.bbaw.de/>.

¹⁹ J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1878), 2:467; D.L. Kennedy, "Roman Army," *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 5, eds. D. N. Freedman, G.A. Herion, D.F. Graf, and J.D. Pleins (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1996), p. 794.

²⁰ Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities: Volume VIII, Books 18–19*. Trans. L.H. Feldman. Vol. 12. Loeb Classical Library 433 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 19.356–65; D.L. Kennedy, "Roman Army," *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 5, eds. D.N. Freedman, G.A. Herion, D.F. Graf, and J.D. Pleins (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1996), p. 795.

²¹ William David Davies, Louis Finkelstein, and Steven T. Katz, eds., *The Cambridge History of Judaism: The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period*, Vol. 4 (Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 43; Kenneth W. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy, 300 B.C. to A.D. 700* (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 107.

²² Flavius Josephus, "Publican," *Jewish Antiquities: Volume IX, Book 20*. Trans. L.H. Feldman. Vol. 13. Loeb Classical Library 456 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 14.163 ff; Daniel Sperber, "Tax Gatherers," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. 19. Eds. M. Berenbaum and F. Skolnik, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: MacMillan, 2007), pp. 558–59.

²³ Ulpian, "Notitia dignitatum," *British Archaeological Reports, International* 63.2. Robert I. Ireland, ed. (Stuttgart: Teubner), 50.2.7.1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.18.7.

²⁵ William Smith, ed., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London, UK: Murray, 1875), p. 376.

²⁶ G.P. Burton, "Proconsuls, Assizes and the Administration of Justice under the Empire," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 65 (1975), pp. 92–106.

²⁷ Livy, *History of Rome*, Books 3–4, trans. B.O. Foster, Vol. 2, Loeb Classical Library

133 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922), 3.563; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, Books 3–7, trans. H. Rackham, Vol. 2, Loeb Classical Library 352 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942), 6.90.

²⁸ Christoph Georg Paulus, “Appellatio.” *BrillPauly*, 1:894–95, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e129020, 2006 (accessed December 2016).

²⁹ Ulpian, “Notitia dignitatum,” *British Archaeological Reports, International* 63.2. Robert I. Ireland, ed. (Stuttgart: Teubner), 1.18.4 [Watson]. (See also Ulpian, *The Digest of Justinian*. Trans. and ed. A. Watson [Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998], 1.16.7–11; 1.18.1–12).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.18.6.8; Christopher J. Fuhrmann, *Policing the Roman Empire: Soldiers, Administration, and Public Order* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 172.

³¹ Ulpian, “Notitia dignitatum,” *British Archaeological Reports, International* 63.2. Robert I. Ireland, ed. (Stuttgart: Teubner), 1.18.6.8.

³² Berger, Adolf, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, PA: American Philological Society, 1953), p. 529; Arnold Hugh Martin Jones, “Procurators and Prefects in the Early Principate,” *Studies in Roman Government and Law*, eds. A. H. M. Jones, 2nd ed. (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1963), p. 60; Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC–AD 135)*, eds. G. Vermes, F. Miller, and M. Black. 4 Vols. (Edinburgh, UK: T&T Clark, 1979), p. 368, n.73; Adrian N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament: The Sarum Lectures 1960–1961* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon, 2004), pp. 8–10; Yann Le Bohec, “Military Penal Law,” *BrillPauly*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e804570, 2006 (accessed December 2016); Harry W. Tajra, *The Trial of St. Paul: A Juridical Exegesis of the Second Half of the Acts of the Apostles* (Eugene, OR.: Wipf and Stock, 2010), pp. 113–14; Polybius, *The Histories*, Books 5–8, eds. F.W. Walbank and C. Habicht, trans. W.R. Paton, Vol. 3. Loeb Classical Library 138 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 6.37–38; Angelos Chaniotis et al., eds., *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, 23 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1923), 39.851; 45.1133.

³³ Gerhard A. Krodel, “Revelation,” *Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament Series* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 1989), p. 116.

³⁴ Peter Garnsey, “The Criminal Jurisdiction of Governors,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 58 (1968), pp. 54, 59.

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

³⁶ Ruth B. Edwards, “Rome,” *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, eds. J.B. Green, S. McKnight, and I.H. Marshall (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992), p. 712. For a chart of the House of Herod, see Bethja Bayer’s, “Herod I,” *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. 9, 2nd ed., eds. M. Berenbaum and F. Skolnik (New York, NY: MacMillan, 2006), p. 33.

³⁷ Abraham Schalit, *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. 2, 2nd ed., eds. M. Berenbaum and F. Skolnik (New York, NY: MacMillan, 2006), p. 205; Bethja Bayer, “Herod I,” *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. 9, 2nd ed., eds. M. Berenbaum and F. Skolnik (New York, NY: MacMillan, 2006), p. 31.

³⁸ Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Vol. I, Books 1–2, trans. H.S.J. Thackeray, Vol. 2, Loeb Classical Library 203 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 1.244; Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Vol. VI, Books 14–15, trans. R. Marcus and A. Wikgren, Vol. 10, Loeb Classical Library 489 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

Press, 1943), 14.326; Klaus Bringmann, Leonhard Burckhardt, and Bruno Bleckmann, “Tetrarches, Tetrarchia.” *BrillPauly*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1205430, 2006 (accessed December 2016); Bethja Bayer, *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. 9, 2nd ed., eds. M. Berenbaum and F. Skolnik (New York, NY: MacMillan, 2006), p. 32.

³⁹ Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Vol. VI, Books 14–15, trans. R. Marcus and A. Wikgren, Vol. 10, Loeb Classical Library 489 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1943), 14.9.2.

⁴⁰ Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Vol. I, Books 1–2, trans. H.S.J. Thackeray, Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library 203 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 1.6.2.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1.28.4.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 1.14.4.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1.483.

⁴⁴ Bethja Bayer, *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. 9, 2nd ed., eds. M. Berenbaum and F. Skolnik (New York, NY: MacMillan, 2006), p. 34.

⁴⁵ Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Vol. VI, Books 14–15, trans. R. Marcus and A. Wikgren, Vol. 10, Loeb Classical Library 489 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1943), 15.11.1; *The Jewish War*, Vol. I, Books 1–2, trans. H.S.J. Thackeray, Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library 203 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 1.21.1.

⁴⁶ Michael Grant, *Herod the Great* (New York, NY: American Heritage, 1971), p. 12; Tom Mueller, “Herod: The Holy Land’s Visionary Builder,” *National Geographic* 214.6 (2008), p. 42.

⁴⁷ Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Vol. VI, Books 14–15, trans. R. Marcus and A. Wikgren, Vol. 10, Loeb Classical Library 489 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1943), 5.222–236; 15.365–372; 16.392–394; 17.182–187; *The Jewish War*, Vol. I, Books 1–2, trans. H.S.J. Thackeray, Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library 203 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 1.550–51; Richard Thomas France, “Herod and the Children of Bethlehem,” *Novum Testamentum* 31.2 (1979), pp. 114–19; Paul Maier, “Herod and the Infants of Bethlehem,” *Chronos Kairos Christos II*, eD.E.J. Vardaman (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998), pp. 169–89.

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

⁴⁹ Richard Thomas France, “Herod and the Children of Bethlehem,” *Novum Testamentum*, 31.2, pp. 114–19.

⁵⁰ Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 17.8.1.

⁵¹ Israel Shatzman, *The Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod: From Hellenistic to Roman Frameworks* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), p. 129.

⁵² Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 17.20; *The Jewish War*, Vol. I, Books 1–2, trans. H.S.J. Thackeray, Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library 203 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 1.562.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 2.93–7; Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 17.317–20; Klaus Bringmann, Leonhard Burckhardt, and Bruno Bleckmann, “Tetrarches, Tetrarchia.” *BrillPauly*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1205430, 2006 (accessed December 2016).

⁵⁴ Hannah M. Cotton, “Some Aspects of the Roman Administration of Judaea/Syria-Palaestina,” *Lokale Autonomie und römische Und Ordnungsmacht in Den Kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen, Vom 1. Bis 3. Jahrhundert*, ed. Werner Eck (München: Oldenbourg, 1999), p. 81.

⁵⁵ Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC–AD 135)*, eds. G. Vermes, F. Miller, and M. Black, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh, UK: T&T Clark, 1979), p. 359, n. 2; Hannah M. Cotton, “Some Aspects of the Roman Administration of Judaea/Syria-Palaestina,” *Lokale Autonomie und römische Und Ordnungsmacht in Den Kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen, Vom 1. Bis 3. Jahrhundert*, ed. Werner Eck (München: Oldenbourg, 1999), pp. 76–77.

⁵⁶ Ibid (Cotton), p. 77.

⁵⁷ Werner Eck, “Praefectus,” *BrillPauly*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1006960 (accessed December 2016), 11:752.

⁵⁸ Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*. 2 vols. (Philadelphia, PA: American Philological Society, 1953), p. 642.

⁵⁹ Werner Eck, “Praefectus,” *BrillPauly*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1006960 (accessed December 2016), 11:752.

⁶⁰ Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*. 2 vols. (Philadelphia, PA: American Philological Society, 1953), pp. 643–44; Werner Eck, “Praefectus,” *BrillPauly*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1006960 (accessed December 2016), 11:752–55.

⁶¹ Werner Eck, “Die Römischen Repräsentanten in Judaea: Provokateure Oder Vertreter Der Römischen Macht?” *The Jewish Revolt Against Rome: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Mladen Popović. Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 48.

⁶² Werner Eck, “Praefectus,” *BrillPauly*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1006960 (accessed December 2016), 11:752.

⁶³ Arnold Hugh Martin Jones, “Procurators and Prefects in the Early Principate,” *Studies in Roman Government and Law*, eds. A.H.M. Jones. 2nd ed. (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1963), pp. 117–25.

⁶⁴ James S. Jeffers, *The Greco-Roman World of the New Testament Era: Exploring the Background of Early Christianity* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1999), pp. 129–34.

⁶⁵ Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Vol. I, Books 1–2, trans. H.S.J. Thackeray, Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library 203 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 2.2.7.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 2.117; *Jewish Antiquities*, 18.29; Israel Shatzman, *The Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod: From Hellenistic to Roman Frameworks* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), p. 129; Beate Ego, “Archelaus,” *BrillPauly*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e132040 (accessed December 2016).

⁶⁷ Hannah M. Cotton, “Some Aspects of the Roman Administration of Judaea/Syria-Palaestina,” *Lokale Autonomie und römische Und Ordnungsmacht in Den Kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen, Vom 1. Bis 3. Jahrhundert*, ed. Werner Eck (München: Oldenbourg, 1999), pp. 77–78; Edward Dąbrowa, “The Date of the Census of Quirinius and the Chronology of the Governors of the Province of Syria,” *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* (2011), p. 137 n. 3; Maurizio Ghiretti, “Lo ‘status’ della Giudea dall’età Augustea all’età Claudia,” *Latomus*, 44.4 (1985), pp. 754–66.

⁶⁸ Victor Ehrenberg, Arnold H. M. Jones, and David L. Stockton, eds., *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*. 2nd ed. (Oxford, UK: Clarendon, 1976), p. 73.

⁶⁹ 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), 55.22, 6; Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, 17.355; 18.2.

⁷⁰ Hannah M. Cotton, “Some Aspects of the Roman Administration of Judaea/Syria-Palaestina,” *Lokale Autonomie und römische Und Ordnungsmacht in Den Kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen, Vom 1. Bis 3. Jahrhundert*, ed. Werner Eck (München: Oldenbourg, 1999), p. 78.

⁷¹ Hermann Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. 3 vols. in 5 parts (Berlin, 1892–1916), p. 2683.

⁷² Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 18.

⁷³ Pere Villalba I. Varneda, *The Historical Method of Flavius Josephus*, ed. K.H. Rengstorf (Leiden: Brill, 1986), p. 267.

⁷⁴ See also John H. Rhoads, “Josephus Misdated the Census of Quirinius” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* (2011), 54.1: 65–87.

⁷⁵ Stanley E. Porter, “The Reasons for the Lukan Census,” *Paul, Luke and the Graeco-Roman World: Essays in Honour of Alexander*, J.M. Wedderburn, eds. A. Christophersen, B. Longenecker, J. Frey, and C. Claussen (New York, NY: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2004), pp. 165–88.

⁷⁶ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History: Books 1–5*. Trans. Kirsopp Lake. Vol. 1. Loeb Classical Library 153 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926); date of 3/2 BC.

⁷⁷ John H. Rhoads, “Josephus Misdated the Census of Quirinius” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* (2011), 86 n. 40.

⁷⁸ *L’Année épigraphique*, M. Corbier, P. Le Roux and S. Dardaine, eds. (Villejuif: Collège de France, 2005), p. 1589; Angelos Chaniotis et al., eds., *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, 23 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1923), 55.1723.

⁷⁹ Leah Di Segni, “A Roman Standard in Herod’s Kingdom,” *Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology* (2005), pp. 23–48.

⁸⁰ Georges Lafaye, René Cagnat, J. Toutain, and Victor Henry, eds. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* Vol. 4: Asia, nos. 1–1764 (Paris: Leroux, 1901/1927), pp. 930, 935; Martin, Thomas W. Martin, “Paulus, Sergius (Person),” *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 5, eds. D. N. Freedman, G. A. Herion, D. F. Graf, and J. D. Pleins (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1996) p. 205; William M. Ramsay, *The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament* (London, UK: Hodder and Stoughton, 1915), pp. 150–72; Bastian Van Elderen, “Some Archaeological Observations on Paul’s First Missionary Journey,” *Apostolic History and The Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays presented to F. F. Bruce on his 60th Birthday*, eds. W.W. Gasque and R.P. Martin (Exeter, UK: Paternoster, 1970), p. 155.

⁸¹ E. Mary Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius Claudius and Nero*, ed. William Smith, (Bristol: Bristol Classical, 1983), p. 105.

⁸² *L’Année épigraphique*, ed. A. Merlin (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1963), no. 104; Philo, *On the Embassy to Gaius*. General Indexes, ed. J.W. Earp. Trans. F.H. Colson. Vol. 10. Loeb Classical Library 379 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), 38.299.

⁸³ Cornelius Tacitus, *Annals: Books 13–16*. Tran. J. Jackson. Vol. 5. Loeb Classical Library 322 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937), 5.44; Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Vol. I, Books 1–2, trans. H.S.J. Thackeray, Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library 203 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 2.8.1; 9.2 §§117, 169.

⁸⁴ Arnold Hugh Martin Jones, “Procurators and Prefects in the Early Principate,” *Studies in Roman Government and Law*, eds. A.H.M. Jones. 2nd ed. (Oxford, UK:

Blackwell, 1963), pp. 115–25.

⁸⁵ *L'Année épigraphique*, ed. A. Merlin (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1963), no. 104.

⁸⁶ This word was not known to scholars, but they speculate that it was perhaps a temple (Tiberium) built to honor the emperor Tiberius.

⁸⁷ Antonio Frova, “L’Iscrizione di Ponzio Pilato a Cesarea,” *Rendiconti dell’Istituto Lombardo* (1961) 95: 419–34; E. Jerry Vardaman, “A New Inscription Which Mentions Pilate as ‘Prefect,’” *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1962), 81.1: 70–71; Giordano dell’Amore, Virginio Borroni, and Antonio Frova, *Scavi di Caesarea Maritima* (Milano: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 1966), p. 217; Joan E. Taylor, “Pontius Pilate and the Imperial Cult in Roman Judaea” *New Testament Studies* 52: 564–75; David Elton Graves, *Key Themes of the New Testament: A Survey of Major Theological Themes* (Toronto, Can.: Electronic Christian Media, 2013), pp. 171–72.

⁸⁸ *L'Année épigraphique*, ed. A. Merlin (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1963), no. 104.

⁸⁹ Robert J. Bull, “Pontius Pilate Inscription,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 8.5; “Caesarea Maritima: The Search for Herod’s City,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 8.3, pp. 24–40.

⁹⁰ Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Vol. I, Books 1–2, trans. H.S.J. Thackeray, Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library 203 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 1.21.5–7; *Jewish Antiquities*, Vol. VI, Books 14–15, trans. R. Marcus and A. Wikgren, Vol. 10, Loeb Classical Library 489 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1943), 15.9.6.

⁹¹ Géza Alföldy, “Pontius Pilatus Und Das Tiberium von Caesarea Maritima Scripta,” *Scripta Classica Israelica* 18: 106–7.

⁹² Robert L. Hohlfelder, “Caesarea beneath the Sea,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* (1982), 8.3: 42–47; Robert L. Hohlfelder, John P. Oleson, Avner Raban, and R. Lindley Vann, “Sebastos: Herod’s Harbor at Caesarea Maritima,” *The Biblical Archaeologist* 46.3: 133–43; R. Lindley Vann, “Herod’s Harbor Construction Recovered Underwater,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 9.3: 10–14.

⁹³ Cornelius Tacitus, *Annals*: Books 13–16. Trans. J. Jackson. Vol. 5. Loeb Classical Library 322 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937), 5.44; Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Vol. I, Books 1–2, trans. H.S.J. Thackeray, Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library 203 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 2.117–18; *Jewish Antiquities*, 17.55–64; 85–89; *Jewish Antiquities*: Volume VIII, Books 18–19. Trans. L.H. Feldman. Vol. 12. Loeb Classical Library 433 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 18.3.3 §63; Philo, *On the Embassy to Gaius*. General Indexes, ed. J.W. Earp. Trans. F.H. Colson. Vol. 10. Loeb Classical Library 379 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), 38.299–305; Helen K. Bond, *Pontius Pilate in History and Interpretation* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 24–93.

⁹⁴ Hayim Ben-Sasson, ed., *A History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 246–47; Mathew George Easton, *The New Easton Bible Dictionary*, Updated and Revised Edition, ed. D.E. Graves (Toronto, ON: Electronic Christian Media, 2016), p.102.

⁹⁵ Warren Carter, *Pontius Pilate: Portraits of a Roman Governor* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2003), p. 115; Joan E. Taylor, “Pontius Pilate and the imperial cult in Roman Judaea,” *New Testament Studies* (2006), pp. 567, 570.

⁹⁶ Cornelius Tacitus, *Annals*: Books 13–16. Trans. J. Jackson. Vol. 5. Loeb Classical

Library 322 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937), 15.44.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Arnold Hugh Martin Jones, "Procurators and Prefects in the Early Principate," *Studies in Roman Government and Law*, eds. A.H.M. Jones. 2nd ed. (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1963), pp. 115–25.

⁹⁹ *L'Année épigraphique*, ed. A. Merlin (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1963), no. 104.

¹⁰⁰ Craig A. Evans, "Excavating Caiaphas, Pilate, and Simon of Cyrene: Assessing the Literary and Archaeological Evidence," *Jesus and Archaeology*, eds. J.H. Charlesworth (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), pp. 334–38; Brian C. McGing, "Pontius Pilate and the Sources," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* (1991), 53: 416–38.

¹⁰¹ Craig S. Keener, *The IVP Bible Background Commentary: New Testament* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1994), p. 401.

¹⁰² Craig A. Evans, "Excavating Caiaphas, Pilate, and Simon of Cyrene: Assessing the Literary and Archaeological Evidence," *Jesus and Archaeology*, eds. J.H. Charlesworth (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), p. 333.

¹⁰³ Helen K. Bond, *Pontius Pilate in History and Interpretation* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 13.

¹⁰⁴ Ruth B. Edwards, "Rome," *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, eds. J.B. Green, S. McKnight, and I.H. Marshall (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992), p. 712.

¹⁰⁵ Helen K. Bond, *Pontius Pilate in History and Interpretation* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 14.

¹⁰⁶ Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Vol. I, Books 1–2, trans. H.S.J. Thackeray, Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library 203 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 2.169–77; *Jewish Antiquities*: Volume VIII, Books 18–19. Trans. L.H. Feldman. Vol. 12. Loeb Classical Library 433 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 18.55–62; Philo, "On the Embassy to Gaius," *General Indexes*, ed. J. W. Earp. Trans. F.H. Colson. Vol. 10. Loeb Classical Library 379 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), 38.300–301.

¹⁰⁷ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*: Books 1–5. Trans. Kirsopp Lake. Vol. 1. Loeb Classical Library 153 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), 2.14.

¹⁰⁸ Hannah M. Cotton, "Some Aspects of the Roman Administration of Judaea/Syria-Palaestina," *Lokale Autonomie und römische Und Ordnungsmacht in Den Kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen*, Vom 1. Bis 3. Jahrhundert, ed. Werner Eck (München: Oldenbourg, 1999), pp. 79, 81.

¹⁰⁹ Arnold Hugh Martin Jones, "Procurators and Prefects in the Early Principate," *Studies in Roman Government and Law*, eds. A.H.M. Jones. 2nd ed. (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1963), p. 115.

¹¹⁰ Werner Eck, "Procurator," *BrillPauly*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1009380 (2006, accessed December 2016).

¹¹¹ Christopher Haigh, *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 21; Jill Harries, *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity*, Revised (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 53–54.

¹¹² James S. Jeffers, *The Greco-Roman World of the New Testament Era: Exploring the Background of Early Christianity* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1999), p. 134; Hannah M. Cotton, "Some Aspects of the Roman Administration of Judaea/Syria-

Palaestina,” *Lokale Autonomie und römische Und Ordnungsmacht in Den Kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen*, Vom 1. Bis 3. Jahrhundert, ed. Werner Eck (München: Oldenbourg, 1999), pp. 76–77.

¹¹³ Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Vol. I, Books 1–2, trans. H.S.J. Thackeray, Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library 203 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 2.184–213; c.f. *Jewish Antiquities*: Volume VIII, Books 18–19. Trans. L.H. Feldman. Vol. 12. Loeb Classical Library 433 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 19.279, 288; James S. Jeffers, *The Greco-Roman World of the New Testament Era: Exploring the Background of Early Christianity* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1999), pp. 134–39.

¹¹⁴ Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*: Volume VIII, Books 18–19. Trans. L.H. Feldman. Vol. 12. Loeb Classical Library 433 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 19.363.

¹¹⁵ James S. Jeffers, *The Greco-Roman World of the New Testament Era: Exploring the Background of Early Christianity* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1999), pp. 134–39.

¹¹⁶ Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*: Volume IX, Book 20. Trans. L.H. Feldman. Vol. 13. Loeb Classical Library 456 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 20.138.

¹¹⁷ Abraham Schalit, “Agrippa II,” *Encyclopedia Judaica*, eds. M. Berenbaum and F. Skolnik. 2nd ed. New York, NY: MacMillan, 2006), 1:503.

¹¹⁸ F.F. Bruce cautiously argues that Felix’s full name was Tiberius Claudius Felix, based on a partial inscription (*L’Année épigraphique*, eds. J. Gagé, M. Le Glay, H.-G. Pflaum and P. Willeumier [Villejuif: Collège de France, 1967], p. 525) that mentions a procurator (ἐπίτροπος, *epitropos*) bearing the praenomen and nomen Tiberius Claudius—the cognomen is tantalizingly missing, but believed to be Felix (F.F. Bruce, “The Full Name of the Procurator Felix,” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* [1978], 1: 33–36; Michael Avi-Yonah, “The Epitaph of T. Mucius Clemens,” *Israel Exploration Journal* [1966], 16.4: 261). Tacitus calls him Marcus Antonius Felix (Cornelius Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.9).

¹¹⁹ *L’Année épigraphique*, eds. J. Gagé, M. Le Glay, H.-G. Pflaum and P. Willeumier (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1967), p. 525; Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*: Volume IX, Book 20. Trans. L.H. Feldman. Vol. 13. Loeb Classical Library 456 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 20.137; Suetonius, *Jul.* 5.23; F.F. Bruce, “The Full Name of the Procurator Felix,” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* (1978), 1: 33–36; Michael Avi-Yonah, “The Epitaph of T. Mucius Clemens,” *Israel Exploration Journal* (1966), p. 261.

¹²⁰ Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*: Volume IX, Book 20. Trans. L.H. Feldman. Vol. 13. Loeb Classical Library 456 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 20.142.

¹²¹ See also James S. Jeffers, *The Greco-Roman World of the New Testament Era: Exploring the Background of Early Christianity* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1999), p. 134.

¹²² Kathryn L. Gleason, Barbara Burrell, Ehud Netzer, Laurel Taylor, and J. Howard Williams, “The Promontory Palace at Caesarea Maritima: Preliminary Evidence for Herod’s Praetorium,” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* (1998), 11: 23–52.

¹²³ See also David Elton Graves, *Key Themes of the New Testament: A Survey of Major Theological Themes* (Toronto, Canada: Electronic Christian Media, 2013), p. 330.

¹²⁴ Cornelius Tacitus, *Annals*: Books 4–6, 11–12. Trans. J. Jackson. Vol. 4. Loeb Classical Library 312 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937), 12.54; Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Vol. I, Books 1–2, trans. H.S.J. Thackeray, Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library 203 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 2.13.7; 2.14.1; *Jewish Antiquities*: Volume IX, Book 20. Trans. L.H. Feldman. Vol. 13. Loeb Classical Library 456 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 20.8.7–11.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.8–9.

¹²⁶ Donfried notes that: “If one were to assume that the general sequence of the subsequent events outlined in Acts is accurate—two-year Caesarean imprisonment, hearing before Festus, and arrival in Rome—then the dates ca. AD 57–59 for the first of these and a date of ca. AD 60 for Paul’s arrival in Rome would agree with the parameters of possible dates reviewed above” (Karl Paul Donfried, “Chronology: New Testament,” *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, eds. D.N. Freedman, G.A. Herion, D.F. Graf, and J.D. Pleins [New York, NY: Doubleday, 1996], p. 1021). Keener proposes July of AD 59 for Festus taking over as Procurator of Judaea (Craig S. Keener, *The IVP Bible Background Commentary: New Testament* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1994], p. 405). See also Cornelius Tacitus, *Annals*: Books 4–6, 11–12. Trans. J. Jackson. Vol. 4. Loeb Classical Library 312 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937), 12.54; Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Vol. I, Books 1–2, trans. H.S.J. Thackeray, Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library 203 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 2.13.7; 2.14.1; *Jewish Antiquities*: Volume IX, Book 20. Trans. L.H. Feldman. Vol. 13. Loeb Classical Library 456 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 20.8.7–11.

¹²⁷ Ulpian, *The Digest of Justinian*. Trans. and ed. A. Watson (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 49.6.1.

¹²⁸ Rainer Riesner, Rainer, *Paul’s Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology*. Trans. D.W. Stott (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), p. 155.

¹²⁹ On the historical accuracy of the *provocatio ad Caesarem* and surrounding events see the description by Riesner (*Ibid.*, 155–56).

¹³⁰ Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*: Volume IX, Book 20. Trans. L.H. Feldman. Vol. 13. Loeb Classical Library 456 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 20.197.

¹³¹ F.F. Bruce, *New Testament History*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1980), p. 345; Joel B. Green, “Festus, Porcius (Person),” *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, eds. D.N. Freedman, G.A. Green (1992), pp. 794–95.

¹³² James S. Jeffers, *The Greco-Roman World of the New Testament Era: Exploring the Background of Early Christianity* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1999), p. 139.

¹³³ Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Vol. I, Books 1–2, trans. H.S.J. Thackeray, Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library 203 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 2.456–58; 477–80; 559–61.

¹³⁴ Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*: Volume III, Books 5–7. Trans. H.S.J. Thackeray. Vol. 4. Loeb Classical Library 210 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), 6.238.

¹³⁵ Hannah M. Cotton, “Some Aspects of the Roman Administration of Judaea/Syria-Palaestina,” *Lokale Autonomie und römische Und Ordnungsmacht in Den Kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen*, Vom 1. Bis 3. Jahrhundert, ed. Werner Eck (München: Oldenbourg, 1999), pp. 79–80; Bengt E. Thomasson, “One-Legion Provinces of the

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

¹³⁶ For details on these Roman Legates who ruled Judaea see Appendix A in E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews Under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian: A Study in Political Relations* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), pp. 546–57.

¹³⁷ 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).

¹³⁸ His full name was Cnaeus Pinarius Aemilius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus, and he died in AD 105 (Theodor Mommsen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 20 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974), 16.33, 36, 39. Online database: <http://cil.bbaw.de/>).

¹³⁹ For the arguments for placing Atticus Herodes’ governorship of Judaea before those of Quadratus Bassus and Pompeius Falco, see E. Mary Smallwood, “Atticus, Legate of Judaea under Trajan,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* (1962), 52.1/2: 131–33.

¹⁴⁰ For the identification of C. Julius Quadratus Bassus with C. Julius Bassus suffect consul in 105, see David Magie, David, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century After Christ*, 2 Vols. eds. T.J. Luce (New York, NY: Arno, 1975), 2:1457; Ronald Syme, “Review of Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien, by A. Stein,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* (1946), 36.1/2: 162–3.

¹⁴¹ His full name was Quintus Roscius Coelius Murena Silius Decianus Vibullius Pius Iulius Eurycles Herculanus Pompeius Falco (Ronald Syme, “Consulates in Absence,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* (1958), 48.1/2: 4).

¹⁴² His full name was Lucius Cossonius Gallus Vecilius Crispinus Mansuanus Marcellinus Numisius Sabinus.

¹⁴³ On Quintus Tineius Rufus and Sextus Julius Severus, see Shimon Applebaum, *Judaea in Hellenistic and Roman Times: Historical and Archaeological Essays*, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: Brill Academic, 1989), pp. 117–23. Cassius Dio ascribes in part the cause of the Jewish revolt to the collapse of the tomb of Solomon. Cassius records that the Roman governor Tineius Rufus (AD 132) seriously underestimated the situation and states:

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.

¹⁴⁴ Leonhard Schmitz, "Legatus," *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, ed. W. Smith (London, UK: Murray, 1875), p. 677.

¹⁴⁵ Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*: Volume III, Books 5–7. Trans. H.S.J. Thackeray. Vol. 4. Loeb Classical Library 210 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), 7.112.

¹⁴⁶ E. Mary Smallwood, "Atticus, Legate of Judaea under Trajan," *The Journal of Roman Studies* (1962), 52.1/2: 131; Hannah M. Cotton, "Some Aspects of the Roman Administration of Judaea/Syria-Palaestina," *Lokale Autonomie und römische Und Ordnungsmacht in Den Kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen Vom 1. Bis 3. Jahrhundert*, ed. Werner Eck (München: Oldenbourg, 1999), p. 77.

¹⁴⁷ Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, Books 8–10: Panegyricus. Trans. B. Radice. Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library 59 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 8.24; Ulpian, *The Digest of Justinian*. Trans. and ed. A. Watson (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 1.18.20; Christian Gizewski, "Corrector," *BrillPauly* (2006) http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e307300 (accessed December 2016).

¹⁴⁸ Cornelius Tacitus, *Annals*: Books 1–3. Trans. C.H. Moore. Vol. 3. Loeb Classical Library 249 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), 1.31, 2.6; Peter Kehne, "Legatus," *BrillPauly* (2006), 7:cols. 354–55. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e700040 (accessed December 2016).

¹⁴⁹ Leonhard Schmitz, "Legatus," *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, ed. W. Smith (London, UK: Murray, 1875), 678.

¹⁵⁰ Theodor Mommsen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 20 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974), 16.87. Online database: <http://cil.bbaw.de/>.

¹⁵¹ Hannah M. Cotton, "Some Aspects of the Roman Administration of Judaea/Syria-Palaestina," *Lokale Autonomie und römische Und Ordnungsmacht in Den Kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen Vom 1. Bis 3. Jahrhundert*, ed. Werner Eck (München: Oldenbourg, 1999), p. 81.

¹⁵² Theodor Mommsen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 20 vols. Bourne (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974), 16.68. Online database: <http://cil.bbaw.de/>; Ronald Syme, "Consulates in Absence," *The Journal of Roman Studies* (1958), 48.1/2: 1.

¹⁵³ *Ibid* (Syme), 48.1/2: 4.

¹⁵⁴ Eusebius, Pamphilus, and Jerome, *The Bodleian Manuscript of Jerome's Version of the Chronicles of Eusebius*. Ed. by John Knight Fotheringham (Oxford, UK: Clarendon, 2012), Chron. 8; Paulus Orosius, *The Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*. Trans. Roy J Deferrari (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 7.12.7; E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews Under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian: A Study*

in *Political Relations* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 418.

¹⁵⁵ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*: Books 1–5. Trans. Kirsopp Lake. Vol. 1. Loeb Classical Library 153 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), 4.2, 5.

¹⁵⁶ *L'Année épigraphique*, ed. R. Cagna (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1888), p. 90; *L'Année épigraphique*, eds. M. Corbier, P. Le Roux and S. Dardaine (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1995), p. 1185; Ibid (2003), p. 1801; Theodor Mommsen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 20 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974), 3.6813 = Hermann Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 vols. in 5 parts (Berlin, 1892–1916), p. 1038; Theodor Mommsen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 20 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974), 16.62; Margaret M. Roxan and P.A. Holder, “Roman Military Diplomas,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*. Supplement 82 (London, UK: University of London Press, 2003), 4.229.

¹⁵⁷ *L'Année épigraphique*, eds. M. Corbier, P. Le Roux and S. Dardaine (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1999), p. 1188.

¹⁵⁸ Walter Ameling et al., eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: Caesarea and the Middle Coast*, vol. 2, nos. 1121–2160. 7 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), no. 1227; Werner Eck, “Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian,” *Prosopographische Untersuchungen mit Einschluss der Jahres- u. Provinzialfasten der Statthalter. Vestigia. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*. Hrsg. v. der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts 13 (München: Beck, 1970), 180–86; Werner Eck, “Cossonius,” *BrillPauly* (2006), 12/2 col. 934. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e12220910 (accessed December 2016).

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).

¹⁶⁰ Philippe Bohstrom, “Divers find unexpected Roman inscription from the eve of Bar-Kochba Revolt,” *Haaretz* (November 30, 2016). Retrieved from <http://www.haaretz.com/jewish/archaeology/1.756193>; Ilan Yavelberg and Ela Kehat, “Ancient Inscription Permits, for the First Time, the Definite Identification of Gargilius Antiques as the Roman Prefect during the Period before the Bar Kochba Revolt” (University of Haifa, 2016). Retrieved from <http://www.haifa.ac.il/index.php/en/home-page3/2025>. Yavelberg and Kehat 2016: n.p.

¹⁶¹ Philippe Bohstrom, “Divers find unexpected Roman inscription from the eve of Bar-Kochba Revolt,” *Haaretz* (November 30, 2016). Retrieved from <http://www.haaretz.com/jewish/archaeology/1.756193>; Ilan Yavelberg and Ela Kehat, “Ancient Inscription Permits, for the First Time, the Definite Identification of Gargilius Antiques as the Roman Prefect during the Period before the Bar Kochba Revolt” (University of Haifa, 2016). Retrieved from <http://www.haifa.ac.il/index.php/en/home-page3/2025>. Yavelberg and Kehat 2016: n.p.; Staff, “Rare find reveals previously unknown Roman ruler in Judea,” *The Times of Israel* (December 1, 2016). Retrieved from <http://www.timesofisrael.com/rare-find-reveals-previously-unknown-roman-ruler->

[in-judea/](#).

¹⁶² Ibid (Staff); Ilan Yavelberg and Ela Kehat, “Ancient Inscription Permits, for the First Time, the Definite Identification of Gargilius Antiques as the Roman Prefect during the Period before the Bar Kochba Revolt” (University of Haifa, 2016). Retrieved from <http://www.haifa.ac.il/index.php/en/home-page3/2025>.

¹⁶³ Walter Ameling et al., eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: Caesarea and the Middle Coast*, vol. 2, nos. 1121–2160. 7 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 2: 2122 = Angelos Chaniotis et al., eds., *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden: Brill, 1923), 37.1477; 41.1547; 45.1946; Ephraim Stern and Ilan Sharon, “Tel Dor, 1986: Preliminary Report,” *Israel Exploration Journal* (1987) 37.4: 209; Ephraim Stern, Ilan Sharon, and Ayelet Gilboa, “Tel Dor 1987, Preliminary Report,” *Israel Exploration Journal* (1989), 39.1/2: 37.

¹⁶⁴ Dov Gera and Hannah M. Cotton, “A Dedication from Dor to a Governor of Syria,” *Israel Exploration Journal* (1991), 41.4: 499 n.3.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 1991: 497; 1991: 258; “A Dedication from Dor to a Governor of Syria,” *Governors and Their Personnel on Latin Inscriptions from Caesarea Maritima*, eds. Hannah M. Cotton and Werner Eck (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2001), pp. 497–500.

¹⁶⁶ Walter Ameling et al., eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: Caesarea and the Middle Coast*, vol. 2, nos. 1121–2160. 7 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 2: 2122; 1989: 42; 1991: 260; 2001: 497.

¹⁶⁷ 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).

¹⁶⁸ Dov Gera and Hannah M. Cotton, “A Dedication from Dor to a Governor of Syria,” *Israel Exploration Journal* (1991), pp. 258–66.

¹⁶⁹ Walter Ameling et al., eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: Caesarea and the Middle Coast*, vol. 2, nos. 1121–2160. 7 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 2: 2122: 844; Edward Dąbrowa, “M. Paccius Silvanus Quintus Coredius Gallus Gargilius Antiquus et son cursus honorum,” *Nunc de suebis dicendum est: studia archaeologica et historica Georgio Kolendo ab amicis et discipulis dicata*, eds. A. Bursche and J. Kolendo (Warsaw: Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1995), p. 99.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid (Dąbrowa), pp. 99–102.

¹⁷¹ *L'Année épigraphique*, eds. J. Gagé, M. Le Glay, H.-G. Pflaum and P. Wuilleumier (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1973), p. 551.

¹⁷² *L'Année épigraphique* (1979), p. 62; cf. Theodor Mommsen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. 20 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974), 6:2384= 32526. Online database: <http://cil.bbaw.de/>; Werner Eck and Christmann Eckhard, “Gargilius,” *BrillPauly* (2006), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e419020 (accessed December 2016).

¹⁷³ Edward Dąbrowa, “M. Paccius Silvanus Quintus Coredius Gallus Gargilius Antiquus et son cursus honorum,” *Nunc de suebis dicendum est: studia archaeologica et historica Georgio Kolendo ab amicis et discipulis dicata*, eds. A. Bursche and J. Kolendo (Warsaw: Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1995), pp. 99–102; William David Davies, Louis Finkelstein, and Steven T. Katz, eds., *The Cambridge History of Judaism: The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period*. Vol. 4. (Cambridge University

Press, 1984), p. 101.

¹⁷⁴ Georges Lafaye, René Cagnat, J. Toutain, and Victor Henry, eds., *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes: Asia*, vol. 4, nos. 1–1764 (Paris: Leroux, 1901/1927), 4.848; Werner Eck, “Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der senatorischen Statthalter” von 69/70 bis 138/139, 1 Teil. *Chiron* (1982), 12: 361; 2 Teil. *Chiron* (1983), 13: 148–176.

¹⁷⁵ *L'Année épigraphique*, eds. M. Corbier, P. Le Roux and S. Dardaine (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1991), p. 1576; Walter Ameling et al., eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: Caesarea and the Middle Coast*, vol. 2, nos. 1121–2160. 7 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 2:844; Dov Gera and Hannah M. Cotton, “A Dedication from Dor to a Governor of Syria,” *Israel Exploration Journal* (1991), pp. 258–66; “A Dedication from Dor to a Governor of Syria,” *Governors and Their Personnel on Latin Inscriptions from Caesarea Maritima*, eds. Hannah M. Cotton and Werner Eck (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2001), pp. 497–500.

¹⁷⁶ Philippe Bohstrom, “Divers find unexpected Roman inscription from the eve of Bar-Kochba Revolt,” *Haaretz* (November 30, 2016). Retrieved from <http://www.haaretz.com/jewish/archaeology/1.756193>; Staff, “Rare find reveals previously unknown Roman ruler in Judea,” *The Times of Israel* (December 1, 2016). Retrieved from <http://www.timesofisrael.com/rare-find-reveals-previously-unknown-roman-ruler-in-judea/>.

¹⁷⁷ *L'Année épigraphique* (1954), p. 63.

¹⁷⁸ The name of Quintus Gargilius Antiquus (Tiberius Claudius Quartinus Gaius Oppius Severus Gaius Herennius Caecilianus Marcus 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 Corelius Gallus L. Pullaienus 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:

alcuni esempi,” *L’Africa romana: atti del 4. Convegno di studio*, 12–14 dicembre 1986, Sassari [Italia]. eds. A. Mastino [Sassari: Università degli studi di Sassari, 1987], p. 103, Figure 1, 2; Dov Gera and Hannah M. Cotton, “A Dedication from Dor to a Governor of Syria,” *Israel Exploration Journal* [1991], p. 262; Bonello Lai Marcella, “La gens Pullaiena,” *Uchi Maius I: Scavi e ricerche epigrafiche in Tunisia*, eds. M. Khanoussi and A. Mastino [Sassari: Editrice Democratica Sarda, 1997], 265 mit A. 112). The new 2016 inscription lacks the L. Pullaienus element of the latter, and the African location indicates that is the name of his son.

¹⁷⁹ Theodor Mommsen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. 20 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974), 8.23246; Dov Gera and Hannah M. Cotton, “A Dedication from Dor to a Governor of Syria,” *Israel Exploration Journal* (1991), 500 no. 41; Werner Eck, and Christmann Eckhard, “Gargilius,” *BrillPauly* (2006), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e419020 (accessed December 2016); 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.

¹⁸⁰ The son of M. Paccius Silvanus Corelius 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]).

¹⁸¹ Elimar Klebs, Paul von Rohden, and Hermann Dessau, *Prosopographia imperii Romani*, 3 vols. Georgivm Reimervm (1933), G 79; Theodor Mommsen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. 20 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974), 2:844.

¹⁸² Géza Alföldy, “Der Senator Q. Gargilius Macer Aufidianus und seine Verwandten,” *Chiron* (1978), 8: 361–76; Hilmar Schmuck, *Biographischer Index der Antike / Biographical Index of the Classical World*. 3 Vols. (Leiden: De Gruyter Saur, 2001), 2:389.

¹⁸³ *L’Année épigraphique*, eds. J. Gagé, M. Le Glay, H.-G. Pflaum and P. Wuilleumier (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1973), p. 551; Ivan Varbanov, *Greek Imperial Coins and Their Values*. 3 vols. (Bourgas: Adicom, 2007), p. 3283; Dov Gera and Hannah M. Cotton, “A Dedication from Dor to a Governor of Syria,” *Israel Exploration Journal* (1991), p. 262.

¹⁸⁴ Theodor Mommsen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. 20 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974), 3.7394 = Hermann Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 vols. in 5 parts (Berlin, 1892–1916), p. 1093; Mommsen, 8.26579; Werner Eck and Christmann Eckhard, “Gargilius,” *BrillPauly* (2006), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e419020 (accessed December 2016); *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: Caesarea and the Middle Coast*, vol. 2, nos. 1121–2160. 7 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 2:844.

¹⁸⁵ Andrew Burnett, Michel Amandry, and Pere Pau Ripollés Alegre, eds. *Roman Provincial Coinage*. 9 vols. (London, UK: British Museum Press, 2003), 4.10611; 4.8755; Ivan Varbanov, *Greek Imperial Coins and Their Values*. 3 vols. (Bourgas: Adicom, 2007), p. 3283.

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

Provincial Coinage. 9 vols. (London, UK: British Museum Press, 2003), 4.8663.

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

¹⁸⁸ Andrew Burnett, Michel Amandry, and Pere Pau Ripollés Alegre, eds. *Roman Provincial Coinage*. 9 vols. (London, UK: British Museum Press, 2003), 4.4555.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.8755.

¹⁹⁰ Arthur Stein, *Römische Reichsbeamte der Provinz Thracia* (Sarajevo, 1920), pp. 24–27; Bengt E. Thomasson 2009, *Laterculi Praesidum*. Vol. 1 (Londongatan: Göteborg, 2009), 65; 22:028.

¹⁹¹ Staff, “Rare find reveals previously unknown Roman ruler in Judea,” *The Times of Israel* (December 1, 2016). Retrieved from <http://www.timesofisrael.com/rare-find-reveals-previously-unknown-roman-ruler-in-judea/>.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ *L'Année épigraphique*, ed. A. Merlin (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1963) p. 104.

¹⁹⁵ Werner Eck and Andreas Pangerl, “Syria unter Domitian und Hadrian: Neue Diplome für die Auxiliartruppen der Provinz,” *Chiron* 36: 221–47.

¹⁹⁶ Walter Ameling et al., eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: Caesarea and the Middle Coast*, vol. 2, nos. 1121–2160. 7 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 2:844.

¹⁹⁷ Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC–AD 135)*, eds. G. Vermes, F. Miller, and M. Black, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh, UK: T&T Clark, 1979), 1:542–52.

¹⁹⁸ Walter Ameling et al., eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: Caesarea and the Middle Coast*, vol. 2, nos. 1121–2160. 7 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 2:2122.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2:1227.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:844; cf. Edward Dąbrowa, “M. Paccius Silvanus Quintus Corelius Gallus Gargilius Antiquus et son cursus honorum,” *Nunc de suebis dicendum est: studia archaeologica et historica Georgio Kolendo ab amicis et discipulis dicata*, eds. A. Bursche and J. Kolendo (Warsaw: Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1995), pp. 99–102.

²⁰¹ Hanan Eshel, “Bar Kokhba Revolt,” *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, eds. John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), p. 422.

²⁰² Yigael Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba: The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome* (New York, NY: Random House, 1971), p. 50; Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC–AD 135)*, eds. G. Vermes, F. Miller, and M. Black, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh, UK: T&T Clark, 1979), 1:542–52; E. Mary Smallwood, “Atticus, Legate of Judaea under Trajan,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* (1962), 52.1/2: 131; Hannah M. Cotton, “Some Aspects of the Roman Administration of Judaea/Syria-Palaestina,” *Lokale Autonomie und römische Und Ordnungsmacht in Den Kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen Vom 1. Bis 3. Jahrhundert*, ed. Werner Eck (München: Oldenbourg, 1999), pp. 428–66.

²⁰³ David Magie, trans. “Vita Hadriani,” *Historia Augusta: Hadrian. Aelius. Antoninus Pius. Marcus Aurelius. L. Verus. Avidius Cassius. Commodus. Pertinax. Didius Julianus*.

Septimius Severus. Pescennius Niger. Clodius Albinus. Vol. 1. Loeb Classical Library 139 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921), 14:2.

²⁰⁴ Hayim Ben-Sasson, ed., *A History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 334; Ariel Lewin, *The Archaeology of Ancient Judea and Palestine* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty, 2005), p. 33.

²⁰⁵ Klaus Bringmann, Leonhard Burckhardt, and Bruno Bleckmann, "Tetrarches, Tetrarchia." *BrillPauly*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1205430, 2006 (accessed December 2016); 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), 69:12:1–2.

²⁰⁶ Yigael Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba: The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome* (New York, NY: Random House, 1971), p. 129.

²⁰⁷ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History: Books 1–5*. Trans. Kirsopp Lake. Vol. 1. Loeb Classical Library 153 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), 4.6.

²⁰⁸ Hanan Eshel, "Bar Kokhba Revolt," *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, eds John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), p. 421.

²⁰⁹ *L'Année épigraphique*, eds. M. Corbier, P. Le Roux and S. Dardaine (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1993), 2.1620.5–6; 1623; Barbara Burrell, "Two Inscribed Columns from Caesarea Maritima," *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 99: 288–89.

²¹⁰ *L'Année épigraphique*, eds. M. Corbier, P. Le Roux and S. Dardaine (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1993), pp. 1621, 1624.

²¹¹ Hannah M. Cotton, "Some Aspects of the Roman Administration of Judaea/Syria-Palaestina," *Lokale Autonomie und römische Und Ordnungsmacht in Den Kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen Vom 1. Bis 3. Jahrhundert*, ed. Werner Eck (München: Oldenbourg, 1999), p. 80.

²¹² *L'Année épigraphique*, ed. A. Merlin (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1963), no. 104; Walter Ameling et al., eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: Caesarea and the Middle Coast*, vol. 2, nos. 1121–2160. 7 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), p. 228, Fig. 1277.

²¹³ Ya 'akov Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* (Tel Aviv, Israel: Am Hassefer and Masada, 1967), p. 333; David Hendin and Herbert Kreindler, *Guide to Biblical Coins*. 5th ed. New York, NY: Amphora, 2010/1987), p. 659.

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

²¹⁴ Walter Ameling et al., eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: Caesarea and the Middle Coast*, vol. 2, nos. 1121–2160. 7 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 2: 2123, p. 845 = *L'Année épigraphique*, eds. J. Gagé, M. Le Glay, H.-G. Pflaum and P. Willeumier (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1967), p. 525 = *L'Année épigraphique* (1986), p. 693.

²¹⁵ F.F. Bruce, "The Full Name of the Procurator Felix," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* (1978), pp. 33–36.

²¹⁶ Michael Avi-Yonah, "The Epitaph of T. Mucius Clemens," *Israel Exploration Journal* (1966), pp. 258–64.

²¹⁷ Nikos Kokkinos, "A Fresh Look at the *Gentilicium* of Felix Procurator of Judaea," *Latomus* 49.1 (1990), pp. 126–141.

²¹⁸ Walter Ameling et al., eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: Caesarea and the Middle Coast*, vol. 2, nos. 1121–2160. 7 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 2: 2123, p. 845.

²¹⁹ David Hendin and Herbert Kreindler, *Guide to Biblical Coins*. 5th ed. New York, NY: Amphora, 2010/1987), p. 652.

²²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 653.

²²¹ Walter Ameling et al., eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: Caesarea and the Middle Coast*, vol. 2, nos. 1121–2160. 7 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 2: 2122, p. 443 = Angelos Chaniotis et al., eds., *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden: Brill, 1923), 33-1266.

²²² Theodor Mommsen, *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*. 20 vols. Berlin, De Gruyter. Online database: <http://cil.bbaw.de/>, 1974, 8.26579 = *L'Année épigraphique*, ed. R. Cagna (Villejuif: Collège de France, 1893), p. 100; cf. *L'Année épigraphique* (1951), p. 75.

²²³ Andrew Burnett, Michel Amandry, and Pere Pau Ripollés Alegre, eds. *Roman Provincial Coinage*. 9 vols. (London, UK: British Museum Press, 2003), 4.10611; Ivan Varbanov, *Greek Imperial Coins and Their Values*. 3 vols. (Bourgas: Adicom, 2007), 3283; see also Andrew Burnett, Michel Amandry, and Pere Pau Ripollés Alegre, eds. *Roman Provincial Coinage*. 9 vols. (London, UK: British Museum Press, 2003), 4.8755 in the reign of Antonius Pius (AD 86–March 161).

²²⁴ Ivan Varbanov, *Greek Imperial Coins and Their Values*. 3 vols. (Bourgas: Adicom, 2007), p. 690.

²²⁵ Harold B. Mattingly, Edward Allen Sydenham, and Carol H.V. Sutherland, eds., *The Roman Imperial Coinage*. 13 vols. (London, UK: Spink & Son, 1923), 2.893; var. 225 (holding spear).

²²⁶ Leo Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*. Typos 6, ed. Patricia Erhart Mottahedeh (Aarau-Frankfurt am Main-Salzburg: Suerländer, 1984), 85.12.