

The Second Period

From the Capture of Jerusalem by Pompey to the Hadrianic War

THE ROMAN-HERODIAN AGE 63 B.C.—A.D. 135

From 65 B.C. to A.D. 70, Palestine, although not directly annexed to the province of Syria, was nevertheless subject to the supervision of the Roman governor of Syria. During this period, therefore, it was even more involved in the destiny of Syria than in the preceding one, and we accordingly begin once more with a survey of the history of that region.

Survey of the History of the Roman Province of Syria from 65 B.C. to A.D. 70

Sources

For the period of the Republic and the Civil Wars (65–30 B.C.), the main sources are Josephus, Cassius Dio, Appian, Cicero and Plutarch. For the period of the Empire (30 B.C.—A.D. 70): Josephus, Cassius Dio, Tacitus and Suetonius. See pp. 63–8 above.

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(c) Imperial period:

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I. The Downfall of the Republic 65-30 B.C.

I. Syria under the settlement by Pompey 65-48 B.C.

M. Aemilius Scaurus 65-62 B.C.

While serving as pro-quaestor of Pompey in Armenia, Scaurus was sent by him in 65 B.C. to Damascus, occupied shortly beforehand by Lollius and Metellus, Jos. *Ant.* xiv 2, 3 (29); *B.J.* i 6, 2 (127). In 64 to 63 B.C. Pompey himself was in Syria (MRR II, pp. 163-4, 169-70). In 63 B.C. he captured Jerusalem, and on his return to Pontus left Scaurus in Syria as governor *proquaestore propraetore* (Appian, *Syr.* 51/255; Jos. *Ant.* xiv 4, 5 (79); IGR III 1102 (Tyre) *Μάρκον Αιμύλιον Μάρκου υἱὸν Σκαύρον ἀντιπαμίαν ἀντιστράτηγον*). The latter carried out the campaign, planned by Pompey against the Nabataean king Aretas; Aretas secured peace on payment of 300 talents, Jos. *Ant.* xiv 5, 1-2 (80); *B.J.* i 8, 1 (159). Reference is made to this on coins minted by Scaurus as aedile of 58 B.C. with the inscription *M. Scaur. Aed. cur., ex S.C. Rex Aretas* (Babelon, *Monnaies de la république romaine* I (1885), pp. 120 f.; E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (1952), pp. 151-2, Pl. 913). Scaurus took with him from Joppa the skeleton of

the sea-monster to which Andromeda had been exposed (Pliny, *N.H.* ix 4/11). See Drumann-Groebe, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 20-3; RE s.v. 'Aemilius' (141).

L. Marcius Philippus 61-60 B.C.

According to Appian, *Syr.* 51/255-6, Marcius Philippus and Lentulus Marcellinus were governors of Syria (*τῶνδε μὲν ἑκατέρω διετῆς ἐπρίβθη χρόνος*) between Scaurus and Gabinius, each for two years, and both with praetorian rank. Since Gabinius arrived in Syria in the beginning of 57 B.C., the years 61-60 B.C. must be assigned to L. Marcius Philippus, and the years 59-58 B.C. to Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus. Cf. RE s.v. 'Marcius' (76).

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus 59-58 B.C.

See the preceding paragraph. Like his predecessor, he had to fight against the Nabataeans. Cf. RE s.v. 'Cornelius' (228).

Aulus Gabinius 57-55 B.C.

In 58 B.C., Syria was made a consular province (App. *Syr.* 51/256). In legislation passed by the tribune P. Clodius (MRR II, pp. 195-6), one of the consuls of 58 B.C., Aulus Gabinius, was assigned first Cilicia and then Syria. He arrived in the province in 57 B.C.¹ In this year he crushed a Jewish revolt under Alexander and Aristobulus, Jos. *B.J.* i 8, 2-6 (160-74); *Ant.* xiv 5, 2-6, 1 (82-97). Cicero, in speeches delivered in the spring and summer of 56 B.C., makes frequent attacks on his government of Syria for corruption, extortion and measures against the *publicani*, see e.g. *Pro Sestio* 71, 93; *De prov. cons.* 9-16. He was refused the vote of a *supplicatio*. See MRR II, p. 203.

In 56 B.C., he made preparations for an invasion of Parthia, and his command was continued for 55 B.C. (MRR II, p. 211). But in the spring of 55 B.C. he was commissioned by Pompey to reinstate King Ptolemy Auletes, who had been expelled from Alexandria in a popular rising. Ptolemy himself gave the needed stimulus to this commission by a gift of 10,000 talents. With Gabinius these two reasons outweighed both the opposition of the senate, and the prevailing law strictly prohibiting a proconsul from overstepping the limits of his province. He discontinued the expedition against the Parthians, made for Egypt, brought the Egyptian army to defeat—in the course of which young M. Antonius, the future triumvir, especially distinguished himself—and

1. In this period consuls and praetors proceeded to their provinces immediately after their terms of office expired. This was altered in 52 B.C., when it was enacted that there must always be an interval of five years. Cf. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I (1881), p. 522; G. H. Stevenson, *Roman Provincial Administration* (1939), p. 64.

reinstated Ptolemy as king in the beginning of 55 B.C. (Dio xxxix 56-8; Cic. *In Pison.* 48-50; Jos. *Ant.* xiv 6, 2 (98); Plut. *Ant.* 3, Appian, *Syr.* 51/257-9). He was for this reason accused *de maiestate* in Rome in the same year 55 B.C., at the instigation of Cicero in particular. The trial was already in progress when—after Crassus had meanwhile acquired the province—he arrived in September 54 B.C. in Rome (Cic. *ad Q.f.* iii 1, 5-7). His wealth and Pompey's influence succeeded in procuring for him a verdict of acquittal. But he was condemned on a charge of extortion, despite the fact that Cicero himself, persuaded by Pompey, undertook his defence (Dio xxxix 59-63, cf. 55; App. *B.C.* ii 24/90-2; Cic. *ad Q.f.* iii 1-4; *pro Rab. Post.* 8, 12; MRR II, p. 218). See Drumann-Groebe, *op. cit.* III, pp. 31-58; RE s.v. 'Gabinus' (11); T. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic* II, pp. 149-50, 155-8; E. Badian, *Philologus* 103 (1959), pp. 87-99.

M. Licinius Crassus 54-53 B.C.

In 60 B.C. Caesar, Pompey and Crassus had concluded the so-called first triumvirate. In 56 B.C. their agreement was renewed. It was in consequence of this that in 55 B.C., two of them, Pompey and Crassus, attained to the consulship. Whilst they held the consulship, Pompey undertook the administration of Spain, and Crassus that of Syria, each for five years (Dio xxxix 33-6; Liv. *Epit.* 105; Plut. *Pomp.* 52; Crass. 15; App. *B.C.* ii 18/65). Crassus left Rome and went to Syria even before the expiry of his consulship, in November of 55 B.C. (MRR II, pp. 214-15). In 54 B.C., he organised a campaign against the Parthians and advanced beyond the Euphrates, but returned to spend the winter in Syria. In the spring of 53 B.C., he renewed the campaign, crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma, but suffered a considerable defeat and had to withdraw to Carrhae. As he was unable to hold his ground here either, he continued his retreat, and had already reached the mountains of Armenia when the Parthian general Surenas offered him terms of peace on condition that the Romans should give up their claim to the territory on the further side of the Euphrates. Crassus was inclined to negotiate, but whilst on his way with a small escort to meet Surenas in 53 B.C., he was treacherously attacked and murdered by Parthian troops (according to Ovid, *Fast.* vi 465, *v Idus Junias*=9 June. MRR II, p. 230). Many of his men were taken prisoner by the Parthians, but some of them succeeded in escaping, and others had already got away to Syria under the leadership of the quaestor Cassius Longinus (Dio xl 12-27; Plut. *Crass.* 17-31; Liv. *Epit.* 106; Justin. xlii 4). See Drumann-Groebe, *op. cit.* IV, pp. 84-127; RE s.v. 'Crassus' (68); F. E. Adcock, *Marcus Crassus, Millionaire* (1966). On the Parthian campaign see T. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic* II, pp. 312-15; N. C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (1938), pp. 78-93.

C. Cassius Longinus 53-51 B.C.

After the death of Crassus, the supreme command in Syria was assumed by Cassius Longinus, the quaestor of the province. The Parthians now made incursions into Roman territory, and in 51 B.C. advanced as far as Antioch, but were repelled by Cassius in the autumn of 51 B.C. (Dio xl 28-9; Jos. *Ant.* xiv 7, 3 (119); Liv. *Epit.* 108; Justin xlii 4; Cic. *ad Att.* V 20, 1-7; *ad Fam.* ii 10; *Phil.* xi 14/35; Drumann-Groebe, *op. cit.* II 2, pp. 98-128; RE s.v. 'Cassius' (59). See MRR II, pp. 229, 237, 242-5.

M. Calpurnius Bibulus 51-50 B.C.

Cassius Longinus was succeeded by a certain Bibulus (according to Cic. *ad fam.* ii 10; *ad Att.* v 20; Dio xl 30-1). Appian in *Syr.* 51/259 calls him *Λευκίου Βύβλου*. But from the testimony of Cicero, *ad fam.* xii 19, xv 1 and 3, Liv. *Epit.* 108 and Caesar, *B.C.* iii 31, it is certain that this was M. Bibulus, Caesar's colleague in the consulship in 59 B.C. He arrived in Syria in the autumn of 51 B.C. (Cic. *ad Att.* v 18 and 20). He too had dealings with the Parthians (cf. Cic. *ad fam.* xii 19), but was able to get rid of them by inciting them to strife among themselves (according to Dio xl 30-1), as early as 51 B.C. Cf. Cic. *ad Att.* vii 2 'Parthi . . . repente Bibulum semivivum reliquerunt'. See MRR II, pp. 242, 250, and in general Drumann-Groebe, *op. cit.* II, pp. 80-6; RE s.v. 'Calpurnius' (28).

Veiento 50/49 B.C.

'Bibulus de provincia decessit, Veintonem praefecit', writes Cicero, in the beginning of December 50 B.C. (*ad Att.* vii 3, 5). Veiento was probably his *legatus*. MRR II, p. 253; RE s.v. 'Veiento' (2).

Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica 49-48 B.C.

When, in the first days of 49 B.C., civil war broke out between Caesar and Pompey, the provinces had just been distributed by Pompey's party and the province of Syria assigned to his father-in-law, Q. Metellus Scipio, who had held the consulship in 52 B.C. (Caesar, *B.C.* i 6; cf. Cic. *ad Att.* ix 1). Towards the end of 49 B.C. he brought two legions from Syria to assist Pompey, and spent the winter with them in the region of Pergamum (Caesar, *B.C.* iii 4 and 31). In the following year, he crossed over to Macedonia and joined Pompey shortly before the battle of Pharsalus (Caesar, *B.C.* iii 33, 78-82). In the battle of Pharsalus he commanded the centre of the Pompeian army (Caesar, *B.C.* iii 88). See MRR II, pp. 260-1, 275. See Drumann-Groebe, *op. cit.* II, pp. 36-50; RE s.v. 'Caecilius' (99).

2. The age of Caesar 47-44 B.C.

Sex. Iulius Caesar 47-46 B.C.

After the battle of Pharsalus (9 August 48 B.C.), Caesar followed Pompey by sea to Egypt, arriving there in the beginning of October, shortly after the assassination of Pompey on 28 September. Contrary to expectation, he became embroiled there in a war with King Ptolemy which detained him for nine months (App. *B.C.* ii 90/378). It was not until the beginning of June 47 B.C. that he was able to depart. He then went quickly (Dio xlii 47, 1) through Syria to Asia Minor to campaign against Pharnaces, the king of Pontus (*Bell. Alex.* 33, 65 ff.; Plut. *Caesar* 49, 50; Suet. *Div. Jul.* 35; App. *B.C.* ii 91/381).² Syria seems to have been left more or less to itself until then, but during his short stay there (according to Cic. *ad Att.* xi 20, 1, Caesar was in Antioch in the middle of July 47 B.C. by the Roman calendar), Caesar set the affairs of Syria in order by appointing one of his own relatives, Sex. Iulius Caesar, as governor, probably as *proquaestore pro praetore*, *Bell. Alex.* 66; Dio xlvii 26, 3. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiv 9, 2 (160). See MRR II, pp. 289, 297. Many Syrian cities obtained valuable privileges from Caesar (see *Bell. Alex.* 65) and for this reason instituted a new chronology (*aera Caesariana*): thus Antioch, Gabala, Laodicea. See Jones, *Cities*, p. 261; G. Downey, *A History of Antioch*, pp. 152 ff.; *BMC Syria* (1899), pp. 154 f.; A. R. Bellinger, 'The Early Coinage of Roman Syria', *Stud. in Rom. Soc. and Econ. Hist. pres. A. C. Johnson* (1951), pp. 58-67. See W. Judeich, *Caesar im Orient, kritische Uebersicht der Ereignisse vom 9 Aug. 48 bis October 47* (1885). On Sex. Iulius Caesar see RE s.v. 'Iulius' (153).

(Q. Caecilius Bassus 46-44 B.C.)

While Caesar was engaged in Africa in 46 B.C. against the Pompeian party, one of their number, Q. Caecilius Bassus, endeavoured to seize the governorship of Syria. He was defeated by Sextus, but managed to rid himself of him by assassination, to win over the soldiers to his side, and thus make himself master of Syria, Dio xlvii 26-27; Liv. *Epit.* 114; Jos. *Ant.* xiv 11, 1 (268); App. *B.C.* iii 77/312-15; compare iv 58/249-52; Drumann-Groebe, *op. cit.* II, pp. 106-8, 125; RE s.v. 'Caecilius' (36); Rice Holmes, *Roman Republic III*, p. 326 and n. 5.

² Caesar journeyed by sea from Egypt to Syria and from Syria to Cilicia; cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiv 8, 3 (137); 9, 1 (156); *Bell. Alex.* 66, 'eadem classe, qua venerat, proficiscitur in Ciliciam'. In the earlier passage, *Bell. Alex.* 33, 'sic rebus omnibus confectis et collocatis ipse itinere terrestri profectus est in Syriam' the words 'itinere terrestri' ought to be deleted. Cf. J. Andrieu, *César, Guerre d'Alexandrie* (Budé ed., 1954), p. 83.

C. Antistius Vetus 45 B.C.

Antistius Vetus was probably appointed by Caesar to govern Syria as *quaestor pro praetore*.³ In the autumn of 45 B.C. he besieged Bassus in Apamea, but was unable to defeat him decisively because the Parthians brought assistance to Bassus, Dio xlvii 27, 2-5. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiv 11, 1 (268). The chronology is given by Cicero, *ad Att.* xiv 9, 3 and Dio l.c.: διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα.) Cf. RE s.v. 'Antistius' (47); PIR² A 770.

L. Staius Murcus 44 B.C.

For the fight against Caecilius Bassus, Caesar sent L. Staius Murcus to Syria with three legions (probably at the beginning of 44 B.C.). He left after the Ides of March, suffered a reverse against Bassus, and was reinforced by the governor of Bithynia, Q. Marcius Crispus, who also had three legions at his disposal. Both then besieged Bassus again in Apamea (App. *B.C.* iii 77/316-7; iv 58/253-5; Dio xlvii 27, 5; Jos. *Ant.* xiv 11, 1 (270). Cf. Strabo xvi 2, 10 (752). See MRR II, p. 330.

3. Syria under the administration of Cassius (44-42 B.C.)

C. Cassius Longinus 44-42 B.C.

The assassination of Caesar on 15 March 44 B.C. gave a new turn to affairs. Among the conspirators responsible for the deed, the most prominent, apart from M. Brutus, was C. Cassius Longinus, the same man who had successfully defended Syria against the attacks of the Parthians in 53-51 B.C. He had been designated by Caesar as governor of Syria for 43 B.C. (App. *B.C.* iii 2/5; iv 57). But after Caesar's death, M. Antonius assigned Syria to Dolabella, and another province (Cyrene?) to Cassius (App. *B.C.* iii 7-8/22-9; iv 57/245). Cassius, however, did not submit to these arrangements, but proceeded to Syria, the province allotted to him by Caesar, arriving there before Dolabella (App. *B.C.* iii 24/91-2; iv 58/248-9; Dio xlvii 21, 26).⁴ At the time of his arrival early in 43 B.C., Caecilius Bassus was still besieged in Apamea by Staius Murcus and Marcius Crispus. He succeeded in winning over both

³ From Cicero, *ad fam.* xii 19, 1, it appears that at one time Caesar designated Q. Cornificius governor of Syria (Cicero writes to Cornificius: 'Bellum, quod est in Syria, Syriamque provinciam tibi tributam esse a Caesare ex tuis litteris cognovi'). The letter is undated, but it is plausibly argued by Ganter, *Philologus* 53 (1894), pp. 132-46, followed in RE s.v. 'Cornificius' (8), R. Syme, *Anatolian Studies pres. Buckler* (1939), pp. 320, 324, and MRR II, p. 297, that Cornificius was *quaestor pro praetore* in Cilicia in 46 B.C., and was briefly responsible also for operations in Syria.

⁴ On the transactions in reference to the provinces in the year 44 B.C. see further Drumann-Groebe, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 101-5; II, pp. 103 f.; T. Rice Holmes, *The Architect of the Roman Empire* (1928), pp. 188-90; Syme, *Roman Revolution*, pp. 97 f.

of these men, whereupon the legion of Bassus joined him also, as Cassius himself reports to Cicero in March and May 43 B.C., Cic. *ad fam.* xii 11 and 12. Cf. *ad Brut.* ii 5; *Phil.* xi 12/30; App. *B.C.* iii 78/317; iv 59/225; Dio xlvii 28; Jos. *Ant.* xiv 11, 2 (272). Cassius had thus considerable forces at his disposal when Dolabella, who in the meantime had made himself master of Asia Minor in the interests of Antonius, also invaded Syria and advanced as far as Laodicea, on the seashore south of Antioch (App. *B.C.* iii 78/320; iv 60/258-60; Dio xlvii 29-30). Cassius besieged him there (Cic. *ad fam.* xii 13-15) and obliged him to surrender, whereupon Dolabella ordered one of the soldiers of his bodyguard to kill him (App. *B.C.* iv 60-2/258-68; Dio xlvii 30). After the defeat of Dolabella, Cassius intended to make for Egypt, but was called urgently to Asia Minor by Brutus in 42 B.C. (See MRR II, pp. 343-4.) Accordingly, he left his nephew with one legion in Syria (App. *B.C.* iv 63/272), met Brutus in Smyrna, undertook an expedition against Rhodes, rejoined Brutus in Sardis, and then went with him to Macedonia. Here, at Philippi in the late autumn of 42 B.C., the armies of the conspirators were defeated by M. Antonius and Octavian, and Cassius, like his comrade Brutus, ended his life by his own hand, App. *B.C.* iv 63/270-138/581; Dio xlvii 31-49; Plut. *Brut.* 28-53. See RE s.v. 'Cassius' (59).

4. Syria under the domination of M. Antonius 41-30 B.C.

L. Decidius Saxa 41-40 B.C.

After the battle of Philippi, Octavian went to Italy, while Antonius made first for Greece and then for Asia (Plut. *Ant.* 23-4). On his way through Asia in 41 B.C., he met Cleopatra for the first time in Tarsus. She so captivated him by her charm that he followed her to Egypt, where he spent the winter 41/40 B.C. in idleness and revelry (according to Plut. *Ant.* 25-8). Before leaving for Egypt, he set in order the affairs of Syria, exacted on all sides an enormous tribute (App. *B.C.* v 7/29-31), and appointed L. Decidius Saxa *legatus*, probably with *imperium*; Dio xlviii 24, 3; Liv. *Epit.* 127; see MRR II, p. 376.

In the spring of 40 B.C., Antonius left Egypt and came in the summer of that year to Italy with the intention of fighting against Octavian; but after some insignificant skirmishing he concluded an agreement with him at Brundisium according to which the provinces were divided between Octavian and Antonius in such a way that the West fell to the former and the East to the latter (App. *B.C.* v 52/216-65/275; Dio xlviii 27-8. Scodra (now Scutari) in Illyria formed the boundary, App. *B.C.* v 65/274). Antonius remained for a year or so in Italy, during which time he nominated several vassal kings, among

them Herod,⁵ and then went to Athens in the autumn of 39 B.C. (App. *B.C.* v 75/318-76/324; Dio xlviii 39, 1-2). There he stayed, though not continuously, until the spring of 36 B.C.

At the time when Antonius secured from Octavian the rule over the East, a large part of the eastern territory, in particular the whole province of Syria, had already been lost to the Parthians. In 42 B.C., about the time when Cassius left Syria (App. *B.C.* iv 63/271), they had been invited by Cassius to form an alliance against Antonius and Octavian. Nothing came of it, however, the decisive battle of Philippi having taken place before the long-protracted negotiations had ended. But Labienus, the chief of the embassy, remained at the Parthian court, and at length managed by his unremitting representations to persuade King Orodes to invade Roman territory. As early perhaps as the autumn of 41 B.C., but at the latest in the spring of 40 B.C., a large Parthian army under the command of Labienus and Pacorus, the son of King Orodes, invaded Syria, defeated Decidius Saxa—he himself was killed—conquered all Syria, Phoenicia (with the exception only of Tyre) and Palestine, and finally forced its way into Asia Minor as far as the Ionian coast (Dio xlviii, 24-6; App. *Syr.* 51/259; *B.C.* v 65/276; Plut. *Ant.* 30; Liv. *Epit.* 127). See Debevoise, *Political History of Parthia* (1938), pp. 108-14; CAH X, pp. 47-50.

P. Ventidius Bassus 39-38 B.C.

Probably in the winter of 40-39 B.C., Antonius sent P. Ventidius Bassus with an army to Asia; at this time he had the status of *legatus* (Liv. *Epit.* 127), but had *imperium pro consule* at his triumph in 38 B.C. He drove Labienus back to the Taurus (in 39 B.C.) and defeated him there in a decisive battle (Labienus himself was afterwards taken prisoner and put to death). Ventidius then conquered Cilicia, and at the Amanus, the mountain boundary between Cilicia and Syria, defeated Pharnapates, Pacorus's second in command. He then without difficulty took possession of Syria and Palestine (Dio xlviii 39-41; Liv. *Epit.* 127; Plut. *Ant.* 33). In 38 B.C. the Parthians made another invasion, but sustained a complete defeat at the hands of Ventidius in the district of Cyrrhastica. Pacorus met his death in this battle, on the same day on which Crassus had fallen fifteen years earlier, 9 June (Dio xlix 19-20, cf. 21, 2; Liv. *Epit.* 128; Plut. *Ant.* 34). Ventidius next turned against Antiochus of Commagene. While he was besieging

5. Appian, *B.C.* v 75/319 ἰσθῆ δὲ πη καὶ βασιλείας, οὓς δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ φόροις ἄρα τεταγμένοι, Πόντου μὲν Δαρείον τὸν Φαράκου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Ἰδουμαίων δὲ καὶ Σαμαρέων Ἡρόδην, Ἀμύνταν δὲ Πισιδῶν καὶ Πολέμωνά μέρους Κιλικίας καὶ ἑτέρους ἐς ἕτερα ἔθνη. See H. Buchheim, *Die Orientalpolitik des Triumvirn M. Antonius* (1960), pp. 50 f., 66 f., etc. There are also nominations from a later time (36/35 B.C.) in Dio xlix 32, 3-5. Cf. Plut. *Ant.* 36.

him in Samosata, Antonius himself arrived, dismissed Ventidius, and continued the siege. But he accomplished little, contented himself with the formal submission of Antiochus, and returned to Athens, leaving C. Sosius behind as governor of Syria and Cilicia (Dio xlix 20-2; Plut. *Ant.* 34). In Rome on 27 Nov. 38 B.C. Ventidius celebrated a triumph *ex Tauro monte et Partheis* (CIL I², pp. 50, 76-7, 180). See MRR II, pp. 388, 392; RE s.v. 'Ventidius' (5).

C. Sosius 38-37 B.C.

Sosius completed the conquest of Syria by defeating the Jewish king Antigonus, the protégé of the Parthians, and conquering Jerusalem, where he installed Herod, whom Antonius had nominated king (Dio xlix 23, 1, transfers this to 38, the consulship of Ap. Claudius Pulcher and C. Norbanus Flaccus. But cf. § 14 below). For this, Sosius received the title *imperator* and was granted a triumph (*ex Judaea*), which he did not celebrate until 3 September 34 B.C. Cf. PIR¹ S 556; RE s.v. 'Sosius' (2).

In 36 B.C. Antonius himself went again to the East. Resolved to strike a decisive blow at the Parthians, he proceeded against them with a large force, but accomplished nothing, and when winter set in, was obliged to turn back with huge losses (Debevoise, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-31; MRR II, p. 400). He had rejoined Cleopatra in Syria in the spring of 36 B.C., before setting out against the Parthians. And after his return from that unfortunate expedition, he went to Leuce Come, between Sidon and Berytus, and in her company indulged in his usual amusements (Dio xlix 23-31; Plut. *Ant.* 36-51). He then (before the end of 36 B.C.) followed her to Egypt, and remained there till 33 B.C., devoting himself to a life of pleasure and extravagance interrupted by only two short campaigns against Armenia in 34 and 33 B.C. (Dio xlix 33, 29-41, 44; Plut. *Ant.* 52-3; Drumann-Groebe, *op. cit.* I pp. 336-42; R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (1939), pp. 264 f.; Buchheim, *Die Orientpolitik des Triumvirn M. Antonius* (1960), pp. 84 f.

From this period to the time of the battle at Actium, only two governors of Syria are known.

L. Munatius Plancus 35 B.C.

In 35 B.C., Sextus Pompeius, who had fled to Asia Minor after his defeat by Octavian, was put to death there. App. *B.C.* v 144/598 notes that it is uncertain whether his execution was ordered by Antonius himself or by Plancus, the governor of Syria (*εἰς δ' οὐκ Ἰλλάγκον, οὐκ Ἀντώνιον λέγουσιν ἐπιστεῖλαι, ἄρχοντα Συρίας*). From this incidental note it seems possible that L. Munatius Plancus was then governor of Syria. He was one of Antonius's most intimate friends, but went over

to the side of Octavian even before the outbreak of the war between Octavian and Antonius in 32 B.C. See Drumann-Groebe, *op. cit.* IV, pp. 223-29; RE s.v. 'Munatius' (30); PIR¹ M 534; MRR II, pp. 408-9.

L. Calpurnius Bibulus, c. 34/3-33/2 B.C.

App. *B.C.* iv 38/162 also mentions L. Bibulus among the proscribed who later made their peace with Antonius and Octavian: 'But Bibulus made his peace with Antonius and Octavian at the same time as Messala, and rendered service to Antonius as the commander of a ship, frequently effected settlements between Antonius and Octavian, was appointed by Antonius as governor of Syria and died whilst he was still governor'.⁶ Since, according to this statement, Bibulus died when he was governor, but according to the evidence of his coins was alive at least in 33 B.C., it is probable that this governorship falls in the period of the war between Antonius and Octavian. RE s.v. 'Calpurnius' (27); PIR² C 253.

Meanwhile, Antonius had become increasingly the slave of Cleopatra's whims. He had even allowed himself to be persuaded to make a gift of Roman territory to her and her children. Cleopatra thus acquired Coele Syria, or as Dio says, a great portion of the land of the Ituraeans, whose king Lysanias was put to death (cf. App. I); Phoenicia, as far as the Eleutherus, with the exception of Tyre and Sidon; and parts of Judaea and Arabia, which were taken from their kings, Herod and Malchus (Jos. *Ant.* xv 3, 8 (74-9); 4, 1-2 (88-103); *B.J.* i 18, 5 (361-3); Dio xlix 32, 4-5; Plut. *Ant.* 36; on the date of these gifts see § 15 below). Somewhat later, Ptolemy, Cleopatra's son by Antonius, acquired Syria as far as the Euphrates and Phoenicia, whilst Coele Syria continued to belong to his mother (so Plut. *Ant.* 54; cf. Dio xlix 41). See Buchheim, *Orientpolitik*, pp. 81 f. These gifts were certainly not confirmed by the senate (Dio xlix 41, 4). After the last Armenian campaign in 33 B.C., Antonius went to Greece. While he was there, war broke out between him and Octavian in 32 B.C., and in the following year, in the battle of Actium (2 September 31 B.C.), his power was finally and permanently broken.

II. The Period of the Empire 30 B.C.-A.D. 70

I. Octavian/Augustus 30 B.C. to 19 August A.D. 14

Q. Didius 30 B.C.

After the battle of Actium, Antonius fled to Egypt. Octavian followed

⁶ Βύβλος δὲ ἐσπέισατο ἅμα τῷ Μεσσάλα, καὶ ναύαρχησεν Ἀντωνίῳ, διαλλαγὰς τε πολλάκις Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπόρθμευσε, καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη Συρίας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐν αὐτῆς ἀπέθανεν.

him, but because the year was well advanced, was obliged to spend the winter in Samos (Suet. *Div. Aug.* 17). It was not until 30 B.C. that he travelled by land through Asia and Syria ('Asiae Syriaeque circuitu Aegyptum petit', Suet. *Div. Aug.* 17) to Egypt. There, on 1 August 30 B.C., before the gates of Alexandria, an engagement took place in which Antonius was defeated, while at the same time his fleet went over to Octavian. As a result, Antonius and Cleopatra committed suicide, leaving Octavian absolute master of the Roman empire (Dio li 11-14; Plut. *Ant.* 69-86).

In this period, between the battle of Actium and the death of Antonius (Sept. 31-Aug. 30 B.C.), Q. Didius is mentioned as a governor of Syria who provoked the Arabian tribes to burn ships built for Antonius in the Arabian Gulf, and prevented gladiators anxious to hasten from Cyzicus to the help of Antonius from marching through to Egypt, in which connexion King Herod also lent him aid, Dio li 7; Jos. *Ant.* xv 6, 7 (195). It is possible that Didius had been appointed by Antonius, but that he sided with Octavian after the battle of Actium, when he saw that Antonius's cause was lost.⁷ See PIR² D 69.

Towards the end of 30 B.C., Octavian returned to Syria on his way back from Egypt, and probably only then set affairs in order there. He spent the winter 30/29 B.C. in Asia. (Dio li 18, 1).

M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus 29 B.C.

The gladiators prevented by Didius from marching to Egypt were dispersed to various places and put to death as occasion arose by Messalla (i.e. M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, consul of 31 B.C., Dio li 7, 7; see Tibullus I 7, 13 f.). Messalla must therefore have been governor of Syria after Didius. From App. *B.C.* iv 38/162, Ganter (*Provinzialverwaltung der Triumvirn*, p. 44) argued that Messalla's administration of Syria cannot have occurred until after his governorship of Gaul (28-27 B.C.), since Appian mentions his mission to Gaul immediately after his participation in the battle of Actium. But this does not exclude the possibility that his administration of Syria fell in the interval between the two. See PIR¹ V 90; RE s.v. 'Valerius' (261).

M. Tullius Cicero 29-27? (27-25?)

From App. *B.C.* iv 51/221 it emerges that after holding the consulship in 30 B.C., Cicero was also governor of Syria. But nothing certain is known concerning the date of his administration. Appian's words (αὐτὸν δὲ Καίσαρ . . . ἱερέα τε εὐθὺς ἀπέφηγε καὶ ὑπατον οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον καὶ

7. This conjecture was rejected by Ganter, *Provinzialverwaltung der Triumvirn*, p. 44. But its probability emerges from the fact that already very soon after the battle of Actium Didius appears in control of Syria; see Syme, *Roman Revolution*, p. 266, n. 3.

Συρίας σπαρτηγόν) point to a period soon after 30 B.C. The inscription on which Cicero is mentioned as governor of Syria is now held to be spurious (CIL x, *falsae* no. 704). See PIR¹ T 272; Drumann-Groebe, *op. cit.* VI, pp. 711-19; Syme, *Roman Revolution*, pp. 302-3; RE s.v. 'Tullius' (30).

In 27 B.C., the provinces were divided between Augustus and the senate. Hitherto, Augustus had appointed the governors of all the provinces under the powers conferred on the Triumvirate in 43 B.C. But now he returned part of them to the rule of proconsuls appointed by lot, retaining for himself the right to appoint the governors (*legati Augusti pro praetore*) of others, mainly those in which there were substantial military forces. Among the latter was Syria, in itself one of the most important provinces; because its eastern frontier was constantly threatened, it could not be left without a strong military defence.⁸

8. On this division of the provinces, cf. in particular Dio liii 12; also Strabo xvii 3, 25 (840) and Suet. *Div. Aug.* 47. The more specific regulations concerning the administration of the provinces made by Augustus partly now, and partly at a later time, are in substance the following (see especially Dio liii 13-15; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* i (1881), pp. 543-57; Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II (1887), pp. 243-66; G. H. Stevenson, *Roman Provincial Administration* (1939), pp. 94 ff.; F. Millar, *JRS* 56 (1966), pp. 156-66):

a. The senatorial provinces. They were divided into two classes, those administered by former consuls, and those administered by former praetors. Only Africa and Asia were consular provinces; all the rest were praetorian. All governors were chosen by lot, each for one year; but, as had been laid down in the *lex Pompeia* of 52 B.C., at least five years had to elapse between the holding of office in Rome and departure to a province. The interval was frequently longer. The two consuls first entitled cast lots for the two consular provinces of Africa and Asia (the first entitled were not always the oldest, see Zippel, *Die Losung der konsularischen Prokonsuln in der früheren Kaiserzeit*, Königsberg, Progr. 1883); similarly, entitled praetors cast lots for the praetorian provinces (nothing certain is known of this however). The governors of all the senatorial provinces were called *proconsules*, whether they were former consuls or only former praetors; but the proconsuls of Africa and Asia had twelve lictors, the rest of them six. None of the governors of the senatorial provinces had legions at his disposal, but only a small force sufficient for the maintenance of order. Exceptions were Macedonia and Africa, where a legion was stationed, but in the latter case it was later handed over to a separate *legatus* appointed by the Emperor.

b. The imperial provinces. They too were divided into those administered by former consuls and those administered by former praetors; in addition, some were administered by mere knights. All governors were of course nominated by the emperor, and the length of their term of office depended entirely on him. The governors of both consular and praetorian provinces (Syria belonged to the former) were known as *legati Augusti pro praetore* (Dio liii 13, 5 τοὺς δὲ ἑτέροισι ὑπὸ τε ἑαυτοῦ αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ πρεσβευτὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου τε ὀνομάζεσθαι, κἄν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευόντων ᾧσι, διέταξε. Unlike the governors of the senatorial provinces, they had the *paludamentum* and went out *cum gladio*.

(*M. Terentius?*) Varro 24–23 B.C.?

Immediately before Agrippa's mission to the East (23 B.C.), a certain Varro is mentioned as governor of Syria, *Jos. Ant.* xv 10, 1 (345); *B.J.* i 20, 4 (398). He may be identical with the Terentius Varro mentioned by Dio liii 25, 3–5 and Strabo iv 6, 7 (205), who in 25 B.C. as legate of Augustus subdued the Salassi; or with the [Μάρκος Τερέντιος Μάρκου υἱὸς Παπειρία Οὐδάριον] in the *SC de Mytileneis* of 25 B.C. (IGR IV 33, B 42 = R. K. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (1969), no. 26). From Josephus it emerges definitely that our Varro was still in Syria when Augustus bestowed the district of Trachonitis upon Herod,⁹ i.e., at the end of 24 B.C. or the beginning of 23 B.C. The opinion of Mommsen (*Res Gest.*, pp. 165 f.) that Varro was a legate of Agrippa is improbable, for Josephus places Varro before the time when Agrippa was sent to the East. Cf. M. Reinhold, *Marcus Agrippa: A Biography* (1933), p. 175. See PIR¹ T 195; RE s.v. 'Terentius' (86); Syme, *Roman Revolution*, pp. 330, 338.

M. Vipsanius Agrippa 23–13 B.C.

In 23 B.C. Augustus sent to Syria M. Agrippa, his intimate friend and counsellor, and in 21 B.C. his son-in-law (Dio liv 6, 5). Josephus describes him as the 'deputy of Caesar in the countries beyond the Ionian Sea' (*Ant.* xv 10, 2 (350) τῶν πέραν Ἰονίου διὰ δόχου Καίσαρι). He possessed in any case very extensive powers, more than an ordinary *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. According to *Jos. Ant.* xvi 3, 3 (86) he held this position (τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας) for ten years, until 13 B.C. Agrippa did not in fact go to Syria in 23 B.C. at all, but stayed in Mytilene on the island of Lesbos from 23–21 B.C., and then returned to Rome, Dio liii 32, 1; liv 6, 5; Suet. *Div. Aug.* 66. Cf. *Jos. Ant.* xv 10, 2 (350). During the four following years, he was busy in the West, and it was not until 16 B.C. that he went again to the East, where he remained until 13 B.C., Dio liv 19, 6; 24, 5–8; 28, 1; *Jos. Ant.* xvi 2, 1–5 (12–62); 3, 3 (86). He was thus by no means always in the East during the ten years, let alone in Syria. He could, however, exercise his official powers *in absentia* through legates, as he in fact did in 23 B.C. (τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους, Dio liii 32, 1), when he sent his legate from Lesbos to Syria. He is therefore to be regarded as the governor of Syria during this period, at least during 23–21 B.C., and perhaps 17–13 B.C. It is not possible to give a precise account of the constitutional powers of Agrippa during this period, or of the status of his *legati*. See, however, the discussion and conclusions of M. Reinhold, *Marcus Agrippa*, pp. 167–75. Cf. PIR¹ V 457; RE s.v. 'Vipsanius' (2) IXA. 1, cols. 1226 f.);

9. Augustus commanded Varro to extirpate the gangs of robbers in Trachonitis, and at the same time bestowed the territory on Herod, *Ant.* xv 10, 1 (345).

and now E. W. Gray, 'The Imperium of M. Agrippa: a note on P. Colon. inv. nr. 4701', *Zeitschr. f. Pap. u. Epig.* 6 (1970), pp. 227–38.

During the two years 21–19 B.C. Augustus was in the East, Dio liv 7–10; cf. *Jos. Ant.* xv 10, 3 (354); *B.J.* i 20, 4 (399).

M. Titius c. 10 B.C.

At the time of Herod's quarrel with his sons, probably c. 10 B.C., M. Titius, suffect consul in 31 B.C., is mentioned as governor of Syria, *Jos. Ant.* xvi 8, 6 (270). Cf. Strabo xvi 1, 28 (748); RE s.v. 'Titius' (18); PIR¹ T 196. T. Corbishley, *JRS* 24 (1934), pp. 43–9; L. R. Taylor, *JRS* 26 (1936), pp. 161–73; R. Syme, *Roman Revolution*, p. 398; G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (1965), pp. 21–2.

C. Sentius Saturninus ?10/9–?7/6 B.C.

The immediate successor of M. Titius was possibly C. Sentius Saturninus, *Jos. Ant.* xvi 9, 1 (280), consul in 19 B.C. Josephus names Volumnius with him also, as τῶν Συρίας ἐπιστατούντων. But in *B.J.* i 27, 1 (535) he calls Volumnius τὸν στρατοπέδαρχον, and in i 27, 2 (538) ἐπίτροπος. So he was an equestrian subordinate of Saturninus, and probably procurator of the province. Sentius Saturninus is also mentioned in *Jos. Ant.* xvi 10, 8 (344); II, 3 (368); xvii 1, 1 (6); 2, 1 (24); 3, 2 (57). Tertullian places the census during which Christ was born in the period of his administration: 'sed et census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Iudaea per Sentium Saturninum, apud quos genus eius inquirere potuissent' (*adv. Marcion.* iv 19, 10). This statement is at variance with the account given by Josephus and is certainly erroneous. See PIR¹ S 293; RE s.v. 'Sentius' (9).

P. Quinctilius Varus 7/6–4 B.C.

The immediate successor of Saturninus was Quinctilius Varus, *Jos. Ant.* xvii 5, 2 (89), consul in 13 B.C., who later undertook the disastrous campaign in Germany. On the evidence of coins (*BMC Syria*, pp. 158 f., nos. 357–9; G. Macdonald, *Num. Chron.* 4 (1904), pp. 106–9; D. B. Waage, *Antioch on the Orontes* IV 2 (1952), p. 29, nos. 300–3) it is established that Varus was governor of Syria in the years 25, 26 and 27 of the *aera Actiaca*. Since the Actian era begins on 2 September 31 B.C. (E. J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (1968), pp. 73), its 25th year runs from autumn 7 B.C. to autumn 6 B.C. Varus must therefore have arrived in Syria before autumn 6 B.C. He remained there until after the death of Herod, *Jos. Ant.* xvii 9, 3 (221); 10, 1 (250); 10, 9 (286); II, 1 (299), i.e. probably into the summer of 4 B.C. or longer (on the date of Herod's death, see p. 326 below), Velleius ii 117, 2 says of his administration of Syria, 'Varus . . . pecuniae vero quam non contemptor, Syria cui praefuerat declaravit, quam pauper

divitem ingressus dives pauperem reliquit'. See PIR¹ Q 27; B. E. Thomasson, *Die Statthalter der röm. Provinzen Nordafrikas II* (1964), p. 13; RE s.v. 'Quinctilius' (20).

? *L. Calpurnius Piso* ? c. 4-1 B.C.

The much discussed acephalous inscription from Tibur (ILS 918) does not show an earlier governorship of Syria by P. Sulpicius Quirinius (see below), and may well, as has been argued in recent years (Syme, *Roman Revolution*, p. 398; B. M. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (1967), pp. 208-9), relate to L. Calpurnius Piso, the *pontifex*, consul in 15 B.C. (PIR² C 289); cf. however, P. Herrmann, *Ath. Mitt.* 75 (1960), pp. 130-4, and C. Habicht, *Alt. v. Pergamon VIII* 3 (1969), p. 40. In that case, the inscription refers to Piso's campaign against the Thracian Bessi, culminating in 11 B.C. (cf. Dio liv 34, 5-7; Tac. *Ann.* vi 10 f.), his proconsulate of Asia, perhaps in 3/2 B.C. or earlier (Levick, *op. cit.*, p. 209), and then his legateship of Syria, for which Syme, *Klio* 27 (1934), pp. 127-35, suggested the period 4-1 B.C. It may well be that the *Λεύκιον Κ[α]λπύρριον Πείσιωνα, πρεσβυτήν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον* honoured at Hierapolis-Castabala in Cilicia, JOAI 18 (1915), Beiheft, p. 51, is this Piso as *legatus* of Syria.

(? *P. Sulpicius Quirinius* ? 4-2 B.C.)

It has often been argued that P. Sulpicius Quirinius was twice *legatus* of Syria, once from about A.D. 6 (see below), and once earlier. The case for the latter rests on (a) Luke 2: 1; ἐξῆλθε δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αἰγυπτίου, ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφή πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηναίου, which thus seems (cf. Luke 1: 5) to date a Roman census conducted by Quirinius to the lifetime of Herod the Great; hence, such a census, and a governorship of Quirinius, would have to be an earlier one than that of A.D. 6, in which year he also conducted a census both of Syria and of the newly-absorbed province of Judaea. This thesis has seemed to be supported by the inscription from Tibur (ILS 918) which records *int. al.* that the unnamed senator whose career is described '[legatus pr. pr] divi Augusti iterum Syriam et Ph[oenicem] optinuit'. In spite of the recent doubts of A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament* (1963), pp. 163-4, this will, however, mean not that the man was twice *legatus* of Syria, but that his second legateship was that of Syria. The inscription more probably relates to L. Calpurnius Piso (see above). The problem of the census, which cannot have taken place while Judaea was a client kingdom, is discussed on pp. 399-427. There is no good reason to think that Quirinius was governor of Syria at any time before A.D. 6. During the war which he fought against the Homonadenses (Strabo xii 6, 5 (567); Tac. *Ann.* iii 48), probably in

the period c. 4-3 B.C., he was probably *legatus* of Galatia-Pamphylia, not of Syria (see Levick, *Roman Colonies*, pp. 203-14).

(? *C. Iulius Caesar* 1 B.C.-A.D. 4)

Gaius, the grandson of Augustus, was sent to the East with proconsular *imperium* in 1 B.C.; and remained there until his death in A.D. 4. The expressions used by literary sources to describe his position are very varied (see PIR² I 1216), and only Orosius vii 3, 4 'ad ordinandas Aegypti Syriaeque provincias missus', implies clearly that he was specifically in charge of Syria. The contemporary evidence of Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1 177 f. and an inscription from Messene (AE 1967, 458 ὑπὲρ τᾶς ἀνθρώπων πάντων σωτηρίας τοῖς βαρβάροις μαχόμενον) clearly envisages him as primarily engaged against the Parthians. There is therefore no definite reason to think that he replaced the normal governor of Syria during this period.

L. Volusius Saturninus A.D. 4-5

Consul suffectus in 12 B.C. It is known from coins that he was governor of Syria in the year 35 of the Actian era = autumn A.D. 4 to A.D. 5 (Mionnet V, p. 156; *BMC Syria*, p. 159; Macdonald, *Num. Chron.* 4 (1904), p. 109. See PIR¹ V 660; RE s.v. 'Volusius' (16) (Supp. IV, cols. 1857 f.).

P. Sulpicius Quirinius A.D. 6

After the banishment of Archelaus, the ethnarch of Judaea, in A.D. 6, P. Sulpicius Quirinius travelled to Syria and immediately after his arrival undertook a census in Judaea (Jos. *Ant.* xvii 13, 5 (355); xviii 1, 1 (1); 2, 1 (26); referred to in Luke 2:1; see above and pp. 399-427). How long he remained governor of Syria cannot be determined. Reference is also made to his activity in Syria in an inscription which was once supposed to be spurious. Since the discovery of the second half in the original, its authenticity is, however, assured (see especially Mommsen, *Ephemeris Epigraphica* IV (1881), pp. 537-42 = CIL III 6687 = ILS 2683; a facsimile of the surviving portion in De Rossi, *Bull. di arch. crist.* (1880), tav. ix, cf. p. 174). On the inscription Q. Aemilius Q. f. Pal. Secundus says of himself among other things: 'iussu Quirini censum egi Apamenaе civitatis millium homin(um) civium CXVII. Idem missu Quirini adversus Ituraeos in Libano monte castellum eorum cepi'. See PIR¹ S 732; RE s.v. 'Sulpicius' (90); Levick, *Roman Colonies*, pp. 206-13.

Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus A.D. 12-17

Consul in A.D. 7. His coins show that he arrived in Syria as governor in A.D. 12 at the latest. On them occur the year numbers 43, 44, 45, 47

of the Actian era (Mionnet V, pp. 156-9, 276; Leake, *Numismata Hellenica, Asiatic Greece*, p. 15; *BMC Syria*, pp. 159, 169, 273; but see Macdonald, *Num. Chron.* 4 (1904), pp. 113-17; D. B. Waage, *Antioch on-the-Orontes* IV. 2, nos. 311, 312, 324, 325. Those of the years 43-46 were minted in Antioch; those of 47, in Seleucia; those of 45 have the head of Tiberius and the date A—the first year of Tiberius; those of the year 47 have the head of Tiberius and the date Γ—the third year of Tiberius. The year 43 of the Actian era is autumn A.D. 12-13. The latest coin of Silanus (47 *aer. Act.*) belongs to A.D. 16-17. In agreement with this, *Tac. Ann.* ii 43 records the recall of Silanus by Tiberius in A.D. 17. Cf. also *Tac. Ann.* ii 4; *Jos. Ant.* xviii 2, 4 (52). See PIR² C 64; add IGLS V 2550.

2. Tiberius, 19 Aug. 14 to 16 March 37

Cn. Calpurnius Piso A.D. 17-19

In A.D. 17, perhaps toward the end of the year, Tiberius sent his nephew and adopted son Germanicus to the East. Germanicus was invested with an authority higher than that of the governors of the provinces into which he went 'decreto patrum permissae Germanico provinciae quae mari dividuntur, maiusque imperium, quoquo adisset, quam iis qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent', *Tac. Ann.* ii 43). At the same time, Silanus was recalled, and in his place, Cn. Calpurnius Piso, consul in 7 B.C. and a man of a domineering and obstinate character 'ingenio violentum et obsequii ignarum', *Tac. Ann.* ii 43), was appointed governor of Syria.

Germanicus went in the first place to Greece, where he entered on his second consulship at the beginning of A.D. 18, then by way of Byzantium to Troy, down the Ionian coast to Rhodes, and thence to Armenia. Having attended to affairs there, he travelled to Syria, where Piso had already hurried ahead of him (*Tac. Ann.* ii 53-7). Because of Piso's domineering nature, hostilities between the two were inevitable. Nevertheless these were at first without consequence (*Tac. Ann.* ii 57-8). In A.D. 19 Germanicus undertook a journey to Egypt, mainly to see the antiquities there (*Tac. Ann.* ii 59-61). Soon after his return to Syria he fell ill and died on 10 October A.D. 19. Common report laid the blame for his death on Piso (*Tac. Ann.* ii 69-73), who had already left Syria on Germanicus's order (*Tac. Ann.* ii 70). See PIR² C 287.

Cn. Sentius Saturninus A.D. 19-21

After the death of Germanicus, his staff conferred supreme command in Syria on Cn. Sentius Saturninus, consul in A.D. 4 (*Tac. Ann.* ii 74). But Piso received news of the death of Germanicus on his return

journey, and decided to take possession of Syria by force. He landed in Cilicia and occupied the fortress of Celenderis, *Κελένδερεις*, Strabo, 670, 760; cf. *Jos. Ant.* xvii 5, 1 (86); *B.J.* i 31, 3 (610), but was obliged to surrender to Sentius and agree to return to Rome (*Tac. Ann.* ii 75-81). Arrived there at the beginning of A.D. 20, he was accused by the friends of Germanicus, but evaded condemnation by committing suicide (*Tac. Ann.* ii 8-15).

It is not known how much longer Sentius Saturninus remained in Syria. He is mentioned as *legatus Caesaris* in an inscription found at Nicopolis on the borders of Syria and Cilicia on the Gulf of Issus, and dating from A.D. 21 at the earliest (CIL III 6703 = IGLS I 164). According to this, he appears to have been also formally appointed governor of Syria, for the title *leg. Caes.* is probably to be understood in this sense. PIR¹ S 295; RE s.v. 'Sentius' (II).

L. Aelius Lamia, until A.D. 32

From *Tac. Ann.* i 80 and *Suet. Tib.* 41, 63, it is clear that Tiberius repeatedly appointed legates without actually permitting them to proceed to their provinces (*Tac.*: 'qua haesitatione postremo eo proventus est, ut mandaverit quibusdam provincias, quos egredi urbe non erat passurus'). L. Aelius Lamia, among others, was affected by this measure. Tacitus in *Ann.* vi 27, when recording his death, gives the following account: 'Extremo anni (33) mors Aelii Lamiae funere censorio celebrata, qui administrandae Suriae imagine tandem exsolutus urbi praefuerat. genus illi decorum, vivida senectus; et non permissa provincia dignationem addiderat'. From this it appears that Aelius Lamia was appointed *praefectus urbi* immediately after being relieved of the *imago administrandi Suriae*, i.e., of the apparent, but not real, administration of Syria. But he did not receive the office of *praefectus urbi* until after the death of L. Piso, see Dio lviii 19, 5: τὸν τε Πίσωνα τὸν πολίτην τελετήσαντα δημοσίᾳ ταφῇ ἐτίμησεν . . . καὶ Λούκιον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Λαμίαν ἀνθελίετο, ὃν πρόπαλαι τῇ Συρίᾳ προστάξας κατεῖχεν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ. Since according to *Tac. Ann.* vi 10 and *Dio loc. cit.*, Piso died in A.D. 32, it follows that Aelius Lamia was appointed *praefectus urbi* in that year, and was therefore governor of Syria, in name at least, until then. (The Piso mentioned by *Jos. Ant.* xviii 6, 5 (169) as *praefectus urbi* in A. D. 36, is a different man, consul in A.D. 27, PIR² C 293; see Syme 'Some Pisones in Tacitus', *JRS* 46 (1956), pp. 17-21 = *Ten Studies in Tacitus* (1970), pp. 50-7. It cannot be determined when the governorship of Syria was conferred on him. At all events, he held it for a long time, as is evident from the 'tandem' of Tacitus and the 'προπάλαι' of Dio.¹⁰ See PIR² A 200.

10. It is perhaps because no governor was present in Syria at the time (A.D. 29) that none is named in Luke 3: 1.

L. Pomponius Flaccus A.D. 32-35 (?)

Since Lamia was relieved of his post as governor in A.D. 32, Flaccus, consul in A.D. 17, will have succeeded him in the same year. In *Ann.* vi 27, in a passage immediately following the account of Aelius Lamia, Tacitus records the death of Flaccus in the following terms: 'exin (i.e. after the death of Lamia) Flacco Pomponio Syriae pro praetore defuncto recitantur Caesaris litterae, quis incusabat egregium quemque et regendis exercitibus idoneum abnuere id munus, seque ea necessitudine ad preces cogi, per quas consularium aliqui capessere provincias adigerentur, oblitus Arruntium, ne in Hispaniam pergret, decimum iam annum attineri'. As Tacitus records this among the events of A.D. 33, the obvious assumption is that the death of Flaccus took place in that year. It is nevertheless not impossible that Tacitus associated the report concerning Lamia with that of Flaccus on practical grounds, and that the death of Flaccus did not take place until later, perhaps in A.D. 35. In favour of this is (1) the observation by Tacitus that at the time of the death of Flaccus, Arruntius had already been prevented for ten years from setting out for Spain, his province, i.e. Tarraconensis, governed by a consular legate. An earlier governor of this province appears to be mentioned in A.D. 25 (*Tac. Ann.* iv 45. But Syme, *JRS* 56 (1956), pp. 20-1, has shown that this should refer to a praetorian legate serving there). (2) Agrippa I arrived in Rome in the spring of A.D. 36, ἐναυτῶ πρότερον ἢ τελευτῆσαι Τιβέριον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀνεῖσι, *Jos. Ant.* xviii 5, 3 (126), having visited Flaccus in Syria not long before *Jos. Ant.* xviii 6, 2-3 (147-60). If a whole year is allowed for Agrippa's journey—which was certainly attended by difficulties—from the time of his visit to Flaccus to that of his arrival in Rome, then Flaccus must still have been in Syria in A.D. 35. Finally, in favour of 35 as the year of the death of Flaccus is the fact that his successor Vitellius, who arrived in Syria in A.D. 35, followed him immediately, whereas otherwise there would be an interval.

There are coins of Flaccus of the year 82 of the Caesarian era¹¹ = A.D. 33-4; see Mionnet V, p. 167; *BMC Syria*, p. 170, no. 161; Dieudonné, *RN*, Ser. 4, 30 (1927), p. 36, no. 4. See *PIR*¹ P 538

L. Vitellius A.D. 35-39?

In A.D. 35 Tiberius sent L. Vitellius, consul in A.D. 34 and father of the subsequent emperor of that name, as legate to Syria (*Tac. Ann.* vi

11. The Caesarian era at Antioch ran from 1.10.49 B.C.; see G. Downey, *History of Antioch*, pp. 157-8; cf. Ginzler, *Chronologie* III, pp. 43-5.

32).¹² Tacitus testifies of him that, by contrast with his later life, his administration of the province was blameless 'eo de homine haud sum ignarus sinistram in urbe famam, pleraque foeda memorari; ceterum in regendis provinciis prisca virtute egit'. Recalled by Caligula, probably in A.D. 39, he was succeeded by Petronius (*Jos. Ant.* xviii 8, 2 (261)).¹³ Cf. also generally, Suet. *Vit.* 2; Dio *lix* 27; Pliny, *N.H.* xv 21/83; *PIR*¹ V 500; *RE* s.v. 'Vitellius' (7c) (*Supp.* IX, cols. 1733 f.).

3. Caligula, 16 March A.D. 37 to 24 Jan. A.D. 41

P. Petronius A.D. 39?-41/2

Petronius was sent to Syria by Caligula in A.D. 39 (see the foregoing paragraph). From a coin (Mionnet V, pp. 167, 173; Dieudonné, *RN*, Ser. 4, 30 (1927), p. 38) it is evident that he was still governor in the year 90 of the Caesarian era = A.D. 41-42, for about a year, therefore, during the reign of Claudius. See *Jos. Ant.* xviii 8, 2-9 (261-309); xix 6, 3 (299-311); Philo, *Leg.* 31-34/576-84; *PIR*¹ P 198; *RE* s.v. 'Petronius' (24).

4. Claudius, 24 Jan. A.D. 41 to 13 Oct. A.D. 54

C. Vibius Marsus A.D. 41/2-44/5

As successor of Petronius, Claudius sent C. Vibius Marsus, *consul suffectus* in A.D. 17, to Syria, *Jos. Ant.* xix 6, 4 (316). He had occasion several times to safeguard Roman interests against king Agrippa, *Ant.* xix 7, 2 (326-7); 8, 1 (338-42). His recall took place soon after Agrippa's death in A.D. 44, i.e., at the end of A.D. 44, or the beginning of A.D. 45,

12. From the words of Tacitus, 'cunctis quae apud orientem parabantur L. Vitellium praefecit', it should perhaps be assumed that Vitellius obtained a wider sphere of activity than the province of Syria. But Tacitus himself, in *Ann.* vi 41, calls him *praeses Syriae*; so does *Jos. Ant.* xviii 4, 2 (88) ὑπατικὸν . . . ἀνδρα Συρίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντα; cf. also Suet. *Vit.* 2; Dio *lix* 27, 2; and Pliny, *N.H.* xv 21/83. So he was in any case governor of Syria, but may have possessed additional powers. But see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* ii (1950), p. 1364, n. 39.

13. From Josephus it seems as if the recall of Vitellius and the arrival of Petronius did not take place until autumn A.D. 40. After his arrival, Petronius took up winter quarters in Ptolemais, *Ant.* xviii 8, 2 (262). The negotiations immediately started with the Jews took place during the sowing season, *Ant.* xviii 8, 3 (272); 8, 6 (284), i.e. in November or December, see *IDB* I, p. 58. Petronius reported on them to Caligula, who received and answered the letter shortly before his death on 24 January A.D. 41, *Ant.* xviii 8, 8-9 (298-309). Josephus therefore seems to place the arrival of Petronius in the autumn of A.D. 40. On the other hand, according to the contemporary testimony of Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* (see Smallwood, *Latomus* 16 (1957), pp. 3-17, and her *Philonis Alexandrini legatio ad Gaium* (1961; 1970), esp. pp. 31 f., 260 f., and cf. p. 210), Petronius was already in Palestine in the spring of A.D. 40.

Ant. xx I, I (I). Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xi 10. See PIR¹ V 388; RE s.v. 'Vibius' (39).

C. Cassius Longinus A.D. 44/5-c. 50

Marsus was succeeded by C. Cassius Longinus, *Jos. Ant.* xx I, I (I), *consul suffectus* in A.D. 30, a famous jurist ('ceteros praeminebat peritia legum', Tac. *Ann.* xii 12), and founder of a school of jurists ('Cassianae scholae princeps et parens', Pliny, *Ep.* vii 24, 8). Coins of his from the years 94 and 96 of the Caesarian era = A.D. 45/46 and 47/48 are given in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* III p. 280; Mionnet V, pp. 167, 175; (only that of 96 is above suspicion). Tacitus mentions him as still in office as governor of Syria in A.D. 49 (*Ann.* xii 11-12). He seems to have been recalled by Claudius not long after that. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xvi 7 and 9; Suet. *Nero* 37. *Digest.* I 2, 2, 51. See PIR² C 501. Legal fragments in O. Lenel, *Palin-genesia juris civilis* I, pp. 109-26 and F. P. Bremer, *Jurisprudentiae Antehadrianae quae supersunt* II 2 (1901), pp. 9-79.

C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus A.D. 50-60

Ummidius Quadratus is mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* xii 45) as governor of Syria in A.D. 51. He may well have gone there in A.D. 50. Coins of his from the years 104-108 of the Caesarian era = 55/56-59/60 are given in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* III, p. 280; Mionnet V, p. 159. Only those of the years 104, 105 and 105 are reliable. W. M. Leake, *Numismata Hellenica, Asiatic Greece*, p. 16; *BMC Syria*, pp. 160, 173; A. Dieudonné, *RN*, Ser. 4, 30 (1927), p. 40. He died as governor of Syria in A.D. 60 (Tac. *Ann.* xiv 26). His career (he had been quaestor as early as A.D. 14) is given in CIL X 5182 = ILS 972. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii 54; xiii 8-9; *Jos. Ant.* xx 6, 2 (125-33). See PIR¹ U 800; RE s.v. 'Ummidius' (4) (Supp. IX, cols. 1827 f.); R. Syme, *Historia* 17 (1968), pp. 72-5.

5. Nero 13 Oct. A.D. 54 to 9 June A.D. 68

Cn. Domitius Corbulo A.D. 60-63

After the death of Ummidius Quadratus in A.D. 60, Domitius Corbulo went to Syria as governor (Tac. *Ann.* xiv 26). On his activities there see Tac. *Ann.* xv 1-17; Dio lxii 10 ff. One of his decrees is mentioned in the customs tariff of Palmyra (IGR III 1056 = OGIS 629, 1.168). He held the governorship of the province until A.D. 63, in which year a higher *imperium* was given him, while another governor was sent to Syria, Tac. *Ann.* xv 25, 'Suriæ exsecutio <C.> Ce<s>tio, copiae militares Corbuloni permissae; et quinta decuma legio ducente Mario Celso e Pannonia adiecta est. scribitur tetrarchis ac regibus praefectisque et procuratoribus et qui praetorum finitimas provincias regebant, iussis

Corbulonis obsequi, in tantum ferme modum aucta potestate, quem populus Romanus Cn. Pompeio bellum piraticum gesturo dederat'. The name of the person to whom the province of Syria was awarded cannot be established with certainty. It is most likely to have been Cestius, since he appears as governor of Syria in A.D. 65. On the death of Corbulo (in A.D. 67) see Dio lxiii 17, 2-5. On an inscription of A.D. 64 (CIL III 6741-2 = ILS 232) found in Armenia, he is named *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* His daughter Domitia was Domitian's wife (Dio lxvi 3, 4; CIL XIV 2795 = ILS 272). See PIR² D 142; M. Hammond, *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.* 45 (1934), pp. 81-104; R. Syme, *Tacitus* (1958), esp. pp. 391-2, 395-6, 493-5 and *JRS* 60 (1970), pp. 27-39.

C. Cestius Gallus A.D. ?63-66

If the above surmise is correct, Cestius Gallus arrived in Syria as early as A.D. 63. He was in any case there in A.D. 65, for he went to Jerusalem at the Passover of A.D. 66 (in the twelfth year of Nero = Oct. A.D. 65-66; *Jos. Ant.* xx 11, 1 (257); *B.J.* ii 14, 4 (284) after a prolonged stay in Syria, *B.J.* ii 14, 3 (280). For coins of his from the years 114 and 115 of the Caesarian era = A.D. 65/66 and A.D. 66/67, see Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* III 281 f.; Mionnet V, p. 169; suppl. VIII, p. 131; Leake, *Numismata Hellenica, Asiatic Greece*, p. 16; *BMC Syria*, p. 175. Dieudonné, *RN*, Ser. 4, 30 (1927), p. 45. The Jewish war broke out in May A.D. 66, in the month Artemisios, *B.J.* ii 14, 4 (284), when he was governor of Syria, but he lived to see only its beginning, as he died in the winter of A.D. 66/67 'by accident or of ennui' ('fato aut taedio occidit', Tacitus, *Hist.* v 10).¹⁴ See PIR² C 691.

C. Licinius Mucianus A.D. 67-69

When Vespasian was appointed as *legatus* to take command in the Jewish war—probably also being considered as the governor of Judaea¹⁵—Syria was assigned to C. Licinius Mucianus. Josephus mentions him in A.D. 67 during the siege of Gamala, *B.J.* iv 1, 5 (32), and in A.D. 69 on Vespasian's election as emperor, *B.J.* iv 10, 5-6 (605-21). Cf. also Tac. *Hist.* i 10; *Jos. Ant.* xii 3, 1 (120). For coins of his from the reign of Galba (9 June 68 to 15 Jan. 69) and of Otho (15 Jan. to 16 Apr. 69)¹⁶ see Eckhel III, p. 282, Mionnet V, p. 169,

14. Cestius Gallus was still in Syria in the winter of A.D. 66/67, *Jos. Vita* 8/30-31, 43/214, 65/347, 67/373, 71/394. But before the start of spring, the conduct of the war was transferred to Vespasian, *B.J.* iii 4, 2 (64-9).

15. The sources describe Vespasian's appointment in varying terms: Suet. *Div. Vesp.* 4, 'ad hunc motum comprimentum cum exercitu ampliore et non instrenuo duce . . . opus esset . . . ipse potissimum delectus est'; *Jos. B.J.* iii 1, 3 (7) πέμπει τὸν ἄνδρα ληψόμενον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν ἐπὶ Συρίας στρατευμάτων. Cf. PIR² F 398.

16. Both coins bear the year 117 of the Caesarian era, and for that very reason afford a reliable clue to the reckoning of the era.

suppl. VIII, 131, *BMC Syria*, p. 176. In the autumn of A.D. 69 he led an army from Syria to Rome to assist in the fighting against Vitellius; Jos. *B.J.* iv 11, 1 (632); Tac. *Hist.* ii 82 f.; Suet. *Div. Vesp.* 6; Dio lxxv 9. He did not, however, arrive there until after the death of Vitellius, which occurred on 20 December A.D. 69, but then wielded supreme power for some time (Jos. *B.J.* iv 11, 4 (654); Tac. *Hist.* iv 11, 39, 49, 80; Dio lxxv 22; lxxvi 2). See PIR² L 216; RE s.v. 'Licinius' (116a).

Later governors of Syria do not concern us since Palestine now became a full province governed by a senatorial *legatus pro praetore*. For the governors of Palestine from the time of Vespasian to that of Hadrian see § 21.