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# A Dedication from Dor to a Governor of Syria\*

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AN inscribed circular stone was found during the Israel War of Independence<sup>1</sup> by the East Gate of the city of ancient Dor.<sup>2</sup> It was rediscovered at the same spot in 1978<sup>3</sup> and transferred to the Centre of Nautical and Regional Archaeology at Kibbutz Nahsholim, where it can now be seen.

Two dowel holes on the stone's upper surface indicate that it is the base of a statue of the dedicatee (Fig. 1). The circumference is 229 cm. and the height 75 cm.; the writing occupies 34.2 × 64 cm. of the surface. The first six lines of the text are discernible, although only two (ll. 3–4) are complete. The soft surface of the limestone is worn away at the top, creating lacunae in ll. 1–2. The bottom part is also damaged: the left part of the fifth line and parts of two letters on the right are preserved; of the sixth line only two letters at the beginning are preserved. The letter size in the first line is greater than that of the rest: the average height is 5.5 cm., whereas in the rest of the inscription it is only 4.3 cm. Hence the proposed restoration which gives only 15 letters in this line, in

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\* We dedicate this paper to the memory of Sir Ronald Syme, with whom we discussed some of the more difficult issues involved. We would like to thank Prof. E. Stern, Prof. B. Isaac and Dr. G. Herman for their help at various stages of composition.

For a preliminary publication of this inscription, see *Qadmoniot* 22 (1989), p. 42 (Hebrew).

The following abbreviations are used in this article:

AE: *L'Année épigraphique*  
FIRA<sup>2</sup>: S. Riccobono *et al.* (eds.): *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani* (2nd ed.)  
IGBulg.: G. Mihailov (ed.): *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*  
IGLS: L. Jalabert and R. Moutarde (eds.): *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*  
IGRR: R. Cagnat *et al.* (eds.): *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*  
ILS: H. Dessau (ed.): *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*  
PIR<sup>2</sup>: E. Groag and A. Stein (eds.): *Prosopographia imperii Romani* (2nd ed.)  
ZPE: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

1 Several references to this inscription, dating from 1948 to 1951, can be found in the Dor inspection file, Israel Antiquities Authority. There is even a partial transcription of the stone by the late Dr. J. Kaplan of 12 February, 1951. He observes that some of the letters are painted red. The colour has faded since.

2 On the East Gate and the adjacent 'piazza', see E. Stern and I. Sharon: Tel Dor 1986, Preliminary Report, *IEJ* 37 (1987), p. 209; E. Stern *et al.*, Tel Dor 1987, Preliminary Report, *IEJ* 39 (1989), p. 37.

3 Personal communication: Mr. Kurt Raveh, the curator of the Museum at Kibbutz Nahsholim.

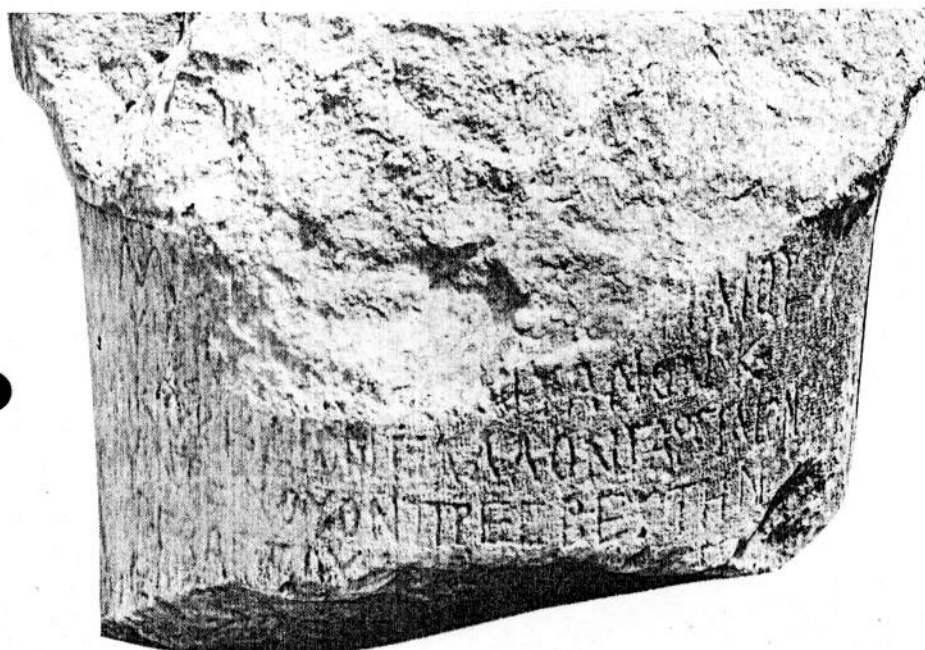


Fig. 1. The circular stone.

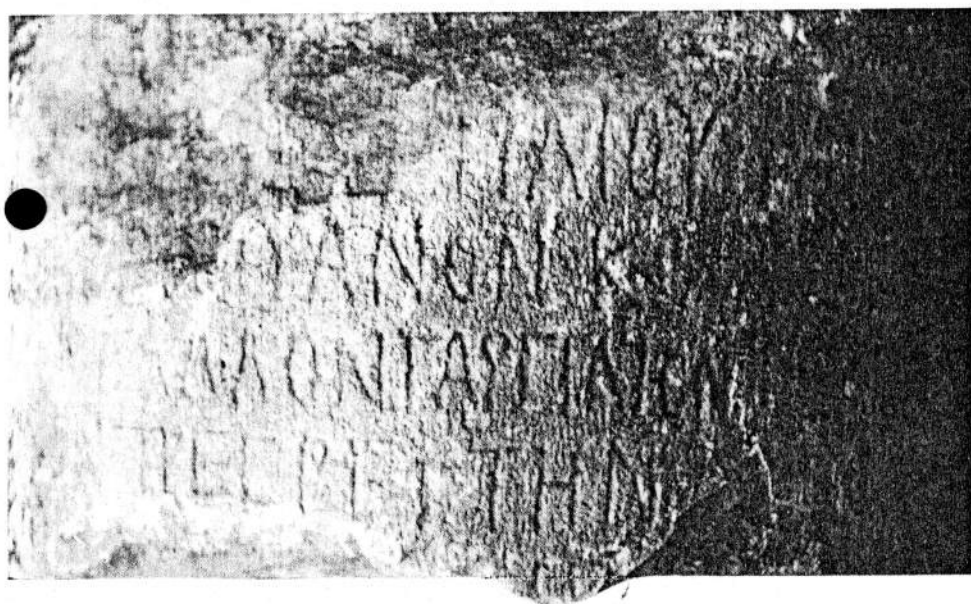


Fig. 2. The inscription.

contrast to the 23 and 20 letters respectively in the more condensed third and fourth lines. Lines 2–6 are all slightly indented, aligned with the middle of the very large 'M' of the first line.<sup>4</sup> The 'O's are remarkably narrow. The right shoulder of the 'N's is higher than the left one. There is one interpunct, following the 'K' of the praenomen in l. 2.

*Diplomatic transcript* (Fig. 2)

- 1 M[.....]ΠΛΙΟΥ
- 2 ΥΙΟΝ[.....]ΟΥΑΝΟΝΚ·
- 3 ΚΟΡΗΔΙΟΝΓΑΛΛΟΝΓΑΡΓΙΛΙΟΝ
- 4 ΑΝΤΕΙΧΟΥΟΝΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΝ
- 5 ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ[.....]ΗΓ [...]
- 6 ΕΠ[

*Reconstructed text*

- 1 Μ(άρκον) [Πάκκιον Πο]πλίου
- 2 υἱὸν [Κυρεῖνα Σιλ]ουάνον Κ(όϊντον)
- 3 Κορήδιον Γάλλον Γαργίλιον
- 4 Ἀντεῖχουον πρεσβευτήν
- 5 Σεβαστοῦ [ἀντιστράτ]ηγ[ον]
- 6 ἐπ[αρχείας Συρίας?]

*Translation*

- 1 (In honour of) Marcus Paccius,
- 1–2 son of Publius,
- 2 of the Tribe Quirina, Silvanus Quintus
- 3 Coredius Gallus Gargilius
- 4–5 Antiquus, legatus Augusti
- 5 propraetore (i.e. governor) of
- 6 the Province of Syria.

*Commentary*

*Line 1.* The suggested reconstruction assumes that the missing letters were widely spaced and that they more or less equalled in size the huge 'M' (6 × 7.6 cm.). An alternative reconstruction is, however, possible, with the praenomen, Marcus, written in full: Μ[άρκον Πάκκιον Πο]πλίου.

4 This 'M' is twice as wide as the next widest letter in this inscription.

Πάκκιον: the restoration is based on the hypothesis of a close relationship between our man and the patron of Thugga, M. Paccius Silvanus Corelius Gallus L. Pullaienus Gargilius Antiquus, *CIL* VIII 26579. The 'M' in l. 1 and the ]ουάνων in l. 2, with the patronymic and the tribe's name occupying their customary place in polyonymous titles, that is, between the first *gentilicium* and the cognomen,<sup>5</sup> make the restoration all but certain.

*Line 2.* The Quirina is the tribe of the Gargilii Antiqui, see *CIL* VIII 23246.<sup>6</sup> For the spelling Κυρείνα, see *AE* 1981, Nos. 837, 843–844; 1982, No. 873. Κυρίνα is also possible, see *AE* 1981, No. 772. In Greek the tribe name is usually not abbreviated; the Latin ablative is transliterated undeclined, as proposed here (sometimes it takes the genitive).<sup>7</sup>

The first 'O' of [Σιλ]ουάνων is unclear and partly damaged.

*Line 3.* Κορήδιον: cf. Κορέδιον in *AE* 1973, No. 551.

*Line 4.* Ἀντείουον: we have no other example for the representation of the Latin 'Q' by the Greek 'X'.<sup>8</sup> For Ἀντείκον, see *AE* 1973, No. 551; *IGRR* IV, No. 848 and *IGBulg.* II, No. 606.

We can safely assume that the *provincia* mentioned in l. 6 (ἐπ[αρχείας]) is Syria, to which Dor belonged ever since its annexation, together with other coastal cities, by Pompey the Great (Josephus, *War* 1, 155–157 = *Ant.* 14, 74–76). The incident told by Josephus in *Ant.* 19, 300–311 presupposes that the governor of Syria at the time held jurisdiction over the city of Dor. After the Great Revolt, Caesarea, situated some 12 km. to the south of Dor, remained the northernmost *finis Palaestinae* (see Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 5, 69). The same borders are implied in the *Geographia* of Ptolemy 5, 15, 1–2.<sup>9</sup> The statue and the inscription honoured the imperial legate of the province of Syria. Thus a polyonymous M. Paccius P. f. Silvanus Q. Corelius Gallus Gargilius Antiquus is to be added to fill in a gap in the *fasti* of the province of Syria.

5 G. Forni: Il ruolo della menzione della tribù nell'onomastica romana, in *L'onomastique latine*, Paris, 1977, p. 86.

6 See below, n. 41.

7 Forni (above, n. 5), pp. 81–82.

8 There are parallels, however, in the Septuagint for the transliteration of the Hebrew *kaf* (כ) by the Greek *chi*, even when the aspiration does not exist in the Hebrew word, e.g. *Karmel* כרמל Χαρμελ, *Eškol* אשכול 'Εσχολ (see R. Helbing: *Grammatik der Septuaginta*, Göttingen, 1907, p. 28); cf. the Nabatean name *Kwibh*, rendered as Χοθαιβος in R.G. Tanner: Greek Epigraphy in South Jordan, *ZPE* 83 (1990), p. 188, No. 2; cf. Scythopolis Σκυθόπολις, spelled Σχυθόπολις in *P.Nessana* 74, ll. 5–6, c. 685 C.E.

9 M. Stern: *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* II, Jerusalem, 1980, No. 337a.

The dating of the inscription and the identity of the dedicatee are two interrelated issues, and we will deal with them together. The polyonymy points to the period of the second or third dynasties in Imperial Rome, Flavians and Antonines, when extended nomenclatures were in vogue.<sup>10</sup> Our man's nomenclature occupies an intermediary stage between the names attested for the governor of Arabia after 115,<sup>11</sup> Q. Coredius Gallus Gargilius Antiquus (*AE* 1973, No. 551 = *IGLS* XIII.1 9063, Bostra) and those attested for the patron of Thugga and governor of Thracia in 161,<sup>12</sup> M. Paccius Silvanus Coredius Gallus L. Pullaienus Gargilius Antiquus (*CIL* VIII 26579). He shares the Q. Coredius Gallus element with the former inscription, but lacks the L. Pullaienus element of the latter.

We assume that of the three *gentilicia* of our man, Gargilius Antiquus would be the core or paternal name.<sup>13</sup> This is borne out by the example of the polyonymous governor of Thracia. The abridged form of the names appears on the coins from Thracia: ἡγεμ(ονεύοντος) Γαργιλί(ου) Ἀντίκου or ἐπὶ Γαρ(γιλίου) Ἀντίκου,<sup>14</sup> as well as in indicating a date (*IGBulg.* II, No. 606): ἡγεμονεύοντος Γαργιλίου Ἀντίκου.<sup>15</sup> By then he already carried the name L. Pullaienus, as evinced by the inscription from Perinthus (*CIL* III 7394 [cf. 12324] = *ILS* 1093): L. Pullaieno Gargilio Antiquo...

Theoretically the dedicatee either could be identified with one of these two persons or could be a third person. The patron of Thugga and governor of Thracia, however, could have governed the province of Syria only after his consulate in 162 C.E.,<sup>16</sup> but not before Verus' death in 169 (note Σεβαστοῦ in

10 See J. Morris: Changing Fashions in Roman Nomenclature in the Early Empire, *Listy Filologické* 86 (1963), pp. 41–45.

11 The first governor of Arabia, C. Claudius Severus, is still attested in the province at the time of Trajan's nineteenth tribunician power, 10 December, 114 to 9 December, 115 C.E. (*AE* 1927, No. 147). We no longer, however, have a fixed *terminus ante quem* for the governorship of Q. Coredius Gallus Gargilius Antiquus of *AE* 1973, No. 551, since he may not be identical with the consul of 119 C.E., see below: For the common identification between the two, see, e.g. W. Eck: Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der senatorischen Statthalter von 69/70 bis 138/139, *Chiron* 12 (1982), p. 362, n. 321.

12 The identification between the patron of Thugga and the governor of Thracia is commonly made, see A. Stein: *Römische Reichsbeamte der Provinz Thracia*, Sarajevo, 1920, pp. 24–27, No. 16 and *PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 79.

13 Cf. R. Syme: The Paternity of Polyonymous Consuls, *ZPE* 61 (1985), pp. 191–198 = *idem*, *Roman Papers* V, Oxford, 1988, pp. 639–647.

14 Stein (above, n. 12).

15 Cf. also E. Schönert: *Die Münzprägung von Perinthos I*, Berlin, 1965, p. 165, No. 432 (Pl. 24, 432): ἐπὶ Γαρ. Ἀντίκου.

16 He is attested as *consul designatus* in 161 C.E., see *CIL* III 7394 (cf. 12324) = *ILS* 1093. See G. Alföldy: *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen. Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Führungsschicht*, Bonn, 1977 (= *Antiquitas* 27), p. 177.



l. 5 of our inscription). The *fasti* of Syria, however, are full for the years 169–177 C.E. (after 177 Σεβαστῶν would be required).<sup>17</sup> Thus, our man cannot be identified with the patron of Thugga and governor of Thracia.

Of the two remaining possibilities the identification with the governor of Arabia is the more economical and, therefore, the more attractive. If so, the additional element present in our inscription, M. Paccius Silvanus, either was dropped in the inscription from Bostra,<sup>18</sup> or was not yet acquired;<sup>19</sup> in other words, either the record of a testamentary adoption is absent in the Bostra inscription, or the act of adoption intervened between the two dedications.

As a matter of fact, the honorific dedication from Dor exhibits a perfect example of the so-called testamentary adoption.<sup>20</sup> The original patronymic, Publius, different from the praenomen, Marcus, has been retained. The governor is a Gargilius Antiquus, son of Publius, adopted by an M. Paccius Silvanus. The original tribal name would have been retained as well in the lacuna of l. 2, and, as in other polyonymous names, it would follow the first *gentilicium* and the patronymic.<sup>21</sup> We thus restored here the name Quirina, the tribe of the Gargilii.

Almost nothing is known of the Paccii in the early second century. Plutarch, however, dedicated the *De Tranquillitate Animi* to a Paccius (464E; cf. 468E). Like other Roman friends of Plutarch, Paccius may well have been a senator.<sup>22</sup> We also hear of a rich and childless Pacius (Paccius in some manuscripts) associated with legacy hunters in Juvenal 12, 99 ('locuples Gallitta et Pacius orbi'), suggesting a possible reason for adoption.

If the identification of our dedicatee with the governor of Arabia is correct, the commonly held identification of that governor with the senatorial witness to the *SC de nundinis saltus Beguensis* of Senatus Consultum, 15 October 138 C.E., Q. Gargilius Q. f. Quir. Antiquus (*CIL* VIII 23246 = *FIRA*<sup>2</sup> I, No. 47), must be rejected,<sup>23</sup> because our man is a son of Publius, whereas the witness

17 See B.E. Thomasson: *Laterculi Praesidum* I, Göteborg, 1984, pp. 312–313, Nos. 60–62; Alföldy (above, n. 16), p. 240.

18 For the vagaries of attestations of polyonymies, see Syme (above, n. 13, *Roman Papers* V), pp. 639–647; *idem*, Clues to Testamentary Adoption, in *Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio* I, Rome, 1982, pp. 397–410 = *idem*, *Roman Papers* IV, Oxford, 1988, pp. 159–173.

19 We are informed (M. Sartre: *Inscriptions inédites de l'Arabie Romaine*, *Syria* 50 [1973], p. 223) that the stone on which the inscription is written, although found in secondary use in a wall of a house, is complete. Otherwise, one might have speculated that the first line of the inscription contained the missing element.

20 Syme (above, n. 18, *Roman Papers* IV).

21 Forni (above, n. 5).

22 See C.P. Jones: Towards a Chronology of Plutarch's Works, *Journal of Roman Studies* 56 (1966), p. 63; *idem*, *Plutarch and Rome*, Oxford, 1971, pp. 59–60.

23 '... scribundo adfuerunt Q. Gargilius Q. f. Quir. Antiqu(u)s...'

is a son of Quintus. On the other hand, the two (or three)<sup>24</sup> other attestations of a senatorial Gargilius Antiquus, commonly held to refer to the governor of Arabia,<sup>25</sup> are compatible with his identification with our dedicatee.

The first reference is to the consul of 119 C.E. (*AE* 1979, No. 62). The abridged form of the consul's name — 'actum VII k(alendas) Iunias, Q(uito) Gargilio Antiquo, Q(uito) Vibio Gallo co(n)s(ulibus)' — is explained by the nature of the reference. Abridged forms of the nomenclature of polyonymous consuls tend to appear on *fasti* and other consular notations.<sup>26</sup> The extended nomenclature crops up elsewhere 'on gravestones and on some honorific dedications'.<sup>27</sup> If the identification is accepted, our man, having served as a governor of Arabia in 115/116–119 C.E., became suffect in 119,<sup>28</sup> after which he went on to govern the imperial province of Syria. As it happens, there is a gap in the *fasti* of Syria between the years 119/120 and 130/131 C.E.,<sup>29</sup> into which the dedicatee can fit neatly.<sup>30</sup>

The second reference is to the proconsul of the province of Asia, c. 134/135 C.E. (*IGRR* IV, No. 848).<sup>31</sup> Again the abridged form of the name, ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Γαργιλίου Ἀντε[?]κου, is to be expected.<sup>32</sup> The governorship of Asia, coming some 15 years after the consulate, could follow a period spent as governor of Syria. There are a number of examples of similar careers.<sup>33</sup>

The attribution of these two references to the governor of Arabia will leave the witness of 138 C.E. without an attested career. There is no doubt, however, of the seniority and high rank of the witness to the *SC*, seeing that he is foremost on

24 The third is the Gargilius Antiquus of *AE* 1954, No. 63: 'Imp. Caes. Traian[us] Hadriani Aug. sub cur(a)] Gargilii Ant[iqui] proc. Aug.' — an expansion of a very fragmentary inscription. For the suggestion that he may be a senator, see W. Eck, *Gnomon* 50 (1978), p. 386, n. 2; G. Alföldy (Der Senator Q. Gargilius Macer Aufidianus und seine Verwandten, *Chiron* 8 [1978], p. 370) takes him to be an equestrian procurator.

25 See, for example, Alföldy (above, n. 24).

26 Syme (above, n. 13, *Roman Papers* V).

27 *Ibid.*, p. 639.

28 Eck (above, n. 11).

29 See W. Eck: Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der senatorischen Statthalter von 69/70 bis 138/139, *Chiron* 13 (1983), pp. 152–169.

30 C. Quinctius Certus Publius Marcellus, attested for 130/131 C.E. in Syria (see Eck [above, n. 29], pp. 169–171), was consul in 120 C.E. Our man may have been his immediate predecessor, governing the province c. 127–130/131 C.E.

31 Eck (above, n. 29), p. 176; R. Syme suggests 135/136 C.E., see *idem*, Les proconsuls d'Afrique sous Hadrien, *Revue des études Anciennes* 67 (1965), p. 351 = *idem*, *Roman Papers* II, Oxford, 1979, p. 637.

32 See above for the governor of Thracia.

33 M. Ulpianus Traianus: Syria in 73/74–77/78 and Asia in 79/80; L. Iavolenus Priscus: Syria in 92/93–94/95 and Africa in 101/102; C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus: Syria in 100/101–103/104 and Asia in 109/110; L. Catilius Severus Iulianus Claudius Reginus: Syria in 117/118–118/119 and Africa in 124/125; see Eck (above, n. 11), pp. 281–362; *idem* (above, n. 29), pp. 147–237.



the list of witnesses and that he precedes Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Pal. Quartinus, the suffect of 130 C.E.<sup>34</sup> His position in 138 is commensurate with a consulate in 119 and the proconsulate of Asia in 134/135 C.E.

Thus, it is not easy to decide to which of the two consular Gargilii Antiqui active in the first half of the second century we should attribute these two attestations. Both seem to have an equal claim. Nevertheless, the new inscription from Dor calls for the updating and re-distribution of the material assembled in the *PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 78.

There were two people of consular rank active in the first half of the second century, bearing the name Q. Gargilius Antiquus. The one, whose full name is M. Paccius P. f. Silvanus Q. Corelius Gallus Gargilius Antiquus, was governor of Arabia after 115 and of Syria probably between 120 and 130 C.E.<sup>35</sup> The other, Q. Gargilius Q. f. Quirina Antiquus, was a consular in 138. Either one could have been consul suffect in 119 and proconsul of Asia in 134/135 C.E.<sup>36</sup>

The governor of Thracia and patron of Thugga (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 79), commonly taken to be the son or grandson<sup>37</sup> of the witness to the *SC* of 138 C.E. (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 78), is more likely to be the son of our man, having added an L. Pullaienus to his other names. The full nomenclature is recovered in the honorific inscription from Thugga quoted above (p. 262).<sup>38</sup>

The emergence of the tribe Velina in the nomenclature of *PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 80, usually taken to be the son of the governor of Thracia, L. Pullaienus L. f. Vel. Gargilius Antiquus XV vir s. f. allectus in patricias familias a... (*AE* 1916, No. 118),<sup>39</sup> may

34 A. Degraffi: *I Fasti Consolari dell' Impero Romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo*, Rome, 1952, p. 37.

35 Perhaps c. 127–130/131 C.E., see above, n. 30.

36 It is tempting, though, to assign the two attestations to our dedicatee, since this would give us a perfect timetable for his various posts: governor of Arabia in 115–119; consul in 119; governor of Syria in 127–130/131; proconsul of Asia in 134/135 C.E.

37 Sartre (above, n. 19), p. 227.

38 The African connection of the patron of Thugga may be the result of the adoption into the Pullaieni, a well attested African family, see A. Merlin and L. Poinssot: *Les inscriptions d'Uchi Majus*, Paris, 1908, pp. 54–57; M. Cèbeillac: *Les quaestores principis candidati aux I<sup>er</sup> et II<sup>ème</sup> siècles de l'Empire*, Milan, 1972, pp. 198–199; M. Corbier: Les familles clarissimes d'Afrique proconsulaire (I<sup>er</sup> — III<sup>ème</sup> siècles), in *Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio* II, Rome 1982, pp. 736–737. The Gargilii, however, also were an African family, see M.G. Jarrett: An Album of the Equestrians from North Africa in the Emperor's Service, *Epigraphische Studien* 9 (1972), p. 183; Alföldy (above, n. 24), p. 369; Corbier, *loc. cit.* In fact, the signature of Q. Gargilius Q. f. Antiquus on the *SC* concerned with Africa (*CIL* VIII 23246) may well imply a family connection with that province, see Merlin and Poinssot, *op cit.*, p. 55, n. 4.

39 Cf. *CIL* VI 32329, l. 32; 32332, l. 2, see G.B. Pighi (ed.): *De Ludis Saecularibus Populi Romani Quiritium libri sex*, Milan, 1941, p. 159; p. 170; p. 241, No. 11; p. 254, No. 79.

be accounted for by plenary adoption in the previous generation. That is, the governor of Thracia and patron of Thugga was fully adopted by L. Pullaienus;<sup>40</sup> hence, the change of tribe and patronymic, or the change of tribe is the result of the enrolment of *PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 80 into the *patricii*.<sup>41</sup>

40 This would leave the abridged forms of the name of *PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 79 on the coins and the inscription from Thracia (see above) unexplained. Nor can we account for the abridged forms of *PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 80 in the five letters from Commodus to the Gerousia of the Athenians, see D.J. Geagan: *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla* (*Hesperia*, Suppl. XII), Princeton, 1967, Appendix IV, pp. 187–193, together with J.H. Oliver: *The Sacred Gerousia and the Emperor's Consilium*, *Hesperia* 36 (1967), pp. 331–335. The latter regards Gargilius Antiquus of the inscription as a member of the emperor's consilium, and identifies him with *PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 80; see L. Robert: *Bulletin épigraphique* (1969), p. 451. Nor is the survival of the other names in both *PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 79 and *PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 80 in the inscriptions quoted above easy to explain. It certainly does not follow the rule that 'when a proper and plenary adoption has been conducted, everything disappears: praenomen, nomen, filiation and tribe' (Syme, [above, n. 18, *Roman Papers* IV], p. 159). It is possible, though, that with the proliferation of polyonymies, the rules were not strictly kept.

41 Finally, a word or two about the stemma proposed by Alföldy (above, n. 24), p. 376. As already pointed out by Eck (above, n. 24), the Gargilius Antiquus of *AE* 1954, No. 63 may well be a senator; thus, there is no need for a distinction between an equestrian and a senatorial branch in the family. Secondly, the Quirina belongs to the Gargilii. The Arniensis of Q. Gargilius Q. f. Arn(iensi tribu) Macer Aufidianus (*AE* 1979, No. 373 = G. Alföldy: *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*, Berlin, 1975, p. 469) is probably due to the fact that we have an Aufidius adopted by a Gargilius and retaining his original tribe. However, Alföldy (above, n. 24), p. 369, n. 29, takes the 'Macer Aufidianus' to derive from his maternal lineage.