

Honorary Statues as a Means of Public Communication in Iudaea / Syria Palaestina.¹

Dedicated to the Memory of Rachel Feig-Vishnia

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An indispensable characteristic of public and private life of Greco-Roman culture is statuary in general and in particular honorary statues. We only have to go up along the street from the lower to the upper Agora of Ephesus' archaeological excavations to be impressed by the number of bases for honorific statues still standing today. The same is true for Gerasa in the province of Arabia and for Perge in Pamphylia. Similar phenomena present themselves to the historian, when he reads the ancient reports of how the *forum Romanum*, or later the *fora* of Augustus and Trajan in Rome, were in fact overcrowded with statues. The people of that era lived in a world of statuary dedicated to both gods and man. In almost all the provinces, statues were part of daily life.

However, if we would have been asked a few decades ago how this phenomenon was adopted — or rather expressed itself — in the cities of the Roman province of Iudaea/Syria Palaestina, no more than a few general comments concerning the difference between Jewish and non-Jewish attitudes and traditions would have sufficed. Above all, one would have pointed out the absolute and uncompromising rejection of statues by the major part any part of the Jewish population at a time when the clearest evidence for a consistent Jewish consensus in that was the threat of revolt against Caligula's command to set up his statue in the Temple of Jerusalem.

However, everybody knows that despite its original name the province itself was *never* Jewish in the sense of being composed of Jews only. In fact, many peoples of different origins and religions lived there alongside, and, often, together with Jews. One would have expected the non-Jewish element to have been susceptible to the Greco-Roman pattern — if not exemplifying it themselves — since statues of all kinds were part of the daily life of each community. However, until recent decades one could still hold the opinion that this province was distinctly different from other provinces of the *Imperium Romanum* because of the paucity of statues and statuary inscriptions known to have come from there. Today, this picture has dramatically changed in consequence of numerous large-scale excavations at many sites. One has but to review the astonishingly large number of inscriptions under statues collected in the meantime. The *CIIP* volumes published so far let us gradually grasp the reality of ancient times. In the present paper, I shall briefly concentrate on honorary statues of contemporaries of that period.

When the last supplementary volume of the *CIL* III was published in 1902, we knew of only three testimonies for honorary statues in the entire province of Iudaea:

¹ I would like to thank Hannah Cotton for the translation of the article.

1. an inscription once displayed beneath a statue of a member of the colony's elite from Caesarea, and erected in nearby Shuni, but now preserved in the Rockefeller Museum.²

Furthermore, there is evidence for two (or rather three) others from Jerusalem which can still be seen there today:

2. the base of an equestrian statue of Antoninus Pius, inserted upside down above the entrance gate to the Haram al-Sharif on the Temple Mount;³ and

3. a column base, standing in the middle of a small square in front of a coffee shop near the Jaffa Gate, on which once stood a statue of Iunius Maximus, legate of *legio X Fretensis* from the beginning of the 3rd AD. However, recently it was realized that a previous inscription had been erased from this base which was then reused for Iunius Maximus — the previous inscription referring probably to Fulvius Plautianus, the almighty praetorian prefect, serving under Septimius Severus.⁴ Neither of these bases are *in situ* anymore.

As to be expected in these contexts, the social standing of all the attested persons was at the very top of the social pyramid: an emperor, senior members of the senatorial and equestrian elite and a member of the colonial elite of Caesarea Maritima.

Testimonies discovered since the 20th century establish beyond doubt the significance and importance of erecting honorary statues for such as these. However, the social circles attested in similar monuments have now been significantly extended. Furthermore, the number of cities in which they were located is increased: in addition to Jerusalem and Caesarea (for the latter an enormous amount of material was found in recent excavations), examples have come to light from Gaza,⁵ Ascalon,⁶ Joppa,⁷ Neapolis,⁸ Dor,⁹ Scythopolis,¹⁰ Hippos,¹¹ Paneas¹² (and an unknown place near Beit

² *CIL* III 12082 = Dessau 7206 = *CIIP* II 2095 : *M(arcum) Fl(avium) Agrippam pontif(icem) | Ilviral(em) | col(oniae) I Fl(aviae) Aug(ustae) Caesareae, ora|torem ex dec(reto) dec(urionum) pec(unia) publ(ica)*.

³ *CIL* III 116 = 6639 = *CIIP* I 718: *Tito Ael(io) Hadriano | Antonino Aug(usto) Pio | p(atri) p(atricae) pontif(ici) auguri | ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*.

⁴ *CIL* III 6641 = 12080a = *CIIP* I 721; see W. Eck, 'Revision lateinischer Inschriften aus Jerusalem', *ZPE* 169, 2009, 216 = Eine Rasur auf einer Statuenbasis aus Jerusalem. Nachtrag zu *CIL* III 6641 = 12080a und *ZPE* 169, 2009, 215 f., *ZPE* 173, 2010, 219 ff.: a) *[--/-- co(n)s(uli)?] II | [--]*; b) *M(arco) Iunio | Maximo | leg(ato) Augg(ustorum) | leg(ionis) X Fr(etensis) Antoninianae | G(aius) Dom(itius) Serg(ia tribu) Iul(ius) Honoratus | str(ator) eius*.

⁵ *IG* XIV 926; *IGR* III 387. But the content seems to show that the statue was erected in Gaza; the base was obviously later used as ballast on a ship to Italy.

⁶ See below pp. 24-26.

⁷ *CIIP* III 2173; the provenance from Joppa is not absolutely clear, but very likely.

⁸ *IGR* III 1205. Furthermore, from there a larger than life statue of a cuirassed emperor is known.

⁹ *CIIP* II 2122: *Μ(ἄρκον) [Πάκκιον Πο]πλίου | υἱὸν [--] Σίλουανὸν Κ(οίντων) | Κορήδιον Γάλλον | Γαργίλιον | Ἀντείχουον πρεσβευτήν | Σεβαστοῦ [ἀντιστράτ]ηγ[ον] | ἐπα[ρχείας] Συρίας Παλαιστεινας? [--]*.

¹⁰ Y. Tsafirir, G. Foerster, *ESI* 11, 1992, 3ff. I am also grateful to G. Mazor for the information that two bases for statues of the wife and the daughter of Q. Tineius Rufus, under whom the Bar Kohkba War broke out, were found in Scythopolis.

Lid/Khirbat).¹³ These comprise the majority of the cities in the province, but where, for the main part, settlements where Jews constituted only a minority *at that time*. I say ‘at that time’ since the overwhelming majority of these honorary statues can be dated to the first three centuries of imperial rule. Only a few statues can be dated to the 4th and the first half of the 5th century. However, if correctly read and interpreted they mostly attest statuary dedicated to emperors, perhaps up to Julian.¹⁴

Particularly noteworthy is an inscription from the base of a statue from Scythopolis dedicated to the Empress Eudoxia, whose Homeric echoes remind the reader of a woman who was not only highly cultivated, but also a Christian, as indicated by the preceding cross. This inscription is the latest evidence for a statue of a member of the imperial family that has so far been attested for this province and was probably erected between 400 and 404.¹⁵ So far we know of statues of only two individuals who did not belong to the imperial family and which were erected after the 3rd century. Both statues (now lost) once stood on tall granite columns. The first was dedicated to someone called Eusebius, whose function is not specified, but who certainly enjoyed an elevated administrative rank at the provincial level. The dedicator is a private individual, and the Greek epigram is an elegiac couplet.¹⁶ Similar is the inscription honoring the high official, Nomus, to whom the city of Caesarea had raised a golden statue between 443 and 446, and also composed as an elegiac distich.¹⁷

The bulk of honorary statues dated to the first three centuries come from Caesarea. Their existence is known only from the inscriptions accompanying them. The great number of currently known examples is by no means solely to be explained by the extensive excavations carried out in Caesarea, but should rather be attributed to the city’s status as *caput provinciae*. This in itself explains why so many senators and equestrians received honorary statues there. Recent excavations in Hippos have also revealed

¹¹ A. Łajtar, ‘Two Honorific Monuments for Governors of Syria-Palaestinae in Hippos’, *Palamedes* 5, 2010, 177 ff.; the same governor also mentioned in *CIIP* II 1231; see W. Eck, ‘Iulius Tarius Titianus als Statthalter von Syria Palaestina in der Herrschaftszeit Elagabals in Inschriften aus Caesarea Maritima und Hippos’, *Gephyra* 9, 2012, 69 ff.

¹² *IGLS* XI 22: *L(ucium) Nonium M(arci) [f]ilium -- Can]didum pra[ef]ectum coh(ortis) --] trib(unum) coh(ortis) (milliariae) T[hrac(um) --] (centurio) coh(ortis) s(upra) s(criptae) patr[onum suum]*.

¹³ *AE* 1984, 906: the reading is not exact.

¹⁴ *CIIP* II 1223. 1226.

¹⁵ Y. Tsafir, G. Foerster, ‘Urbanism at Scythopolis-Bet Shean in the Fourth to the Seventh Centuries’, *DOP* 51, 1997, 85-146, esp. 109 f. 127 = *SEG* 49, 2076: Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἄνασσαν ὄλης χθονὸς | Εὐδοξίαν χρυσεῖην ἔστησε περισκέπτῳ ἐν χώρῳ. Cf. L. Di Segni, ‘New Epigraphical Discoveries at Scythopolis and in Other Sites of Late-Antique Palestine’, in: *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina*, Rom 1999, 625-641, esp. 631; D. Feissel, *Chroniques d’épigraphie Byzantine 1987-2004*, 2006, 247 no. 785; Y. Tsafir, ‘The Classical Heritage in Late Antique Palestine: The Fate of freestanding Sculptures’, in: *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East: Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power*, ed. Y.Z. Eliav, E.A. Friedland, S. Herbert, Leuven 2008, 117 ff., esp. 125 f. Generally to the statues of emperors in late antiquity J. Engemann, ‘Herrscherbild’, *RAC* 14, 966 ff.

¹⁶ *CIIP* II 1264.

¹⁷ *CIIP* II 1260.

evidence for honorary statuary.¹⁸ Included, among others, is one for a governor, C. Iulius Tarius Titianus, who is also attested in an inscription from Caesarea. Both statues were raised by private individuals.¹⁹ However, a peripheral city like Hippos could hardly compete with Caesarea, the *caput provinciae*.

Many of the statues in Caesarea stood on a granite column base, a characteristic of almost all honorific monuments erected there. The earliest example of this type known from Caesarea is from the first years of Hadrian's reign. The latter is a statue and inscription dedicated to the first securely attested consular legate of Judaea, L. Cossonius Gallus, *consul suffectus* in 116.²⁰ The latest example, on which a golden statue of Nomus once stood, is dated to the years 443-447.²¹ Some statues were erected on brick bases covered with marble slabs or on a rectangular solid base of other material.²²

In addition, there were statues rising above eye level and set on consoles (like ledges) fixed into the building walls. The best preserved example is the console for a statue of C. Iulius Commodus Orfitianus from the time of Marcus Aurelius.²³ In the procurator's *Praetorium*, not far from the city harbor, very many statues and busts of financial procurators have now been unearthed throughout the building, though poorly attested for the most part because of the fragmentary state of the inscriptions. In any case every new procurator was faced with the more or less impressive written *cursus honorum* of his predecessors exposed by the inscriptions under the statues.²⁴ Some continued their career after their financial procuratorship in Syria Palaestina finally achieving the highest post for an equestrian as prefect of the praetorians. Such is the case of C. Furius Timesitheus, who also became the father-in-law of the young emperor Gordian III.²⁵

Remarkably, notwithstanding the many inscriptions testifying to the existence of honorary statues, there has so far not yet been discovered in Caesarea a single fragment of a portrait of a private individual from the first three centuries, in contrast to imperial

¹⁸ See Lajtar (n. 11) = *AE* 2009, 1582 = 2010, 1723; *SEG* 54, 1659 = *AE* 2009, 1584.

¹⁹ See Eck, 'Iulius Tarius Titianus als Statthalter' (n. 11).

²⁰ *CIIP* II 1227; for more details see W. Eck, H. Cotton, 'Governors and Their Personnel on Latin Inscriptions from Caesarea Maritima', in: *The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Proceedings* Vol. VII, No. 7, Jerusalem 2001, 215 ff., here 219 ff. it is not quite clear whether or not M. Titius Lustricus Bruttianus, *suff.* 108, should be inserted as governor before Cossonius; in an inscription from Vaison la-Romaine he is described as [*legatus*] *pro pr(aetore) Imp. Caes. Traiani Hadriani Aug. exercit(uum) Iudaici et Arabici* (J.-M. Mignon, D. Lavergne, B. Rossignol, 'Un nouveau cursus sénatorial de l'époque de Trajan et d'Hadrien découvert à Vaison-la-Romaine', *CCGG* 24, 2013, 294). The title does not necessarily imply that he was governor (at the beginning of Hadrian's rule), but the latter suggestion is entirely plausible.

²¹ *CIIP* II 1260; 1264, mentioning Alypius, probably a governor of Palaestina Prima, can only be roughly dated to the 4-7 c. AD.

²² See for example *CIIP* II 1230. 1232. 1236. 1238.1239. 1245. 1256.

²³ *CIIP* II 1228; other consoles 1248. 1255.

²⁴ *CIIP* II 1283-1301. See also W. Eck, H. Cotton, 'Inscriptions from the Financial Procurator's Praetorium in Caesarea', in: *Man Near a Roman Arch. Studies presented to Prof. Yoram Tsafrir*, ed. L. Di Segni, Y. Hirshfeld, J. Patrich, R. Talgam, Jerusalem 2009, 98* ff.

²⁵ *CIIP* II 1287.

and idealized portraiture executed in marble. The total absence of such remains can only be explained if we assume, as we probably should, that statues and portraits of these office holders were mostly made of bronze, and, melted down in less prosperous times, to supply a need for metal.

In addition to the evidence of honorary statues for emperors and public officials in Caesarea, that for members of the colonial elite is also attested. Thus the philosopher Flavius Maximus had a statue dedicated to him by a *curator ploion*, a title perhaps referring to the person in charge of the colony's ships.²⁶ His statue stood on a granite column ca. 1.5 m high, which has been used, all in all, not less than five times for a succession of honorees.²⁷ The lifetime of these commemorations was but a short one: columns in Caesarea were continuously re-used for supporting successions of statues²⁸ and few of these were used but once.²⁹ Moreover, they do not indicate feelings of snobbery or social impropriety: the very same column could support a succession of statues dedicated to emperors, governors, or individuals from the municipal elite.³⁰ One column was re-used five times. The first honorific inscription merely mentioned T. Flavius Seleucus (in Greek), the second and third were later totally erased, the fourth was dedicated by a senatorial governor of the province to the emperor Probus, and the last one was dedicated to Galerius Caesar by the equestrian procurator, Aufidius Priscus.³¹ It would seem that social rank had nothing to do with the height of the base chosen for the honorand. No less striking is the absence of equestrian statues: only *statuae pedestres* have so far been attested with the single exception of the equestrian statue of Antoninus Pius erected in Jerusalem mentioned before.³² Furthermore, the standard repertoire of *bigae* and *quadrigae* attested in many other provinces³³ have not been discovered here so far with the exception of the honorary arches in Jerusalem and Tel Shalem, where the emperors had once stood on a *quadriga*.³⁴ If these uniform statues in Caesarea once

²⁶ *CIIP* II 1266: Τ(ίτον) Φλ(άουιον) Μάξιμον φιλόσοφον Ουάριος Σέλευκος κουράτορ πλοίων κολ(ωνίας) Καισαρείας τὸν προστάτην.

²⁷ *CIIP* II 1266-1268. Cf. W. Eck, 'Zu alten und neuen Inschriften aus Caesarea Maritima. Vorarbeiten für den 2. Band des *CIIP* Vorarbeiten für das *CIIP*', *ZPE* 174, 2010, 169 ff.

²⁸ See for example *CIIP* II 1213 and 1234; 1226 and 1231; 1269-1271; 1278 and 1279; 1284, 1286 and 1288; 1293 and 1295.

²⁹ Examples are *CIIP* II 1287, a base for a statue of the procurator C. Furius Timesitheus (see on p. 22) and *CIIP* II 1272, a column on which a statue of Galerius as Caesar was erected; three other similar columns for the other members of the tetrarchy are lost.

³⁰ *CIIP* II 1266-1271.

³¹ *CIIP* II 1266-1268.

³² See n. 3.

³³ See as one impressive example the city of Thamugadi in North Africa.

³⁴ For the arches in Jerusalem see *CIIP* I 2, 715 (a new fragment shows that the monument was erected in 130 by the *legio X Fretensis* [information by H. Cotton and A. Ecker]). 716. 717 (unclear if the text belonged to an arch or to another honorary monument). 719; Tel Shalem: W. Eck, G. Foerster, 'Ein Triumphbogen für Hadrian im Tal von Beth Shean bei Tel Shalem', *JRA* 12, 1999, 294 ff. See in general W. Eck, 'Ehret den Kaiser. Bögen und Tore als Ehrenmonumente in der Provinz Iudaea', in: *The Words of a Wise Man's Mouth are Gracious (Qoh 10, 12). Festschrift for G. Stemberger on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. M. Perani, Series "Studia Judaica", Berlin 2005, 153 ff.

stood side by side and in some places tightly packed, as we may surmise from the number of column-bases, then they must have given the viewer the impression of a uniform line. These were statue galleries so to speak, which presented no significant visual differentiation between the individual dedications — not least due to the fact that they were mostly made of bronze.

Among the honorary statues in the *provincia Iudaea* we find some striking examples for individuals who belonged to much lower levels in the social hierarchy than the persons so far mentioned.

Among the texts found in the Praetorium of the fiscal procurator at Caesarea, a round sandstone-base, only 62 cm high, used to bear a life-size statue of T. Flavius Callistus, a *libertus Augusti*, active in Caesarea in the Flavian period, or shortly thereafter. The freedman was honored by a citizen of the city, who refers to himself as his *amicus*. In other words, a dedication to a freedman was displayed³⁵ within the Praetorium of the Procurator, side by side with statues of the Equestrian procurators, whose legal and social level was considerably more elevated; nevertheless, in regards to its public display as well as its implication, social and legal distinctions were thus erased. No one would notice the social difference via the statue alone; only the inscriptions would reveal the different social level of the honoree. In any case the statue of the *libertus* may have continued to stand there over a long period, for the base was found inside the praetorium, whereas bases made of higher quality stone were removed.

We encounter a similar phenomenon in an inscription from Ascalon, which belonged to a statue or bust of Aulus Instuleius Tenax. In this case, the reason for his being so honored is not specified, only his position within the Roman military hierarchy: he was *centurio legionis X Fretensis*.³⁶ It has been variously conjectured that he could have distinguished himself in the defense of the gentile population of the city against the Jewish rebels at the time of the Jewish revolt of 67-70 AD, or soon thereafter, thereby earning their gratitude. This gratitude was expressed by raising a monument to him in the Basilica of the city Agora albeit that he was a mere centurion.

One has to take into consideration yet one more piece of evidence concerning this person. In AD 65 Tenax identifies himself on one of the two statues of Memnon in Egyptian Thebes and here as *primuspilus* of the *legio XII Fulminata*,³⁷ stationed at the time in Syria. It is entirely implausible that a few years later he would be designated merely as a centurion in an inscription on a monument set up in his honour in Ascalon. The *primuspilus* was the highest ranking centurion of a legion. However, a demotion from *primuspilus* of the *legio XII Fulminata* to *centurio legionis X Fretensis* would be

³⁵ CIIP II 1302: *T(ito) Flavio Aug(usti) liber(to) h(onoris) Callisto c(ausa) G(aius) Aurunculeius amico suo.*

³⁶ AE 1923, 83 = SEG 1, 552 = CIIP III 2335: ἡ βουλῆ{1} καὶ ὁ δῆμος ᾿Ωλον Ἴνστολήιον Τένακα ἑκατοντάρχην λεγιῶνος δεκάτης Φρετηνσίας εὐνοίας ἔνεκα. Cf. for the centurion B. Isaac, *Limits of Empire*, Oxford 1992, 136 n. 169; E. Dąbrowa, *Legio X Fretensis. A Prosopographical Study of its officers (I-III c. A.D.)*, Stuttgart 1993, 89.

³⁷ CIL III 30 = Dessau 8759a = A. and E. Bernard, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du colosse de Memnon*, Paris 1960, Nr. 2: *A(ulus) Instuleius Tenax primipilaris leg(ionis) XII Fulminatae et C(aius) Valerius Priscus (centurio) leg(ionis) XXII et L(ucius) Quintius Viator decurio audimus Memnon[em] anno XI Neronis Imp(eratoris) n(ostr)i XVII K(alendas) April(es) h(ora) --].*

sheer fantasy ignoring the ranking structure of the Roman army. In other words Aulus Instuleius Tenax was present in Ascalon prior to rising to the rank of *primuspilus* in the *legio XII Fulminata*. This means that the chronology of these inscriptions must be reversed: the inscription from Ascalon should be dated prior to the year 65.

This consideration raises in its turn a new problem: how to account for the presence of a centurion of the *legio X Fretensis* in Ascalon in the year 65 if the legion was stationed in the province of Judaea only from the year 70 onwards? However, the solution to this problem is not far to seek: prior to 66, Judaea was part of the province of Syria under the regional command of an equestrian prefect. In other words, the *legio X Fretensis* as well as the *legio XII Fulminata*, belonged to one and the same provincial army under the command of the Syrian governor. In the province, individual soldiers, as, for example, centurions could be assigned to tasks requiring their transfer from one legion to another with or without the option of promotion in the transition. This has always been part and parcel of military routine. More to the point: units and personnel of the Syrian legionary army may well have been sent to perform various tasks in the southern part of the Syrian province, in Judaea when the need or the occasion arose. Thus, the vast imperial domains in Judaea were under the control of a domain procurator with a military force. This is attested for the Tiberian-Claudian period in relation to the palm groves of Jamnia then under the command of Herennius Capito, the procurator.³⁸ The centurion, whose testamentary will Herennius Capito fulfilled, may well have served on the staff of the procurator of Jamnia. It is very likely that Instuleius Tenax, our promising centurion of the *legio X Fretensis*, later to be promoted to *primus pilus*, served in a similar capacity under a procurator who was also in charge of the Herodian palace at Ascalon, that had previously been in the possession of Herod's sister, Salome, but later on passed on to the *patrimonium Caesaris*.³⁹ Thus, the presence of a centurion of the *legio X Fretensis* in Ascalon prior to the year 65 is not surprising, but on the other hand this may also have been the occasion for ingratiating himself with people and council of Ascalon. Our man was honored by the *boulē* and *dēmos* εὐνοίας ἔνεκα. The honorary monument was not large, judging from the size of the inscription, a mere 21 cm high and wide. It was set up in the interior of the big basilica of Ascalon.⁴⁰ Alongside the tablet commemorating Instuleius Tenax was found an almost identical tablet that had originally been placed under another bust — or statue — belonging to a citizen of Ascalon by the name of Ti. Iulius Miccio, who had received Roman citizenship under Tiberius. The reason for honoring him is the same as for Instuleius Tenax: εὐνοίας ἔνεκα. However, in this case he was no stranger, but a citizen although it is unlikely that he was a member of

³⁸ Iosephus, *Ant.* 18, 158; *AE* 1941, 105 = *AE* 1947, 39: *Ti(berio) Caesari divi Aug(usti) filio Augusto pontif(ici) maximo, trib(unicia) potest(ate) XXXVIII, co(n)s(uli) V ex testamento M(arci) Pulfenni Sex(tii) filii Arn(ensi) (centurionis) leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae) / C(aius) Herennius [--] Arn(ensi) Capito trib(unus) milit(um) III, praef(ectus) alae, praef(ectus) veteranorum, proc(urator) Iuliae Augustae, proc(urator) Ti(beri) Caesaris Aug(usti), proc(urator) C(ai) Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici, arg(enti) (quincunx) p(ondo) X.*

³⁹ Iosephus, *Ant.* 17, 321.

⁴⁰ For the basilica M. Fischer, A. Krug, Z. Pearl, 'The basilica of Ascalon: marble, imperial art and architecture in Roman Palestine', in: *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research*, J. H. Humphrey (ed.), *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Supp. Series 14, Ann Arbor 1995, 121 ff

a leading family since no other official position is mentioned. Nonetheless, honoring him was a comparable act.⁴¹

What makes these two cases from Ascalon undoubtedly special is the fact that on this occasion the honoree did not belong to the highest echelons of the empire. This proves, if proof is needed, that such a social standing was not invariably a *sine qua non* for such an honor. Concrete services to individuals and communities, *merita* to use the Latin terminology, must have counted no less in order to earn such honors as those of Instuleius Tenax and Ti. Iulius Miccio. Similar is the case of C. Domitius Alexander, a centurion of the *legio III Cyrenaica*, who was honored with a statue by the polis of Medaba in Arabia. In that case too the polis erected a statue εὐνοίας καὶ ἀγνείας ἔνεκα.⁴²

To sum up the evidence briefly presented here: I would suggest that the public face of the majority of cities in the province of *Iudaea/Syria Palaestina* hardly differed from that presented by other urban centers in the Empire. A generation or so ago, I would have continued to note the exceptional case of those centers populated by a Jewish majority where such honorary statues were unknown and unattested. The work of the CIIP has already modified our former preconceptions, not to say prejudices, and future excavations may well have in store surprises from Jewish centers!

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⁴¹ CIIP II 2336: ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Τιβέριον Ἰούλιον | Μικκίωνα τὸν ἐατῶν πολεῖτην | εὐνοίας ἔνεκα.

⁴² IGLSyr 21, 2, 117.