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A DEDICATION TO GALERIUS FROM SCYTHOPOLIS. A REVISED
READING

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A DEDICATION TO GALERIUS FROM SCYTHOPOLIS A REVISED READING*

In 1962, the late Prof. B.Lifshitz published an inscription of nine lines in Latin and two in Greek, engraved on a limestone column found at Scythopolis (Beth-Shean).¹ In 1989 the stone was moved to the Museum of Regional and Mediterranean Archeology in Gan-Hashlosha, not far away from the historical site of Scythopolis. In 21 September 1990, the authors of this article examined the inscription and arrived to the conclusion that the publication by Lifshitz needed some modifications. The first nine lines are a dedication to the emperor Galerius (Augustus 305-311) by the praeses of the province Syria Palaestina. Lifshitz' reading is the following: (Tafel XIV e,f)

[F]ORTISSIMO PROVIDENTissimo
Domino Nostro IMPeratori CAESari GALERio
MAXIMIANO Pio Felici SEMPer
INVICTO AUGusto VALEN-
TINIANUS PRAESes PRO-
VINCiae SYRiae PALaestinae NUMINI
MAIESTatiQue EIUS SEMPER
DEVOTISSIMUS
FELICITER

Our stamp reads:

FORTISSIMOPR[O]VIDEN[T]
DNIMP[CA]ESGALVAL
MAXIMIANOPFSEMPER
INVICTOAUG VALFER-
MI[L]IANUS PRAESPRO-
VINC SURPAL NUMINI
MAIESTQEIVSSEMPER
DEVOTISSIMUS
FELICITER

* The authors wish to express their gratitude to Profs. Denis Feissel, Bernard Flusin, and Benjamin Isaac for valuable criticism and suggestions.

¹ B.Lifshitz, "Une dédicace à Galère trouvée à Beisan (Skythopolis)", in *Hommages à Albert Grenier* (ed. M.Renard), Bruxelles-Berchem 1962, vol. II 1063-4 (= SEG vol. XX [1964], 455 = AE 1964, 198).

The reading we propose is the following:

- 1) FORTISSIMO PR[O]VIDEN[T](issimo)
- 2) D(omino) N(ostro) IMP(eratori) [CA]ES(ari) GAL(erio) VAL(erio)
- 3) MAXIMIANO P(io) F(elici) SEMPER
- 4) INVICTO AUG(usto) VAL(erius) FER-
- 5) MI[L]IANUS PRAES(es) PRO-
- 6) VINC(iae) SUR(iae) PAL(aestinae) NUMINI
- 7) MAIEST(ati)Q(ue) EIUS SEMPER
- 8) DEVOTISSIMUS
- 9) FELICITER

Fo
 RTISSIMOPR. VIDEN
 DNIMP ES GALVAL
 MAXIMIANO PF SEMPER
 INVICTOAVG VALFER
 MI L IANUS PRAES PRO
 VINC SVR PAL NUMINI
 MAIESTQ EIUS SEMPER
 DEVOTISSIMVS
 FELICITER

This reading differs from Lifshitz' mainly in two instances. First, the name of the emperor now includes the gentilicium Valerius (l. 2). This form of the name of the emperor, though not complete (the praenomen Gaius is not included), is well attested in inscriptions.²

Second: the reading of the name of the praeses is VAL(erius) FERMI-IANUS, and not Valentinianus (ll. 4-5). The second character of the cognomen appears to be an E, but I is often replaced by E in late Latin inscriptions.³ The sixth character is difficult to read; assuming that the second character is an I, the only two possibilities are either N or L, which reads either Firmilianus or Firminianus. Both cognomina are attested in inscriptions.⁴ It is evident from both the cognomen of this praeses and the period under discussion that this is the same governor who is mentioned more than once in Eusebius' *Liber de martyribus Palaestinae* (henceforward MP),⁵ under the name of Φιρμιλιανός/Firmilianus, as a cruel persecutor of Christians.⁶

The suggested reading modifies in two instances the list of governors of the province Syria Palaestina during the Diocletianic persecution. First, as the former reading of this inscription has been the only piece of evidence for a praeses named Valentinianus in this province, he has to be excluded from the list.⁷ Second, it is now possible to reconsider the duration of Firmilianus' governorship and the date of his death.

The governorship of Firmilianus is first attested by Eusebius for the sixth year of the persecution, that is 308/9.⁸ Further on in the narrative, having described the punishment and death of the last martyrs in Caesarea, Eusebius says: "μνημονεῦσαι δ' ἔτι ἄξιον ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου ὡς ἄρα οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν τῆς οὐρανίου προνοίας τοὺς δυσσεβεῖς ἄρχοντας αὐτοῖς τυράννοισι μετελθούσης, ὁ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτύρων παροινήσας, αὐτὸς δὴ ὁ Φιρμιλιανός, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσχάτην

² See, W.Enßlin, s.v. Maximianus 2 (Galerius), RE XIV/2 (1930), col. 2516; A.H.M.Jones (et alii), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (henceforward PLRE), vol. I 260-395 A.D., Cambridge 1971, s.v. Maximianus 9, p.574.

³ For other cases where I becomes E before R see, H.Schuchardt, *Der Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, vol. II, Leipzig 1867, 28-9.

⁴ See, I.Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965 (reprint Rome 1982), 146; 258.

⁵ Eusebius' original Greek text has been lost but for some fragments, and in its stead we have an abridged Greek version, a complete Syriac translation, another partial Syriac adaptation of this translation, and a partial Latin translation. Edition of the Greek fragments and the Latin version, with a German translation of the Syriac, by B.Violet, *Die Palästinischen Märtyrer des Eusebius von Cäsarea*, Leipzig 1896; edition of the Greek fragments in *Analecta Bollandiana* 16, 1897, 122-139; text and translation of the abridged Greek version and the Greek fragments by G.Bardy in *Eusèbe de Césarée, Histoire Ecclésiastique*; vol. III - Livres VIII-X et les martyrs en Palestine, Paris 1967 (*Sources Chrétiennes* 55), 120-174 (on the tradition of the text see, *ibid.* 121, n.1).

⁶ Violet 61, 63-4, 70-71, 87-88, 104, 115-7; Bardy VIII, 1; IX, 5; XI, 7-12; 24; 26; 28-31 (p. 144; 149; 157-160; 166-8).

⁷ For lists of governors of this province during the Diocletianic persecution see, PLRE I 1108; E.M.Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, Leiden 1976, 554-555; T.D.Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, Cambridge Mass. and London, 1982, 152; G.Fuks, *Scythopolis - a Greek City in Eretz-Israel*, Jerusalem 1983 (in Hebrew), 71.

⁸ Violet 60-61; Bardy VIII, 11, p.144; cf. *ibid.* n.1.

ὑπομείνας τιμωρίαν ξίφει τὴν ζῶην καταστρέφει. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Καισάρειαν ἐφ' ὄλοις τοῖς διωγμοῦ χρόνοις ἐπιτελεσθέντα μαρτύρια τοιαῦτα" (MP, XI, 31).⁹

This is not the end of the narrative, however, for Eusebius announces further on the end of the seventh year of the persecution (309-310), and continues with the narrative of the eighth year (310-311), that includes the cruelties of a governor who is not named (MP XIII, 1).¹⁰ The publication of the inscription has led scholars to the following conclusions: first, that in the passage just quoted, Eusebius related not only Firmilianus' death, but, at the same time, completed the narrative of that part of the persecution which fell under his governorship. Second, that the governor referred to at the beginning of the narrative of the eighth year was his successor,¹¹ and that his name was Valentinianus.¹²

Now Eusebius' remark on Firmilianus is anticipatory, and does not imply that he died immediately after the events which precede this remark in the narrative.¹³ Thus there is no reason to assume that Firmilianus died at the end of the seventh year of the persecution (309-310). It is therefore almost certain that he remained in office into the eighth year (310-311), and that he is the unnamed governor referred to by Eusebius at the opening of his narrative of the persecution of that same year.¹⁴

In the passage quoted above (MP XI, 31) Eusebius says that heavenly providence punished the impious ἄρχοντες αὐτοῖς τυράννοις. It has been used as evidence that Firmilianus was executed by the emperors.¹⁵ The dative αὐτοῖς τυράννοις is, however, a comitative one, and the translation should be 'together with the tyrants' and not 'through the tyrants'.¹⁶ It indicates that the death of Firmilianus occurred at roughly the same time as that of Galerius (in 311), or Maximinus Daia (in 313). It is not known whether he remained in his position until his death.

All we can say is that Firmilianus' governorship is attested for the sixth through eighth years of the persecution, that is 308/9-310/11, and that his death was considered by Eusebius as a manifestation of heavenly providence. The same applies for the date of the inscription itself, which does not offer any other clue. As Lifshitz has remarked,¹⁷ the cognomina devictarum gentium of Galerius do not appear. No dating with reference to his military victories is therefore possible. Galerius is the only emperor mentioned in the inscription. So it should be probably dated to the period during which he was the only

⁹ Bardy 168.

¹⁰ Ibid. 170 et n.1; cf. PLRE I s.v. Anonymus 130.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² PLRE I 932; Barnes 152; Smallwood 554-555.

¹³ Cf. Bardy VII, 8, p.144, where Eusebius expresses his hope to tell elsewhere the bitter end of the 'impious' persecutors, including that of the emperor Maximinus (sc. Daia); which he did in HE, IX, 10, 14.

¹⁴ As Bardy remarks (170, n.3), and as Barnes has suspected (loc.cit. n.32).

¹⁵ See Bardy's French translation of the passage (168); PLRE I 338.

¹⁶ See the translation by C.F.Cruise, *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus*, Michigan 1962, 374. For the comitative dative see, E.Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, Munich 1950, vol II 164.

¹⁷ Lifshitz, art.cit. p.1063.

Augustus in the East. This would give Maximinus Daia's self-proclamation as Augustus, in 309 or 310,¹⁸ as a *terminus ante quem*. Yet the stone may have belonged to a series of inscriptions dedicated each to one emperor exclusively.¹⁹

According to our inscription the gentilicium of Firmilianus was Valerius (l. 4). During the late third and early fourth century there is a marked increase in the number of occurrences of this gentilicium among various levels of army and administration, also among provincial governors. According to J.C.Keenan, this gentilicium, being that of the Augusti Diocletian and Maximianus, was frequently adopted during the first Tetrarchy by officers and high officials, including *virii perfectissimi*. Keenan has showed that this is a practice begun in the late third century, by which citizens, upon entering government service, were entitled to replace their own gentilicium.²⁰ This may have been the case of Firmilianus, though we cannot rule out the possibility that he was born a Valerius.

The dedication itself includes some interesting features. It begins with the epithets *fortissimus* and *providentissimus* (l. 1) which are uncommon in inscriptions dedicated to this emperor.²¹ Lactantius mentions an anti-Christian pagan philosopher who praised the emperors (Diocletian and his colleagues) for having showed their *pietas* and *providentia* in all things and especially in defending the religions of the gods.²² Thus the dedication of this inscription to a *providentissimus* emperor may be related to his persecuting the Christians;²³ but this is no more than a conjecture. The formula *devotus numini maiestatique eius* is very common in dedications of the third and fourth centuries, especially in inscriptions erected by military and administrative men. Firmilianus uses here a variation of this formula which is

¹⁸ See, PLRE I, s.v. Maximinus 12, p.579.

¹⁹ See, M.S.Speidel, "The Last of the Procurators", ZPE 43, 1981, 364; ILS 631-3, a series of three inscriptions from Numidia, dedicated to Diocletian, Maximianus and Galerius by Valerius Flaccus, the praeses of the province. In each of the inscriptions, however, the praeses is *numini maiestatique eorum dicatissimus*, so that the existence of other emperors is evident. There are also parallel inscriptions dedicated each to one of two co-emperors only. See, C.H.Kraeling, *Gerasha, City of the Decapolis*, New-Haven 1938, 414 n^{os} 105-6. See also two dedications from Seleucia in Isauria, the one to Constantine, the other to Maximinus Daia, by the praeses of that province (G.Dagrón, D.Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, Paris 1987, 20-21, n^{os} 2-3; also in S.Şahin, "Inchriften aus Seleukeia am Kalykadnos (Silifke)", *Epigraphica Anatolica* vol. 17 [1991], pp.152-3).

²⁰ See, J.C.Keenan, "The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt", ZPE 11, 1973, 33-63, esp. 44-6; for Valerii as provincial governors during this period see also the *Fasti* of PLRE I 1084; 1086-9; 1091; 1096; 1098; 1101.

²¹ Lifshitz, art.cit. 1063.

²² Lactantius, *Div.Inst.* V, 2, 1-7.

²³ According to Eusebius (in a short version of the Greek original text, preserved in the group ATER = Bardy IX, 5-7), in November 309, i.e. in the year when Firmilianus was still governor, a group of Christians from Palestine was executed in Caesarea. It included a virgin from Scythopolis, who is called, in Violet's edition, *Μαρθώ*, *Μανεθώ* (68), and also *Μαναθῶ* (116); in Bardy's edition, perhaps by mistake, she is called *Ἐνναθά*. There are all reasons to assume that this virgin, before being brought to Caesarea, was subjected to persecution and torture in Scythopolis: see, Violet 68, 116; H.J.Lawlor and J.E.L.Oulton (eds.), *Eusebius: The Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine*, vol. II, London 1927, 373-374, IX 6-7.

relatively uncommon: *numini maiestatique eius semper devotissimus* (ll. 6-9).²⁴ These uncommon expressions were probably used to emphasize the governor's loyalty toward the emperor.

A Greek hagiographical text, the Acts of St. Menas, mentions a certain Φιρμηλιανός as the ταξίαρχος (i.e. tribunos) of the κατάλογος τῶν Ῥουτιλλιακῶν, in Phrygia, during the persecution of Diocletian.²⁵ The date would suggest a possible identification with Valerius Firmilianus. We also know, from Eusebius, that Firmilianus was a military man,²⁶ while Lactantius says that Galerius sent to the provinces military men as governors.²⁷ But the Acts of St. Menas is a text of dubious authenticity and value,²⁸ while a unit of Rutilliaci seems to be otherwise unknown.

* * *

We may now continue with the two lines in Greek at the bottom of the column. Lifshitz' reading of these two lines is the following:²⁹

διὰ τῶν ἐν δεσποτικάῃς χώ[ραις(?)]
στρατηγ(ῶν) πόλ(εων) κολ(ωνειῶν)

The reading of the first line has been very difficult, and our reading of it differs largely from that of Lifshitz. As for the second line, we only differ from him concerning the completion of the abbreviations. The characters we have identified in the first line are:

ΔΙΑΤΩΝΠΕΡΙΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΝΚΑΙΕΥΓ--ΙΟΝ

In the second line there are three words in abbreviation:

ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓ ΠΟΛ ΚΟΛ

The reading we propose is as follows:

- 10) Διὰ τῶν περὶ Λεόντιον καὶ Εὐγ[έν]ιον
11) Στρατηγ(οῦς) πόλ(εως) κολ(ωνίας)

ΔΙΑΤΩΝΠΕΡΙΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΝΚΑΙΕΥΓΕΙΟΝ
ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓ ΠΟΛ ΚΟΛ

²⁴ On this formula see, H.G.Gundel, "Devotus Numini Maiestatique Eius", *Epigraphica* 15, 1953, 128-150; esp. 133-4; 142-4.

²⁵ See, *Analecta Bollandiana* 3, 1884, 259; cf. *PLRE* I 338.

²⁶ Violet, 61.

²⁷ Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* (ed. J.L.Creed, Oxford 1984) xxii, 5, iudices militares humanitatis litterarum rudes sine adessoribus in provincias immissi.

²⁸ The authenticity of the text is rejected on the ground that it used as its model St. Basil's panegyric on St. Gordius. See P.Peeters, *Orient et Byzance*, Bruxelles 1950, 38-9; cf. Barnes, *op.cit.* 187; 190.

²⁹ Lifshitz, *art.cit.* 1063.

In the first line we find the construction οἱ περί + a name, function or title in the accusative, which, from the first century C.E. stands for the person, function of title themselves.³⁰ Here are given two names, Λεόντιος and Εὐγ[έν]ιος. Their title is given in the second line, abbreviated as ΤΡΑΤΗΓ. This should be completed as a plural accusative, in accordance with the names of the magistrates in the first line. One may ask why a more simple, straightforward formula is not used, yet this construction is attested by other municipal inscriptions.³¹

ΚΟΛ is the common abbreviation for κολωνία/κολωνεία,³² a colonia. ΠΟΛ can stand as an abbreviation for both πολῖται (or πολιτῶν) and πόλις (or πόλις). If the first possibility is adopted, the second line reads στρατηγ(οῦς) πολ(ιτῶν) κολ(ωνίας). This reading can be interpreted in two different ways. The first considers πολιτῶν as depending on στρατηγός in a rare combination, στρατηγός πολιτῶν,³³ whose meaning is not clear. It would be difficult to explain here and should therefore be rejected. The second possibility of this reading takes πολιτῶν in accordance with the definite article τῶν in the first line. This reading too is to be rejected, for if the inscription was erected by the στρατηγοί Leontius and Eugenius, as is obvious, and if οἱ περί stands for those two magistrates, the addition of πολῖται to the construction is not only unnecessary, but also far from clear. We should therefore complete ΠΟΛ as πόλις(εως). As the term κολωνεία is also used, the term πόλις seems superfluous, but parallel examples exist.³⁴

Thus we learn that the inscription which Firmilianus dedicated to the emperor Galerius was in fact erected by the two chief magistrates of the city. This was an extremely common practice. Many dedications by provincial governors were in fact erected by their subordinates, or by municipal magistrates, who did not omit to have their names mentioned

³⁰ See the examples given in LSJ⁹ s.v. περί, C. I. 2, p.1366; for other examples see; Plutarch, Timoleon, xiii, 4; Eunapius of Sadis, Lives of the Sophists (ed. W.C.Wright), Loeb Classical Library - London 1921, 350; Theophylactus Simocatta, Historiae (ed. C. de Boor), Teubner - Stuttgart 1972, VII 7, 3 (p. 275).

³¹ IGR III 883,; see then remark of L.Robert on this inscription in Hellenica VII, 1949, 202: "L'expression τῶν περί κτλ. ne désigne pas, ici, d'autres personnes que ces quatre secrétaires eux-mêmes". See also SEG 36, 415; Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani (ed. Struve et alii), Moscow-Leningrad 1965, n^{os} 98, 99, 102, 103; Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum (ed. Dittenberger)⁴, vol II 831, ll. 20-22; cf. ll. 23-5; SEG 31, 909, ll. 10-16 (Aphrodisias). See also an inscription from Stratonicea in Caria published by E.Varinlioğlu, Epigraphica Anatolica 12, 1988, 104: οἱ δὲ περί Φίλαγρον τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν. See, however, the proposal of the editor (ibid).

³² The abbreviation is used in Latin inscriptions and in coins in both languages. Numerous examples in F.Millar, "The Roman coloniae of the Near East; a Study of Cultural Relations" in H.Solin and M.Kajava (edd.) Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History, Helsinki 1990, 39, n.140; 41; 43; 47; 49-53. We have not found any occurrence of this abbreviation in a Greek inscription.

³³ See, Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani, n^o 1256, l. 5; cf. n^o 1237, ll. 7-8.

³⁴ See, Millar, art.cit. 50: ἐν]κο]λωνία Cιδονίων πόλει (a papyrus from 267); A.Kindler, "The Status of Cities in the Syro-Palestinian Shore", Israel Numismatic Journal 6-7, 1982, 79.

in the inscriptions. The use of the preposition *διὰ* + genitive for that purpose is well attested.³⁵

The most interesting result from the proposed reading of the Greek lines is that Scythopolis (which is not mentioned in the inscription itself) was a *colonia*. Fergus Millar's recent study of the Roman *coloniae* of the Near East, though extremely detailed, has not revealed any other piece of evidence on this matter. Scythopolis may now join some other cities, for whose status as *coloniae* the evidence is minimal; Ascalon, Gadara, Gaza and Gerasa.³⁶ The conclusion that Scythopolis was a *colonia* is corroborated by the title and number of the magistrates mentioned here, namely *στρατηγοί*, the standard Greek equivalent for the Latin *duumviri*, the chief magistrates in a *colonia*.³⁷

We do not know when Scythopolis was granted this status. From the fact that no colonial coins of Scythopolis are known, it follows that it occurred after municipal bronze coinage had ceased, in the second half of the third century.³⁸ Flavia Neapolis was granted the status of a *colonia* by Philip the Arab (244-249), and it issued colonial coins. This may serve as a *terminus post quem* in our case.³⁹ The history of the neighbouring settlement of Caparcotna may offer a clue. Inscriptional evidence shows that a legion was based there, probably in 117 C.E., and certainly before 120 C.E. Caparcotna was therefore called *Legio*. From the fourth century onwards, it appears in the sources as *Maximianopolis*, which proves that it was given municipal status and renamed after an emperor whose name was Maximianus. As Maximianus Herculius (286-305) was not active in the East, the emperor in question most probably was Maximianus Galerius (305-311).⁴⁰ Now it is not impossible that the far more important city of Scythopolis received colonial status at the same time, so as to maintain a difference in status between Scythopolis and its minor neighbour.

If the grant of colonial status occurred in such a late date - whether in the second half of the third century or at the beginning of the fourth - it must have been an honorary one; it could not have been the outcome of the founding of a *colonia* in the old manner, for such foundings had ended in the reign of Hadrian.⁴¹ We do not know whether or not it bestowed on the city any financial advantages,⁴² but it may have brought forward a reorganization of

³⁵ E.g. OGIS II 460; 467, 546; 587; 668.

³⁶ Millar, art.cit. 55; on Gadara see, J.Green and Y.Tzafrir, "Greek Inscriptions from Hammat Gader: a Poem by the Empress Eudocia and two Building Inscriptions", *Israel Exploration Journal* 32, 1982, 94-6.

³⁷ See, H.J.Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions*, Toronto 1974, s.v. *στρατηγός* § 3, p.87; numerous examples from several cities in Millar, art.cit. 43-51.

³⁸ The last sign of municipal bronze coinage in the East is dated to the reign of the emperor Tacitus (275-276); see, J.-P.Callu, in ANRW II, 1975, 597-8; M.Crawford, *ibid.* 567-575.

³⁹ Millar, art.cit. 53-4.

⁴⁰ See B. Isaac and I.Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea I: the Legio-Scythopolis Road*, B.A.R. Int. Ser. 141, Oxford 1982, 9-11.

⁴¹ See B.Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: the Roman Army in the East*, Oxford 1990, 323-5.

⁴² Following the *constitutio Antoniniana*, the grant of colonial status seems to have become a matter of formality. See, Millar, art.cit. 40-41; note the case of Antioch, granted this status by Caracalla, *salvis tributis*, that is, without exemption from either *tributum capitis* or *tributum soli*.

the municipal government and the institution of two στρατηγοί. The late bestowal of the title *colonia* on Scythopolis may also explain the simultaneous use of both πόλις and κολωνεία in the inscription.

Conclusion

The inscription discussed in this article was dedicated to the emperor Galerius by Valerius Firmilianus, praeses of the province Syria Palaestina. His governorship is attested by Eusebius for the years 308/9-310/11. The same can be said about the date of the inscription. At the present state of our knowledge, no dating can be given with any further precision.

The Greek lines at the bottom of the inscription prove that Scythopolis was granted the status of a *colonia civium Romanorum* at an unknown date. As no colonial coinage of Scythopolis is known, it must have occurred after the middle of the third century. It is not impossible that it happened when Legio was given municipal status and renamed Maximianopolis, most probably under Galerius himself.

POST-SCRIPTUM

A recently published inscription from Caria records a certain Firminianus as the governor of this province: ἡγ[εμον]εὺς{γ}οντος τοῦ δ(ι)ακήμο(υ) Φιρμινιανοῦ (E.Varinlioğlu and D.H.French, "Four milestones from Ceramus", *Revue des Études Anciennes* 93, 1991, p. 133). It is dated by the editors to 317. It would be tempting to identify this governor with Valerius Firmilianus, yet this idea should be rejected. There is no reason to assume that the letter υ in the inscription from Caria is a mistake for λ, while Valerius Firmilianus never appears as Firminianus in the versions of Eusebius' *Liber de martyribus Palaestinae*. Moreover, though Eusebius does not say when and how Valerius Firmilianus found his death, he clearly associates it with the death of Galerius and Maximinus Daia.

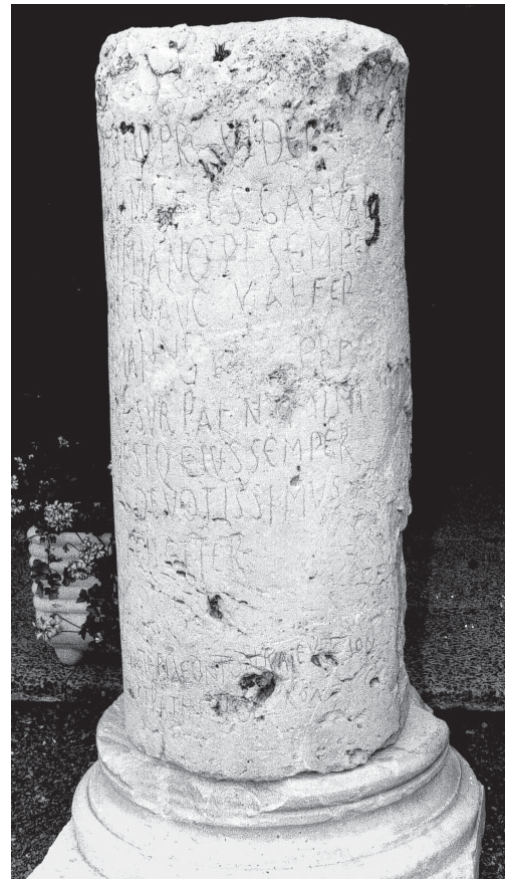
University of Haifa, Israel Department of Antiquities

University of Haifa, Israel Department of Antiquities

Rosa Last
Avshalom Laniado
Pinchas Porath



a)



b)

a)-b) Dedikation aus Scythopolis (Beth-Shean)