

NOTES AND CORRECTIONS TO IMPERIAL LETTERS, I

1. *Claudius to Thasos, AD 42*

C. Dunant and J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* II, Paris 1958, p. 66-9, no. 179, ll. 1-7:

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ, Γερμανικός, ἀρχιερεύς, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
τὸ δεύτερον, ὑπάτος ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ τρίτον, αὐτοκράτωρ, πατήρ πα-
τρίδος
Θασίων ἀρχουσι, βουλῆ, δῆμῳ χαίρειν· ὅπερ [ταῖς πρεσβείαις ταῖς ὑφ'
ὕμῶν πεμφ]-
4 θείσαις ἀπεφηνάμην, τοῦ[τ]ο καὶ ὑμεῖν λέγω ὅτι το[ὺς] τῆς ὑμετέ-
ρας] σπο[υ]
δῆς καὶ εὐσεβείας ἀποδέχομαι κοινῇ πάντας, τὸν δὲ ναὸν μ[ό]ν[οις] εἶ[ναι]
τοῖς
θεοῖς κρείνων παραιτοῦμαι, τὰς ἄλλας προσειέμενος τιμὰς αἰὲν πρέπουσιν
ἡγεμόσιν ἀρίστοις.

An autopsy of the inscription conducted in autumn 1988 (see *fig. 1*) showed that the editors omitted from the emperor's titlature the title Σεβαστός, which is written in the proper place after Καῖσαρ and before Γερμανικός. The stone reads Σε[βα]στός, the first two and the last four letters of the word being clearly legible. The absence of this title would have been inexplicable, as it is an indispensable element of Claudius's official titlature¹ and exists in all surviving letters issued in his name².

The addition of this title increases by eight letters the length of the inscription proposed by the editors, bringing it to a total of sixty-seven letters. It is evident that this affects the accuracy of their readings and the supplements they propose. However, the fact that the right-hand part of the inscription, after about the

1. See P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte*, Bruxelles 1964, p. 29f.

2. E. M. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero*, Cambridge 1967, nos. 370, 373a & b, 374, 376; IGR IV 1608b.

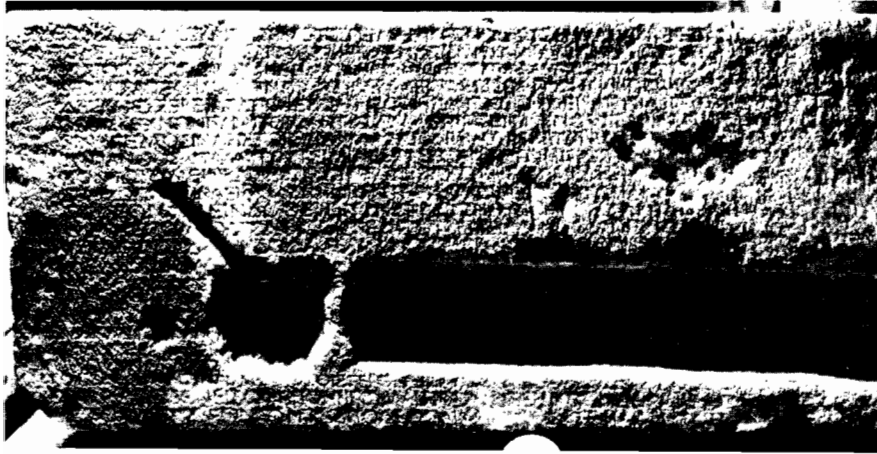


Fig. 1. Claudius to Thasos, AD 42.

eighteenth letter, is now badly worn away makes it virtually impossible to verify the proposed readings for this part.

The editors admit that they propose the supplement ταῖς πρεσβείαις ταῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν in line 3 because the general meaning of the text seems to require it, «bien que les traces très indistinctes que l'on peut lire ne semblent pas conduire à cette lecture»³. This supplement, however, would mean that Thasos had already sent other embassies to Claudius, whereas the content of the letter clearly indicates that it is a reply to the city's first embassy to this emperor: the city has offered him divine honours, obviously on the occasion of his accession, and receives from him the reaffirmation of its privileges. L. Robert has improved the supplement by making a small change to it. He suggests ὑπ' ἄλλων in the place of ὑφ' ὑμῶν, translating the phrase as follows: «ce que j'ai déclaré aux ambassades envoyées par d'autres, je vous dis à vous aussi»⁴. But even this reasonable suggestion cannot be accepted, as the very phrase ταῖς πρεσβείαις does not seem to have been written in this line.

In accordance with the existing traces of letters, I propose the following restoration for the end of this line: [ἐ]γ[ε]π[ι]στ[ο]λ[α]ῖς ἄλλοι[ς] πεμφ[θ]ε[ι]σαις. If correct, this restoration provides evidence for references to the familiar subject of

3. Dunant and Pouilloux, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

4. *Rev Phil* 41 (1967) 56, n. 8. Robert's suggestion is not taken into account by those who have reproduced the letter (Smallwood, *op. cit.*, no. 371; J. P. Adams, in *Ancient Macedonia IV*, Thessaloniki 1986, p. 24, n. 15) or commented on it (F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, London 1977, p. 413).

the refusal of divine honours⁵ in other, no longer surviving, letters of Claudius. Apart from this one, the only Claudian letter which contains a refusal of divine honours is that to the Alexandrians, dated AD 41 (*P. Lond.* 1912 = *CPJ* 153).

2. Nero to a city in Egypt (*Ptolemais Evergetis?*)

O. Montevecchi, Nerone a una polis e ai 6475, *Aegyptus* 50 (1970) 5-33 = *SB* 11012; O. Montevecchi and G. Geraci, Documenta papyracea inedita ad Neronis adque Othonis principatus pertinentia in papyris Mediolanensibus reperta, *Akten d. XIII Intern. Papyrologenkongresses*, Munich 1974, p. 292-9, ll. 6-9: καὶ τὸν χρυσοῦν στέ/[φαν]ον ἔπεμψά γε χαρισθῆ/[σεσ]θαί, μὴ βουλόμενος ἐν ἀρ/[χῆ] τ]ῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπειβα/ρε[ῖν ὑ]μᾶς.

Montevecchi (*Aegyptus* 50, 1970, 7) gives the following Latin translation of this passage: «aurum coronarium nisi quidem ut remitteretur, nolens initio principatus mei vos praegravare». In her commentary on it (*ibid.*, p. 18f.), she explains the existence of the γε (= *quidem*, «per l'appunto» in her view) which she reads after ἔπεμψα as indicating the promulgation of an imperial pronouncement by which Nero relieved the cities, or at least some of them, of the obligation of sending the *aurum coronarium* on the occasion of his accession. She admits, however, that the phrase μὴ βουλόμενος ... ἐπιβαρεῖν ὑμᾶς seems to contradict her interpretation and to indicate rather that this concession was not the result of a general measure, but was granted exclusively to the addressees of the letter; and she thus remains undecided: «Impossibile decidere per l'una o per l'altra interpretazione».

The difficulty arises from a mistaken reading of this γε, the first letter of which is not a *gamma* but clearly a *tau* and belongs to the preceding verb, giving ἐπέμψατε.

My own suggestion for this passage is the following: καὶ τὸν χρυσοῦν στέ/[φαν]ον <ὸν> ἐπέμψατε χαρισθῆ/[σομ]θαί, since we most probably have a case of haplography here. The *theta* which Montevecchi and Geraci suggest after the lacuna in the last word is not discernible in the photograph of the papyrus⁶.

Thus, according to the proposed reading, the letter does not constitute evidence of a Neronian pronouncement about the provincial cities' exemption from payment of the *aurum coronarium*. It would be interesting if it did, for, despite the

5. On the subject of the refusal of divine honours by the early emperors, apart from M. P. Charlesworth, *The Refusal of Divine Honours: An Augustan Formula*, *PBSR* 15 (1939) 1-10, see also S. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1984, p. 72f.

6. I am grateful to G. M. Parássoglou for checking these readings for me.

information the *Scr. Hist. Aug.* give about such a gesture from Hadrian (*Hadr.* 6, 5) and Antoninus Pius (*Pius* 4, 10), the only documentary evidence in this respect in the first two centuries of the Principate is an allusion made by the *Divi Fratres* in their letter to Delphi dated 164/5 (*F. Delphes* III.4, no. 313, ll. 14-15, with commentary).

3. Hadrian to Koronea in Boeotia, AD 155

B. Latschev, *BCH* 5 (1881) 452-61; *IG VII* 2870, iii; F. F. Abbot and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration of the Roman Empire*, Princeton 1926, no. 104; J. M. Fossey, *Euphrosyne* 11 (1981/2) 50-1, no. 11; *SEG XXXII* 468; P. Roesch, *Teiresias* 15 (1985), Epigraphica, no. E.85.10, ll. 15-16: τῆς δὲ ἔξωθεν χώρας εἴ τινα Θισβεῖς ἐπινέμοιεν πείθοντες ὑμᾶς, / δώσουσι μὲν νόμιον τέλ[ος].

An autopsy of the stone (see *fig. 2*) showed that in line 16 instead of δώσουσι μὲν νόμιον τέλ[ος], the inscription clearly reads δώσουσιν ἐννόμιον τέλο[ς]. La-



Fig. 2. Hadrian to Koronea, AD 155 (left side).

tischev mistakenly read the final *nu* of the verb as a *mu*. The error was repeated in all the subsequent editions of the inscription, while νόμιον τέλος, which is not attested elsewhere, was cited in *LSJ*⁹, Suppl., s.v. as meaning «pasture dues», and also in the relevant literature as a variation of ἐννόμιον⁷.

4. Antoninus Pius to Ptolemais Barca, AD 154

J. M. Reynolds *JRS* 68 (1978) 111-21; J. H. Oliver, *GRBS* 20 (1979) 157-9; *SEG* XXVIII 1565, ll. 82-83: οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ[τε ὅτι] / τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα καινοτομ[εῖν? αἰτί]αν παρέχει ταῖς πόλεσι φιλονεικίας.

The photograph of the inscription given by Reynolds seems to show that the second *alpha* of the word [αἰτί]αν, which she presents as certain, could be an *eta*. In this case, instead of [αἰτί]αν παρέχει, for which no parallel exists in the imperial letters, I suggest [ἀφορμ]ήν παρέχει. A nearly equivalent expression occurs in an unpublished letter sent by the same emperor to the city of Koronea in Boeotia: πέρας γένοιτο πράγματος ... παρέχοντος ἀφορμὴν καὶ πρόφασιν ταῖς πόλεσι ... φιλονεικίας. The expression ἀ[φ]ορμὴν παρέχοντος also occurs in a *subscriptio* of an emperor named Antoninus, who might well be Antoninus Pius (*P. Rendel Harris* 67, col. ii, l. 18). Cf. also Aelius Aristides *Or.* 23, 59 (Keil): ἀφορμὴ φιλονεικίας.

5. Septimius Severus to an unknown city in Phrygia

The inscription *CIG* 3878 (erroneously given the number 3788) found in Phrygia, in the modern town of Afyon Karahisar, bears fragments of two documents. The second document, ll. 11-27, which has been reproduced in *IGR* IV 672, is a letter from Severus to an unknown city. The document preceding this letter consists of ten fragmentary lines, and is described in the commentary of *CIG* as part of a city's decree. The text of this document, printed in capitals, is as follows:

ΑΤΡ'Α
ΡΑΙΩ
ΨΥΣΙΚΑΙΤ
ΚΝΥΤΟC
5 ΚΑΙΓΝΩΜ
ΔΙΜΟΣΙΑΣΠ
ΚΑΤΟΡΘΩΜΑ
ΑΞΙΑΝΟΥΣΑ
ΟΥΙΟΣΙΟΥΣΛ
10 ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ

7. J. H. Thiel, Zu altgriechischen Gebühren, *Klio* 20 (1926) 61; A. M. Andreadis, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημοσίας Οἰκονομίας*, Athens 1928, p. 168. Concerning the term ἐννόμιον, see S. LeRoy Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton 1938, p. 86f.

In all probability, these fragments also belong to an imperial letter. This is indicated in ll. 1, 3, and 9, which may be supplemented as follows: l. 1: [πατήρ π]ατριδ[ος]; l. 3: [ἄρχ]ουσι καὶ τ[ῆ] βουλῆ; l. 9: ὁ υἱός [μ]ου. Also, ΠΑΙΩ in l. 2 could be part of the name of the addressees:]ραίω[ν].

For ἀξίαν οὔσα[ν] in l. 8, cf. J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, London 1982, doc. 15 (Hadrian to Aphrodisias), l. 12: εἰδὼς τὴν πόλιν ... τεμῆς ἀξίαν οὔσαν.

The reference to «my son» in l. 9 and the fact that the document which follows belongs to Severus indicate that Severus is the sender of this letter too and that the son mentioned is Caracalla. If so, it may not be accidental that two of the words in the text, δ[η]μοσίας in l. 6 and κατορθωμα[] in l. 7, occur repeatedly, albeit in different forms, in three letters, one written by Severus alone and two by Severus and Caracalla, to three different cities in the years 197 and 198 in answer to congratulations on the victory against the Parthians: *IGR* IV 566; better text in L. Lafoscade, *De epistulis imperatorum magistratuumque Romanorum*, Lille 1902, no. 68 (Severus to Aezani, AD 197? For the date of this letter, see Reynolds, *Aphrodisias*, p. 125), ll. 12-13 τὴν ἡδονὴν ἣν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθωμένοις ἔχετε, ll. 17-18 ἦσθην ὅτ[ι] δι' αὐτὸ δη]μοσίαν ἡγάγετε ἑορτήν, ll. 21-23 τὴν νείκη[ν δὲ] ὡς εἶδον ἐπὶ μαρτυρίᾳ τῶν κατορθωμ[έ]νων ἐλθοῦσαν; *IGBulg II* 659 (Severus and Caracalla to Nicopolis ad Istrum, AD 198), ll. 25-6: δημοσίαν ἀγαγόντες ἑορτήν; Reynolds, *Aphrodisias*, doc. 17 (Severus and Caracalla to Aphrodisias, AD 198), ll. 9-10: [ἦσθῆναι? ἐπὶ τοῖς περὶ] τῶν βαρβάρων κατορθωμένοις.

The name at the end of the document (l. 10: Θεόφιλος), which can be that of the city's ambassador, is a further indication that the text belongs to an imperial letter.

6. Severus and Caracalla to Minoa on Amorgos

IG XII.7, 243 = *IGR* IV 1014, l. 30 -κη φόρου. Εὐτυχεῖτε. As the *viaticum* formula is not used here, one would normally expect the name of the ambassador before the final salutation. Consequently, instead of making -κηφορου two separate words, it is more reasonable to consider it as part of the ambassador's patronymic. Thus we must return to the first editor's suggestion (R. Weil, *Ath. Mitt.* 1 (1876) 350) and supplement here [Νι]κηφόρου, which is a common name in the Greek islands (cf. P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford 1987, s.v.). In an inscription dated around the first century BC or the first century AD, a man from Aegiale on Amorgos bears the name Μην[όδ]ωρος Νι-κη[η]φόρου (*IG* XII.7, 422, l. 12).

7. Gordian III to Antinoopolis, AD 241/2

(a) F. Hoogendijk and P. van Minnen, *Drei Kaiserbriefe an die Bürger von Antinoopolis*. P. Vindob. G. 25945, *Tyche* 2 (1987) 48, ll. 6-10:

6 Ὦν [ὁ θεὸς Ἀδριανὸς προτέ]ρους ὑμᾶς ἀφῆκεν τελεῶ[ν τ]ῶν καθεστη-
κότων [ἐπὶ τοῖς καλο]υμένοις Ζεύγμασιν ἐφ' ὅ[τις ἄν] ἀγωγίμοις
ἀπὸ τῆς ἄ[νω χώρας (?) ε]ἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν χρεῖαν εἰσ[άγ]ησθε, εἰκό-
τως ἄν εἴητ[ε] καὶ νῦν ἀπηλλαγμένοι, εἰ μὴ [τι] ἢ αὐτοκράτορος
10 πρόσταξις ἢ κατὰ ταύτην κρίσις ἐνεωτέρισεν [εἰς τ]ὴν χάριν.

The editors' suggestion that their supplement [προτέ]ρους in line 6 has an adverbial meaning here (sc. πρότερον), its use being justified by the presence of νῦν in line 9, is not convincing. The reference to Hadrian in itself makes the addition of a temporal adverb superfluous. I should propose here [ἀνεισφό]ρους, an adjective which occurs frequently in the official documents (see, e.g., R. K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East*, Baltimore 1969, index s.v., esp. p. 250, no. 44, l. 6: [ἀτελ]εῖς καὶ ἀν[εισφό]ρους (sc. εἶναι) πάσης εἰσφορᾶ[ς]).

(b) Hoogendijk and van Minnen (*op. cit.*, p. 70) suggest that the following undated imperial rescript (*P. Oxy.* 1407, ll. 9-16) probably belongs to Gordian III:

Ε]ύσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς
10]ς ἐν μετουσίᾳ καθεστῶς καὶ
]σης παρὰ τοῦτό τε ἡγουμένου τῆς
] πρυτανίαν ὥστε μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς
] τῶν ναυκλήρων οὐ σὺν μετα-
]χαιον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν μετα-
15 νο]μιζόμενα δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐφέσεσιν
] ἀπὸ Ῥώμης.

The suggested attribution could perhaps be further supported by the fact that the unusual expression ἐν μετουσίᾳ καθεστῶς in line 10 occurs in almost identical form in the same emperor's letter to Aphrodisias dated AD 243: Reynolds, *Aphrodisias*, doc. 21, ll. 3-5: τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας βούλευμα, ... οὐκ ἐπίταγμα ἦν, ... ἀλλὰ πολεῖτευμα χρηστὸν ἐν μετουσίᾳ καθιστᾶν ὑμᾶς φιλανθρώπου πράξεως. As far as I know, this expression is not found in any other of the existing imperial constitutions.

In line 11, τοῦ τότε ἡγουμένου is an obvious restoration (cf. TAM II 905, IVE, l. 69: παρὰ τοῦ τότε[ε] ἡγεμόνος), probably followed by τῆς / [ἐπαρχίας]: In this case the reference is to the governor of the province (cf. H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions*, Toronto 1971, p. 149).

8. *An Unknown Emperor to Thessaloniki*

The fragmentary and now lost inscription *IG X.2, 19* is glossed by its last editor, C. Edson, as follows: «Tit(ulus) tam mutilus difficilimus interpretatu est. De legatione ab urbe ad imperatorem missa agitur (vv. 5-9, 29) et de privilegio quodam urbi Thessalonicae soli dato (vv. 15, 33-4)». Apparently on the basis of the form of the letters, Edson dates the document to the second or third century.

The ἐπρέσβευσ[αν] followed by the ambassadors' names and the *viaticum* formula in ll. 5-9 indicates that this is the end of an imperial letter. The use of ἐπρέσβευσαν indicates as a *terminus post quem* for this letter the year 124, which is when the old formula οἱ πρεσβεύοντες ἦσαν makes its last appearance in the imperial letters (see below no. 9). A possible *terminus ante quem* is provided by the fact that the *viaticum* formula probably disappeared after Caracalla, the last surviving instance occurring in this emperor's letter to Apollonia by Salbacus dated 215/6 (J. and L. Robert, *La Carie II. Le plateau de Tabai et ses environs*, Paris 1954, p. 274, no. 149).

Edson restores l. 9 as follows: [- ἐφ]όδιον δώ[σειν]. εἰ μὴ-. However, the infinitive δώσειν in the place of the imperative δοθήτω is unattested in the twenty five or so surviving examples of this formula. It is better to consider the *omega* to be an error on the scribe's part and to restore the formula to its standard form: [οἷς τὸ ἐφ]όδιον δ<ο>[θήτω] εἰ μὴ [προῖκα ὑπέσχηνται].

The surviving four fragmentary lines of the main text of this letter give no idea of its subject matter. The unusually large size, however, of the embassy (at least six ambassadors) suggests that it must have been a rather important one. Furthermore, the expression ἂν οὕτως ἔχη τὰ πα- in l. 3 may indicate either that the emperor approved, under certain conditions, a request made by the city (cf. *IG V.1, 1361* Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to Pherae in Messenia, l. 9: εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀποδεχόμεθα), or that he instructed an official to investigate the validity of what the city had to say and act accordingly. Cf. *F. Delphes III.4, no. 287* (Trajan to Delphi), ll. 6-7: [ἐντειλάμην τῶ] ἀνθυπάτῳ ... ἵνα, ἐὰν οὕτως ἔχη, ὡς ἐγράψατε, τύχη τοῦ δικαίου; also *Syll.³ 833 = I. Ephesos V, no. 1486* (Hadrian to the Gerousia of Ephesus), ll. 9-11: πέπομφα ὑμῶν τὸ ἀντ[ίγραφον] τοῦ ψηφίσματος ... τῷ κρατίστῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ, ἵνα, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον εἴη, ἐπιλέξηται τινα.

The remaining twenty-six lines of the inscription belong to another imperial letter, as is clearly indicated by the expressions ὁ θεὸς πατήρ μου (l. 11) and ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρ[ός] (l. 25). The references, however, to the city (l. 15 [Θεσσαλ]ο-νίκη), and to its inhabitants, in particular, in the third person (l. 24 οἱ Θεσσαλονικεῖς, l. 32 [Θεσσαλο]γεικεῦσιν) suggest that the letter was not addressed to it. The document is most probably a copy of an imperial letter to some other body, which is addressed in the second person (cf. l. 27: καὶ ὅτι ὑμῖν δέδοκται). The addressee

could be another, possibly rival, city, or, more probably, the *koinon* of the Macedonians mentioned in the first line of the document (l. 10: Μακεδόνων τὸ χ[οινόν?]).

The absence of full imperial titulature at the beginning of the letter is understandable if the emperor who sent it was the same one who sent the letter inscribed immediately above. In this case, the emperor's name could be given in abbreviated form without any titles, as is commonly the case in the archives of imperial letters. Cf., e.g., J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias*, doc. 18 (Severus and Caracalla to Aphrodisias); *IG XII.5*, 658, l. 21 (Caracalla to Syros).

As indicated by l. 15: [Θεσσαλ]ονίκη μόνη συν<ήπτ>ετο ἡ τι[μῆ?], and also by the repetition of the word μόνη in ll. 33 and 34, the subject matter of the letter was probably the city's exclusive right to a title which was perhaps also claimed by a rival city. It calls to mind Q. Popillius Python's successful embassy to Nerva on behalf of the other important city in the same province, Beroea, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μόνην αὐτὴν ἔχειν τὴν νεωκορίαν τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀξίωμα⁸. It has been suggested that the city which challenged Beroea's exclusive right to these titles was Thessaloniki⁹. The present document gives no indication of either the title in question or the name of the rival city.

If the document is in fact a copy of an imperial letter sent to some other body, the question then arises of how it came into Thessaloniki's possession. It is probable that when he answered the city's request, the emperor simultaneously sent a letter announcing his decision to the other party involved in the case, i.e. the *koinon* or the rival city, and a copy of this second letter was also sent to Thessaloniki. An unpublished letter of Antoninus Pius to Koronea in Boeotia concerning a territorial dispute between the city and its neighbour, Thisbe, provides a parallel to this procedure. The emperor begins his letter by saying that he is forwarding to Koronea a copy of a letter he has sent to Thisbe on this matter: ὧν ἐπέστειλα Θισθεῦ[σι] ἐντυ[χ]ῶν τῷ ψηφίσματι ὑμῶν ἀντίγραφα πεμφθῆναι ὑμεῖν ἐκέλευσα.

9. The formula ὁ (οἱ) πρεσβεύων (-οντες) ἦν (ἦσαν)

This is the only type of formula used before the ambassadors' names attested in the imperial letters from AD 46 (*P. Lond.* 1178; Wilcken *Chrest.* no. 156, l. 14, Claudius to a synod of travelling athletes), to 29 August 124 (M. Wörle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* [Vestigia, 39], 1988, p. 4, l. 5, Hadrian to

8. *SEG XVII* 315. Cf. G. W. Bowersock, Hadrian and Metropolis, in *Bonner Historia Augusta Colloquium 1982-83*, Bonn 1985, p. 78-9.

9. F. Papazoglou, *Les Villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine* [BCH, Suppl. 16], 1988, p. 144, 210.

Termessus). From 126 onwards (*I. Olympia*, no. 57, Hadrian to the Achaean League), there appears the formula *ἐπρέσβευεν* (-ον), which, with very few exceptions, where the aorist of the verb is used (*ἐπρέσβευσεν* (-σαν))¹⁰, is employed until the end of the Principate.

The formula *ὁ (οἱ) πρεσβέων* (-οντες) *ἦν* (*ἦσαν*) survives in full in the above-mentioned letter of Claudius, in Nero's letter to an Egyptian city (O. Montevocchi, *Aegyptus* 50, 1970, 5 = *SB* 11012), and also in Hadrian's letter to the Gerousia of Ephesus, dated AD 120 (*Syll.*³ 833 = *I. Ephesos* V, no. 1486). It may therefore be restored in the following letters, in which it is preserved fragmentarily:

a) *Syll.*³ 821c (Domitian to Delphi, AD 90), l. 4: [*οἱ πρεσβεύοντες*] *ἦσαν* instead of [*πρεσβευταὶ*] *ἦσαν*.

b) *F. Delphes* III.4, no. 287, with *SEG* XXVI 629 (Trajan to Delphi, AD 98), ll. 7-8: *ὁ πρεσ[βεύων ἦν]* instead of *ὁ πρεσ[βευτῆς ἦν]*.

c) *F. Delphes* III.4, no. 288, with *SEG* XXVI 630 (Trajan to Delphi, AD 99), l. 8: *ὁ πρε[σβεύων ἦν]* instead of *ὁ πρε[σβευτῆς ἦν]*.

d) *I. Pergamon* II, no. 272 (an unknown, probably first century, emperor to Pergamon), l. 7: *ὁ πρεσβεύ[ων ἦν]* instead of *ὁ πρεσβευ[τῆς ...]*

e) *F. Delphes* III.4, no. 301 (Hadrian to Delphi, AD 118), ll. 10-11: [*ὁ*] /*πρεσβεύ[ων ἦν]* instead of *πρεσβευ[τῆς ἦν]*.

f) F. Martin, *La documentación griega de la cancelleria del emperador Adriano*, Pamplona 1982, p. 56, no. 8 (Hadrian to Delphi, AD 118), l. 17: *ὁ π[ρεσβεύων ἦν]* instead of *ὁ π[ρεσβευτῆς ἦν]*.

g) M. Wörle, *op. cit.*, p. 4 (Hadrian to Termessus, 29 August AD 124), l. 5: *οἱ πρε[σβεύοντες ἦσαν]* instead of *οἱ πρε[σβεύσα]ντες ἦσαν*.

As the change in the formula must have taken place between 29 August 124 and sometime in the year 126, one cannot say in what form it was employed in the letter sent by Hadrian to Delphi in September 125 (F. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 119, no. 19). Whatever the case may be, one cannot accept the proposed supplement in l. 31: [*πρεσβευταὶ ἦσαν*]. The formula used must have been either *οἱ πρεσβεύοντες ἦσαν* or *ἐπρέσβευον*. Also, the *terminus post quem* (29 August 124) for the change of the formula indicates that the undated Hadrianic letter to the same city

10. *IGR* IV 1156a, c = L. Robert, *Hellenica* VI (1948) 81-82 (Hadrian to Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis); *AE* 1979, 624 (Commodus to Bubon in Lycia); *IG* X.2, 19 (an unknown emperor to Thessaloniki). Prof. G. Mihailov reads *ἐπρέσ/βευσαν* in *IGBulg* IV, 2263, ll. 14-15 (Antoninus Pius to an unknown city of upper Macedonia). The correct reading however, as can be clearly seen on the picture of the inscription (*op. cit.*, plate 130), is that of the *editio princeps*: *ἐπρέσ/βευον* (D. Dečev, *JÖAI* 41, 1954, 110-118 = *SEG* XIV 479). For further discussion on the formulae regarding the way ambassadors are mentioned in the imperial letters see G. A. Souris, *Studies in Provincial Diplomacy under the Principate*, Ph. D. diss., Cambridge 1984, p. 124f.

(*F. Delphes* III.4, no. 303), in which ἐπρέσβευον is employed, must be dated to later than this. Thus the editor, A. Plassart, is probably correct in placing it after the long Hadrianic letter *F. Delphes* III.4, no. 302, which is accurately dated to AD 125.

Three other undated fragmentary letters in which ἐπρέσβευον is employed may also be dated after this *terminus post quem*: *I. Smyrna* II.1, no. 599 (to a synod of performers devoted to Dionysus), *SEG* XXXII 470 (to Koronea in Boeotia), and *SEG* XXXV 405c (also to Koronea).

In another undated letter addressed to Koronea (*SEG* XXXII 466), ἐπρέσβευεν and the ambassador's name are followed by the *viaticum* formula in its standard form: ᾧ τὸ ἐφόδιον δοθήτω εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχηται, and the final salutation εὐτυχεῖτε. This letter is of special interest, as it refers to the proconsul of Achaëa in office, Calpurnius Longus, for whom W. Eck (*Chiron* 13, 1983, 186, n. 480) proposes a Trajanic or Hadrianic date. However, the letter, and consequently the proconsul, cannot be Trajanic. Apart from the use of ἐπρέσβευον, the *viaticum* formula has a form here which appears for the first time in Hadrian's letter to Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis in 127 (*IGR* IV 1156a = L. Robert, *Hellenica* VI, 1948, 81). In the Trajanic letters, this formula takes a different form (*F. Delphes* III.4, no. 287, to Delphi, AD 98; *ibid.*, no. 288, to the same city, AD 99; *Hesperia* 44, 1975, 396, to a synod at Istmia, AD 98/99); and the same applies to the early Hadrianic letters (F. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 56, no. 8, to Delphi, AD 118; *Syll.*³ 833 = *I. Ephesos* V, no. 1486, to the Gerousia of Ephesus, AD 120). Furthermore, the farewell formula εὐτυχεῖτε appears for the first time in the Hadrianic letters¹¹. Trajan used ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι or ἔρρωσθε (see the Trajanic letters mentioned above). Thus, according to the formulas used, this letter to Koronea, and consequently the proconsulate of Calpurnius Longus, must in all probability be dated after the middle of Hadrian's reign.

POSTSCRIPT

This article was already at press when the late Professor J. H. Oliver's long-awaited collection of imperial constitutions was eventually published: J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of the Early Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, Philadelphia 1989. I was gratified to see that some of the corrections made in the present article are also proposed by the eminent American scholar. Oliver proposes the

11. See F. Ziemann, *De epistularum graecarum formulis sollemnibus*, Diss. Halenses 18, 1911, p. 354f.; the picture is not changed by the large number of imperial letters which have come to light since this book was written.

same corrections for the imperial letters no. 2 and no. 3 in my article (*op. cit.*, p. 124, no. 39, and 263, no. 116, respectively). He too adds the title Σεβαστός to Claudius's titulature in letter no. 1, but he suggests a different supplement for line 3 of the same letter: ὅπερ [ταῖς πρεσβείαις πάσαις ταῖς πεμφ]/θείσαις (p. 92, no. 23). In line 30 of letter no. 6 he restores νικηφόρου (p. 493, no. 259), apparently not considering the word to be a name. Finally, he does not propose any corrections for documents no. 4, line 83 (p. 283, no. 124), and no. 7b, line 11 (p. 566, no. 291), nor does he restore the formula ὁ (οἱ) πρεσβεύων (-οντες) ἦν (ἦσαν) (as I suggest in no. 9) in the letters of Domitian (p. 130, no. 42), Trajan (p. 133, no. 44, and 135, no. 45), and Hadrian (p. 157, no. 62), which he includes in his collection. Letters no. 5 and no. 8 are not included in Oliver's collection (the latter quite inexplicably), and nor, of course, is letter no. 7a, which was published only very recently.

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