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CHRISTOPHER P. JONES

An Edict of Hadrian from Maroneia

At an unknown date in his reign, Augustus instituted a system to ensure the rapid conveyance of information to himself and future emperors. His first arrangement was to post able-bodied men (*iuvenes*) at fixed intervals, but he later replaced this with a system of carriages (*vehicula*) so that the same person could both receive the dispatch at its origin and answer questions about it on delivery (Suet. Aug. 49.3); this second arrangement prevailed, and was called *vehiculatio* in the imperial period, *cur-sus publicus* in Late Antiquity. Provincial governors received so-called «double documents» (*diplomata*), sealed with the emperor's seal, to issue to those authorized to use the system. In time other items than messages began to be transported: coin, grain, prisoners, animals (θηρία) for use in shows. This basic network was supplemented by a subsidiary system under which those traveling on official business could requisition vehicles, animals, and guides from communities along the way in return for payment; they could also obtain free lodging (σταθμός). It quickly became the practice that not only messengers but other officials as well were permitted to use the system, and abuses arose already under Tiberius, if not earlier. Persons were traveling without diplomas or bribing officials in order to get them, using the network to convey goods for their own use, not paying the required amount for hiring animals and vehicles, or refusing to pay for goods and services over and above the required free lodging.¹

I am grateful to GLEN BOWERSOCK, CHRISTIAN HABICHT, and to the editors of CHIRON for many suggestions and improvements, and to CHRISTINA KOKKINIA for checking a squeeze of the stone in Athens and for other help. I am especially indebted to Mme Sophia Doukata of the 12th Ephorate of Byzantine Monuments of Kavala for permission to reprint the plates of Epigraphes tes Thrakes tou Aigaiou E 185 A and B.

¹ The article of O. SEECK, *Cursus Publicus*, RE 4, 2, 1901, 1846–1863, is still useful, especially 1847–1850 for the imperial period; two recent treatments appeared at almost the same time, L. DI PAOLA, *Viaggi, trasporti e istituzioni: Studi sul cursus publicus*, 1999, and A. KOLB, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im römischen Reich*, 2000, especially 117–122 on abuses. I have used the following special abbreviations: Epigraphes = L. LOUKOPOULOU – A. ZOURNATZI – M. G. PARISAKI – S. PSOMA (eds.), *Epigraphes tes Thrakes tou Aigaiou*, 2005; DIMITROVA, *Theoroi* = N. M. DIMITROVA, *Theoroi and Initiates in Samothrace: The Epigraphical Evidence*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 37, 2008; HAUKEN, *Petition* = T. HAUKEN, *Petition and Response: An Epigraphic Study of Petitions to Roman Emperors*, 1998; McCRUM – WOODHEAD = M. McCRUM –

The use and abuse of this system form a recurrent theme in literary texts of the imperial period, but even more in inscriptions and papyri. The documents fall approximately into two classes. The first class is «top-down», and consists of pronouncements, usually edicts, of emperors or governors aimed at regulating the use of the system and checking abuses: the longest and earliest of such documents is an edict of the governor of Galatia under Tiberius, Sex. Sotidius Strabo, published by STEPHEN MITCHELL in 1976.² The second class, of which an isolated example occurs under Antoninus Pius though the majority is of the third century, is «bottom-up» in that it consists of appeals to emperors or officials for relief from the abuses of soldiers or other persons using the system.³ A third type of document is also relevant, documents concerning exemption from the obligation to provide lodging (ἀσταθμεία) or from other impositions.⁴

Curiously, no example of such a document is known from western Europe; all are from the Balkan area, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Africa Proconsularis.⁵ This is not because the west was free from such abuses, but because the appropriate type of document (edict, decree, petition) is rare in that region. WERNER ECK has recently made a similar observation about inscriptions referring to imperial letters and embassies. «The fact that such imperial letters are rare in our extant sources does not mean that this form of diplomatic traffic did not also exist in the west with the same intensity as in the east. The epigraphic culture of the west and the east is substantially different..., and it influences our evidence in ways that are far more important than is generally assumed.»⁶

Like most emperors down to the Severi, Hadrian is credited with some kind of intervention in the *vehiculatio*. Discussing the first measures of the reign, the *Historia Augusta* says: *statim cursum fiscalem instituit, ne magistratus hoc onere gravarentur*

A. G. WOODHEAD, *Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors*, 1961; OLIVER, *Constitutions* = J. H. OLIVER, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, 1989; SMALLWOOD, *Nerva* = E. M. SMALLWOOD, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, 1966.

² ST. MITCHELL, *Requisitioned Transport in the Roman Empire: A New Inscription from Pisidia*, *JRS* 66, 1976, 106–131 (*Ann. Ép.* 1976, 653; *SEG* 26, 1392; HAUKEN, *Petition 334–336 no. 7*); KOLB (n. 1) 54–63.

³ Pius: *SEG* 19, 476; HAUKEN, *Petition 170–178 no. 1*. For the papyri subsequent to Germanicus' edict of the year 19 (OLIVER, *Constitutions no. 16*), A. JÖRDENS, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 2009, 165–118.

⁴ Thus the letter from the legate of Syria, Julius Saturninus, to the village of Phaina: HAUKEN, *Petition 179–187 no. 2*. The *sacrae litterae* of 204 also belong in this category: C. P. JONES, *Chiron* 14, 1984, 93–99.

⁵ Of the two examples from Africa, it is not certain that the one from Sicca Veneria (*CIL VIII 15868* = HAUKEN, *Petition 338 no. 9*) is to be connected with the *vehiculatio*: the other is *CIL VIII 17639* (Ain Zui, Numidia: HAUKEN, *Petition 338–339 no. 10*).

⁶ W. ECK, in: CL. EILERS (ed.), *Diplomats and Diplomacy in the Roman World*, 2009, 198.

(Hadr. 7, 5: HERMANN PETER conjectured *statum* for *statim*). The meaning of this sentence is disputed, but if it refers to the provinces rather than to Italy, Hadrian lightened the financial burden of provincial city-magistrates by making some of the costs of the *vehiculatio* payable from the *fiscus*. His concern for abuses of the system in the Greek East was already known from an edict of the prefect of Egypt, Petronius Mamertinus, datable between 133 and 137.⁷ By a coincidence, two edicts of the emperor himself on this subject have recently emerged. One is of unknown provenance, but from the content the emperor appears to have issued it soon after leaving the province of Asia on his way to Syria in 129; it has been very fully published, and will only be referred to here for purpose of comparison.⁸ The other came to light at Maroneia on the Thracian coast in two separate parts. The first of these contained only the opening lines, with the emperor's names and titles for the year 132, while the second contained the edict itself, with very little lost at the beginning but an indefinite amount lost at the end.⁹

The upper part (A) of the Maroneia text measures $0,45 \times 0,21 \times 0,20$; the height of the letters is reported as $0,015$, though the photograph shows the first line to be nearly twice as tall as the lower ones; the lettering of the first four lines is more widely spaced than the rest. The editors allow for the possibility of one or two lines missing between the two parts. The lower part (B) measures $0,34 \times 0,33 \times 0,22$ maximum. The bottom right-hand corner of the stone is missing, so that the losses at the ends increase in length after 16. Though the editors report a *vacat* to the right of 21, this appears to be an error.¹⁰ They do not provide a translation.

While A is easy to read, B is rather worn, and the editors have done a creditable service in deciphering the traces. But the Greek is difficult, and in addition the text as presented contains some mis-readings. Their text of the whole inscription is as follows:

⁷ PSI 5, 446; A. S. HUNT – C. C. EDGAR, *Select Papyri 2* (Loeb Classical Library), no. 221; JÖRDENS (n. 3) 172–174. For Mamertinus' tenure in Egypt, PIR² P 288.

⁸ T. HAUKEN – H. MALAY, *A New Edict of Hadrian from the Province of Asia Setting Regulations for Requisitioned Transport*, in: R. HAENSCH (ed.), *Selbstdarstellung und Kommunikation*, 2009, 327–348.

⁹ Respectively S. DOUKALA-DEMERTZI, *To Arkhaiologiko Ergo stê Makedonia kai tē Thrakê* 13, 1999, 23 with photo p. 28 no. 17 (non vidi; SEG 49, 1999, 886 [not 888, as reported in *Epigrafes tes Thrakes*]; lines 1–6 only): published with the lower part in *Epigrafes* 369–371, E 185 with pl. 46 (*Ann. Ép.* 2005, 1348; SEG 55, 2005, 744).

¹⁰ Also observed by D. FEISSEL in *Ann. Ép.* (previous n.).

- Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ θεοῦ Τρ[α]-
 ιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νεροῦ α υ-
 ιωνός, Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέ-
 4 γιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἐγκαι-
 δέχ[α]τον, ὑπάτος τὸ τ[ρ]ίτον, πατήρ πατρι-
 [δος λέγει· *vacat* ἄρτι ἐπιδημήσας *vel sim.*]
 [ἐν Μαρω]νεῖα καὶ Ἀβδήροις ἡσθόμην ἐπι[βα]-
 8 [ρουμένα]ς αὐτὰς ὑπὸ τῶν τοῖς διπλώμα[σιν]
 [ἀδιακρί]τως χρωμένων καὶ διατάγματι [βού]-
 [λομαι σα]φῶς δηλώσαι ὅτι οἱ μὲν εἰς Σαμο[θρά]-
 [κην παρα]γινόμενοι καὶ τῶν σκαφῶν τοὺς
 12 [μισθοὺς] καὶ τῶν ἐρετῶν αὐτοὶ διαλύειν ὄφε[ι]-
 [λουσι· ξε]νῶσι ἐνοικοῦντες τὴν πόλιν, ο[ὔ]-
 [πω ξενία?]ς ἔνεκα ἀλλὰ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν
 [συνγενῶν ?] οὐσίας παραγίνεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Μ[αρω]-
 16 [νείας ἐς] Φιλίππους ὁδῶι χρώμενοι κατὰ [και]-
 [ρὸν λαμ]βάνειν τὰ ὀχήματα καὶ στ[αθμεύειν]
 [παρῆξ] αὐτὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις· [φυλάττειν δὲ]
 [τὰς αὐτῶν φ]υτείας ἐν πόρωι κειμ[ένας, ὁμοίως]
 20 [δὲ καὶ τὰ κτ]ήνη. Ὡς προστέ[τακται].
 [Ἵπογρά]ψας ἕξα[πέσειλα].

The reference to Hadrian's sixteenth tribunician power (lines 4–5) gives a date of 132;¹¹ on the consequences for Hadrian's movements in that year, see below.

The emperor defines the document as an edict (l. 9). As is customary in edicts, he does not use the second person singular or plural, but expresses his wishes in the third person, using the verb ὄφε[ίλουσι] (12/13) rather than the more frequent imperative; the same verb appears for instance in the Cyrene edicts of Augustus.¹² He begins with a clause explaining how he had learned of the situation that he wishes to correct, ... [ἐν Μαρων]εῖα καὶ Ἀβδήροις ἡσθόμην ... χρωμένων (l. 9). He then announces his order by means of a long ὅτι-clause, which has two main subjects, marked by μὲν and δέ, both having as their principal verb ὄφε[ίλουσι] in 12/13. The first subject is οἱ ... [παρα]γινόμενοι (10–11), and the infinitive is διαλύειν, followed by a participial phrase with ἐνο[χ]λοῦντες (see below); παραγίνεσθαι in 15 also seems to depend on the same ὄφε[ίλουσι]. The second subject is οἱ ... χρώμενοι in 15/16, and the infini-

¹¹ So, correctly, SEG 49, 1999, 886 and Ann. Ἐρ. 2005, 1348: the editors consistently give the date as 131 (p. 328, 370, 389), and are followed by SEG 55, 2005, 744. On the date of renewal of Hadrian's tribunician power, either 10 December or in early January, SMALLWOOD, Nerva p. 7 n. 1.

¹² OLIVER, Constitutions no. 9, 40–41; φθόνος ψόγος τε εἶναι ... οὐκ ὀφείλει; no. 11, 66, αὐτὸς διαγεινώσκειν ... ὀφείλει.

tives are λαμβάνειν in 17 and possibly [φυλάττειν] in 18. Thereafter the syntax becomes too uncertain to be followed.

I discuss first the constitution of the text, and have greatly profited from CHRISTINA ΚΟΚΚΙΝΙΑ's inspection of a squeeze in Athens. I then offer some general conclusions about Hadrian's movements in the year 132, the geography and administrative background of his edict, and his philhellenism.

6/7. A newly published diploma shows that Hadrian still had the title of proconsul, which emperors bear while in the provinces, on 9 December (*a. d. V Id. Dec.*) of his sixteenth year of tribunician power, the same year as the present inscription; provided that the cutter of the diploma has not made a mistake, this date must be 9 December, 132. He had begun to use this title sometime in the year 129, and hitherto the latest attestation was from 131: the first diploma that lacks the title is from April 133. WERNER ECK recently argued for his return in 132, but in publishing the new diploma now proposes 133, which the present inscription appears to confirm.¹³ If the text included the designation ἀνθύπατος (though the practice of the chancellery may not have corresponded with that of the office responsible for diplomas), ἄρτι ἐπιδημήσας becomes slightly too long for the space, unless more than one line is missing between the two parts.¹⁴

9. Before the first omega only a vertical is visible, which looks too close to the omega to be tau, and the editors' [ἀδιακρί]τως, «indiscriminately», is inappropriate for action that is not so much indiscriminate or promiscuous but irregular or unlawful. [παρὰ]νόμως (suggested by CHRISTIAN HABICHT) or (if that is too long) [ἀνό]μως would give the required sense.

9/10. In the next phrase, where the editors read καὶ διατάγματι [βού/λομαι σα]φῶς δηλώσαι, the καί is not visible, and the last visible traces of line 9 look like a damaged omicron sigma; I therefore read [διὰ] διατάγματος. If that is right, then this phrase must begin a new sentence or clause, and unless there is asyndeton with the previous one an inferential particle, δὴ or οὖν, will be necessary at the end of 9; if βούλομαι is too long for the available space, με δεῖ or με ἔδει would yield the same sense.

11. There are traces of letters after σκαφῶν, unless they are merely signs of damage, but there does not appear to be room for the four letters of τούς. ΚΟΚΚΙΝΙΑ reports that part of the tau is visible, and possibly part of omicron, but no more. I therefore suggests τῶ[ν / μισθόν], as in the edict of Sotidius Strabo: ἀποδιδόντες τὸν ὠρισμένον μισθόν (39), [τοῖς] τὸν μισθὸν διδοῦσιν (42).

¹³ W. ECK, Suffektkonsuln der Jahre 132–134 und Hadrians Rückkehr nach Rom im Jahr 132, ZPE 143, 2003, 234–242, especially 241 (the diploma of April 133 is M. M. ROXAN, Roman Military Diplomas III 158); W. ECK – P. HOLDER – A. PANGERL, A Diploma for the Army of Britain, ZPE 174, 2010, 189–200, with table of dated diplomata, p. 197.

¹⁴ ECK, ZPE 143, 2003, 236 n. 15, notes that none of the letters of Hadrian in OLIVER, Constitutions, uses the title ἀνθύπατος.

13–15. This section is very difficult. In line 13, [ξε]νῶσι ἐνοικούντες τὴν πόλιν would mean «occupying the city by means of guest-houses», but this makes little sense. Of the first visible letters, the first appears to have two verticals; the second is triangular; the next two are almost illegible. Thereafter the word read as ἐνοικούντες is clearly ἐνο[χ]λοῦντες (the right diagonal of the lambda is clear). Ἐνοχλεῖν is frequent in such contexts, as for example in Hadrian's edict to Asia (10–11), πλέον τῶν δικαίων ἐνοχλουμένας (we might have expected τοῦ δικαίου, «than is right»), for which the editors offer many parallels.¹⁵ Hence there should be a negative preceding ἐνοχλοῦντες, and [μ]ηδ[έν] seems possible. The movement of the following phrase suggests that the next word is a negative, though οὔπω in the sense of a strong negative (LSJ s.v. 2) seems too literary; perhaps ο[ὐδέ],¹⁶ though from this point down to παραγίνεσθαι in 10 the sense is difficult to follow.

15. Where the editors propose οὐσίας, there is only an upper horizontal before ΙΑΣ, and «property» does not suit the sense. Clearly a very short word is needed to leave room for the genitive plural noun following τῶν. I have thought of [φιλων χρ]εῖας, «and not arrive (cf. l. 11) for the sake of --- (θεωρίας, «sacred visit»?) but for the service (LSJ III 1) of themselves and their friends (i.e. staff).»¹⁷ But the key to this passage probably still waits to be found.

16/17: κατὰ καιρὸν λαμβάνειν would mean «fittingly» or «in time», and FEISSEL suggests κατὰ [μίσ/θόν]; κατὰ [μίσ/θωμα] or κατὰ [μίσ/θωσιν], «according to contract» might fit both space and meaning better.

17/18. The editors read καὶ στ[αθμεύειν / παρέξ] αὐτάς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, presumably intending it to mean «elsewhere than in Greek cities», but παρέξ cannot have this sense, and αὐτάς cannot stand isolated between a preposition and its noun. According to ΚΟΚΚΙΝΙΑ, the editors' ΚΑΙ seems rather to be ΚΑΓ or ΚΑΤ, the squeeze does not show the two letters read by the editors as ΣΤ, and ΑΥ is correct in line 18. FEISSEL suggests στ[αθμεύειν εἰς τὰς] αὐτάς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, but εἰς and the accusative to mean «in» would be surprising at so early a date, and Hadrian might be expected to spare the Greek cities from billeting rather than the reverse. I have thought of καὶ ἐ[ντρέπεσθ]αι, «and respect the Greek cities»,¹⁸ but do not wish to propose it without inspection of the stone.

19: FOLLET in SEG suggests τούτων in place of the editors' αὐτῶν. After κει[μένως] very little is certain, and it is not clear that the text ended with line 21.

¹⁵ HAUKEN – MALAY (n. 8) 342 n. 29; see also HAUKEN, *Petition 346 s.v. ἐνοχλέω*.

¹⁶ For οὐδέ equivalent to ἀλλ' οὐ, «holding apart incompatibles», J. D. DENNISTON, *The Greek Particles 2*, 1959, 191.

¹⁷ For φίλοι of a governor's retinue, P.Oxy. LV 3614, 3; cf. also Joh. Lyd. 68, 18–19 WUENSCH, κόμιτας τοὺς φίλους καὶ συνεκδήμους Ἰταλοὶ λέγουσι.

¹⁸ F. W. DANKER, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature 3*, 2000, 341, «to show deference to a person in recognition of special status, turn toward something/someone, have regard for, respect», with several references from non-Christian literature, which could easily be multiplied.

I give a provisional text and translation of the text before commenting on some general issues.

- Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τρ[α]-
 ιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νερούα υ-
 ἰωνός, Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέ-
 4 γιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἐγκαι-
 δέχ[α]τον, ὑπάτος τὸ τ[ρ]ίτον, πατὴρ πατρι-
 [δος, ἀνθύπατος (?), λέγει· *vac.* ἐπιδημῶν (?)]
 [ἐν Μαρων]εῖα καὶ Ἀβδήροις, ἡσθόμην ἐπι[βα]-
 8 [ρουμένα]ς αὐτὰς ὑπὸ τῶν τοῖς διπλώμα[σι(ν?)]
 [παρανό]μωσ (?) χρωμένων· [διὰ] διατάγματος [οὔν]
 [με δεῖ (*e.g.*) σα]φῶς δηλῶσαι ὅτι οἱ μὲν εἰς Σαμο[θρά]-
 [κιην παρα]γινόμενοι καὶ τῶν σκαφῶν τῶ[ν]
 12 [μισθόν] καὶ τῶν ἑρετῶν αὐτοῖ διαλύειν ὄφε[ι]-
 [λουσι, μ]ηδ[έν] (?) ἐνοχλοῦντες τὴν πόλιν, ο[ὐ]-
 [δὲ (?) *ca.* 6]Σ ἔνεκα ἀλλὰ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν
 [*ca.* 8] . ΙΑΣ παραγίνεσθαι· *vac.* οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Μ[αρω]-
 16 [νεῖας εἰς] Φιλίππους ὁδῶι χρώμενοι κατὰ [μίσ]-
 [θωσιν (?) λαμ]βάνειν τὰ ὀχήματα *vac.* ΚΑΙ . [4]
 [4]Α . ΤΑΣ Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, [φυλάττειν δὲ (?)]
 [τάς τούτων (?) φ]υτείας ἐν πόρωι κειμ[ένας, *ca.* 10]
 20 [*ca.* 6 κτ]ήνη (?) ὡς ΠΡΟΣΤ[-----] .
 [*ca.* 6]ΑΣΕΞ[-----]

[While staying in (?) Maron]eia and Abdera, I noticed them (to be) burdened by those who used the diplomas [unlawfully?]; I [must therefore] indicate clearly by an edict that those arriving in (i.e. crossing to) Samothrace must themselves settle the payment both for the boats and for the rowers, [in no way?] disturbing the city, and not arrive (i.e. cross) for the sake of ----- but for the --- of themselves and (their?) ----. But those going by road from Maroneia to Philippi (must) take vehicles according to [contract?], ... the Greek cities, and [protect?] their plantations situated on the way [.....] cattle... (?)

1. Hadrian in 132

The emperor is usually thought to have spent the entire winter of 131/32 in Athens, and despite earlier doubts it is now clear that he proceeded from there to visit the Judaean warfront before returning to Rome in 133. An inscription honoring T. Caesernius Statius Quinctius Macedo Quinctianus calls him *comes divi Hadriani per Orientem et Illyricum*), and from what is known of Caesernius' career this must have been during the course of the emperor's return from Judaea. Sir RONALD SYME supposed that Hadrian spent the following winter of 132/33 «somewhere within reach of Pales-

tine», made his «departure from the theatre of a failed policy» in 133, and after «no rapid voyage by sea» but a road journey through Pannonia «reached Italy after proceeding along the high road by Sirmium and Siscia (or Poetovio) to Aquileia».¹⁹ The new diploma mentioned above shows that he was still proconsul, and so not yet back in Italy, on 9 December 132.²⁰ The present edict, also dated to his sixteenth tribunician year and therefore before 10 December 132, adds the information that he had reached the province of Macedonia by that date, and had already passed through Abdera, Maroneia and probably Philippi; whether he arrived in Abdera by sea or land, after Philippi he may have continued along the Via Egnatia to Dyrrachium before crossing to Italy in the first half of 133. Moreover, since the text concerns travel between Samothrace and cities on the nearby coast, he could well have visited the island sacred to the Great Gods on the same journey home. In the same tribunician year of 131/32, the city of Samothrace set up a statue to him out of public funds.²¹

A pair of undated inscriptions set up by Abdera may well refer to this same visit. In the better preserved one, the city honors Hadrian as «Zeus of Boundaries» (*Zeus Ephorios*) in gratitude for his favorable decision concerning their borders, «having recovered its own land through his heavenly concern» (ἀπολαβοῦσα τὴν ἰδίαν γῆν διὰ τὴν οὐράνιον αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν). It was probably because of this favor that the citizens added the emperor's name to their own, becoming Ἀδριανεῖς Ἀβδηρεῖται.²² Similarly Maroneia honored Hadrian at an unknown date as its «savior» (σωτήρ), possibly for its benefactions on this occasion. What seems to be the end of an imperial letter, now in the museum of Komotini, might also be concerned with this same transaction.²³

An inscription from Heraclea Lyncestis, at the western section of the Via Egnatia (Barrington Atlas 49 D 2) has sometimes been connected with Hadrian. It is a letter in

¹⁹ Letter from Judaea: Cass. Dio 69.14.3. Caesernius: Ann. Ép. 1957, 135 = SMALLWOOD, Nerva no. 195. R. SYME, ZPE 73, 1988, 167–169 = Roman Papers 6, 1991, 354–356.

²⁰ A new inscription from Alexandria Troas shows Hadrian in Naples in summer, 134: G. PETZL – E. SCHWERTHEIM, Hadrian und die dionysischen Künstler, 2006, 22–23 (Ann. Ép. 2006, 1403 a; SEG 56, 2006, 1359, with helpful discussion of the date).

²¹ Statue of 131/32: IG XII 8, 243: θεὸν Νέρουα νίωνόν θεοῦ Τραϊνοῦ Παρθικοῦ νιὸν Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν ἄριστον, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιϛ', ὑπατον τὸ γ', πατέρα πατρίδος, ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σαμοθράκων ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων. W. WEBER, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus, 1907, 146–148, used CIL III 7371 to argue for a visit in 124, but an additional fragment shows that this did not mention Hadrian: K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, AJA 43, 1939, 145 (Ann. Ép. 1939, 4). By contrast, the proconsul of Macedonia is known to have visited in 124: P. M. FRASER, Samothrace 2, 1: The Inscriptions on Stone, 1960, 103–105 no. 53 = DIMITROVA, Theoroi no. 100.

²² Epigrafes E 78 (Ann. Ép. 1937, 170: SMALLWOOD, Nerva no. 448), with the discussion of L. ROBERT, Études épigraphiques et philologiques, 1938, 192–193 n. 3 and the commentary to E 78; also E 79. The absence of *Olympios* from Hadrian's titles might indicate a date not later than 129.

²³ Hadrian «savior»: Epigrafes E 210 (IGR I 830). Letter: Epigrafes E 446.

Greek of an emperor, less probably a provincial governor, dated to 20 May of an unknown year. The first part is lost, but the surviving lines may be translated: «... let these contribute (λειτουργείωσαν); but land-holders are to be responsible only for contributions that are incumbent upon their property ([κτῆσει] LARSEN; [πόλει] *priores*). How the roads should be paved I have indicated in a general edict. I also order the Antanoi [a tribe of western Macedonia] to contribute a third to you for the costs, though the contribution should come from the Antanoi who are in Macedonia. Farewell.» This inscription, if it refers to Hadrian, probably dates to 125 rather than to 132, though his movements in 131 and 132 are still poorly known.²⁴

2. Geography²⁵

The new edict concerns cities on or near the Thracian and Macedonian coasts, of which Hadrian names Maroneia, Abdera, and Philippi, though he may also have had others in mind. The *polis* of Maroneia lies almost opposite Samothrace, separated from it by about thirty miles of sea, while Abdera lies some twenty-five miles by sea to the west of Maroneia, with the shallow lagoon of Lake Bistonia between them. After Abdera, the next city to the west is Neapolis, though between the two cities lies the delta of the Nestos, so that communication between them must usually have been by sea. It is unknown whether Hadrian was traveling by land or sea; if by land, he would have had to turn off the main road, the Via Egnatia, to visit Maroneia and Abdera.²⁶

Hadrian's edict divides into two parts, corresponding to the geographical situation of the cities mentioned. Maroneia and Abdera were suffering from visitors who crossed to Samothrace in order to be initiated into the mysteries of the Cabeiroi, the «Great Gods», whose cult-site lay in the north-west of the island.²⁷ As many inscriptions show, from the time of the late republic onwards Romans had been visiting Samothrace in order to be initiated into the local mysteries, and the traffic had no doubt quickened in the peaceful circumstances of the empire. Public officials such as governors or quaestors of Macedonia are found among the visitors, and others may have come from the province of Asia: St. Paul traveling to Rome from Asia embarked from Alexandria Troas and stopped in Samothrace before reaching Neapolis and Philippi.

²⁴ F. MARTÍN, La documentación griega de la cancelleria del emperador Adriano, 1982, 101–106, with excellent discussion and previous bibliography; OLIVER, Constitutions no. 56; now M. MILIN (ed.), IG X 2, 2, no. 52. H. HALFMANN, Itinera Principum, 1986, 209, allows for 132, but rejects Hadrian's visit to Judaea. On the Antanoi, ROBERT, OMS I 296–301 (REG 1934).

²⁵ For what follows see the excellent maps and gazetteer of A. AVRAMÉA, Tabula Imperii Romani: Philippi, K 35, 1, 1993.

²⁶ Useful map in Epigraphes p. 141. On the flooding of the Nestos observe Theophrastus, Hist. Pl. 3, 1, 5 (Epigraphes p. 62, T 106), ὁ Νέστος ἐν τῇ Ἀβδηριτίδι πολλάκις μεταβαίνει; Strabo 7, fr. 43, 4–6 ed. BALADIÉ (Budé Strabon IV p. 172; Epigraphes p. 87, T 227), οὐ μένει ὁ Νέστος ἐπὶ ταύτου ῥείθρου διὰ παντός, ἀλλὰ κατακλύζει τὴν χώραν πολλάκις.

²⁷ For a map of the Sanctuary, DIMITROVA, Theoroi p. 5.

Romans not on official business were also among the visitors: P. M. FRASER commented on an inscription of 19 CE, «[It] presents a fairly complete picture of how a (presumably) wealthy Roman of the early Imperial age would visit Samothrace. He arrived with his entire household: his wife, about twenty-one slaves, and half a dozen people whose names are given but whose status can only be guessed.»²⁸ It is readily imaginable that officials, and even private persons, might fail to pay the crews that brought them, or might expect the cities from which they had passed to do so in their place. Texts and inscriptions combine to show that *diplomata* readily lent themselves to abuse, and even a scrupulous governor like the Younger Pliny could issue one to his wife to speed her return to Italy.²⁹

The other problem addressed by Hadrian concerns travel by road. As embarkation-points for Samothrace, Maroneia and Abdera must have drawn travelers going to the island and coming from it. The territory of Abdera included part of the via Egnatia, and the same was probably true of Maroneia; visitors to either city could have gone north by road to rejoin the highway, or gone by sea to meet it at Neapolis.³⁰ If not provided with *diplomata*, they might have used their rank and status, perhaps backed up by the threat of violence, in order to requisition draft-animals or vehicles, which no doubt they did not always return. This abuse is addressed in detail in the edict of Sotidius Strabo from Sagalassos, as also in a famous edict of Domitian. The emperor observes that excessive requisitioning had the effect of drawing workers, animals and vehicles away from the land, and thus affecting the tax-base. More direct damage occurred when transients foraged for food or merely trampled crops: Caracalla writing to Takina in Phrygia promises that the procurator will ensure that orders that «the soldiers shall not, prematurely running ahead on the excuse of (serving) the excellent proconsuls, harass you, nor as they leave the cities will they ravage the cultivated lands (μήτε ἐνοχλεῖν ὑμῖν μήτε τὰς πόλεις καταλείποντας πορθεῖν τοὺς ἀγρούς). You also have him (i.e. his help) so that you receive pay for each mile in respect of the carts, and that your oxen are returned to you in good time without any profiteering (ἐργολαβία).» Philippi in particular had an extensive and well-watered territory, which the Via Egnatia traversed.³¹

An inscription from Thasos shows that problems with requisitioning (ἀγγραφαία) along the Thracian and Macedonian coasts were not new. In the reign of Vespasian, the procurator of Thrace wrote to Thasos, about thirty sea-miles south-east from

²⁸ Governors: FRASER (above, n. 21) 103–105 no. 53. Quaestors: FRASER 101–103 nos. 50, 51. Paul: Acts 16, 11–12. Inscription of 19 CE: FRASER p. 36, on no. 36, with his commentary, pp. 35–36 (DIMITROVA, Theoroi no. 89).

²⁹ Note HAUKEN, Petition 185, «well situated private persons with retinues... could force themselves upon the local population». Pliny, Ep. 10, 120, with SHERWIN-WHITE's commentary.

³⁰ Territory of Abdera: Epigrafes E 78 (above, n. 22).

³¹ Sagalassos: above, n. 2. Domitian: IGLS V 1998 (MCCRUM – WOODHEAD no. 466). Takina: SEG 37, 1997, 1186, 5–11; HAUKEN, Petition 217–243 no. 6.

Neapolis, concerning a dispute that the city had with Philippi: «I have judged your case against the colony, you have received the money owed to you, and I release you for the future from requisitioning except in what pertains (to passage) through your territory.» The procurator goes on to assure the Thasians that he has given them a soldier «concerning the boundaries», and that he will determine them himself when he comes. From all this it appears that Philippi had been making Thasos pay for requisitions that Roman authorities had exacted not only when they were within the Thasian περαιά, but also outside it. If Neapolis lay within the territory of Philippi, as is usually believed, this περαιά was presumably in the delta of the Nestos, where the variable course of the river could well have made boundaries uncertain.³²

In 1861, ΛΕΟΝ ΗΕΥΖΕΥ found a fragmentary inscription, datable by the script to the third century, at the site of ancient Amphipolis, and had it transported to the Louvre. He also provided it with an excellent commentary, as follows:³³ «En lisant attentivement ces lambeaux de phrases, on y entrevoit une certaine suite dans les idées et même dans la construction; mais, comme les caractères, assez fins et très-serrés, n'occupent plus qu'un étroit éclat de marbre, il serait imprudent de chercher à relier entre elles, par de courtes restitutions, des lignes qui étaient probablement fort longues, quand le monument était intact. Il est facile de voir néanmoins que le texte contenait une série d'instructions, destinées à prévenir les abus qui pouvaient résulter du passage des troupes ou des convois sur le territoire d'Amphipolis. La formule est imperative: προσήκει δὲ ... (l. 3). L'exécution des mesures est confiée à un seul personnage, comme cela est indiqué par les termes λογιέται (l. 2), τηρούμενον (l. 4), αὐτῷ (l. 9), et par ceux qui le mettent en opposition avec d'autres personnes: ἄλλοι τινες βούλοι[ντο] (l. 11),³⁴ οὐ λήψοντα[ι] (l. 12), εἰ δὲ τις (l. 17). Ce pouvait être un fonctionnaire attaché à la province ou mieux encore le commandant même des troupes de passage. Il semble qu'il soit question d'abord de la distribution des vivres ou peut-être du campement, μετρήσει (l. 3), de la fixation du lieu de relai ou d'étape, [τό]πον ὁπόθεν χρῆ ἀμείψαντ[ας] (l. 5), puis des préparatifs du départ, σκευασαμένους (l. 6), du maintien de l'ordre dans la marche, κατέχειν πάντας ἐν ταῖς τά[ξεσι] (l. 7), du renvoi des chariots requis pour le service des bagages, τὰ ὑπηρετηκότα αὐτῷ ὀχή[ματα] (l. 9). Les dernières lignes du fragment font mention de soldats armés à la légère, εὐζώνους (l. 13), dans lesquels il ne faut peut-être voir que des hommes pris dans le pays même, pour l'escorte des convois, selon le sens du mot παραπέμψαι (l. 15) et dont le service aurait été limité jusqu'à l'étape suivante, qui semble désignée par les mots [ἀν]αζεύξαι πάλι[ν] (l. 16) ... On comprend que la grande cité grecque d'Amphipolis

³² C. DUNANT – J. POUILLOUX, Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos, 1957, no. 186 (Ann. Ép. 1979, 565; MCCRUM – WOODHEAD no. 457).

³³ L. HEUZÉY – H. DAUMET, Mission archéologique de Macédoine, 1876, 170–171 no. 97. For a full bibliography, excellent photograph, and improved text, J. M. R. CORMACK, BICS 10, 1963, 18–20 no. 2 (SEG 24, 581).

³⁴ CORMACK divides ὅτινες βούλοι[ντο], which is preferable.

ait dû se défendre contre les réquisitions illégales, en obtenant de l'autorité provinciale ou de l'empereur lui-même une ordonnance qui réglât strictement les devoirs des commandants de troupes et les obligations des habitants.»

The last preserved line of the inscription contains an uncertain eta followed by the syllables φιλι-. HEUZEY restored -η φιλι[κῶς], but «in a friendly way» does not seem appropriate, and in the context of travel in the region of Amphipolis there might have been mention of the city of Phili[ppi]. As HEUZEY noted, this text could be part of an imperial letter, and should be considered in any future collection of such letters.

3. Hadrian's philhellenism

Hadrian's concern for the «Greek cities» of the region has no parallel in other documents concerning the *vehiculatio*, but fits with his well-known philhellenism. A notable document of this is his recently published letter to Naryka in Eastern Locris, in which he rehearses the city's claim to urban status, its membership of the Amphictyony and other Greek bodies, «and (the fact that) certain of the most eminent poets, both Roman and Greek, have mentioned you, and name certain of the heroes as issuing from your city.»³⁵ Most Roman emperors, unless they chose to travel by sea, would probably have bypassed cities such as Abdera and Maroneia, lying away from the high road. As he returned from the Judaean war, Hadrian may have crossed from Asia via Samothrace and thence to Maroneia or Abdera, and so have learned of the plight which officials and private persons had imposed on these cities by their importunate demands.

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³⁵ SEG 51, 2001, 641.



Epigraphes tes Thrakes tou Aigaiou E 185 A.
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Epigraphes tes Thrakes tou Aigaiou E 185 B.
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