

## THE EPISTLE OF CLAUDIUS WHICH MENTIONS THE PROCONSUL JUNIUS GALLIO

IN 1970 *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, iv, 286, A. Plassart's edition of the epistle of Claudius, which mentions the proconsul Gallio and so constitutes the basic document for the chronology of St. Paul's visit to Achaia, marked a considerable advance over previous editions and made the subject of the epistle much clearer. It poses, however, two big problems for anyone who uses it. Is Plassart right in omitting reference to the office of pontifex maximus from the emperor's titles in line 1? And is he right in concluding that the first letters ]ειασε of line 17 must be divided ]εια σε and interpreted as containing the pronoun of the second person singular and so proving that the recipient of the epistle was not a community but an individual, probably Gallio's successor as proconsul of Achaia?

After much hesitation I accept the short line 1 without the reference (ἀρχιερέως) to the office of pontifex maximus. That title, one of the only two titles which Augustus or someone selected for the imperial titulature in Edicts II-V at Cyrene, is omitted in another epistle of Claudius, one published by Th. Wiegand, *Milet*, III, 1914, pp. 381-3, no. 156 (= Smallwood 373 b). This omission was not customary, but the shorter line thus achieved for the whole inscription can be restored in so many cases that I am encouraged to accept it.

On the other hand, the pronoun of the second person singular in line 17 does not satisfy me. If it were the dative σοι to accompany ἐντέλλομαι, I should be more open to persuasion. It seems easier to visualize the letters σε as the end of a verb. Two verbs together are not good, but one would be in a subordinate clause. In line 7, where Plassart has restored ἐ[ντέλλομαί σε because of the alleged σε ἐντέλλομαι in line 17, I prefer to change the restoration to ἐ[ντέλλομαι ὑμῖν or, less likely, σοι. If, moreover, the epistle were addressed to Gallio's successor, would Gallio still be called the proconsul? Gallio seems to have been proconsul at the moment the emperor was writing. I incline, therefore, to the view that the recipient was a community, either the city of Delphi or the Amphictyonic Council.

The following text is based on that of Plassart but it incorporates alterations in lines 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 17.

A.D. 52.

Τιβέρ[ιος Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Σ[εβαστ]ὸς Γ[ερμανικός, δημοκρατικῆς ἐξου]  
 σίας [τὸ IB, αὐτοκράτωρ τ]ὸ ΚΓ, π[ατήρ π]ατρί[δος – <sup>14</sup> – – χαίρειν].  
 Πάλ[αι μὲν τ]ῆι π[όλει τῆ] τῶν Δελφ[ῶν ἦν ο]ὐ μόν[ον εὔνοους ἀλλ' ἐπιμελῆς τῆς τύ]  
 χης, ἀεὶ δ' ἐτήρη[σα τῆ]ν θρησκευ[ίαν τ]ὴν Ἀπό[λλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου· ἐπεὶ δὲ]  
 5 νῦν λέγεται καὶ [πολ]ειτῶν ἔρη[μο]ς εἶναι, ὧ[ς μοι ἄρτι ἀπήγγειλε Λ. Ἰού]  
 νιος Γαλλίων ὁ φ[ίλος] μου κα[ὶ ἀνθύ]πατος, [βουλόμενος τοὺς Δελφοὺς]  
 εἶτι ἔξειν τὸν προ[ότερον κόσμον ἐντελ]ῆ, ἐ[ντέλλομαι ὑμῖν καὶ ἐξ ἄλ]

λων πόλεων καλ[εῖν εὖ γεγονότας εἰς Δελφούς ὡς νέους κατοίκους καὶ]  
 αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέ[πειν ἐκγόνοις τε τὰ] πρεσ[βεῖα πάντα ἔχειν τὰ τῶν Δελ]  
 10 φῶν ὡς πολε[ίταις ἐπ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ· εἰ] μὲν γάρ τι [νες --- ὡς πολεῖ]  
 ται μετακίσ[αυτο εἰς τούτους τοῦ]ς τόπους, κρ[-----]  
 [το]ύτους [-----]ν πάντως ε[-----]  
 [-----]σθη· οἴτινε[ς δὲ -----]  
 [-----]ι καὶ τὸ συναύ[ξιει -----]  
 15 [-----] ὥσπε]ρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνα[-----]  
 ἀνα[-----] φ]ημι < [Τ]οῖς μέντ[οι -----]  
 εἰς τῶν [-----] εἶασε ἐντέλλομαι, ἔν[α -----]  
 κατὰ προ[σῆκον πάντων] τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ γεγραμ[μένων μηδὲν] ἐριστὸ[ν ἦι]

1 ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος τιμητῆς Deissmann (*Paulus: Eine kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Skizze*, Tübingen, 1911, Beilage I), cetera Bourguet (*De rebus Delphicis imperatoriae aetatis capita duo*, Montepessulano, 1905, pp. 63 f.). 2 ὕπατος τὸ ε' Deissmann, Δελφῶν τῆι πόλει χαιρειν Pomtow (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, [1917] 801 D), cetera Bourguet. 3 Πάλ[αι μὲν Deissmann, πάλ[ιν τ]ῆι π[όλει τ]ῶν Δελφ[ῶν προ-  
 θ]υμ[ό]τατα χαιρειν Bourguet, πρόθ]υμο[ς γενόμενος Deissmann, πρόθ]υμο[ς ἐγενομένην Pomtow, καὶ  
 εἰνους ἐξ ἀρ]χῆς Hiller von Gaertringen (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 801 D), εὐτύ]χησα Deissmann, π[όλει τῆ] τῶν  
 Δελφ[ῶν ἡ ο]ὐ μό[νον εἰνους ἀλλ' ἐφρόντισα τῆς τυ]χῆς Plassart, ἦν ο]ὐ μό[νον εἰνους ἀλλ' ἐπιμελής Oliver.  
 4 ἀεὶ δ' ἐτήρη]σα Hiller, ἐ[πε]τήρη]σαν θρησκεί[αν Bourguet, τ]οῦ Ἀπό[λλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου Deissmann,  
 ὅσα δὲ Pomtow, Ἐπει δὲ Plassart. 5 [πολ]ειτῶν Deissmann, ἐρη]μο[ς εἶναι ὡς μοι ἄρτι ἀπήγγειλε Plassart.  
 6 Ἀ Ἰού]μιος Γαλλίων ὁ φίλος] μου κ[αὶ ἀνθύ]πατος [Ἀχαιῆς Bourguet, βουλόμενος τοὺς Δελφούς  
 Plassart. 7 ἤ[τερον, ἤ]ρισμόν, ἀλ]λων Bourguet, τὸν πρ[ότερον κριθέντα ὀρισμόν· τῶν δὲ ἀλ]λων  
 A. J. Reinach (*R.E.G.*, XX, 1907, p. 49), κόσμον ἐντελ]ῆ ἐ[ντέλλομαι σε καὶ ἐξ ἀλ] Plassart, ἕμειν  
 Oliver. 8 κα[ὶ τῆς πόλεως τῶν Δελφῶν Reinach, καλ[εῖν εἰς τοὺς Δελφούς νέους κατοίκους . . . . . καὶ]  
 Plassart, καλ[εῖν εὖ γεγονότας εἰς Δελφούς ὡς νέους κατοίκους καὶ] Oliver. 9 ἐπιτρέ[πεσθαι Reinach, ἐπιτρέ[πω  
 Deissmann, Δελ]φῶν Pomtow, ἐπιτρέ[πειν . . . . .] πρεσ[βεῖα πάντα ἔχειν τὰ τῶν Δελ]φῶν  
 Plassart, ἐκγόνοις τε τὰ] Oliver. 10 πολε[ίταις ἐκγόνοις] ὅσοι Plassart, πολε[ίταις ἐπ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ·  
 εἰ] μὲν γάρ τι [νες Oliver, ὡς πολεῖ]ται Plassart. 11 μετακίσ[αυτο εἰς τούτους τοῦ]ς τόπους, κρ[ίνω Plassart.  
 12-17 Plassart. 18 γεγραμ[μένων A. Brassac (*Revue biblique*, N.S., X, 1913, pp. 36-43), cetera  
 Plassart.

It is here assumed that as Plassart shows with a new reading of line 5, Gallio reported Delphi's depopulation and the emperor wishes to see new settlers invited to Delphi to keep up the city's ancient glories. If so, the new settlers should not be freedmen but *ingenui*, and we borrow for line 8 the term εὖ γεγονότας from the epistle of Marcus Aurelius published in *Hesperia*, Supplement XIII, 1970, p. 7, line 66. Secondly grants of citizenship normally have to be made not only to the settlers themselves but to their future offspring and this must be expressed in line 9. Thirdly the familiar formula in a grant of citizenship is πολεῖται ἐπ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ (sc. δίκῃ), and this important specification should be accommodated in the restoration of line 10. Parallels for these formulas may be found in *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 312, 333, and even 742, line 47, and E. Szanto, *Das griechische Bürgerrecht*, Freiburg i. Br., 1892.

For Gallio see *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, J 757, for Claudius *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, C 942.

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