Roman military bookkeeping

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ROMAN MILITARY BOOKKEEPING

PART II.
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SUMMARY CATALOGUE OF

ROMAN MILITARY DOCUMENTS.
Style of entries.

i) Short title - e.g. BGU II 696.

ii) Date - centuries will be indicated by Roman numerals.

iii) Nature of text.

iv) Inventory no(s).

v) Provenance.

vi) Select bibliography. (An asterisk will mark works not seen by the present writer.)

vii) Further comments.

In cases where documents have already been discussed in the text or notes, a cross-reference will be given instead of items iv-vii.

Special Abbreviations.


(Col. III of Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani).


Ecr Lat = Mallon, Marichal and Perrat, L’Écriture latine de la Capitale romaine à la Minuscule, Paris, 1939.


Mitteis = Vol. II, Part 2 of L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken,
Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde, Leipzig and Berlin, 1912.


PAPYRI.


Ecr Lat 22: Calderini 64 : M 56.


Sel Pap II 254: A/R 188.


Mitteis 373: Girard p. 194: Sel Pap II 213: 
Riccobono 78. Plates in BGU I and Schubart, 
Papyri Graece Berolinenses, 1911, 22a.

(P. Berlin 6820). Cf. Wilcken, ibid.; Mommsen, 
CIL III p. 2007, Arm. 1; Meyer, Heerwesen, p.123. 
Wilcken (Grundz., p.538), believes this and 143 
to be copies, not originals. 
Wilcken 455.

Wilcken 454.

15. 161. = BGU II 448, q.v.

Wilcken 396: Sel Pap II 285.

7365: prov. Fayoum). Cf. Krebs, ibid.; Mommsen, 
CIL III p.2214; Lesquier, L'armée romaine 
d'Egypte, p. 294; Nesselhauf, CIL XVI, App.5.
Wilcken 459: A/R p.17 n.3.

Mitteis 143.

Cf. Wilcken, ibid.
Mitteis 345: A/R 159.


Mitteis 60.


 Mitteis 244: A/R 119.
 Griefch. Pap. Hamburg, I, p.133, n.3; Nesselhauf, 
 CIL XVI, App. 6. In red ink.
34. 807. A.D. 185. Greek. Receipt for military supplies. 
 (P. Berlin 9002). Cf. Krebs, ibid.; Hohlwein, 
 L'Egypte romaine, pp. 557ff.; Schubart, Papyri 
 Graecae Berolinenses, 266.
 Nesselhauf, CIL XVI, App. 7. 
 Wilcken 460.
 In red ink.
 Mitteis, ibid. Corrected in red ink.
 See pp. 52f. M 21.
39. 1180.5 B.C. Contract in Greek. Cf. Ehrenburg and 
 Jones, Documents illustrating the Reigns of 
 Augustus and Tiberius, 262.


46. 150. II/III. Fragment of *matricula*. Descr. by E.G. Turner (*ibid*) as a "scrap from a Latin document, written on the verso, across the fibres. Recto blank. Interpunctions between words. Parts of six lines, mentioning (line 1) L. Valerius L fil. Cru(stumina) .... and (line 3) coh. VIII." M 73.
47. 170. A.D. 187. Soldier's receipt for barley.


49. 108. A.D. 185-6. Greek. Receipt of similar form
    to preceding. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, ibid.

    elders to acknowledge receipt from appointed
    collectors of payment from government bank
    for barley supplied to ala. On verso a list
    of villages in a different hand. Cf. Grenfell
    and Hunt, ibid. Wilcken 418.

51. " 173. (descr.) A.D. 185. Greek. Incomplete receipt
    similar to 107. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, ibid.


53. " 175. (descr.) A.D. 185-6. Greek. Similar to
    preceding.

54. " 176. (descr.) ca. A.D. 185. Greek. Similar to
    preceding.

    of 175.

56. " 178. (descr.) ca. A.D. 185. Greek. Similar to
    preceding.

   See pp. 198ff. M 52.


67. " 6. A.D. 235. Tribune's decision. Latin. Published with preceding. Apparently a decision made on the same day by the same tribune but referring to a different case. M 100.


15. Early III. Latin. Liber epistularum. Descr. by
Silk and Welles, *op. cit.*, p. 302f., who identify the Antonius Seleucus twice mentioned as possibly the Julius Antonius Seleucus who was legate of Moesia under Elagabalus. (cf. now PW X p. 163, n. 72; A. Stein, *Legaten von Moesia*, p. 88).


83. " 60a Early III. Latin. "Perhaps a *titulus*, once attached to a roll such as D.P. 8". (Gilliam).


EPISTULAE (vacat ?)

EQUORUM E.

[...]


A/R 138. M 98.


92. " 72. III. Greek. List of names, preceded by the sign Τ. (Prov. unknown). Cf. W.G. Waddell, ibid., who puts forward three possible explanations of this contraction: - 1) ἐν(παρφ)ζ(κ) as in P. Giss. 2; P. Hamb. 28. 2) ἐν( ), suggested by Hunt, representing ἡπέν ἠπεμυροις, the ἀρφοδον at Oxyrhynchus. This would imply that the papyrus came from Oxyrhynchus, and gave a list of persons living in that quarter. 3) also suggested by Hunt, = π. ( ), perhaps for πετοκιον: cf. P. Flor. 18 and Kalep, Berliner Leihgabe I 22, pp. 207ff.*
   i) individual pay accounts. See pp. 186ff.
   ii) employment of men on special duty. See p. 152f.
   iii) excerpt from matricula? See p. 119.
   iv) daily parade-state. See pp. 122f.
   v) duty-roster. See opp. p. 155.


95. P.Giessen bibl.inv. 130 = Aegyptus XXIII (1943), pp.153-
    159, q.v.

    the ala Gallica for frumentum emptum. Cf.
    Grenfell and Hunt, ibid. Wilcken 416.

97. " II 51. A.D. 143. Greek. Receipt by a duplicarius of
    the ala veterana Gallica for four goat-skins.

    730 descr.). Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, ibid., with
    plate; Wessely, Schriftt. 10 (with plate); E.M.
    Thompson, Introduction to Greek and Latin
    Palaeography, Oxford, 1912, p. 323, facsimile
    108. Mitteis 339: Ecr Lat 26 (plate XVIII):
    A/R 154: Calderini 45. M 46.

   293ff.; Nesselhauf, CIL XVI, App. 2. In red ink.

   Cf. Meyer, ibid.; Lesquier, loc. cit.;
   Nesselhauf, CIL XVI, App. 3. In red ink.


103. P.Lond. II 229 (descr.) = Archaeologia 58 (1895) pp. 433ff., q.v.


106. " 820 (descr.) = P. Fay. 38, q.v.


122. " 445. III. Latin. Soldier's chirograph. Cf. H.A. Sanders, ibid., with plate; Arangio-Ruiz,


Cf. H.A. Sanders, ibid., with plate XIIa. M 71.

See pp. 141ff. M 78.

See pp. 106f. M 125.


See p. 38f.


149. " 491. II. Greek. Letter of a recruit to the navy. A later letter than the preceding. (Inv. 4528).


151. " 514.III. Greek. Isidora to Sarapias. The writer's son, a soldier, has died, and she is having difficulty in recovering his deposita. Cf. Youtie and Winter, *ibid.*, with plate VIII.


158. " VII 1022. A.D. 103. Certified copy of a letter of
the prefect of Egypt concerning recruits. See pp. 44f. M 25.


166. " (Garrett Deposit) Inv. 7532 = TAPA LXXVI (1945), pp. 271ff., q.v. See pp. 59ff.


Martin and Hunt, ibid., with plate 23.

Calderini 55: M 65.


A/R 136: Calderini 60. M 11.

U. Wilcken, *Atti del IV Congr. intern. de Papirologia*, 1935, p. 109; Nesselhauf,


Receipts for supplies. Cf. Medea Norsa, "Un papiro greco-latino di Museo del Cairo",
*A/R* 142: Calderini 56: M 97.

See pp. 59ff.


Military? Cf. Wessely, Schrifttafeln zur Älteren lateinischen Palaeographie, Leipzig, 1898, no. 11, with plate; and "Die ältesten lateinischen und griechischen Papyri Wiens", Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde XIV, 1914, plate VIII. M 80.


PARCHMENT.


WAX TABLETS.


Viereck and Zucker, ibid.; Schulz, l.c., No. 7; Montevecchi, l.c., no. 9 M 256.

   Viereck and Zucker, ibid.; Schulz, l.c., no. 10; Montevecchi, l.c., no. 14. M 264.

   and Zucker, ibid. Calderini 59: M 263.


   Cf. Seymour de Ricci, Nouv. Revue hist. de
   Droit, 30, 1906, p. 478*; Bruns, Fontes, 100.
   Nesselhauf, CIL XVI. App. 1. Wilcken 457:
   ILS 9060: Calderini 58: M 247.

   veterans' rights. Cf. Lefebvre, Bull. de la
   Soc. d' Arch. d' Alexandrie III (1910), p. 39* with plate; Schehl, Aegyptus XIII (1933),
   Wilcken 463: ILS 9059: M 243.

198. Études de Papyrologie VI (1940), pp. 1 ff. A.D. 142,


Pap. VII 168. with plate; Schulz, l.c., no. 5; Montevcechi, l.c., no. 10. M 257.


207. " 446. Late II. Soldier's will? (Museum inv. 3219).
Cf. H.A. Sanders, ibid., with plate. M 270.


BRONZE TABLETS.

210. For the majority of diplomata militaria see CIL XVI, Dipl. 1-157.

211. CIL XVI, App. 9. B.C. 89. Latin. Republican 'diploma'. Cf. E. Lommatzsch, CIL I² 709; M. Bang, CIL VI 37045; ILS 8888.


OSTRACA.


INTRODUCTION:

NOTES.
1. CIL XVI, "Diplomata militaria ex constitutionibus imperatorum de civitate et comubio militum veteranorumque expressa", post Theodorum Mommsen edidit Heribertus Nesselhauf 1936.

2. In Ephemeris Epigraphica VII, pp. 456sqq., under the title of "Laterculus cohortis I Lusitanorum". (= Ges. Schr. VIII, pp. 553-566). It has been frequently republished in whole or part, most recently by R.O. Fink, "Mommsen's Pridianum: BGU 696", American Journal of Philology LXIII (Baltimore, 1942), pp. 61-71, who gives a list of the more notable publications. See below, p. 157ff.

3. S.H.A., Alex., 21. For this and other references to ancient sources see my article on "Theta nigrum", in JRS XLII (1952), pp. 56ff.


5. C.Th. VII 4,11; 4,13; 4,16; 4,24; C. Just. I 42; VI 21,16; XII 37,5; 37,9; 37,16,2: Dig. XXVIII (de testamento militis).


7. Brevis or a Greek equivalent (variously βρεβίων, βρένουν, βρεύνων and βρεβιων) occurs frequently in fourth-century writers and papyri, and is persistent for the next two centuries, while sporadic instances are found much later. No certain instance is found, however, before Julian 396D (A.D. 362 or 363) in literature, and
IG 12 (9) 907,15 (Chalchis, A.D. 359) is probably the earliest extant example. Matricula has been restored in CIL VI 1585a, an inscription of A.D. 193, but I have shown in my article on "Theta nigrum" (v. note 3) that a more probable restoration is matrifoes. The next certain instances are in the Codes and in Anon., de rebus bellicis, V 5, i.e. fourth century.


9. Mommsen ("Ägyptische Legionäre", Hermes XXXV, 445-447) held that these archives belonged not to a century, but to a vexillation. That opinion has been well refuted by Von Premerstein, Klio III (1903), 17 ff.


11. B.M. inv. 2851 first published by A.S. Hunt in Raccolta di Scritti in Onore di Giacomo Lumbroso, Milan, 1925, as "A Register of a Cohort in Moesia".


13. I wish to record my thanks to Professor Fink, of Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, and to Yale University for making it possible for me to read this thesis.

15. P. Berlin 6886, which had been translated and studied by Lesquier, "L'Armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien" (Cairo, 1918), pp. 250 ff., after a copy by W. Schubart. The text of part of this document was published by Mallon, Marichal and Ferrat in "L'Écriture latine de la Capitale romaine à la Minuscule" (Paris, 1939), and a full edition with extensive commentary, together with P. Fay. 105, by Marichal as L'Occupation romaine de la Basse Égypte" (Paris, 1945). See below pp. 198ff.


19. Notably in his "Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraca in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen",
Aberdeen University Studies, No. 116, 1939. See below pp. 44, n, 147; 120.


24. e.g. CIL VI 32515 ff.

25. CIL XVI records 157.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORDERLY-ROOM STAFFS.

NOTES.

28. So far as the Latin papyri are concerned, which are the more important from the military point of view, the compilation of a *Corpus Papyrorum latinarum* was planned by the late Seymour de Ricci and Bilabel. The work has now been resumed by Robert Marichal. Cf. R. Marichal, *Scriptorium IV* (1950), pp. 117f.

29. Cf. the recent article by Friedrich Vittinghoff in *Historia*, Jahrgang I (1950), Heft 3, pp. 389-407, "Zur angeblichen Barbarisierung des römischen Heeres durch die Verbände der Numeri". Vittinghoff maintains with some justice that the *auxilia* in general, and the *numeri* in particular, became more, not less civilised, as time went on. Content, however, with an *apologia* for the *numeri*, he transfers the blame for the 'Barbarisierung' to the legions and the praetorians. He might well have followed up his argument with a denial of Domaszewski's theory of the orientalization of the *Offizierkorps* by Severus. Cf. the remarks by Eric Birley in "The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Army", *Durham University Journal*, December, 1949, pp. 18f.

30. Wilhelm Ensslin (Aegyptus XXXII, 1952, p. 171) notes that in *P. Oxy. I* 43 recto, a document of the time of Diocletian, concerning deliveries of the *annona militaris*,
the mention of a Σευτήρος τεσσαρίπος or Θεσσάριος (col. IV 4. 6) and a Τούλης Οικείριος τεσσάριος λέγεται in Χλωμίς (col. II 21), disproves Domaszewski's statement. A compromise is adopted by Grosse (op. cit. p.223) who places in the fourth century the disappearance of the tessarius on the grounds of general illiteracy.


34. op. cit., pp. 120ff.

35. See note 3.

36. Including documents on other media, we have the following texts from before the time of Domitian: in Latin, ILS 8888, of 89 B.C., a bronze tablet corresponding in content to the later military diplomata, of which nos. 1-27 in CIL XVI belong to this period; Mnemosyne XLV (1917), pp. 343ff., a wax tablet recording the sale of a cow, with military witnesses, which has been given various dates from A.D. 12 to A.D. 116; BGU II 628 verso, a document in which reference is made to Octavian's edict about veterans' rights, and which is probably not much later than A.D. 40;
P. Mich. III 159, a decision about inheritance in the case of an intestate soldier, dated by Sanders to A.D. 41-68; PSI XIII 1307, a text concerning assignments and activities of legionary soldiers, similar to P. Gen.lat. t and the Dura acta diurna, dated by Miss Norsa to the first century on palaeographical grounds, and perhaps of the time of Nero if Minicius Iustus, the princeps of col. ii, 6 may, as Eric Birley suggests, be identified with the 'Minicius Iustus, praefectus castrorum legionis septimae' of Tacitus, Hist., III, 7; PSI VI 729, of A.D. 77, recording the purchase of a horse by an eques from a centurion; BGU IV 1083, a fragment of a first century matricula, the early date of which is shown by the absence of cognomina; Wessely, Schrifttafeln, 8, which may have been a list of casualties of III Cyrenaica and XXII Deiotariana, appears on the basis of the nomenclature to have been drawn up in the reign of Trajan or Hadrian, and therefore admits of a closer dating than the A.D. 43-120 of the editors of L'Écriture latine (Paris, 1939, no. 17).

In Greek we have: BGU IV 1108, a contract of 5 B.C.; P. Lond. III 1171 verso (= Wilckен, Chrest., 439), of A.D. 42, an edict of the Prefect of Egypt forbidding improper requisitioning; P. Oxy. I 39, of A.D. 52, a certificate of exemption on medical grounds from some
service, probably military (in spite of the doubts of Grenfell and Hunt expressed in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XII, p. 152); P. Fouad 21, of A.D. 63, minutes of an audience before the Prefect concerning veterans' rights, and *JRS* XXVIII (1938), pp. 41ff., of the same date, which is a report of this audience by one of the spokesmen for the veterans; and BGU II 455, a copy of a chirograph, which is probably of Vespasian's time. To this list may be added the Latin ostraca, *Ostr. Edfou* 196-204 and 209, which are dated by the editor (J. Manteuffel, *Fouilles franco-polonaises*, I, Tel Edfou, Cairo, 1937, pp. 174f.) to the second half of the first century.

No Latin military document from Egypt can be dated with certainty to the period between the middle of the third century and the accession of Diocletian, though Wessely, *Schrifttafeln*, 23, which Amundsen in *Symbolae Osloenses* X, p. 27, suggests is a list of soldiers sent out on special missions, e.g. the collection of the *annona militaris*, is usually ascribed to the late third century. *P. Mich.* VII 455 verso is considered by Sanders, on palaeographical grounds, to be not earlier than late third century. Gilliam, however, in *Am. Journ. Phil.* LXXXI (1950), p.437, believes this document, together with the *recto*, to have formed part of the same roll as *P. Mich.* VII 450, and the hand to resemble Dura hands of the time of Severus Alexander. A Greek document which may possibly
belong to this period is P. Aberd. 21, an account of corn assigned to soldiers, which is ascribed by Turner to the third or fourth century. Another is P. Fouad 72, a list of names preceded by the sign $T$, dated by Waddell to the third century. But this may not be a military document at all.

Of the Dura papyri, those capable of precise dating vary from D.P. 4, the famous letter of Marius Maximus, of A.D. 202-207, to D.P. 3 verso, a register of cavalry horses, of A.D. 251 or shortly thereafter. The fragment of a matricula, published by Fink in T.A.P.A. LXXVI (1945), pp. 270f., and described as D.P. 41 recto, is tentatively dated by him to A.D. 233, or 234, or 236, or 256.

37. Cf. the summary by Nesselhauf in CIL XVI, pp. 147ff.
39. H.M.D. Parker, The Roman Legions, Oxford, 1928, p.206: "The number and variety of titles is amazing, and von Domaszewski has drawn up complete lists of the different officials known to us from inscriptions. The increase,
however, must have been gradual, and cannot have reached such a high figure as he represents till the legions became more or less permanently stationed in the same provinces".

40. P. Gen. lat. 1 verso, part 4, col. 11.

41. Domaszewski's definition of officium, of course, excludes any group commanded by an officer of lower rank. Rangordnung, p. 5: "Die Gesamtheit der Principales, welche den Stab eines Offiziers bilden, Beneficiarchargen sowohl als Immunes, heisst Officium, der einzelne Principalis der dem Officium angehört, Officialis". Where a commanding officer of the requisite rank is lacking, he prefers the term tabularium, (e.g., p.50, tabularium principis) which properly means 'record-office, archives'. Elsewhere, (p.74), in connection with the officium of the legatus legionis, he writes: "Das Archiv dieses Stabes ist das tabularium legionis. Wohl davon zu unterscheiden ist das tabularium principis".

42. librarius et ce[r]a(t)iu[s] is the reading of Premerstein, Klio III (1903), p.34. Nicole and Morel had read librarius et [discens. For cerarius, cf. ILS 2425: L. Tonneius Martialis cerar(ius) leg(ionis) vivo sibi suisq(ue) fecit; and 2426: d. m. s. L. Tonneio Martiali vet(eren), vixit annis LXXXIII, Tonneii Martialis lib(rii) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) filius et Martialis
nepos fecerunt. Dessau comments: "1) Cerarius legionis, 2) librarius legionis; idem munus videtur significari. Cerarii legionum praeterea non commemorantur. Henzenus confert, inter scribas coloniae Ostiensis alios dictos esse librarios, alios cerarios". The simplest explanation of the difference in title is that, as suggested above, the term librarius marked a higher rank than cerarius. In that case, Tonneius set up the first dedication before his promotion.


44. Domaszewski (Rangordnung, p. 73) makes the librarius consularis belong to the second grade of pay.

45. Premerstein believes (op. cit. p. 13) that the signiferi were in charge of the deposits until Domitian's edict limiting deposits to 1000 sesterces.

Suet., Domitian, 7: geminari legionum cestra prohibuit, nec plus quam mille nummos a quoquam ad signa deponi, quod L. Antonius apud duarum legionum hiberna res novas moliens fiduciam cepisse etiam a depositorum summa videbatur.
He continues: "Da es sich nunmehr um die Verrechnung viel
geringerer Beträge handelte, wurde die bisher den Signiferi:
der Unterabteilungen zugewiesene Verwaltung der Gelder
vereinfacht, indem man sie bei eigenen Librarii depositorum
die wohl dem Legionsstabe angehörten, centralisierte".
This hypothesis, though ingenious, depends absolutely on
Premerstein's statement that the Librarii served at legionary
headquarters. He is rather more explicit in another place
(p.24) where he says, "Auch diese beiden Aktenstücke müssen,
wie überhaupt alle Schreibsachen der Unterabteilungen, in
der Kanzlei des Signifer ausgefertigt worden sein; deren
Librarii, deren einer auch hier in der Liste der immunes
genannt wird, waren bloss den officia der Oberoffiziere und
des als princeps bezeichneten Centurio zugewiesen." In a
footnote Premerstein makes one slight concession: he allows
the signiferi adiutores and discentes. (p.13, n.3): "Unter-
stützt wurden die signiferi von adiutores (Mommsen zu CIL
VIII 18072) und discentes. Auf diese weisen vielleicht die
verschiedenen Hände hin, die sich in Stück I und V erkennen
lassen"). One suspects that these clerks often described
themselves as Librarii also.

The existence of accounts at higher than unit
level is proved by P. Mich. VII 435, which contains accounts
of men from at least three different units, legio III
cyrenaica, cohors I Flavia Cilicum equitata (?), and legio
II Traiana. Sanders remarks (Michigan Papyri VII, p.29):
"This document gives a hint that the Roman camp records
combined a ledger system for individual soldiers (P. Gen. lat. 1) with a daybook for special receipts and expenditures as in this document, and so perhaps with other daybooks for regular wage payments and for store and other expense charges". The entries concern balances transferred as inheritances after deduction of an inheritance tax, and, possibly, a service charge. Such transfers would most conveniently be effected at a camp record-office, since the transfers may sometimes have involved cross-accounts between different units. Gilliam in Am. Journ. Phil. LXXI (1950), p. 433, suggests that the individual entries are merely copies or extracts of returns made in their own units by the heirs or legatees.

46. op. cit., p. 25, n. 5.
47. op. cit., pp. 36-42.
51. Both these documents have been recently re-examined by Marichal, op. cit. See also note 15, and below, pp. 198ff.

52. See above, p. 15 and n. 59.


54. P. Gen. lat. 1 recto, part 2. See below, pp. 152f.

55. P. Gen. lat. 1 recto, part 3. See below, pp. 119f.


57. op. cit., p. 66: "Il est donc vraisemblable que les comptes du P. Berlin correspondent à une unité organique, en l'espèce une centurie, et non à une groupement provisoire de soldats détachés, volontairement ou non, de toutes les centuries de la cohorte comme celui que nous fait connaître, par exemple, la grande inscription de Coptos. Ils ont donc été établis soit, s'ils formaient un rouleau isolé, dans les bureaux du signifère de la centurie, par lui-même ou par ses adiutores, soit, s'ils faisaient partie d'un rouleau plus étendu contenant aussi les comptes des autres centuries, par les librarii du tabularium principis".

58. See below, p. 22.

59. p. 16.

60. Cf. the following passages from the Historia Augusta, which are doubtless prompted by conditions in the fourth century:—Vita Alex., 52, 3: miles non timendus est si vestitus, armatus, calciatus, et satur, et habens aliquid in zonula. Vita Aurel., 7, 6: stipendium in balteo, non in popina habeat.
61. Cf. CIL III 797, 798, 1379, 14429, VIII 4323.
Cf. also P. Berlin 6866, line 49. (v. infra, p.200)

62. CIL III 7551: [i]n h(onorem) d. d. [ge]nio n(umeri) expl[or]at(orum) Germanic(orum) D[ivi]tiens(ium) Alexa[n]d[r]i-

63. So Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 50. But Picard and
Bonnet, Revue de Philologie XI (1937), pp. 112-124, equate
the princeps in command of the tabularium with the princeps
praetorii, whom they describe as a 'centurion hors rang'
(p. 124), and distinguish him from the princeps (prior)
of the first cohort. So they write (p.121): "Nous pouvons en
conclure qu'un des primipiles de la légion était appelé
princeps, et que sa charge était supérieure au commandement
de la Ire centurie". This princeps would then combine
the functions of technical and strategic adviser to the
legatus, and of administrative head of the legion. But
to cope with the very heavy amount of routine work which
these responsibilities would entail, he would have, according
to Picard and Bonnet (p.117), a clerical staff of only two
librarii. Domaszewski with more justification describes
the princeps praetorii as a staff-officer of the provincial
governor. See below, p. 28f.

64. CIL VIII 18072. It appears to be this inscription
to which Picard and Bonnet (op.cit., p.116) refer as VIII 180.

66. See above, p. 15 and p. 19.

67. Eric Birley writes, "My own feeling is that he (sc. the primus pilus) held the post for one year only, as senior centurion of the legion, specifically in charge of his own century (whatever its size) and spokesman (to put it like that) of the centurions - whereas it was the praefectus castrorum who was really the kingpin of the legion. Vegetius' definition of the duties of the praef. castr. seems to me to fit the pre-Claudian situation only." Brian Dobson is now engaged on a doctoral research project at Freiburg i. Br., of which the subject concerns the primipilares.

68. Rangordnung, p. 74: "Das Officium des praefectus legionis ist bestimmt für das Rechnungswesen".

69. As by Domaszewski, Rang., p. 38, n. 4.: "Dieser adiutor officii rationum löst sein Gelübde als er den höchsten Grad im Officium, die Stelle des cornicularius praefecti erreicht hat". The inscription reads: pro
sal(ute) Aug(ustorum) Mart(i) Conser(vatori) P. Ael(ius)
Rufinus [a]diutor off(icii) rat(ionum) vovit, cornic(ularius)
prae[f(ecti)] kastr(orum) leg(ionis) XIII G(emiae) v(otum)
1(ibens) p(osuit). For a different account of the officium
rationum, see A.H.M. Jones, "The Roman Civil Service
(Clerical and Sub-Clerical Grades)", JRS XXXIX (1949), p.46.
70. Domaszewski, op. cit., p. 47, n. 3, seems to imply
some such relation.
71. op. cit., p.38
72. op. cit., p. 29f.
73. So Seeck in PW s.v. Cf. also Denis Van Berchem,
op. cit., pp. 116ff., who prefers the alternative spelling
actuarii.
74. Rep. in Mitteis, Chrestomathie, n. 244. New edition
with full bibliography in Arangio-Ruiz, Negotia, pp. 383ff.
75. l.c.: "Anfangs wurden sie aus den Soldaten selbst
gewählt und zwar meist aus den principales (aus den equites
legionis II 2663; aus den optiones VIII 2554). Doch im
4ten Jhdt. waren sie zu reinen Civilbeamten geworden; nur
dass sie den Magistri militum unterstanden, (Cod. Theod.
VII 4, 24; VIII, 5.10.15; Cod. Just. XII 37, 16) und
deren scrinarii über sie die Controle führten (Cod. Theod.
VIII 1,15), erinnerte an ihre frühere Stellung". For
their unpopularity during the fourth century cf. Aurelius
Victor, de Caes., 31: genus hominum, prae.sertim hac

76. CIL VI 231 (= ILS 2215), VI 1110, ILS 9074, and the fine series of dedications from Poetovio, published by Michael Abramic in "Poetovio: Führer durch die Denkmäler der römischen Stadt", Oesterreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna, 1925, pp. 179f., 183. These have been republished in Bulletin de l'Académie Royale Serbe, I, 1935, p. 202 (reprinted in L'année épigraphique, 1936, nos. 53-57. I have not seen the Bulletin.) As for the date of these dedications, Artur Betz, Untersuchungen zur Militärgesichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien, Vienna, 1938, p. 49, n. 114, identifies Flavius Aper, the praepositus concerned, with the man killed by Diocletian immediately after his proclamation (Aurelius Victor, de Caes., 39, 13). This was the praetorian prefect often referred to as Arrius Aper, as recently by Besnier, L'Empire de 193 à 325, Histoire Romaine IV, 1), p.277. (But cf. W. Seston, Diocletien et la Tétrarchie, I, Guerres et Reformes, Paris, 1946, p. 47, n. 3: "Celui-ci n'a pas droit au gentilice d'Arrius que lui donnent certaines sources
(cf. E. Hohl dans son édition de l'Hist. Aug. II, p.241; A. Stein, Prosop. Imp. Rom., I², p. 176, n. 909)". If Betz' identification is accepted, an intermediate stage in the man's career may be seen in CIL III 15156 (Aquincum), where a certain L. Flavius Aper, v(ir) p(erfectissimus) praeses (of Lower Pannonia), is doubtfully identified by Stein (PW VI, p. 2531, n.31) with the praetorian prefect. Cf. Pr¥ii, p.135, n.20]

Abramic's suggested derivation (op. cit., p.185) from canalicula (= 'Kielfeder'), though plausible, is not supported by the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae or Du. Cange. The word canalicula itself is very rare, and seems to be used only of various kinds of pipes, including a feeding-tube. On the other hand, canna is found in late authors in the sense of 'pen' (Gloss. II 337, 17: κανήρ μεθάος καναλιομένος γράφοντα and has an adjectival form cannalis. Perhaps we have a military misspelling for *cannaliclarius. In any case, 'Kielfeder' (= 'quill-pen') is hardly a suitable translation, for both canaliculus and canalicula imply a hollow tube or fistula (cf. Gellius, 17,11,2: duas esse quasi canaliculas quasdam vel fistulas; and Vitruvius, X, 10, 3: canaliculi, qui graece συνομήν, dicitur, longitudo foraminum XVIII) and if used of a pen would more naturally describe a reed than a quill: the latter type, anyway, is not mentioned before Isidore, and though certainly earlier than his day can hardly be third century. If Abramic's
explanation is correct, the nearest parallel seems to be the use of *canalis* to describe the shallow groove in the *ballista fulminalis* (*Anon., de rebus bellicis, XVIII, 1*). Cf. E.A. Thompson, *A Roman Reformer and Inventor*, Oxford, 1952, p. 63 and note 3.

78. So Abramic, l.c. Baillie-Reynolds' account of this rank (*JRS XIII, 1923, p. 179*) can now be dismissed in the light of the dedications from Postovic: "We have two instances of the post of Kanaliclarius in the Castra Peregrinorum: he is obviously a Sanitary Orderly; and, as in our own army, this was certainly a temporary appointment, not a rank; probably one of the Frumentarii was given the post".

79. See above, p. 25f.

80. *Rangordnung*, p. 3. Cf. also p. 40: "Für das relative Rangverhältnis der Offiziere ist es von Wichtigkeit, dass dem tribunus vigilum dieselbe Zahl von beneficiarii zugeteilt ist" (as to the *tribunus laticlavius*).

81. Of the inscriptions cited by Domaszewski (*op. cit.*, p. 39) and Fiebiger (*PW s.v. 'cornicularius*) none appear to be clearly before A.D. 198, the date of *CIL VIII 2551*) (= ILS 2397) from Lambaesis. The others are *III 1681* (Naissus, Moesia Superior), *III 4322* (Brigetio), *III 4558* (A.D. 249), *III 5974* (Straubing, Rhaetia), *VIII 2930* (= ILS 2396) (Lambaesis), and *VIII 4642* (Thagora, Numidia). *VIII 2774* (Lambaesis) and *XIII 8282* depend largely on conjecture, and
can hardly be used as evidence in this connection.


83. op. cit., p.41.

84. op. cit., p. 47f., and especially p. 48, n.l.


86. CIL II 4179 (= ILS 2384): d.m. L. Gargilio Rufo com(mentariensi) ab actis civilibus homini optimo et honestissimo. CIL II 4145: d. m. L. Aufidio Felici bf. cos. municipi Gargilius Ruffus (sic) speculator leg, VII G. f.
benemerite. Hübner's doubts about the identification ("L. Gargilius Rufus commentariensis ab actis ab hoc fortasse diversus est infra in titulo n. 4179") lose force if we compare III 2015 (= ILS 2379) which shows a parallel career:


87. PW s. v. 'a commentariis'.

88. Cf. Rangordnung, pp. 29f., and the inscriptions there cited. Hispania Citerior and Numidia were special cases. Cf. also A.H.M. Jones, l.c., and Lopuszanski, op. cit., p. 8.

89. Of the inscriptions used by Domaszewski (Rangordnung, l.c.) in this connection the following bear some indication of Severan or post-Severan dating: CIL II 4122, 4154, III 138, 3021, 3327, 3524, 4030, 4452, 4803, 6754, 7794, 8173 10060, 10360, 10403, 10568, 13719, 14068, 14479, 14507, V 8275, VIII 217, 702 (= 12128), 2564, 2586, 2751, 4332, 17625, XIII 1732, 2596, 5170, 6738, 6803, 7335, XIV 2255, ILS 484, 8847, 8880, IGRR I 134, III 1008, AE 1898 n. 108, 1902 n. 138, 1905 n. 68, and probably CIL III 93, 2015, 3020, 5812, 9996, 10315, 10437, VI 2977, VII 1038, VIII 20251, 21000, XIII 1860, IGRR III 394, AE 1902 n. 73, 135, 1904 n. 10.

A pre-Severan date is indicated in the following:
CIL III 5211, 6627, 7394, 7542, 14137, 14349, 14387, V 8660, VII 186, VIII 2746, 17631, 21567, XI 390, 395, XII 2602, XIII 6542, 6543, 6598, 7277, 8203, XIV 3472, and probably XIII 2013, 2035, 14349, XIII 7709, 11990.

Uncertain are: II 4145, 4179, 6111, III 433, 894, 1106, 1471, 1650 add. p. 1021, 1783, 1907, 2052, 2063, 3906, 3543, 3634, 4311, 4412, 4800, 6760, 7395, 8750, 8752, 9908, 10505, 10842, 12659, 12679, V 6867, 7004, VI 3358, VIII 1875, 9763, 17619, 17626 (= 10718), 17627, 17634, 17635, 18025, 18276, 21056, XIII 1869, 1903, 6429a, 6575, 6721, 6884, 7299, 7556, 8282, 8292, AR 1902 n. 41, 1904 n. 128.

We have, therefore, a total of 43, possibly 59 Severan or later, as against 22 pre-Severan, and 4 more probably so, with a further 52 doubtful. Even if we admit a high proportion of the doubtful cases to be pre-Severan, the majority of the texts will still be rather late.

90. Rangordnung, p. 74. For the evolution of the ius gladii during the Principate, cf. H. G. Pflaum, Les procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain, Paris, 1950, pp. 117ff. 91. Rangordnung, p. 32. Cf. A.H.M. Jones, op. cit., p. 44, and Lopuszanski, op. cit., p. 44, besides Lammert in PW s.v. 'speculatores'. Domaszewski's note on the mention of the σπεκούλατωρ in Mark VI 27 is in error, since it was presumably upon Herod's staff and not that of the procurator that the speculator responsible for John's
execution was serving. One need not assume, however, with Lopuszanski (l.c., n.l) that the term was used improperly, since it is clear that Herod's army was composed largely of mercenaries, and may have been at least in part organized on the Roman model. Cf. Jean Juster, Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain, Paris, 1914, vol. II, pp. 270f.


A more recent study is by P.K. Baillie-Reynolds, JRS XIII (1923), pp. 169ff.

94. Rangordnung, p. 35. They were equerries.

95. Rangordnung, pp. 36f. These were auxiliaries (both equites and pedites) seconded from the auxiliary units within the province, and formed the bodyguard. They were inferior in rank to the stratores.

96. Rangordnung, p. 37.


98. Rangordnung, pp. 64f. For Dalmatia see now Betz,
100. *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 1: "Malheureusement la seule inscription confirmant cette thèse ne contient pas le mot *γυμνώς*, que A. von Domaszewski a restitué sans preuves suffisantes, croyons-nous. Car il existe des listes d'officiers d'état-major des gouverneurs (XIII 5150), ou le *princeps praetorii* ne figure nullement".
102. l. c. Cf. also CIL III 2917: p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) XII Fulmi(natae) trecentario donis don(ato) ab imp(erators) Vespasian(o) et Tito imp(erator) bell(o) Iud(aico) ab imp(erator) Traiano bell(o) Dacic(o) princ(ipi) praet(ori) III 5293: ex(ceptor) principis pr[a]e(torii); exercitatori equit(um) speculatorum, princip(i) praetorii ...... On Domaszewski's expansion of the last-named inscription (*Rangordnung*, p. 100 and n. 1: ..[(centurioni)] leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) ex trec(enario), [p(rimo)p(ilo)] leg(ionis) VI Victr(icis) ) Picard and Bonnet (*op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 2) write: "Les hypothèses de A. von Domaszewski au sujet de cette inscription nous paraissent toutes gratuites, et même irrecevables. Car il est impossible d'admettre que Vettius Valens ait exercé un centurionat ordinaire, après la fonction beaucoup plus importante de *trecenarius*". On the other hand, Domaszewski had formulated a principle (*Rangordnung*, P. 100):
"In allen Fällen, wo die Laufbahn vollständig überliefert ist, und die Lesung der Inschrift sicher steht, liegt zwischen trecenarius und dem Primipilat immer ein Legion-scenturionat, gemäß dem Grundsätze, dass man princeps legionis gewesen sein muss, um primipilus zu werden. Deshalb ist auch in jenen Inschriften, wo ein primipilus sich als ex trecenario bezeichnet ... die Stellung eines Princeps legionis vorauszusetzen". This is not disproved, though not supported, by the fact that in all the examples he cites (e.g. CIL VI 33033: centurio leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) ex trecenario) no description is given of the type of centurionate held. In these cases the position of Picard and Bonnet seems untenable: they can neither accept Domaszewski's explanation, since for them the princeps legionis is the same as the princeps praetorii and superior in rank to the primipilus (op. cit., p. 121), nor admit that an ordinary centurionate can be intended.

103. Rangordnung, p. 89.
104. CIL II 4083 and III 10360, used by Domaszewski, hardly attest a separate post of 'Commandant der equites singulares' (Rangordnung, p. 98).
105. Rangordnung, p. 97.
106. l. c.
107. op. cit., pp. 57f.
108. S.H.A., Sever., 5, 2 Hohl: etiam ... sestertia, quod
nemo unquam principum militibus dedit. Compare a later passage in the same life (12,2): Denique militibus tantum stipendiorum quantum nemo principum dedit. Domaszewski supplies bina before sestertia in the first passage, and interprets this as a doubling of pay; Brunt (Ic.) takes the first passage to refer to a donative and the second to an increase of pay. But the similarity of the language suggests that this is a twofold use of the same ultimate source, and that a single act (probably an increase of pay) is intended. Such an increase is confirmed by Herodian (3, 8, 4): τοῖς τε στρατιωταῖς ἐπέδωκε χρήματα πλεῖότα, ἀλλ' τε πολλὰ συνεχώρησεν ἐξ ἕνεκτερον εἴκονι καὶ γὰρ τὸ σιτηρέσιον πρῶτος ἁβείη ἑστε, καὶ δεκτολιοίς χρυσοῖς χρήσασθαι γυναῖκι τε συνοικεῖν.

It is difficult to agree with Brunt (p. 56, n. 3) and Passerini (Athenaeum XXIV, p. 155) that σιτηρέσιον refers to stipendium and not to annona. Severus was not the first emperor to increase pay, and we may be fairly certain Herodian was aware of this: he does, however, appear to have been responsible for the introduction of the annona militaris. (Cf. Denis Van Berchem, op. cit., passim.)

109. Ic.

110. [I depend for this statement on Picard and Bonnet, op. cit., p. 114, n. 1.] See Mommsen's comments on CIL VIII 18072.

Here see also G. L. Cheesman, The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army, Oxford, 1914, pp. 21-56.

The differentiation between cohortes quingenariae, cohortes milliariæ, cohortes equitatae etc., makes uniformity impossible. For the different kinds of units see Cichorius in PW s.v. 'cohors'. Yet this principle is denied by Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 56: "Die verschiedenen Arten der Cohortes auxiliares scheinen einheitlich organisiert gewesen zu sein, wenigstens treten keine Unterschiede vor". This may be true so far as the names and titles of ranks are concerned, but it cannot possibly have been true of their numbers and distributions. Not all cohorts were cohortes quingenariae equitatae, as would seem to be implied by Domaszewski's exposition of the cohortes auxiliares. (pp. 56-59).


119. Except when replaced by the equivalent rank of **canaliclarius**. See above p. 26 and notes. For the normal title, cf., for instance, *CIL XIII* 7395, from Friedberg: Marti et Victoriae Soemus Severus cornicul(arius)
coh(ortis) I Fl(aviae) Damas(cenorum) (milliariae) eq(uitatae) sag(ittariorum) v.s.l.l.m.

120. See above p. 28 and notes. For the actarius of a numerus cf. CIL XIII 7750 (Niederbieber): in h(onorem) d.d. genio actarius n(umeri) D[i]v[i]tensis Grato et Se[(leuc)]o cos. v.s.l.l.m. (A.D. 22*).

121. Rangordnung, pp. 53f.

122. Apart from the inscriptions cited by Domaszewski (l.c.), cf. the address to the famous letter of Apion (BGU II 423, second century): Ἀπόδος εἰς Χάρτην πρίμαν Ἀπεργνᾶν ... λέξει ἔνν. Ἀπίανος ἴστε Ἑνιάκει πατρὶ ἀνδος.

123. Rangordnung, l.c.


125. Cf. Cheesman, l.c.

126. Cheesman (l.c.) points out that there is no certain inscription of a decurio princeps alae.


128. As held by A.H.M. Jones (JRS XVIII, 1928, p. 147), followed by R.P. Longden, CAH XI (1936), pp. 237f. The editors, however, seem to favour the view of C.B. Welles
in Gerasa (New Haven, 1938), no. 171 (p. 390), who maintains that the inscription published by Jones is to be dated to the winter of 129/130, because that is the date of all the other Hadrian texts in the city.

[ἡ βήχα καὶ πυρὸς καὶ ημεροῖς] ἕως Μύκροι σημάρον ὁ θεὸς τῶν εὐπλοθων, κτλ.

130. op. cit., p. 15.

131. The Greek is Κλαύδιον/Σε[ούη]ρ[αν] τὸν ἐπατικόν (lines 25-26). Was Claudius Severus a consularis already? He was consul suffectus in A.D. 112, cf. Degrassi, I Fasti Consolari dell' Impero Romano, Rome, 1952, p. 33. Or is this an early instance of the use of the term in the sermo castrensis to indicate a praetoriam legate? For his career see PIR² II, 1023.

132. The Greek is λιπραρίον σε ληγεών/ποιήσω ἐφερμήν (lines 29-30), an adaptation of the customary Latin military terminology. Cf., for instance, optio ad spem ordinis in CIL III 12411 (Nicopolis ad Istrum), and Domaszewski, op. cit., p. 41.


134. Rangordnung, pp. 1-4. See also Cheesman, op. cit., pp. 39f.

135. Rangordnung, p. 73.


137. Yet the administrative service remained nominally a militia.
CHAPTER II.

DOCUMENTATION.

NOTES.
A well-known instance is his securing a military tribunate in Britain under Neratius Marcellus for the historian, Suetonius. Suetonius changed his mind, and requested that the appointment be transferred to a friend (epp. III, 8). Another example is his request to Falco for a similar appointment for a fellow-countryman of his, a Cornelius Minicianus (epp. VII, 22). The technical term for this type of letter is litterae commendaticiae. Cf. Digest, XXXXI, 65.


Another example of this type of letter is the following, a second-century letter first published by W. Schubart, Amtliche Berichte aus den kön. Kunstsammlungen 38 (1917), p. 336, and republished in Aegyptus III (1922) p. 97, no. 527. Cf. also L. Schiaparelli, Raccolta di Documenti latini, 1923, no. 35; Mallon, Marichal and Perrat, L'Écriture latine, Paris, 1939, no. 22, with plate; A. Calderini, op. cit., no. 64.
Priscus Petronio patri suo
salutem*

Apriduplicari Carum duplicarium
hominem probum commendó

5 tibi qui si quid egerit auxili
tui rogo in meum honorem
adiuves eum salvo pudore

tu [o] ... opto bene valeás

salutem dic nostris omnibus

10 salutem tibi dicunt nostri

omen*

vale*

For the accentuation compare P. Oxy. XII 1511 and P. Ryl. I 79, pp. 249f and below. The latinity of this letter is remarkable in comparison with P. Oxy. I 32.


Cf. also U. Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 401, and Lesquier, L'armee romaine, p. 155.

141. Vegetius, I, 5: Proceritatem tironum ad incomma

scio semper exactam, ita ut senos pedes vel certe quinos
et denas uncias habentes inter alares equites vel in primis

legionum cohortibus probarentur. Sed tunc erat amplior
multitudo, et plures militiam sequebantur armatam. Necdum enim civilis pars florentiorem abduxerat iuventutem. Si ergo necessitas exegerit, non tam staturae rationem convenit habere quam virium. Et ipso Homero teste non fallimur, qui Tydeum minorem quidem corpore, sed fortiorem armis fuisset significat.

For *incomma* (or *encomma*) cf. Gloss. Isid.: *incomma mensura militum*.


143. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri XII*, p. 152.

144. The great majority of official documents preserved on papyri are in Greek; Latin is commonly found only in juridical and military documents. For the whole question cf. Arthur Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Aegyptens unter roemischer Herrschaft*, Stuttgart, 1915, Dritter Abschnitt, "Der Sprachgebrauch in der Verwaltung Aegyptens", pp. 132-186.

145. See p. II 17 below.

146. See p. 243f. below.

147. The first two lines of *P. Aberdeen 61* were published by Winstedt, *Classical Quarterly I* (1907), p. 267. The
document was fully published by E.G. Turner in his *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraca in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen*, Aberdeen, no. 61. It is in Roman cursive without interpunction. The receipt follows the normal Greek pattern (i.e., greeting, verb in the first person, dating by consular years), instead of the Latin formula (verb in the first person, consular dating). New readings and restorations were published by H.A. Sanders in *Classical Philology* XXVI, 1941, pp. 63ff. (The present writer has not seen this publication).


L'armée romaine d'Égypte, p. 115.

149. **PW IV**, col. 751


151. **JRS XLII** (1952), p. 60 and n. 28;


153. See above, p. 6, and below, p. 119f.


155. See p. 163 below.

156. See p. 181 below.


Studies XI (1950), pp. 215ff., (p. 130 below), where in line 3 we have signifer II Flavius Demetrius alter. Gilliam translates, "signifer II Flavius Demetrius (the second of that name?)".

159. Cf. P.M. Meyer, Jahrb. f. Philol. 1897, p. 587. He maintains this dating in Das Heerwesen der Ptolemäer und Römer in Aegypten, Leipzig, 1900, p. 160, where he reads the date of BGU I 140 as 4th August, A.D. 107. The date was corrected by Wilcken, who in the first publication in 1892 had ascribed the letter to Trajan, and the text emended in Hermes XXXVII (1901), pp. 84ff. The papyrus has been frequently republished, most recently by Riccobono, Fontes I, Leges, p. 428ff.

160. As shown in BGU I, 140.


162. Cf. Dean, l.c.

163. See p. 160 below.

164. See p. 176 below.


167.
168. Gilliam (Classical Philology XLVIII, No.2, April, 1953, p. 99, n.7) comments, "To judge from the photograph, M seems a very dubious possibility".
169. Gilliam (l.c.): "A parallel for such a use of matricula would be reassuring". Cf. p. 51 above.
170. op. cit., p. 271.
172. op. cit., p. 275.
173. loc. cit.
174. op. cit., p. 275, n.1.
175. Rangordnung, p. 29.
176. See above, p. 30
177. Rangordnung, Nachträge und Berichtigungen, p. 197, S.97.
178. See above, p. 32-34.
181. Cf. the somewhat similar marks in BGU II 696, line 14 (p.160 below), and PSI XIII 1307, col. ii, line 22 (p.149 below).
182. p. 70f. below.
183. When 7 means (centuria) the preposition in is sometimes prefixed, as in the two pridiana. Cf. pp. 160ff. and 174ff. below.
184. op. cit., p. 273.
185. See p. 76ff. below.
186. op. cit., p. 274.
187. l.c.
188. op. cit., p. 274f. For excerpts from P. Dura inv. 12, see p. 86ff. below.
189. op. cit., p. 275.
190. Rangordnung, pp. 48-49.
191. Unless we accept Domaszewski's statement (Rangordnung, p. 71), based on CIL VIII 2554, that under Septimus Severus all optiones served ad spem ordinis.
193. Cf. Eric Birley, "The Epigraphy of the Roman Army", Actes du Deuxième Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine, Paris, 1953, p. 233: "First, the promotion of centurions. On that, Domaszewski's interpretation of the garbled account in Vegetius, and of the inscriptions, is the least convincing section of the Rangordnung (pp. 90-97), nor did Mr. Parker achieve any greater success in his book on The Roman Legions; the solution first advanced by Bruncke in 1884, and adopted independently by Wegelben in his Berlin dissertation of 1913, is surely correct, namely that all centurions were equal in rank (though differing in seniority and in their position on parade) until they received promotion into the first cohort, to become members

194. See above, p. 32ff. and 63f.


196. Cf. P. Dura inv. 12, col. XXXIII recto (p. 88 below), *dispos(itus) Aurel(ius) Addaeus Ierhaei*, and the abbreviation *gdp* (= *q(uondam) d(is)p(ositus)* ?) in the Dura acta *diurna* (pp. 137f. below).


199. For the term *brevis* cf. S.H.A., *Alex.*, 21: *milites suos sic ubique scivit ut in cubiculo haberet breves et numerum et tempora militum* (*indicantes Casaubon, continentes Kellerbauer*); Vegetius, II, 19: *cotidianas .... vigilias .... vicissim milites faciunt, .... nomina eorum qui vices suas fecerunt brevibus inseruntur. quando quis commeatum acceperit vel quot dierum, adnotatur in brevibus. The word is frequently used in the fourth century and after
in the general sense of 'list', cf. S.H.A., Alex., 28, 3: notarium, qui falsum causae brevem in consilio imperatorio rettulisset; Aurel., 35, 5: brevem nominum conscripsit; legit. quatt. tyr., 15, 7: dabis ei iuxta brevem infra scriptum omnia, quae praecipimus; ibid., 15, 8: brevis munerum fuit. The term is common in the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian. The Greek equivalent in its various spellings, \( \beta ρέ\varphi \omicron \omicron \nu \nu \omicron \omicron \), \( \beta ρέ\varphi \omicron \omicron \), and \( \beta ρέ\varphi \omicron \omicron \), is perhaps even more frequent, especially in the papyri, from the fourth-century onwards. Cf. Seeck in PW III, p. 832, s.v.; Preisigke, Wörterbuch, s.v.; Meinersmann, Die lateinischen Wörter und Namen in den griechischen Papyri, Leipzig, 1927, s.v. Cf. also JRS XLII (1952), pp. 59f., where the conclusion is reached that since the use of the term brevis in Latin in this meaning must have preceded its adoption into Greek, we can be certain that the word was in general currency by the beginning of the fourth century, and probably much earlier. How far it had any specialised technical sense, however, is uncertain. The recorded instances give the impression that it was a general term meaning 'list', and had a wider range than matricula. It is probable that it was the older term. Cf. n. 166.

200. See above, p. 17 , and below, p. 122f.

201. Cf. n. 181.

203. See above, p. 57, and n. 158.

204. op. cit., p. 276.

205. Cf. the procedure indicated by P. Mich. III 164 (pp. 76ff., below).


207. For the question of legionary commands, cf. now Eric Birley, "Roman Garrisons in Wales", Archaeologia Cambrensis, 1952, pp. 9-19, esp. pp. 17ff., who considers the commands of II Augusta at Caerleon and XX Valeria Victrix at Chester. Each legion appears to have had several auxiliary units under command. Since II Traiana was the only legion stationed in Egypt at this date a division of the province into military commands would not be necessary.

208. The title of the unit named in line 11, ala Gallica Gordiana, would naturally imply that the list was compiled before the death of Gordian III in March, A.D. 244.


L'albo senatorio da Settimio Severo a Diocleziano, (to be published), was available to Degrassi. (Published 1952).


212. Line 11.


214. The title ordinarius (together with its alternative form, ordinatus) is regularly used in the third century to describe a centurion in a cohort or a numerus. In the following century it is applied to legionary centurions also. Cf. Domaszewski, Rang., pp. 57 and 60.

215. His readings at the beginnings of these lines would be probatuj s, probatj us, and probatuj s respectively. He does not print the expansions in his text, but cf. his note on line 2: "It is probable that some such word as probatus preceded the names of the consuls."

216. see pp. 109ff. below. Cf. Dunlap's note 4 on p.74 of Michigan Papyri VII: "By analogy with the present document (sc. VII 447 recto) I suggest that the names of the appropriate prefects may have preceded the names of the consuls in P. Mich. III 164." In the case of lines 8, 14 and 22 the appropriate prefects would be Mevius
Honoratianus, Tib. Claudius Herennianus, and either Claudius Masculinus or M. Aurelius Zeno Iamuarus, respectively. Cf. Stein, op. cit., pp. 128-134. Possible restorations might then be Mevin, Claudian, and Claudian in the lines concerned.

217. See p. 119 below.


219. J. E. Dunlap in Michigan Papyri VII, p. 74: "The abbreviation Petronian may therefore be expanded into some such form as Acta Petroniana or Commentarii Petroniani, and the consular date assumes significance as indicating a division by years of the records of the prefecture of Petronius". In the latter part of this statement Dunlap goes slightly astray: the consular date is the man's date of attestation, which is an essential part of his identification, and is recorded on all military documents of the classes of matriculæ and pridiana, at least. Stein is more correct (Die Präfekten von Aegypten in römischer Zeit, p. 77): "Wie der Herausgeber gewiss richtig annimmt, sind von dem Namen dieses (sc. L. Valerius Proculus) und einiger der folgenden Präfekten abgeleitet die Adjektiva, zu denen etwa zu ergänzen ist acta oder commentarii. Sie beziehen Assentierung der hier genannten Soldaten, wobei das Datum durch die Konsulatsangabe bestimmt ist." Cf. also pp. 109f. below.


222.  The latest date of attestation in the document is A.D. 189, the earliest is A.D. 173. On the principle of discharge after twenty five years' service in auxiliary units the soldier listed in the first entry should have been discharged in A.D. 198.

223.  The first publication of this document was reviewed by Wilcken, Arch. f. Pap. X, p. 277, and by Bell, JEA VII (1931), pp. 268f. Bell suggested that the address was proper to a Greek letter on the verso now lost: Sanders has replied that the address runs through the middle of the whole verso at right angles to the writing on the recto, and that there is no sign of writing on the rest of the verso. (Michigan Papyri III, p. 141). Wilcken suggested that the Greek address was proper to a Greek letter which was originally on the recto and was washed off before the papyrus was used for a military document.
Sanders has answered that the traces of previous writing, apparently visible in the photograph of the recto, are nothing but worm-holes. (op. cit., pp. 141f.)

224. See above, p. 44ff.

225. The Tiberianus archive comprises nos. 467-481 of Michigan Papyri VIII, edited by H.C. Youtie and J.G. Winter (Ann Arbor, 1951). No. 469 is a private letter in Latin in which Terentianus asks his father Tiberianus to make a number of purchases for his mother. The letter on the recto begins:

Claudius Terentianus Claudio Tiberiano
patri suo plurimam salutem.

The address on the verso is:

κλαυσίων ἐπι τοποι

The Greek address of P. Fay. 105 (pp. 222ff. below) is a different matter. In that document it appears probable that the address on the verso has no relation to the document on the recto; at some date when the contents of the recto were no longer of consequence the papyrus may have been used as an envelope for another letter, and the verso used for the address.

226. Cf. esp. lines 14-20:-

quam [tibi] da-

15 [tu]rus est epistula m qui est [Se]m-
pro[nius Clemen[s] frument[ar]ius
Sanders considers that SB 4016 suggests the masculine form of the name rather than the feminine.

The relevant part is:

It will be noticed that Apelagarioú occurs in that part of the list which concerns men's names.

Cf. Sanders, op. cit., pp. 142f.


The papyrus was briefly mentioned by M. Rostovtzeff in Münchener Beiträge XIX, Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft, Munich 1934, p. 372. The roll was sent to Germany to be opened. Photographs of two columns were available, from which excerpts (of col. x recto, and col. x verso) were published by E.T. Silk and C.B. Welles in The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report of Fifth Season of Work, edited by M.I. Rostovtzeff, New Haven, 1934, Chapter X, "Descriptive List of Papyri from the Temple of Azzanatkhona," p.302.

Parts of col. xxxiii recto were published by R.O. Fink, "The Cohors XX Palmyrenorum", TAPA LXXVIII (1947), pp. 159-170.


235. *loc. cit.*

236. Another marginal annotation found in documents from Dura is the Z symbol found in *P. Dura inv.* 3 recto, ii, 8 (p. 127 below) and in *D. Perg.* 6, line 4 (p. 138 below).

237. Brief descriptions, but without excerpts, are given in Preliminary Report V, pp. 302-303. *P. Dura inv.* 15 may be a liber epistularum. *P. Dura inv.* 16 appears to contain military lists similar to those of *P. Dura inv.* 11.

238. *op. cit.*, pp. 300-301.

239. The editors state that the date of this roll should be between A.D. 216 (the latest date of attestation) and A.D. 218, twenty five years after the earliest date. But in the excerpts published this latter date occurs twice, and in each case in connection with an ord(inarius) who may well have passed the normal limit of service. Cf. the decurio alae, who received his appointment after twenty five years' legionary service, in *P. Mich. III* 164, line 2 (p. 76 above). A date a few years later than A.D. 218 need not, therefore, be excluded. The question will no
doubt be settled in the Final Report.


241. See above, pp. 70ff. and 59ff.

242. For this accentuation cf. *P. Oxy. XII* 1511 (p. 249 below).

243. loc. cit. For *BGU II* 696 see pp. 160ff. below.

244. Cf. *BGU II* 696 and *P. Lond. inv. 2851* (Hunt's pridianum) (pp. 174ff. below).

245. v. app. crit.

246. This is not expressly stated by Fink, but is implicit in the context. In *TAPA LXXVI* (1945), p.276, after deciding that the Princeton and Oslo documents are probably rosters of principales he adds, "Another papyrus similar to the two already discussed is P. Rylands 79 of about A.D. 144-150. ....... This papyrus is written entirely in capitals; but it too has headings grouping the persons listed according to rank." He then proceeds to suggest *LIBRARORUM* MERCU [I as the expansion of line 10.

248. See above, p. 17 and n. 42.

249. op. cit., p. 98.

250. op. cit., p. 98. The name occurs more than once as the name of a trireme or quadrireme in the fleets of Misenum and Ravenna. Cf. Miltner in PW, Suppl. V, s.v. 'Seewesen (Namen)', and Starr, The Roman Imperial Navy, p. 54.

251. Cf. Gilliam, l.c.

252. l.c.


254. Published 'by way of colophon' by R.O. Fink at the end of his article "A Fragment of a Roman Military Papyrus at Princeton", TAPA LXXVI (1945), pp. 271-278.

255. The military papyri found at Dura — all in the Temple of Azzanatkhona — belong to the archives of this cohort and possibly the II Ulpia, which is also mentioned in graffiti on the temple walls. Cf. Preliminary Report V, p. 216. The papyri so far published relate to the Cohors XX Palmyrenorum.

256. The expansions would be Maxim[ō et Apro cos], Maxim[ō et Aeliano cos], Maxim[ō et Albino cos], Maxim[ō et Lupo cos], Maxim[ō et Paterno cos], Maxim[ō II et Urbano cos], Maxim[ō ino et Africano cos], Maxim[ō et Volusiano II cos], Maxim[ō II et Glabrione cos]. The cases marked with an asterisk represent an inversion of the normal order and may be considered less probable.
Fink writes (l.c.): "The date is most probably A.D. 223, 234, 236, or 256; but other possibilities exist".


259. Cf. Degrassi, *op. cit.*, p. 36. Ambibulus' full name may possibly be C. Eggius Ambibulus Pomponius Longinus Cassianus L. Maecius Postumus, but this does not seem to be any help.


261. Roberts mentions in a note that the interaction of Greek and Latin hands has recently been studied by Medea Norsa (*Miscellanea G. Mercati*, vi, pp. 1 ff. The present writer has not seen this work).


265. op. cit., p. 30. It seems to be part of a nominal roll of a ship's company.

266. op. cit., p. 31.

267. loc. cit.

268. Cf. J.F. Gilliam, "Milites Caligati", TAPA,LXVII (1946), pp. 183-191. Towards the end of this paper (p. 189) Gilliam writes: "Caligati seem to have been found in every part of the army: among legionaries, praetorians, auxiliaries and vigiles". The evidence of this document would seem to add the navy to this list.


270. The Thes. L. L. lists a plural form Ascitae, which is defined as a gens Arabum. The citation is from Pliny, N.H., 6, 176: Ascitae appellati quoniam bubulos utres binos insternentes ponte piraticam exercent. Cf. Müller in P.W. s.v. If ascita is connected with the Greek ἀσκία rather than the Latin ascia, it may mean a craftsman whose duty it was to care for the leather equipment in the ship.


272. It is doubtful whether we have any other specimens of naval matriculae.

273. Cf. line 15 sesq(uiplicarius) in coh(ortis).

275. The normal order would in any case be Praesente II et Condiano cos. Cf. Degrassi, op. cit., p. 50.

276. Cf. many of the names in P. Dura inv. 12, col. x verso. The recto presents a sharp contrast in this respect.


278. Cf. Lines 8 and 13. Sanders' comment (op. cit., p. 92) seems unjustified: "Here is an indication that a numerus was a recruiting ground for alae and cohorts".

279. Cf. H.T. Rowell in PW s.v. 'numerus'.

280. Sanders' reading hordinacu (from hordeum, 'barley') can hardly be accepted.

281. Sanders' reading scr[iba], though not impossible (cf. Gilliam, l.c.), seems less likely than ses q(uiplicarius).

282. The reading is very doubtful (cf. Sanders, p.93) and the name of the numerus cannot be identified with certainty. It does not seem, however, to be contained in the published lists.
283. First published by Wessely in *Schrifttafeln zur Älteren lateinischen Palaeographie*, Leipzig, 1898, no. 23, with plate (no. XV).

284. See above, p. 106f.


286. See above, p. 80.


290. line 7.
291. op. cit., p. 79.

292. Dunlap (p.80) suggests that the omission of the prefect's name may be an indication that L. Munatius Felix, to whom the initial word of the previous entry refers, still held the office, and that the word *item*, which is employed in an apparently analogous situation in col. ii, 10 of the Michigan fragment, was omitted by oversight. Since it is not known definitely when Munatius Felix relinquished his office, Dunlap suggests that it is also possible that there was a vacancy in the prefecture during part of the year A.D. 153. Stein (op. cit., p.78) adds, "Wenn jedoch die Erklärung, die der Herausgeber als ebenfalls möglich gibt, das Richtige trifft, dass nämlich in dieser Zeile überhaupt kein Präfektenname gestanden habe, dann würde ich die Vermutung wagen, dass diese Vacanz in der Präfektur Aegyptens durch die Tötung des Dinarchus herbeigeführt wurde".

293. For Dinarchus cf. Stein, op. cit., pp. 82f.

294. op. cit., pp. 79f.

295. Cf. Stein, op. cit., p. 76. The earliest dated reference to L. Valerius Proculus as prefect is in BGU IV 1038 (12th May, A.D. 144).

296. op. cit., p.78.

297. l. c.

298. Cf. his note (op. cit., p. 79).
299. l.c.: "If no letters have been lost at this point and the character is to be interpreted independently, it may possibly be regarded as a compendium formed of the letter i and the crossbar of τ, representing the word item, and standing in the place of the name of a soldier's father, as ὁ... is used in Greek papyri when the father's name was identical with that of his son.'

300. op. cit., pp. 75f.

301. op. cit., p. 435.


303. See pp. 54f. above.

304. See pp. 70f. above.

305. B.M. Fragment, col. i and col. ii to line 6 would refer to one unit; col. ii, 7 to possibly col. ii, 6 of the Michigan fragment would refer to a second unit; the remainder of the Michigan fragment would refer to a third unit.

306. See above, p. 18, for the catalogue of immunes contained in Dig., 50, 6, 7.

307. Rangordnung, p. 39. See also above, pp. 17f.

308. Five separate documents are included in this one papyrus. Besides the document considered in this connection, we have recto, part i - individual pay accounts (pp. 186ff. below); part 2 - employment of soldiers on
special duty (pp. 152f. below); verso, part 4 - part of the acta diurna (pp. 122f. below); part 5, the duty roster of a century (opp. p. 155 below).

309. First published by E.G. Turner in Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraka in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, 1939, no. 150 (descr.).

310. P. Gen. lat. 1, verso, part 5. For publications, etc., see note 308 above.

311. See pp. 21f. above.

312. P. Gen. lat. 1, verso, part 4. For publications, etc., see note 308 above. See also pp. 122f. below.

313. This is the reading of Morel. We may disregard H.M.D. Parker's comment (op. cit., p. 227), "another had the more popular duty of bringing in the wine (exit vino)."

314. de re mil., II, 19.


316. See pp. 140ff. below.


318. See n. 308.

319. See n. 315.
320. Cf. Münchener Beiträge XIX, 1934, p. 367. Gilliam, op. cit., p. 221, n. 27, recalls Dio LXXIX, 2, 1; ἐπομενήματα τὰ παρὰ τοῖς στρατιάσισι γενομένα, cf. 2, 3 and LXXIX, 16, 4. His attention was called by R.O. Fink to the daily strength report mentioned in Appian, B.C., V. 46.

321. See pp. 138f. below.

322. pp. 44ff. above.

323. Gilliam (op. cit., p. 252) remarks that Gaius here is almost certainly not being used as a praenomen, and cites Dean, op. cit., p. 194. Dean has two examples of Gaius as a cognomen; one is CIL VIII 2636, the other being CIL III 1674: (Naissus): Aur(elius) Gaius mil leg VII strator consularia. Neither example is dated. Gilliam refers also to Wuthnow, Die semitischen Menschennamen, (p. 39), a work which the present writer has not yet seen.

324. The variations in language between the documents are inconsiderable.


326. Gilliam states (l.c., n. 76) that there is nothing to indicate who might obtain the rating of duplicarius or sesquiplicarius. But Domaszewski's hypothesis (Rangordnung, pp. 71f.) seems reasonable. He ascribes to his 'taktischen Chargen' the rate of pay and a half, to his 'Beneficiarischargen double pay. The former ranks can be equated with
the sesquiplicarii, the latter with the duplicarii. Domaszewski's highest rate among the principales, treble pay, which he allotted to the 'zum Centurionate qualifizierte Chargen, die cornicularii des Statthalters und der hauptstädtischen Praefecti, sowie die optiones ad spem ordinis, endlich der aquilifer', would not of course be applicable to the auxilia.

327. See p. 96f. above.
328. See pp. 70f. above.
329. The Oslo document and those from Dura are all probably of the second quarter of the third century.
330. See pp. 172ff. below.
331. P. Dura 3 recto, line 3; P. Dura 17 recto, line 10; P. Dura 9 recto, line 7; P. Dura 9 recto, line 13.
332. e.g. P. Dura 9 recto, line 1: quod imp(eratum) fuerit facemus (sic) et ad omniam (sic) tessera[m]paratius.
333. op. cit., p. 231.
334. op. cit., p. 242.
335. Mentioned by Gilliam (l.c.).
337. Perhaps the word should be divided as ad missa.
Cf. Gilliam, op. cit., p. 232, who cites Commodianus,
Carm. apolog., 27 (middle third century): stat miles ad missa. The context makes it clear that here missa means "orders". The editors print missam, but missa is the MSS. reading.

338. Gilliam (op. cit., p. 238) states that the final letter may be read equally well as p or c, but p is supported by another text, P. Dura inv. 34 (unpublished). This text is of a different type, but qdp is reported to be used in it in the same way as it is in P. Dura 3 recto.

339. According to Gilliam (l.c.), A. von Premerstein in a letter to Prof. Rostovtzeff suggested q(uondam) d(eputati) c(ursores), reading, of course, qdc.

340. See p. 88 above.

341. Other marginal annotations in the same documents are the names of ranks and place-names. These latter are probably not places of origin, but the out-stations at which the men were on detachment. Cf. p. 90 above.


343. l.c.

344. op. cit., p. 245.

345. This document was first published by F. Cumont, Monuments Piot XXVI (1923), p. 40, and again in Fouilles de Doura-Europos, Paris, 1926, p. 314. It is most conveniently referred to as D. Perg. 6. A photograph accompanied the original publication in Monuments Piot.
Cumont, following a suggestion made by Hunt, expanded lines 9-10 as

r]el(iquos) numerare

............... stip[end(ia)]

Alternatively, for line 9 he suggested sem]el etc. These suggestions do not, however, suit the general style of the document, for r]el(iquos) numerare and stip[end(ia)] would be more appropriate to a pay account, such as P. Berlin inv. 6866 (cf. pp. 186ff. below), whereas facti

equites (line 7) and missi nemer.... (line 8) are items proper to a pridianum, such as BGU II 696 or P. Lond. 2851 (cf. pp. 174 ff. below). missi-reversi items occur also in the acta diurna, as in P. Dura 3 recto, but greater detail is required in documents of this class, which are concerned with day-to-day events, and the abbreviated detail of this mutilated fragment seems more proper to a pridianum, as was suggested by Cumont. The presence of the marginal annotation Z, however, and the general appearance of the document, would suggest, however, that it is not a fragment of a pridianum proper, but of preliminary draft for one.

346. See pp. 44ff. above.
347. col. i, 31ff. See p. 161 below.
348. As noticed by Gilliam (op. cit., p. 252).
349. l.c.
See above p. 46.

P. Mich. VII 450 (= Inv. 2761) was published by Sanders in Michigan Papyri VII with plate XI a, b. P. Mich. VII 455 (= Inv. 2758) was published in the same volume with plate XIV a, b. Both were reviewed by J.F. Gilliam in A. J. Ph. LXXI, 1950, pp. 436f.

I.e. 2761 and 2758.

op. cit., p. 437.

op. cit., p. 436.

See above, p. 437f.


It should be noted that because of Miss Norsa's illness the fascicule was seen through the press by another.

ILS 2483. (= CIL III 6627).

CIL III 6600.
364. For Minicius lustus, see the article by Groag in *PW* s.v.

365. See p. 160 below.

366. See p. 155 below.

367. *ILS* 2355 (A.D. 216).

368. See opp. p. 155 below.

369. The standard work on this subject is still A. von Domaszewski's *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere* (Abhandlungen des archäologischen-epigraphischen Seminars der Universität Wien, Heft 5, 1885.)

370. All sections of these archives are to be dated within the reign of Domitian.


372. For publications see n. 308 above.

373. Copies of such records would ultimately reach the ab epistulis, who may be considered the Roman equivalent of our Adjutant-General and Military Secretary. Cf. Eric Birley, "The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Army", *Durham University Journal*, December, 1949, p. 13.


374. This document (*P. Berlin 6870 recto*) was first published by Mommsen, *Ephemeris Epigraphica VII* (1892), pp. 456-467, as "Laterculus cohortis I Lusitanorum". It
was twice rep. by him, as BGU II 696 (the most convenient title), and in Ges. Schr. VIII, pp. 553-566. Photographs: BGU II; Wessely, Schriftt. 6; Palaeographical Society Facsimiles, Series II, vol. II, no. 165; L'Écriture latine, no. 24; H. Delitsch, Geschichte der abendländischen Schreibschriftformen, Leipzig, 1928, pl. I (part only). Rep. in Select Papyri II, no. 401 (part only); Calderini, Papiri latini, no. 49.; R.O. Fink, "Mommsen's Pridianum: BGU 696", A.J.Ph. LXIII, Baltimore, 1942, pp. 61-71. Cf. also J.F. Gilliam, "Paganus in BGU 696", A.J.Ph. LXXIII, 1952, pp. 75-78...


376. Cf. Eph. Ep., p. 457: "Eius matriculae tamquam supplementum est index quem tenemus, scilicet proficiscens a statu cohortis qui fuit k. Ian. a. 156, sed respiciens item ad eum qui fuit k. Sept. anni praecedentis, recenset milites qui accessorunt ad mensem Maium usque anni illius; dies enim postremus qui nominatur est " .. nonas Maias". Quadrimenstre tempus, quod ita significatur, pendet omnino
a stipendio militari a Caesaris inde tempore ter in anno numerato, scilicet k. Ian., et k. Mai., et k. Sept".

377. l.c. (cont.): "A stipendii quadrimenstrui solutione pendent rursus tributorum illationes per menses quaternos (C. Th. 11,1,15: ibique Gothofredus) et quadrimenstrui breves (C. Th. 11,25) cum erogatione militari conjuncti etiam ea aetate, qua in re militari annona pecuniae substituta tres numerationes illae stipendiariae fieri desierant". This passage and the preceding are repeated, substantially unchanged, in Ges. Schr. VIII, p. 558.

378. l.c.

379. See pp. 186ff. below.

380. See n. 374.

381. The Feriale Duranum (P. Dura 2) was published by R.O. Fink, A.S. Hoey, and W.F. Snyder, Yale Classical Studies VII (1940), pp. 1-122, with photograph. Cf. esp. commentary by Fink on col. I, 7-9.

382. There must in any case have been some small reserve in unit funds to allow for unexpected contingencies.

383. op. cit., p. 70.

384. col. i, 19.

385. Unless we accept Fink's restorations at the head of col. ii. But see below, pp. 170f.

386. op. cit., p. 71.

387. It would be more in keeping with standard procedure,
as shown in the diplomata militaria, for the reports to be consolidated at command level. Thus Dipl. 69 (A.D. 122) records discharges from no fewer than 13 alae and 37 cohorts, perhaps the entire non-legionary force in Britain at that date.

388. CIL X 7953 (= ILS 6766).
389. op. cit., p. 64.
390. l.c.
391. As admitted by Fink himself (l.c.): "Doubt is thrown on the restoration proposed here by the accusative ianuarias, in line 15; but in view of the scribe's mistakes elsewhere it is easy to believe that he either omitted PR before KAL or wrote ianuarias instead of ianuariis".
392. op. cit., p. 65. See below, pp. 174ff.
393. See above, pp. 127ff. These documents were unpublished at the time of Fink's article but he had access to them. Cf. his notes 19 and 20.
394. F(ilius), i, 6; FACTUS, i, 20; PRAEF, i, 21; FACTI, ii, 32; PRAEFECT, ii, 14.
395. For the use of a marginal Z perhaps for a similar purpose, see above, p. 138 and n. 345. The mark X is found doubled in PSI XIII 1307 (col. ii, line 22). See above, p. 149.
396. op. cit., p. 65.
397. See opp. p. 155.


401. op. cit., p. 77, n. 10.


403. op. cit., p. 78.

404. BGU II 447, lines 20f.


406. Dipl. 56 (A.D. 107).

407. Cf. Cichorius in PW s.v. 'ala'. The cohort is attested by Dipl. 33 to have been in Judaea in A.D. 86.

408. Fink (p. 64, n.5) cites: i, 2, AUGUS'TI; 26, 27, CHORTIS; ii, 25, maevius; regularly eodem instead of isdem cos.

410. Rangordnung, p. 57.

411. Cf. Arrius Menander in Dig., XXXX, 12, 29:
exauctoratus, id est militia remotus castris reicietur;
and the same writer in Dig., XXXXVIII, 16, 6, 6: si quis
commilitonem vulneravit, si quidem lapide, militia reicitur,
si gladio, capital admittit.

412. Mommsen himself, who regarded this transfer as a
form of punishment, added, "Reiectus quod item fit decurio
.... mirum est".

413. op. cit., p. 67.

414. lines 8-9.

415. lines 33 and 36.

416. Cumont's pridianum (D. Perg. 6: see p. 138f. above)
is too short a fragment for its nature to be certain, but
what remains seems rather a preliminary draft for a
pridianum than a pridianum proper.

417. We should have to assume that the pridianum was
divided into two distinct portions, accessions and losses;
and that each part had a formal heading and title. Cf. the
argument below.

418. The origo is not stated, however, in the case of
the recruits in the Berlin pridianum. Perhaps this was
unnecessary because of exclusively local recruitment.

419. Col. i, 31 to col. ii, 12.

420. op. cit., p. 266.

421. This receipt-book of the ala veterana Gallica,
stationed at Alexandria, of A.D. 179, was found in the Fayoum. See below, p. 242ff.

422. CIL III 14147, 2 (Syene) (= ILS 8907), erected by this and two other cohorts, is dedicated to Trajan as tribunic. potest. cos. II. Trajan's second consulship was in A.D. 98, his third in A.D. 100: the inscription was erected, therefore, in 98 or 99. Cf. Stein, op. cit., p. 48. Hunt writes (op. cit., p. 267): "Even if it be placed in 99, there might still be time for the cohort to have been transported to Lower Moesia by August 14, when the coh. I Hisp. vet. is first attested there".

423. In his summary table in CIL XVI (p. 182) he lists "I Hispanorum pia fidelis (eadem fortasse ac I Hisp., quae a. 83 in Aegypto tetendit); I Hispanorum veterana (eadem fortasse ac I Hisp., quae a. 60 in Pannonia fuit)".

424. A. Stein, Die Legaten von Moesien, Budapest, 1940. 112-113.

425. op. cit., p. 272, commentary on line 62.

426. Ulpian ap. Dig., XXXVIII, 5, 28, 6: divus autem Hadrianus Cornelio Latiniano rescrpsit et de exteris servis quaestionem haberii.


428. op. cit., p. 268.

429. For publications see n. 308 above.

431. See below pp. 202f.

432. P. Berlin 6866A was used by Lesquier, op. cit., pp. 250f., and published by Mallon, Marichal and Perrat, L'Écriture latine, 1939, no. 27, with photograph. This papyrus from the Fayoum was fully edited, together with seven other fragments of the same roll, P. Berlin 6866B, by Robert Marichal, L'Occupation romaine de la Basse Égypte: Le Statut des Auxilia, Paris, 1945, with plates 1 and 2. Cf. E.G. Turner, JEA, 1947, p. 92 who recognised that P. Aberdeen 133 was another fragment from the same roll. Cf. also A. Piganiol, Revue des Études latines, 1948, p. 430f.; Eric Birley, JRS XXXIX, 1949, p. 211.

who had no access at the time to any photograph or facsimile. He was forced to limit himself to a few corrections made evident by later publications. There is still no published photograph of this papyrus.


435. See below, pp. 241ff.

436. op. cit., p. 6.

438. Unless we assume a commission of three drachmae.

439. Cf. Johnson, op. cit., p. 676: "There are many difficulties in the interpretation".

440. P.A. Brunt, "Pay and Superannuation in the Roman Army", Papers of the British School at Rome XVIII (New Series V), 1950, p. 61: "(It is surely abnormal that neither soldier spends a single drachma outside the camp). We cannot be sure how far the accounts are to be taken as typical".

441. op. cit., p. 671: "The accounts show also that the soldier withdrew none of his stipend for spending money. The entire balance was left on deposit in the military treasury. This may explain the exactions made by soldiers
when they were sent outside the camp on special service.
Not infrequently in private and official accounts payments
in the nature of gratuities were made to soldiers
(P. Princeton 13; nos. 351-2)".

442. Johnson, op. cit., p. 432: "The denarius, like
the stater, was used as a term of account to represent
the tetradrachm. It was used in military accounts from
the reign of Hadrian, and here we find it with the same
premium as the billon in private reckoning (PSI 1063;
P. Fay. 105; W.O. 1128, 1265)". Cf. also p. 433, n. 55:
"It is clear that the tetradrachm was regarded as having
24 obols in no. 332 where 15 Jews paid a total of 125 dr.
The premium of the billon tetradrachm at the beginning
of Vespasian's reign is unknown. But the value of the
Roman aureus (25 denarii) may be reckoned as 112 dr. 3 ob.,
116 dr. 4 ob., 120 dr. 5 ob., or 125 dr. in bronze according
as we reckon the value of the billon tetradrachm in private
circulation as 26, 27, 28, or 29 obols respectively". In
connection with P.,Gen.Lat. 4 Johnson has a note (p. 677):
"Sums are reckoned in the 7 ob. dr." The 'exchange-rate'
theory would, however, require the use of the 7½ ob.
drachma: 300 dr. of 6 ob. each are equivalent to 64
tetradrachms 8 obols, if the billon tetradrachm is valued
at 28 ob., or to 62 tetradrachms 2 ob., if the value of
the tetradrachm is 29 ob. Similarly, 248 dr. are equivalent
to 1798 ob., if we accept the $\frac{7}{4}$ ob. standard, and 297 dr. (see P. Gen. lat. 4) are equivalent to 1782 ob. on the 6 ob. standard.

443. **op. cit.**, p. 670: "Thus Proculus spent 206 dr. on this item (clothing), while Germanus spent 246 dr. This is rather extravagant in comparison with costs of clothing in Egypt (Ch. II, viii). The deductions for food are also high - 240 dr. a year. The ration of wheat was normally an artaba a month and the highest price of wheat in the first century was 10 dr. per artaba with prevailing prices much lower (Ch. II, viii). Lentils, salt, wine, and oil were also provided (SB 6957-76). Even so the average cost of feeding a soldier could hardly have reached the total of 240 dr. a year in the first century and it is evident that neither food nor clothing were provided at cost".

444. **op. cit.**, p. 59.

445. **op. cit.**, p. 65f.

446. **op. cit.**, p. 301: "The ordinary allowance of food for slaves, workmen, and soldiers was an artaba of wheat per month (P. Lond. 1213; nos. 117. 414) .... Wine was distributed to workmen on large estates at this time, but the practice may have been limited to labourers in vineyards. The usual distribution to soldiers was a ceramion or a colophonion per month (W.O. 1129, 1140, 1265; no. 414),"
and workmen probably received the same (nos. 117-8)". 

447. *op. cit.*, p. 59: "Johnson points out that the deductions made from pay on account of food and clothing exceeded what was necessary to meet the cost to the government".

448. Cf. Brunt, *loc. cit.*; "In a later account of Domitian's reign, presumably after he had raised the pay, the four-monthly instalment had risen to 297 drachmae: it looks as if the legionaries in Egypt did not receive the full increment of one third".


*Dio, lxvii, 3, 5: και τοῖς στρατιωταῖς ἐπηύξησε γὰρ μισθοφορῶν, τάκτικα δὲ τὴν νίκην: πέντε γὰρ καὶ ἐρωμήκοντες δραχμᾶς ἑκάστου λαμβάνοντος ἑκατὸν ἐκήλευε διόσκορα.*

450. *loc. cit.*

451. *op. cit.*, p. 676: "The stipendium of 297 dr. shows that the pay had been increased over that indicated in *P. Gen. lat. 1*, if it is for the same class of people".


453. See n. 442 above.

454. As is implied by the variation in individual withdrawals.

455. Johnson makes liberal use of a farm account
(P. Lond. 131 V, A.D. 78/79) in his calculations of the cost of living in Egypt (pp. 30ff.) In this account a labourer on the estate of Epimachus is employed at an average wage of 4 ob. per day, which, assuming steady employment, would mean an annual income of ca. 210 dr. a year, of which ca. 60 dr. would be due in taxation. It is not clear whether food had to be provided from these wages or not: if it had, Johnson finds that a reasonable expenditure on food and opsonion would hardly be possible from his residual income. Be that as it may, the legionary soldier's annual income was on this reckoning over three times this labourer's gross annual income, from which a considerable amount was deducted in taxes, to which the soldier was not liable. If therefore the labourer's wage was at all a viable one, the soldier must have been comparatively well-to-do.

456. See above, p. 207.

457. This is the natural interpretation of Suetonius' statement (Dom., 7, 3), "addidit et quartum stipendium militi, aureos ternos". We have no evidence to indicate any change in the rates of military pay between the reigns of Domitian and Hadrian, nor is any such change suggested. If we do not accept Suetonius' word, therefore, we are asserting his ignorance of contemporary practice, and this is quite unjustified in this connection. The evidence of Suetonius is accepted by Domaszewski in "Der
Truppensold der Kaiserzeit”, Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher, X, 1900, pp. 218-241. Brunt (op. cit., p. 54) attacks Domaszewski’s view, supporting his case on Dio and this very papyrus, which, he declares (n.29), "shows three equal instalments each of 297 silver drachmae". He does not support this statement by explanation.

458. Johnson’s suggestion (op. cit., p. 676) that the entries prefixed by a represent deductions of obols from the sum seems the only satisfactory explanation.

459. Though the frequency of allusions to dice in Latin literature would suggest that an equivalent for the American game of 'craps' should rather be looked for.

460. loc. cit.

461. That it was the custom to use rustic capitals for headings and cursive for the details of the entries is evident from any comparison of the surviving official military documents. Cf. esp. P. Gen. lat. 1; P. Lond. 2851; Wessely, Schriftt., 9 and 23; P. Ryl., I, 79 and II, 273a; P. Fay. 105; P. Berlin 6866; P. Aberd. 133; P. Princeton (G.D.) inv. 7532; P. Oslo III 122; P. Dura 2 (Feriale Duranum); P. Mich. III 162, 164 and VII 455, etc.

462. op. cit., p. 54, n. 29.

463. loc. cit.


465. The kernel of Domaszewski’s argument was that
legionary pay originally consisted of a single annual stipendium of 75 drachmae a year, and that the annual stipendia were increased by Caesar to two, by Augustus to three, by Domitian to four, and by Commodus to five. Though the dates of the increases are unsupported, except in the case of the one made by Domitian, and may be incorrect, the main thesis is not inconsistent with Varro's statement (quoted by Nonius Marcellus, p. 853 L), 

'stipendium appellabatur quod aes militi semenstre aut annuumdabatur'. It seems improper to conclude from this, as Brunt does (p. 52), that by Varro's day the later method of payments in three instalments was already in use. He continues, "Perhaps it had been introduced by Marius; the proletarians, who were first regularly recruited by him, to serve for a series of campaigns, were probably unwilling to wait for a whole year or even six months before receiving in lump sums what was due to them". They may well have been reluctant to wait for their pay, but to assume that they pressed for, and received, their pay in four-monthly instalments is to read rather a lot into the use of an imperfect tense by a fourth-century writer.

466. op. cit., p. 23.


469. *P. Aberd.* 133 was first mentioned by E.B. Winstedt, *CQ I* (1907), p. 267: "Another pronounced cursive is clearly a deed ... but it and the other Latin fragments are too fragmentary to be worth producing. One of them consists of practically nothing but the name Heliopol(is or -itanus)". E.G. Turner published this scrap in his
He doubtfully ascribed it to the third century, and described it as a scrap in "literary"cursive, containing parts of three lines in Latin. He gave the reading of line 2: *os· heliopol[iterus]. After the publication of the Berlin papyrus by Marichal in 1945 he recognized that this fragment belonged to the same roll, and was able to give the readings of lines 1 and 2. Cf. E.G. Turner in JEA, XXXIII, (1947), p. 92. Turner adds that this is one further example to be added to the list in Aberdeen Papyri p. v of pieces divided between Aberdeen and Berlin, and that, negatively, P. Aberdeen 133 is to be struck out of the catalogue of Latin literary papyri compiled by Paul Collart, Revue de Phil. XV (1941) pp. 112ff. 470. op. cit., p. 24f. 471. op. cit., p. 23. 472. op. cit., p. 80. 473. See p. 197 above. 474. Brunt, op. cit., p. 56, following Passerini, Athenaeum, xxiv, p. 155 (a work which the present writer has not seen), argues that when Herodian (iii,8,4) states that Severus was the first to increase army pay, he may be excused for being unaware of the increase under Domitian, but could hardly have overlooked an increase
under Commodus. See n. 108 above.


476. To Suetonius, Dom., 7, 3, 'addidit et quartum stipendium militi, aureos ternos' add BGU II 423, ἑλάβα βιτικόν παρά Καίσαρος Χρυσοῦς τρεῖς. Cf. p. 216 below. All the stipendia of which we have certain knowledge could have been paid in aurei.


478. op. cit.

479. loc. cit.

480. Tacitus, Hist., IV, 19: intumere statim superbia ferociaque et pretium itineris donativum, duplex stipendium, augeri equitum numerum, promissa sane a Vitellio, postulabant, non ut adsequerentur, sed causam seditioni.

481. loc. cit.

482. The Batavian demand for an increase in the number of equites on the establishment ('augeri equitum numerum') implies that the equites were of higher rank and better paid. Domaszewski, (Rangordnung, p. 58), includes the equites among the immunes of the cohort. The relationship between alares and cohortales is shown in Hadrian's allocutio (ILS 2487): difficile est cohortales equites etiam per se placere, difficilius post alarem exercitationem non displicere.
483. Cf. Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 54. But he must surely be overestimating the importance of these officers when he writes (p. 72): "Demnach erhält der duplicarius alae und duplicarius cohortis den doppelte Sold des gregarius der Legion und ebenso der sesquiplicarius alae den anderthalbfachen". He is completely ignoring the differences between the various arms.

484. op. cit., p. 36.

485. See p. 193f. above.

486. There are only three cases: Pantarchus, the conductor, has 195 denarii 8½ ob. in deposito (lines 46 and 53); a soldier from Anteopolis (lines 69 and 73) has 206 denarii to his credit; and a soldier from Oxyrhynchus, whose name is mutilated, appears to have a total of 187½ denarii in deposito. Marichal in his commentary ad loc. admits that the mention of a fraction of a denarius instead of ob(olos) XIV is unexpected, but points out that there is no other instance of this convenient number of obols in the document, and no reason, therefore, to alter the reading (denarios) CLXXXVII s(emis) into (denarios) CLXXXVIII. He adds that the final sign has both the appearance and the ductus of an s.

487. But see below p. 219.

488. This famous letter was first published by Viereck in BGU II. (Cf. also the addenda to BGU II by Deissmann, Viereck and Wilcken). It has been frequently republished.
notably by Deissmann, Licht vom Osten², p. 120ff.; Wilcken, Christ., 480; Milligan, Selections from the Greek Papyri, 36; Helbing, Auswahl aus griechischen Papyri, Berlin, 1912, p. 100ff.; Hunt and Edgar, Select Papyri I, 112. Photograph in Schubart, Papyri Graecae Berolinenses, 1911, 28.

489. See p. 195 above.

490. For the location of these detachments see Marichal. op. cit., pp. 66ff.


492. Cf. Dankfrid Schenk, Die Quellen der Epitoma Rei Militaris (Klio, Beiheft XXII, 1930).

493. op. cit., p. 65.

494. loc. cit.

495. op. cit., p. 66: "The rates of pay for cavalrymen both in the cohorts and alae must have exceeded those applicable to foot-soldiers in auxilia, but cannot be reconstructed".

496. op. cit., p. 65.

497. In an erratum (op. cit., p. 89) Marichal withdraws his suggestion (p. 60) that Pantarchus was a 'soldat-colon'. He states that Alföldi proved in "Epigraphica, III", Archaeologiae Ertéites, 1940, pp. 195-235 (a work which the present writer has not seen) that the passage in S.H.A., Alex., 58 is anachronistic: "il n'y a pas de soldats-colons avant la deuxième moitié du 11le siècle". If the
conductor was, however, simply charged with requisitioning or the recovery of monies due to the army, he would have perhaps still greater opportunities for making his fortune, legally or otherwise.

498. op. cit., p. 77f.


501. op. cit., p. 72ff.

502. Marichal mentions Berne Ms. 83, Monte-Cassino Ms. of Frontinus, Pal. Vat. lat., 1514, and Wolfenbüttel, Gudianus 105. He prints a photograph of part of the Berne Ms. (Plate III).


504. For publications see above, n. 433.

505. The absence of any mention of centuries would in itself have made unlikely the possibility of the unit being a cohors equitata.

506. op. cit., p. 48.

507. op. cit., p. 47.


509. Cf. Marichal, l.c.

510. l.c.

511. Cf. Marichal, l.c.

513. See p. 242ff. below.

514. _l.c._

515. Marichal points out also that it is in the Fayoum that _P. Hamb. I_ 39 was discovered.

516. Suetonius, _Dom._, 7. Premerstein (Klio III, p.13ff) argued that since the other restriction imposed at the same time, that two legions should not in future occupy the same camp, did not apply to Egypt, the limitation on _deposita_ did not apply either. _III Cyrenaica_ and _XXII Deiotariana_ continued to share the camp at Alexandria until at least A.D. 119. The peculiar situation of Egypt would perhaps justify an exception being made. We have no direct evidence, however, to enable us to determine whether the monetary measure was ever in fact applied in Egypt or in any other province.

517. 11, 20.

518. Almost eight years' pay for an _eques_, according to the table on p. 214f. above.

519. See above, p. 216.

520. _op. cit._, p. 57.


522. _P. Mich. VII_ 435 (= Inv. 510: provenance unknown) and _P. Mich. VII_ 440 (= Inv. 511: provenance unknown) were
published by H.A. Sanders in *Michigan Papyri VII*, 1947, with plates V and VIII b. (See n. 434 above). J.F. Gilliam in his review in *A.J.Ph. LXXI*, 1950 pp. 432ff., suggested that the similarity of content and the closeness of their inventory numbers pointed to their being part of the same roll. In a later article, "The Minimum Subject to the Vicesima Hereditatum", *A.J. Ph. LXXIII*, 1952, pp. 397ff., he discussed some of these implications of this document. Important contributions were made also by V. Arangio-Ruiz in his "Chirografi di soldati", *Studi Solazzi*, Naples, 1948, p. 256ff., in connection with Pap. 440.

523. Sanders states (op. cit., p. 35) that the marginal notation can also be read as \[\text{coh. I Fl. C.E.}\] which would represent \text{coh(ors) I Fl(avia) C(iliicum) E(quitata)}, the full title of the same cohort.

524. Cf. p. 57 above and n. 159.

525. op. cit., p. 29.

526. Cf. G.R. Watson, *JRS XLII*, 1952, p. 58. It is not impossible that the \(\theta\) is simply \(\partial\) with the bar omitted in error. The entry is written in what Sanders describes as a 'careless, crude hand'. (op. cit., p. 28).

527. op. cit., p. 36.

528. See p. 127 above.

529. See p. 138 above.
Sanders' explanation of *instar* (op. cit., p. 34), "The indeclinable noun *in|star* is read with certainty and here means "of the value of" ..." seems to ascribe an unnecessarily unusual meaning to the noun. He is forced by this interpretation to continue, "Therefore a statement of the amount, probably in drachmas, must follow, yet hardly a letter is legible". The simpler explanation, that *instar* means 'in the form of', enables us to differentiate the formulas *accepisse heredidatis instar* and *accepisse legato*.

See n. 522 above.

See n. 207 above.

Sanders suggests (op. cit., p. 31) that the use of a common camp day-book would enable the officers of the fiscus to check the amount of inheritance taxes due. It is doubtful how much weight this point would carry with the military administration.

See p. 156.

A Latin receipt in this style is P. Aberdeen 61:

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[Val]erius Albanus P. Maponio sal(utem).
[Acce]pi a te pensionem primam
[per] personam P. V [... ]ri I [...]
[dr(achmas) Au]g(ustas) et Ptol(emaicas) ducentas
```

quad-

For bibliography see *Summary Catalogue*, no. 43; and n. 147.

538. The Gnomon of the Idios Logos (P. Berlin 11650), a long document on papyrus which was found at Theadelphia, was described in *Ämtliche Berichte* 35, 1913, p. 55, (a work which the present writer has not seen), and published by Schubart in *BGU* V, fasc. 1 (1919), no. 1210, with a full commentary by Uxkull-Gyllenband in *BGU* V, fasc. 2, (1934). Extracts were published in *Select Papyri* II, 206. The most recent text with full bibliography is by Riccobono, *Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani*, vol. 1, *Leges*, Florence, 1941, pp. 469ff. The testamentary concession granted to soldiers is as follows:-

34. Τοῖς ἐν στρατεύων καὶ ἐνδ στρατεύουσιν, ἀνασκεύασθαι διά τιθεσθαι καὶ κατὰ Ρωμαίκας καὶ Ἑλληνικὰς διάθεκας καὶ Χρήσεως ὅσος βοῦ-λαντίς ὀρόμας, ἔκεις τὸν ἐν τῷ ἐρυθρῷ καταλείπειν καὶ ὅσος ἔξ[ε]τοιν.

539. See p. 47ff.


54f. Cf. H.G. Evelyn-White, "Graeco-Roman Ostraka from

542. This is most marked in one example published by Evelyn-White in which an optio makes acknowledgement to the cibariator: CR XXXIII, Ostr. 10.

\[\text{Νέφερμος Νεφέρμος} \]
\[\text{οπτιών Αλεξάνδρων και} \]
\[\text{κιριάτορι Χαλευν. Ἐλυσοῦ} \]
\[\text{παρὰ σοῦ οἴνου τρικάρμον} \]
\[\text{ἐν Χ τρίῳ βρολίν ἐκτο} \]
\[\text{τὶ ἢ φιλορετό π.} \]

Evelyn-White's explanation is that the optio was responsible for the issue of dry rations, the cibariator for wine. But in Ostr. 14 acknowledgement is made to the cibariator for salt, lentils and vinegar.


544. The surviving numbers are Z, H, Φ, I, IA, IF, IA, IE.


546. Cf. Meyer ad loc., and Tafel XIII.

547. op. cit., p. 176.


550. *P. Oxy.* IV 735, with plate V.

551. Described by Grenfell and Hunt in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XII, no. 1511. (Bodl. Lib. Ms. gr. class. c 83 (P)).

552. *P. Oxy.* XII 1418.

553. Cf. *P. Flor.* II 278.

554. See pp. 44ff.

555. For another view see Sachers in *PW* s.v. 'tabularius'. (IV a, p. 1981, no. 4).

556. *ILS* 8846 attests an ἄρχιταύβλιριος Ἄγύπτου.

557. This wax tablet of A.D. 122 was first published by Seymour de Ricci, *Nouv. revue hist. de droit*, XXX (1906), p. 478. (The present writer has not seen this publication). It has been frequently republished, notably by Bruns, *Fontes* 7, 100; Wilcken, *Chrestomathie*, 457; Dessau, *ILS* 9060; Nesselhauf, *CIL* XVI, App. 1; Calderini, *Papiri latini*, 58. Nesselhauf's text is:-
M. (scr. M' ?) Acilio Avaviola (scr. Aviola) et Pansa pridie nonas Ianuarias
T. Haterius Nepos praef(ectus) Aeg(ypti)
L. Valerio Nostro equiti
alae Vocontiorum turma
Gaviana emerito home-
stam missionem dedit

(in marg. m²...RLEGI O S S EHM DEDI PRID NON.
infer.)
(Cairo inv. 29811: prov. Fayoum). The abbreviated subscription has been variously interpreted, e.g. 1) peʃ rlegi o(mnia) s(upra) e(t) h(onestam) m(issionem) dedi, S. de Ricci; 2) L. Vʃalermo s(upra) s(cRIPTO) e(Merito) h(onestam) m(issionem) dedi,
Wilcken.
558. See pp. 38ff.
559. See pp. 41ff.
560. See pp. 44ff.
561. See pp. 47ff.
562. e.g. BGU IV 1083 (p. 52).
563. P. Oslo III 122 (pp. 70f.).
564. P. Mich. III 164 (pp. 76ff.).
566. P. Gen. lat. 1, verso, part 4 (p. 122f.).
568. BGU II 696 (pp. 157ff.) and P. Lond. 2851 (pp. 171ff.).

570. pp. 185ff.

571. pp. 241ff.


573. See p. 244.

574. See p. 12 and n. 27.

575. See n. 557.

576. It is as ex-sailors that the members of I and II Adiutrix qualified for their diplomata of A.D. 68 and 70. (CIL XVI, Dipl. 7-11).

577. CIL XVI. P. Mich. VII 441 may now be added.

578. As is shown by the Geneva archives. On the recto of P. Gen. lat. 1 we have no less than three documents, and two more on the verso. See n. 308.

579. e.g. P. Mich. III 164.