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PEACE - TIME ROUTINE  
IN THE ROMAN ARMY

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CHAPTER VII

S U P P L I E S

Severus Alexander is said to have had the motto:

"One need not fear a soldier, if he is properly clothed, fully armed, has a stout pair of boots, a full belly, and something in his money-belt."

Each unit in the Roman army would require regular supplies of food, equipment, and other items in peace-time and in war. Vegetius states that the commanding officer was responsible for arma omnium militum item equi vestes annona. Josephus, in describing the methodical routine of the Romans on campaign, states:

"All other duties are carried out with attention to discipline and security; firewood, food, and water, as required, are obtained by each party."

The need for these items was no less in peace-time, when men would have to be detailed to the tiresome and fatiguing task of securing them; indeed, one of the complaints of the rebellious legionaries in A.D. 14 was 'the collection of food, timber, and firewood'. Exemption from these fatigues was granted to soldiers who were classed as principales or immunes; that it was a great advantage to belong to this classification can be seen by the undisguised delight of Apollinarius when appointed librarius legionis, or the willingness of many soldiers to purchase an illegal respite from fatigues. (vacatio munerum) from their centurions.<sup>1</sup>

Further information on this subject is provided by Vegetius; after describing this type of soldier, he says:

"The rest of the soldiers are called munifices, because they have to carry out the munera."

He later repeats this statement almost verbatim; after remarking that officers had batmen and orderlies, he states:

"Even the regular soldiers carried into camp small bundles of firewood, hay, water, and straw. They are called munifices from the fact that they carry out these munera,"

He elsewhere mentions batmen of senior officers:<sup>2</sup>

"Soldiers chosen to see to the munera attend to the water, firewood, and food for the tribunes."

Vegetius constantly stresses the need for an army always to be very careful about its sources of supplies:

"It is particularly necessary for a general, whether stationed in a camp or a city, to take steps to see that the fodder of the animals, the conveying of corn and the other supplies, the collection of water, wood, and food should be safeguarded from enemy attacks. This can only be effected by posting garrisons in suitable positions either in towns or walled forts along the supply route. If fortifications of the old type are not available, emergency fortlets in suitable positions can be strengthened by larger ditches. Fortlets are so called from the diminutive word from forts. Considerable forces of infantry and cavalry stationed in these posts in the countryside ensure a safe supply route."

He elsewhere states that a camp should be so sited that there is always a sufficient supply of firewood, food, and water. Care must be taken that shortages should not occur of firewood and food in winter and water in summer. Indeed, should an army be away from its permanent base in winter, it should not be encamped in the same place for too long in case food or firewood run short.<sup>3</sup>

The Roman army obtained its supplies in several ways. Sometimes the soldiers would requisition them from the civilians in the provinces, but there were strict rules and regulations which were to be followed. Often the soldiers arranged to collect various supplies themselves.

Many items of supply, especially of a technical type, were manufactured by the army itself to meet its own requirements,

Several edicts issued by Prefects of Egypt make it quite clear that legally no soldier could requisition anything in time of peace without a permit (diploma) from them. However, the frequency with which such edicts were issued strongly suggests that the regulations were not always followed. The system is best seen in an edict of Cn. Vergilius Capito; this was sent from Alexandria on the 27th November, A.D. 48, to the strategus Posidonius, who had it displayed at the Theban Oasis on 1st February the following year:

"Edict of Cnaeus Vergilius Capito.

For a long time I have heard that certain unjust and unreasonable demands were being made by people who greedily and shamelessly abused their power. Now I have particularly learned from the petition of the Libyans that certain officials brazenly demand sums for their expenses and accommodation (although there are no such allowances and ought not to be any), and likewise under the title of transportation requisitions. Therefore I command those passing through the nomes, soldiers, troopers, police, centurions, tribunes, and all others, to take nothing nor make any requisition without having a permit from me. These people are to be provided with nothing but shelter, and are not to make any requisitions beyond those fixed by Maximus."

Magius Maximus, a Prefect in the time of Augustus, had originally set out the procedure to be followed in making requisitions. The list of the different military officials who might be travelling about the province making requisitions, is impressive (στρατιωτας και ἵππεις και στατορας και ἑκατονταρχας και χειλιαρχους και τους λοιπους ἁπαντας).<sup>4</sup>

The stern steps threatened by Capito seem to have been the climax

of a series of complaints; a few years earlier his predecessor had issued a similar warning:

"Edict of Lucius Aemilius Rectus.

No one shall be allowed to make requisitions on the people in the country for travelling expenses nor demand any gift without a permit from me. Each person possessing a permit from me can take sufficient supplies on paying the price for them. But if any of the soldiers, police, or officials on public service is reported to have acted in violation of my edict, or to have used force against anyone from the country, or to have exacted money, I shall punish him most severely.'  
29th April, A.D. 42"

Again it is stressed that a soldier must have a permit from the Prefect (ρηδενι εφεβτω . . . ατερ εμο[υ] διπλωματος). The Flavian emperors seem to have introduced successfully the enforcement of the regulations and it is not until almost a century later in A.D. 133-137 that a Prefect is known to have issued a public reminder about the correct procedures:<sup>5</sup>

"Edict of Marcus Petronius Mamertinus, Prefect of Egypt.

I have learned that many soldiers, when travelling through the country, without permits, improperly requisition boats, baggage-animals, and men, obtaining some by force and receiving others from the strategi through favour or obsequiousness. This results in private citizens suffering insults and abuse, and the army is accused of greed and injustice. I therefore command the strategi and royal scribes in general to furnish nothing without a permit to any person, whether travelling by river or by land, as a contribution for the journey. I shall punish severely anyone who, after this edict, is caught either taking or giving any of the above-mentioned items.

5th September, A.D. 133-137."

Other sources besides the edicts of Prefects of Egypt reveal that soldiers in other provinces not infrequently did not follow the rules and regulations prescribed for requisitioning items of food or supplies or billeting. That there should be such abuses is only to be expected; the severity of the punishment and the success in suppressing them

depended on the effectiveness of the authority of the governor and in turn of the individual commanders. Nevertheless, the vast size of the Empire made it impossible to eradicate completely local exactions and malpractices, despite the good intentions towards the provincials of, for example, Tiberius with his motto 'it is the mark of a good shepherd to shear his flock, not to skin it alive'. Even so, misconduct and threats of punishment for guilty soldiers continued. Avidius Cassius is alleged to have crucified soldiers who had forcibly seized anything from provincials, at the scene of the crime. A less drastic way of persuasion was employed by John the Baptist:

"Tax-gatherers also came to be baptised and asked him, 'Master, what are we to do?' He replied to them, 'Exact no more than the assessment.' Soldiers on service also asked him, 'What about us too?' John's reply to them was, 'No extortion; no blackmail. Be content with your pay.'"

The word John used (τα ὀψωνία) means both pay and supplies. In spite of all these steps, the misconduct continued. Tenant farmers of the village of Aragua in Phrygia on an Imperial estate complained in A.D. 224-227 at the misconduct of officials of the procurator and of soldiers who had stolen, among other things, the plough oxen. The amenities of the village of Scaptora in Thrace were its own undoing and tempted people other than ordinary soldiers; it was situated half way between two army camps, possessed excellent hot springs, and a festival took place only two miles away; in A.D. 238 they complained:

"In addition soldiers, when sent elsewhere, leave their proper routes and come to us; they also compel us to provide them with hospitality and supplies, but they do not pay us for them. Your governors also visit us, mostly to use the waters, and even your procurators."

They added that repeated complaints to governors had had no permanent

effect. Similarly, in the reign of Caracalla or Elagabalus the villagers of Euhippa complained:

"at what they had suffered at the hands of soldiers and officiales, who had left the main Imperial roads for their town."

A letter from a governor of Syria in c.A.D. 185, which is very similar to the edicts from Egypt, may well have had more effect:<sup>6</sup>

"Julius Saturninus to Phaenae, chief village of the district of Tracho. If anyone, soldier or civilian, billets himself by force in your house, inform me of it and you will receive satisfaction. You neither owe any contribution to visitors nor, since you have an official hostel, can you be compelled to receive visitors in your homes. Post this letter of mine in a conspicuous place in your chief village, so that no one may plead ignorance."

Several inscriptions from Lydia dating to the first half of the third century, perhaps to the reign of Severus, reveal how soldiers and other officials could illegally extort items and misbehave. Tenants on an Imperial estate at Aga Bey complained that κολλητιωνες and others had falsely arrested nine of them on the grounds that they were sending them to the procurators, but had subsequently released one of them on payment of 1,000 Attic drachmas. The villagers of Mendechora complained about the behaviour of collationes, frumentarii, and similar officials, who had been making illegal arrests and threatening a 'shakedown' on the village (ἰς διασεισμον της κωμης); they requested that they be punished now and made to behave in the future. The inhabitants of Ekiskuju complained at fines and burdens imposed on them by stationarii and frumentarii and at collationes. A papyrus containing accounts probably of c.A.D. 140 contains a surprising

list of expenditures: to a stationarius 2 drachmas 1 obol, a bribe of 240 drachmas and similarly a sucking pig worth 24; a guard cost 20, while 2,200 were given for extortion; two police agents (κολληγιω(v) for κολλητιω(v)) were given 100 and another one a further 100; in the second half of the year 500 and a little later 400 were listed as 'to the soldier on his demand', while further money was expended on the chief-of-police, currency exchange, and various taxes. The most interesting item is the largest that can be read, namely 2,200 drachmas for extortion to prevent a 'shakedown' (ὑπερ) διασεισμου). The use of διασειω occurs in the complaints of the people of Aragua, Mendechora, and Ekaskuju, and was also used by John the Baptist.<sup>7</sup>

Each unit would daily require a large amount of firewood for various purposes. Firewood was used in the ovens to provide the heat to cook food, and if there was one oven to each century, as is suspected at Fendoch, a substantial amount would be required each day even in summer; at Saalburg no less than forty-four ovens were discovered. At the first practice-camp constructed at Cawthorn some of the ovens had been loaded with oak scrub, which had then been set on fire, to test the soldiers' skill in construction. Wood was also used for heating purposes; often the commanding officer's house had a hypocaust as did accommodation for other officers of high rank and some rooms in the headquarters. Almost every fort possessed a bath house and large quantities of firewood would be needed to heat the water and warm the rooms.<sup>8</sup>

Vegetius frequently mentions the need for sufficient stocks of firewood. The fact that he often stresses the need for sufficient supplies in winter means that it must have been cut and stockpiled in summer. In the two lists of exercises that the troops must undergo, Vegetius mentions cutting down trees (silvam caedere) in both, and makes it clear that this is a different task from trimming timber for building purposes (materiem dedolare). Obviously this exercise would be useful for developing the physique of the soldiers (it is not mentioned under the individual items of training in Book 1), but it would also provide a large quantity of firewood that could be stockpiled for later use. Vegetius's remarks can well be illustrated by two events mentioned by Tacitus; in the autumn of A.D. 14 the rebellious legionaries listed among their grievances:

"Collecting firewood and all the other camp tasks that are either necessary or invented to keep the men busy."

This would imply that they had been engaged in collecting large quantities in the summer for use in the winter. In the winter of A.D. 57/58 the legionaries of Syria were undergoing exercises in the highlands of Armenia, which included the collection of firewood; quite clearly this was primarily intended for heating purposes, but it should be remembered that these exercises were designed by Corbulo to bring the troops up to full physical and fighting fitness.<sup>9</sup>

The overall responsibility for seeing that the unit had sufficient supplies rested with the commander, but Vegetius states that the praefectus castrorum was responsible for ligna vel stramina.

However, he does not make it clear whether he means firewood or timber or both. Tarruntenus Paternus quoted among the immunes in his list men who chop wood (qui silvam infidunt); they are mentioned in a list of specialists who worked in the fabrica between men burning lime and others cutting and burning charcoal; hence it is possible that they were concerned with the collection and chopping of wood for use as fuel in the fabrica or as a raw material for tanning or to be made into charcoal, while ordinary municipes would be sent out to collect brushwood or chop down trees for fuel for the camp in general. A morning report from Dura provides a little information; on 29th March, A.D. 233, a man described as lig(nator) balnei was:

"Sent to obtain wood for the bath, soldier 1, from the century of Nigrinus, Zebidas, son of Barreas."

At Dura his task would have been difficult, because wood was scarce in that area; indeed, when Dura had been occupied by Roman troops for a short while under Trajan, they had resorted to removing the door of the local temple to provide wood.<sup>10</sup>

Each unit would require a certain amount of chaff regularly. Doubtless the soldiers acquired some from the corn that they grew themselves on military land (territorium), but most of their requirements would be requisitioned from civilians. Often the use of the chaff is not specified:

"Arrius Ater, private, to Horus, son of Userueres.  
I have from you one load of chaff for the year A.D. 89.  
Dated: 18th October, A.D. 89."

Other receipts state that the chaff is for a cavalry regiment or

infantry battalion or military quarters (είλη, σπειρα or χωρτη, παρεμβολη). The chaff was sometimes used to feed the animals

belonging to a unit:

"I have received from you five loads of chaff for the fodder of the government camels of the cohort.  
29th June, A.D. 145."

However, a far more common use for chaff was as fuel for the baths and

consequently receipts are issued for chaff εἰς την χριαν του βαλανιου της ενθαδε σπειρης or εἰς ὑποκαυσιν βαλανειου. A typical example reads:<sup>11</sup>

"Aprius Gemellus, in the century of [ ].  
I have received from you for fuel for the baths half a load of chaff from the harvest of the year A.D. 166.  
7th July, A.D. 166.  
I have signed."

The chaff for the military was sometimes collected and supervised by civilians, on other occasions requisitioned by ordinary soldiers such as Arrius Ater and many others. However, it is clear that certain soldiers were given the responsibility of organising the supplies of chaff for their unit; consequently the receipts mention Longinus Marcianus, an infantry private acting as receiver of chaff for the baths (στρατιωτης ἐπει [σιε] του ἀχυρου παραλημτης βαλανιου). Aurelius Maximus, an equus vexillifer, in charge of chaff (ὁ ἐπι του ἀχυρου), and two men hold the rank of curator.<sup>12</sup>

As bedding the Roman army used grass, straw, heather, or bracken that they had mown, and this military use of stramenta atque herbam was noted by Varro. Both Frontinus and Vegetius mention Roman legionaries

engaged on the menial task of cutting straw. Scenes on Trajan's Column depict legionaries holding ears of corn in their left hand and cutting them with a sickle held in the right. Undoubtedly this was done in peace-time also, and it may be suggested that once the grain had been collected, the troops went back and used scythes to mow the straw for use as bedding. Indeed, four well-worn scythes, a small anvil, and several whetstones, as well as several sickles, were discovered at the Roman fort at Newstead. The demolition party engaged in dismantling Milecastle 50 (Turf Wall) in c.A.D. 125 had cut a mass of bracken and heather for bedding. According to Vegetius the praefectus castrorum was responsible for providing bedding (stramina). The pay documents of Proculus and Germanus and probably Quadratus show that a fixed amount was deducted from each instalment towards the cost of bedding (faenaria).<sup>13</sup>

The army often drew its clothing requirements from the civilians. The high standard of the clothing required can be seen in a copy of an official order made by three collectors of requisitioned clothing to a banker to pay weavers in Philadelphia; it is reproduced as figure 8.<sup>14</sup>

There are other examples of receipts for the purchase of similar items for military requirements. One dated to 8th December, A.D. 128, was issued to the weavers of Socnopaei Nesus for nineteen tunics for soldiers plus five white cloaks for the troops in Judaea. Blankets too were requisitioned at other times; late in A.D. 119 eight cloth-dealers from Heracleopolis sent a letter to the strategus Apollonius:

Figure 8

Give them as advance payment for the price of the clothing, which the Prefect of Egypt, Avidius Heliodorus, ordered to be manufactured for the requirements of:

- a) the armies in Cappadocia:
    - i) for 1 belted tunic, white, length  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cubits, width 3 cubits 4 digits, weight  $3\frac{3}{4}$  minae,  
on account 24 dr.
    - ii) for 4 Syrian cloaks, white, length 6 cubits, width 4 cubits, weight  $3\frac{3}{4}$  minae,  
each on account 24 dr.
- Total 96 dr.  
Grand total 120 dr.

- b) the military hospital:
  - i) for 1 blanket, plain white, length 6 cubits, width 4 cubits, weight 4 minae,  
on account 28 dr.

Total for the order 148 dr., but from the 28 dr. advanced for the blanket  $6\frac{1}{2}\%$  was deducted for the Imperial Fiscus. The conditions are that they will use for the clothing only wool that is fine, soft, pure white, free of dirt, and will produce the clothing well-woven, firm-textured, with finished hems, meeting specifications, without flaws, and not less in value than the advance payment made to them for these items. If on delivery there is any deficiency or depreciation in value, they shall pay on mutual security the value of the deficiency, plus taxes and expenses, and for any inferiority in quality, the balance. They are to deliver these goods promptly in the specified sizes and weights in addition to any other Government clothing requisitions that they owe.

9th September, A.D. 138.

"In accordance with a letter written to you by the Prefect, Haterius Nepos, to the effect that the two hundred blankets which Antonius Titan, optio in charge of clothing, had left, were to be valued by you and whatever price you choose to be given to the soldier sent by Titan, you enquire at what price they were requisitioned. We declare that these two hundred blankets have been valued by us and Eudaemon, son of Sotas, the representative of [ ] at 5,658 silver drachmas; that there have been paid to us by [ ] in July of A.D. 119. 4,000 silver drachmas and by Lucius Epidius, the soldier sent by Titan to collect the items, the remaining 1,658 silver drachmas; that the two hundred blankets have been delivered to [."

The last line probably stated that the blankets were to be allocated to ten cohorts. Titan's rank was probably  $\delta\eta\tau\iota\omega\nu$   $\epsilon\pi\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\tau\omega\nu$ , the optio whose specific duty it was to arrange the supplies of clothing for the legion. In A.D. 118 a military official called Chaeremon was sent to collect garments. The military papyri reveal other details of how soldiers would collect such items of clothing. The documents cited above make it clear that these items could come from some distance and that therefore the fact that in A.D. 105 cohors I Hispanorum, stationed at Stobi in Macedonia but operating in Lower Moesia, should send men as far away as Gaul to collect clothing (in Gallia vest[1]t[u]m) should cause no surprise. On 3rd October, A.D. 87, C. Julius Longus from Ausonia left with Asinius for boots. Part of the cost of vestimenta was deducted from the pay of the soldiers.<sup>15</sup>

The army would require ropes for various purposes; a receipt issued in the third century was for palm rope:

"Aurelius Agathus, centurion stationed in Acoris, through Aurelius Copretos, soldier dispatched for the purpose, to the village chiefs of the village of Philadelphia. I have received from you the full quantity of palm fibre assigned to be provided by you.  
17th August."

Another receipt records a soldier receiving palm fibre from the village of Socnopaei Nesus in A.D. 192. <sup>16</sup>

One of the vital supplies for the army would be oil. This was used extensively in cooking but also for other purposes, such as lighting and as the equivalent of soap in the baths. The best oil was olive-oil and this was used mostly in cooking. However, it is known that oil derived from many other sources was used in Egypt and presumably elsewhere as a substitute, of which oil of radishes was the most common; Strabo says that castor-oil was mostly used for lamps but that the poorer people used it as a substitute for olive-oil. In a legion six thousand soldiers would require a lot of oil for cooking and also for washing and lighting. A survey taken in A.D. 199 to provide the necessities for the troops includes 2,000 cotylae of radish-oil. Auxiliary troops stationed at Wâdi Fawâkhir asked friends to send them olive-, radish-, and castor-oil, as well as simply oil. Scientific analysis of vegetable traces on a piece of amphora discovered at Chester showed that it had contained oil, probably olive-oil. Another use of oil of radishes known to the Romans was:

"Oil of radishes removes phthiriasis caused by long illness and smoothes roughness of the skin on the face."

The illness seems to be caused by either scabies or lice, and as the Roman army is known to have received large quantities of radish-oil, it was presumably used also for its therapeutic values. <sup>17</sup>

Although the army normally manufactured its own weapons, it seems

that some of them were requisitioned from the civilians; a document of the third century records:

"Flavius Silvanus, standard-bearer, sent by the Prefect Hilarion, to the elders of the village of Socnopaei Nesus. I have received from you the allocated javelins of palm wood and have given you the prescribed price of government money."

The epitome of Dio records of the Jews under the reign of Hadrian:

"They remained quiet except that they deliberately manufactured the weapons that they had to provide, of an inferior quality, so that the Romans would reject them and they themselves would have the use of them."

Similarly, when Vespasian ordered various cities of the East in A.D. 69 to get their arms-factories busy, he was probably increasing the number of weapons that they normally supplied in time of peace.<sup>18</sup>

Each unit in the Roman army would require a large number of hides every year, as leather was used extensively in the manufacture of military equipment. Even in peace-time each unit would require a full complement of tents for manoeuvres, as both Corbulo and Hadrian had their armies use, and also in order to be prepared to be fully operational, in case it had to take the field. According to Hyginus, each legionary century had ten tents, each cohors milliaria equitata 136 tents, and each cohors milliaria peditata 100 tents. Most of the kit of the legionaries and auxiliaries was made of leather, for example, shields, boots, jerkins, sporrans, breeches, and helmets (galea) or the linings for them if they were the legionary type made of metal (cassis); they would also require a number of leather straps for many different purposes; Josephus states that each soldier carried a leather thong as part of his equipment. Part of a legionary's pay was deducted at each payment for

boots and straps (caligas fascias) which suggests that he was issued with replacements regularly, while the legionaries in Pannonia in A.D. 14 complained that they had to pay for tents and arms out of their own money. A document dated to 28th December, A.D. 144, shows that Ammonius, a soldier serving in cohors II Thracum, had had twenty denarii deducted from his pay for a share in a tent (πανικωνος).<sup>19</sup>

The army would thus need to requisition or purchase large numbers of animal skins each year. In 12 B.C. a tribute of providing hides in usus militares was imposed on the Frisians, which they continued to pay for forty years until A.D. 28:

"Drusus, because of the poverty of the Frisians, had imposed on them as tribute the provision of ox-hides for military use. No one had specified the dimensions or quality, until Olennius, a primipilaris appointed to govern them, interpreted the requirements as the hides of aurochs . . . . They resorted to rebellion for relief, and captured and executed the soldiers appointed to collect this tribute."

It seems very likely that the large number of native sites that flourished in the territory of the Votadini, were encouraged and protected by the Roman authorities to provide a convenient supply of meat and hides for the needs of the large Roman garrison.<sup>20</sup>

The papyri provide evidence for the requisition or purchase of hides by soldiers sent for that purpose. Three magistrates from Oxyrhynchus in the third century made a signed statement to Aurelius Agathus Dalmon, ὀπτιωνι ἐξ ακ(των) κο(ρνικουλαριου) of legio II Traiana, and gave it to a private of the same legion. They acknowledged that they owed hides to the military authorities for the

past three years. Although the papyrus is fragmentary, it mentions:

"Good quality, uncured hides [...] and [...] of sheep and tanned hides to the number 106 used for the manufacture of arms. [...] We shall deliver them to you or to anyone sent by you."

On 16th August, A.D. 215, Aurelius Zosimus gave two dealers in hides a receipt for the purchase of 'hides used for the manufacture of arms' and the phrase is identical to that used in the other example quoted above. On 11th October, A.D. 144, Antonius Sabinus, duplicarius of the ala veterana Gallica issued a receipt and a copy of it to three elders of the village of Socnopaei Nesus for the purchase of four goat-skins from them.<sup>21</sup>

The letters of a group of auxiliary soldiers stationed at Wādī Fawākhīr show how they acquired hides otherwise than through official channels. Valerius asked Julius to reproach Antonius about a hide; presumably he had either not sent it or it was not very good quality leather. Marcus and Apollinarius wrote to Germanus and Apollinarius that if they still wanted hides, they should write and tell them, in which case Marcus and Apollinarius would send some on. Antonius Proclus sent to Valerianus the hides of the animals he and his friends had been hunting.<sup>22</sup>

Each unit would occasionally need a supply of timber for building purposes. In a temporary or semi-permanent camp the soldiers would chop down any nearby trees for timber or use the stakes they carried with them; several scenes on Trajan's Column depict soldiers using axes,

adzes, chisels and hammers to cut, trim, and make joints in timber. One of the exercises troops underwent on manoeuvres was trimming timber to use to build their camps (materiem dedolare). In peace-time arrangements would have to be made for the supply of building timber for the permanent camps; in a turf and timber fort the timber would gradually rot and have to be replaced periodically; even in a fort with stone buildings a certain amount of timber would be required for side divisions, rafters, etc. For several reasons it is quite clear that the Roman army cut, trimmed, and stockpiled timber: both Vitruvius, a former military engineer of Augustus, and Vegetius state that cut timber had to be left for a certain length of time to season and that it should be cut only at a certain time of the year; some areas would be either lacking in suitable trees or totally without them; moreover, in a period of large scale rebuilding more timber might often be required than could be obtained locally. This is well illustrated by the turf and timber fort at Fendoch; here pollen analysis has shown that there was no suitable timber at hand and that it had therefore been brought in from elsewhere. Both here and at many other Roman military sites in Britain and other provinces the uniform shape and size of buildings and components show that posts and boards were cut to standard dimensions and the buildings were constructed using multiples of the basic pattern. Some timbers were twelve inches square and estimated to have been thirty feet long, others are six and nine inches square; a later writer mentions auxiliaries cutting and carrying timbers up to fifty feet long for building purposes. Finally, stockpiling is proved by a phrase of

Tacitus: the rebellious legionaries complained in A.D. 14 about the collection of timber (materies) and other camp tasks invented to give them no rest; there was no large scale rebuilding in Germany in the last years of Augustus, and hence the troops must have been engaged in stockpiling timber for future use. When Fendoch and Inchtuthil were abandoned, the timber was not left or burnt, but was carefully dug out and taken away, presumably to be returned to the stockyard.<sup>23</sup>

From the vicinity of Obernburg have come several inscriptions of the early third century mentioning a vexillation of legio XXII Primigenia engaged in work in the sawmills (agentium in lignariis). In A.D. 206 it was under the supervision of an optio but commanded by a centurio frumentarius; in A.D. 207 it was under the joint command of a princeps and another optio; in A.D. 212 under the supervision of a third optio. In A.D. 214 the detachment, under the supervision of a fourth optio, was engaged in cutting beams of fir (agen[s ad abie]gnas pil[as sec(andas)]). The lignaria can be identified: an earthwork at Ohrenbach has produced Roman material, but is most unlike a normal Roman fortified site, as also is the so called Limeskastell at Trennfurt; the two sites were connected by a special mountain road. However, they are both remarkably similar to mediaeval and even modern country sawmills, and if the walls were topped with logs to act as rollers, they would correspond remarkably. The third sawmill at Stockstadt is as yet unidentified.<sup>24</sup>

The person responsible for the collection of building material was

the praefectus castrorum. According to Vegetius he provided the metal tools used for cutting and felling timber (ferramenta quibus materies secatur vel caeditur). Among the tools that a legion carried in its equipment he lists picks, axes, adzes, and saws, with which timber and posts are trimmed and sawn (quibus materies ac pali dedolantur atque serrantur). Finally, he mentions among the 'craftsmen trained to construct the buildings in a winter-camp' carpenters and builders (tignarii and structores). Tacitus provides several instances of the praefectus castrorum and legionaries felling timber for building forts: in Silurian territory in A.D. 51-52, outside Arenacum in A.D. 70 (caedendis materiis). Many examples of the tools he mentions have been found at various forts such as Newstead, Saalburg, Künzing, and near Brampton, and several are depicted on the tombstone of Q. Septimius Niger, a soldier of legio XV Apollinaris, at Carnuntum.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to receiving some military supplies by purchase, the Roman army also manufactured many of its own requirements itself. The reasons for this were several: if the army made its own products, it could meet its own requirements and specifications exactly; it would cost less than purchasing the finished products from civilians; the task of manufacturing and stockpiling the supplies would help to keep the soldiers occupied in peace-time. The extensive area of the territorium that was assigned to each unit was designed to provide the troops with many of the raw materials that they would need as well as with food and fodder. Lower Germany provides a good illustration of this point.

There the military units had the use of a large area in the northern part of the Eifel mountains and on the right bank of the Rhine. In the former an inscription mentions a detachment of legio I Minervia moving hay at Iversheim in A.D. 190; at the same place in A.D. 210 soldiers of the same legion were engaged in quarrying lime and burning it in a kiln; at Mechernich a lead ingot was discovered stamped leg XVI; building inscriptions suggest that part of the south Eifel may also have been included in this area. The military zone on the right bank of the river was reserved for the agricultural and grazing needs of the units, but also included a large tile-factory and trachyte was quarried on the Drachenfels.<sup>26</sup>

Vegetius provides a very detailed picture of the personnel in the Roman army who were the craftsmen responsible for making the various supplies of all types that the army might need. He specifies that it was their duty to stockpile these various items even in time of peace. His list of these specialists is as follows:<sup>27</sup>

"The legion had in addition smiths, carpenters, builders, wagon-makers, blacksmiths, painters, and other craftsmen trained to construct the buildings in a winter-camp and the wooden towers and the other equipment for attacking or defending a site, and men who could make or repair wagons, vehicles, and the other siege engines. They also had workshops for making shields, breastplates, and bows, in which arrows, missiles, helmets, and all other types of weapon were manufactured. It was their main concern that they should always have in camp a supply of whatever the army might need, so much so that they even had miners who, after the fashion of the Bessi, ran mines under the ground, pierced the foundations of the walls, and emerged unexpectedly to capture the enemy cities."

Supporting evidence for the many craftsmen mentioned by Vegetius comes in the list of immunes given by Tarruntenus Paternus and preserved in the Digest. Several are the same: for example, artifices, fabri, carpentarii, ferrarii. Those immunes in this category include craftsmen, ditch-diggers, the master-builder, glaziers, smiths, copper-smiths, shinglers, plumbers, blacksmiths, masons, and also tanners, as well as men who burned lime, chopped wood, and cut and burned charcoal. The list also includes men who make swords, arrows, bows, the tuba, cornu, as well as men who constructed the ballistae and the firing mechanisms for such guns; others include wagon-makers and shipwrights. All these specialists were under the supervision of the optio fabricae. At Neuss most of the workshops were outside the fortress but the armourers, cobblers, saddlers, and tailors worked in a fabrica inside the fortress. In Egypt a specialist would at times be called στρατιωτης εκληρουργος.<sup>28</sup>

Some of these technical ranks are attested in inscriptions, and artefacts prove that they did in fact use their skills to manufacture various items for the use of the army. Bonosus, who was a speclararius of legio XIV Gemina, must have made and inserted the numerous panes of glass that were often put in military buildings, such as the bath house at Chesters. Almost every fort produces evidence for the work of the various smiths; in the fabrica at Bonn, for example, five furnaces contained traces of iron or copper. However, the lists mentioned above are not complete; a document dated to October of A.D. 87 shows that Plotinus could not be used for the miscellaneous duties about the camp because he was a carrarius; whether or not his duties were exactly the

same as the carpentarius, it is impossible to say, but the many wagon wheels at Newstead and the ten wheel-tires at Inchtuthil and also at other forts show that other craftsmen were employed to make wagons. Many other craftsmen are not attested by literature, epigraphy, or the papyri, but their artefacts prove that they existed. In a legionary fortress there were about 1,500 living-rooms in the barracks alone, all of which would have to be illuminated for part of the evening at least; it is therefore not surprising to find a soldier at Vindonissa engaged in making lamps, one of which carries the legend L. Pupius Masius f(ecit) mil(es) leg(ionis) XI. Each of the 6,000 men in every legion (and also all the auxiliary soldiers, of course) would require a patera; one from Strasbourg has the inscription on the handle LEG(IONIS) VIII OFFICINA.<sup>29</sup>

Among the immunes of a legion mentioned by Tarruntenus Paternus is pollio, and inscriptions, mostly of the first quarter of the third century, provide eight examples of men of this rank. Although it is not certain what job this man did, I would suggest that the word is perhaps synonymous with pellio and that he was a tanner. It is known that large quantities of cured and uncured hides were sent to the legions for the manufacture of equipment, and there must consequently have been tanners among the legionary craftsmen to prepare the hides. On 5th November, A.D. 207, a discharged scaenicus of legio XXX Ulpia commemorated the fact that aram pos[uit] intra scholam pol[iti]onum legionum IIII. Although scaenicus normally means an actor, it is worth noting that the original meaning of the Greek word σκηνη (from which the Latin is

derived) was a tent made of leather or hides. I would therefore suggest that this may well be another example of where the same Latin word is used for two separate posts in the army. A tentmaker would be a skilled immunis, although an ordinary soldier could do normal repairs to a tent, as some members of the demolition party of Milecastle 50 (Turf Wall) did in c.A.D. 125. <sup>30</sup>

Reference has already been made to the papyri which mention the delivery of cured and uncured hides to the army specifically for the manufacture of military equipment. Archaeology, particularly in Germany, has revealed evidence that the army did in fact tan its own leather. Scraps of leather found at Bonn had been tanned probably with vitriol and treated with melantaria, others at Mainz with an extract from oak-bark, those at Saalburg with unidentified vegetable matter. At Cologne the tanned and untanned hides of cow, pig, goat, dog, and horse were found. At Caersws in Wales the remains of horse, goat, and calf leather were discovered. Probably the piece of equipment that would have to be made or repaired most frequently was the army boot (caliga); the remains of such boots have been discovered on many forts, in Germany, for example, at Mainz, Bonn, Saalburg, Zugmantel, and Cologne. At Vindonissa the boots were made from two types of leather and between eighty and one hundred nails were used in each caliga; generally two or more layers of leather were sewn or laced together. <sup>31</sup>

It is in fact at Vindonissa that the most detailed examination of the leather production and products of the Roman army can be seen.

Goatskin was the most common hide discovered, although cow and calf hides were used to make boots; the tanning agent was the bark of the spruce-fir. Marks and stamps on the hides were clearly concerned with the instructions or quality for the tanning. Several examples of the tools, all of which were of steel with an exceptionally high nickel content, that were used to make the leather and turn it into the equipment were also found; they included tanning-knives, scrapers, and grooving-knives; shears, two shaped like quarter moons, and lancets; graver-lancets including some shaped like quarter moons and scrapers; there were bone punches for making both round and square holes, iron cobblers' awls with wooden handles, needles, shears, and other working tools. There were also stamps for marking the leather. Most parts of a soldier's equipment were made by the leather-workers; the lining and cheek-pieces of the helmet; the sides, back, and sleeves of the tunic, as well as breastpieces, and the neck and collar; the leather underpieces onto which the lorica squamata and lorica segmentata were attached. Other items of equipment included breeches, the fittings and fastenings of the military belt (cingulum), sword-belts, sheathes, purses, pouches, and wine-skins. Many examples of boots, apparently including a medical type of shoe, were discovered. Many parts of weapons were discovered: three different types of shield (scutum, rectangular, and oval), as well as the shield-covers mentioned by Caesar and Josephus; there were covers for the different types of shield, some with a tabula ansata with the name of the legion, the cohort, or officer, others with a bulge for the boss. For the horses, various parts of the harness as well as saddle-cloths and other horses' trappings, including attachments for

bells, were discovered. There were also numerous patches for mending purposes.<sup>32</sup>

Fragments of Roman leather military tents (papillones) have been discovered at Birdoswald, Newstead, Milecastle 50 (Turf Wall), Castlecary, Bar Hill, Balmuldy, and elsewhere. The skin used was natural calf about  $\frac{1}{24}$  inch thick. The tents were composed of a number of panels of a standard size and shape, rectangular, 2 X  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Roman feet, and triangular 2 X  $1\frac{1}{2}$  X  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Roman feet, sewn together by a variety of stitchings. It is not known exactly how many panels were needed, but calculations show that the standard-size legionary papilio would require at least fifty panels plus strengtheners of various sorts. It is estimated that one hide would provide only two rectangular panels. Quite a few of the tents had been repaired. It is thus quite clear that the provision and maintenance of the tents was one of the by no means unimportant duties of the praefectus castrorum.<sup>33</sup>

Another military rank, attested by only a few inscriptions, is ursarius. Vegetius says of the signifer:

"All standard-bearers, although infantrymen, wore smaller breastplates and helmets covered with bear-skins to instill terror in the enemy."

Germanicus in A.D. 16 disguised himself in a bear-skin, and numerous scenes on both Columns and stelae depict the signifer cloaked with a bear-skin. The cornicines also wore bear-skins and the imaginifer and aquilifer are sometimes similarly dressed. It is estimated that there

were sixty signiferi and thirty cornicines in each legion; the signiferi, imaginiferi, and cornicines of the auxiliary cohortes and alae are also depicted cloaked in bear-skins. It is thus clear that each legion - and to a lesser extent, each auxiliary unit - would require a small but regular supply of ursinis pellibus. Although the bears may well have been caught by the venatores, or the skins purchased, the title ursarius suggests that certain legionaries were responsible for catching the animals and perhaps even curing the skins. Q. Tarquinius Restitutus, centurion of legio I Minervia, set up a dedication to Diana 'because in six months fifty bears were captured'. At Zugmantel the remains of what appears to have been a bear-trap have been discovered.<sup>34</sup>

A fort built of timber would require a considerable quantity of nails in the course of its construction and even a stone camp would have some buildings constructed of timber in part. It is therefore obvious that the Roman army had a great need for nails. This is best shown by excavation at the legionary fortress at Inchtuthil; underneath the floor of the fabrica over three-quarters of a million nails weighing some seven tons had been carefully buried; they comprised 763,840 small ones of three different types, 85,128 medium size ones, 25,088 large, and 1,344 extra-large. Every one of these nails was hand-made; they were all unused and belonged to the stores. These two facts show beyond all doubt that specialists and craftsmen must have been continually employed to manufacture such items of military supplies.

There were also several pieces of slag which strongly suggested that the soldiers had smelted the iron ore. The name of the specialist craftsman who was responsible for manufacturing nails, was probably clavicularius.<sup>35</sup>

One way in which the Roman soldier was always superior to his enemy was in the quality and quantity of his armour and equipment. Reference has already been made to the various military items made of leather which were manufactured for the legionaries at Vindonissa. The list of immunes given by Paternus contains quite a few who would work in the fabrica manufacturing the different weapons and pieces of equipment; most of the ~~TEX~~VITALI of the army of Pescennius Niger who fled across the Tigris in A.D. 194, were in this category; Herodian records that it was they who taught the natives how to make and use armour and weapons of the Roman type. Such a person would be Julius Vitalis, a fabricie[n]sis of legio XX Valeria Victrix. That they actually made the weapons can be seen from the many instances of fabricae that occur in forts, or from the metal-working that took place outside them. Here the craftsmen and armourers would be able to make and repair the weapons and tools that their unit would require. In the third century the garrison of Hadrian's Wall numbered about 25,000 auxiliary infantrymen and cavalrymen; thus the number of new weapons needed each year would be considerable. Accordingly, legionary vexillations were stationed at Corbridge in the third century (and perhaps even earlier) in an ordnance factory to supply the large auxiliary garrison; in the west compound the legionaries worked in at least four workshops and the forges and

tempering tanks are still visible; javelin-heads, spear-heads, arrow-heads, spear-butts, and parts of helmets and breastplates and other pieces of armour have been found. There were also many different pieces of horse equipment. The same craftsmen also manufactured all the tools for masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, leather-workers, and farmers, as well as nails, cramps, spikes, etc. The wide range of tools and equipment needed by a unit is well illustrated by the finds at Newstead and in a room in the east armamentarium at Künzing.<sup>36</sup>

The majority of buildings in most permanent forts were roofed with tiles, which were made by the various units; many tiles have the names of the legion or auxiliary unit that manufactured them, sometimes adding that they were produced in the workshop of the unit (officina). On the right bank of the Rhine near Nymegen there was a tilerly for the whole army of Lower Germany; it is called on the tiles tegularia transrhenana or trans Rhenum and was used between c.A.D. 70 and c.A.D. 105 by detachments of three legions and at least three auxiliary cohorts. Some of the stamps on these tiles carry the names of individuals who were presumably the men who designed the tiles. The large military tilerly at Xanten is thought to have been capable of producing over one million tiles per year. However, as the bath house outside the fort at Saalburg is estimated to have used at least ten thousand floor- and wall-tiles, it is clear that the tileries must have been continually at work at a reasonable rate of production in order to stockpile for normal construction and day to day maintenance.<sup>37</sup>

Each unit of the Roman army would require a large amount of pottery, bricks, and tiles. Although it seems that some coarse pottery was obtained in bulk in the form of military contracts from civilian firms in Britain at any rate, the army mostly manufactured its own supplies of these wares. One of the technical grades in the army was that of potter (figlinarius). In A.D. 226 a group of soldiers at Bonn comprising a signifer, a beneficiarius of the legatus and another of the praefectus castrorum, and two immunes figlinarii set up an altar; it seems highly probable that they were the key personnel concerned with a pottery factory on the territorium of legio XXX Ulpia. Six years earlier at Mainz a soldier of legio XXII Primigenia also set up an altar; he describes himself as cus(tos) castel(li) figlina(rum) and clearly he was in charge of a pottery works. Julius Victor, who describes himself as mag(ister) fig(ulorum), was another soldier in Lower Germany in charge of a group of potters; he was a member of legio X Gemina at the works at Holledorn. An auxiliary infantryman was in charge of a detachment of sixty men at Drobeta in Dacia (Aurelius Meruaris milis [sic] cohortis I sagitt(ariorum) in figlinis magister super milites LX). However, the Roman army was manufacturing its own pottery a lot earlier; a stamp on one piece from Herrera del Pisuega in north Spain belongs to the time of Tiberius and reads L(UCIUS) TERENT(IUS) L(EGIONIS) IIII MA(CEDONICAE). The fact that Terentius was permitted to have his own name stamped on the legionary pottery strongly suggests that he was no ordinary potter but a master-potter. Legio IX Hispana had pottery-kilns at Scalesceugh, an auxiliary garrison at Hardknott in Eskdale. The legion at Vindonissa made its own distinctive style of pottery.<sup>38</sup>

By far the best example in this country of such works is the twenty acre depot at Holt; this was established towards the end of the first century to serve the needs of legio XX Valeria Victrix and was used intensively in the first half of the second century and thereafter on a smaller scale. The works depot consisted of five ranges of barrack-blocks, baths, and house for the officer in charge, as well as workshops and drying-sheds, and, of course, kilns; clay, potters' tools, and stamps were found. Some of the kilns were used to fire pottery, others to fire tiles. The latter included the imbrex and tegula, plain bricks and tiles of different sizes used for pavements, hypocaust pillars, drain-covers, and facing walls, box- and bridge-tiles for use in flues, wedge-shaped voussoir-tiles, antefixes, and water-pipes. The legionaries here also made pottery of all shapes, sizes, finishes, and purposes. Perhaps the best example of a works depot manned by auxiliaries is the Trajanic one at Brampton.<sup>39</sup>

Roman soldiers were frequently employed in mines, which were usually Imperial property, to produce supplies of raw materials. Such work was not popular, as might well be expected, but was widespread; this is well illustrated by the use that Curtius Rufus, who was later awarded the insignia triumphi for his initiative, made of his legionaries in Upper Germany near Wiesbaden in A.D. 47:

"Not long afterwards Curtius Rufus received the same honour, because he had opened up a pit in the territory of the Mattiaci in a search for veins of silver. The finds were minimal and in small pockets, and the hard work fell on the legionaries as they dug channels and toiled underground at work that would have been hard enough in the open. The troops were worn out by this labour; they learnt that such work was common in the

other provinces also. The men secretly composed letters in the name of the armies begging the Emperor to grant generals the triumphal honours before he assigned them their armies."

By far the most common metal mined by the soldiers was lead, which was used for two purposes: for the manufacture of artefacts of lead, as for example, the water-pipes from the fortress of Chester in the time of Agricola, and as the only source (by cupellation) known for producing silver. Men of legio II Augusta were engaged in exploiting the lead mines of the Mendips by A.D. 49, soldiers of legio XX Valeria Victrix were mining lead in south-west Shropshire and in Flintshire. Auxiliary units were similarly employed; in the third century cohors II Nerviorum stationed at Whitley Castle was mining lead from the mines at Alston Moor; as this was the most heavily defended fort then occupied in the province, the reason must have been the extensive quantities of silver stored there. The fort at Brough under Stainmore was used as a collecting point for such products from forts in the north and perhaps the fort at Caermote was used for a collecting centre for the lead from the neighbourhood. Indeed the only important lead mines in Britain which were not under military control, were the Derbyshire ones, perhaps because they were poor in silver. Similarly, the iron deposits in Redesdale, which were used in the ordnance factory at Corbridge, may have been under military control.<sup>40</sup>

Another mineral that the Roman army mined on a large scale was coal; this has been discovered at over a score of sites in the military North and Wales and is dated throughout the occupation of Britain. It was

clearly mined for two purposes: as a fuel for heating, for example, the commanding officer's houses at Rudchester and Templeborough, the headquarters at Corbridge, or for cooking, as in an oven at Mumrills; secondly, for industrial purposes, as in the workshop at Benwell and the ordnance factory at Corbridge. The coal was presumably mostly obtained by drift mining. There is good evidence to show that coal, like firewood, was stockpiled, and bunkers have been found in several of the forts. This policy of stockpiling was clearly deliberate and is strengthened by the fact that although at Benwell the supply was obtained locally, at Risingham it had to be brought a distance of some fifteen miles at least. No less than a ton of coal was discovered with lead pigs and roof tiles at the Roman docks at Chester; presumably the military were shipping it for industrial purposes. The reason for the use of coal instead of firewood or charcoal was that when a large number of units were garrisoned in a compact area for any length of time, as in Britain, suitable supplies of wood in any quantity would soon disappear. Several blocks of peat were discovered in a pit at Newstead; it may well be that units with a suitable alternative supply of peat nearby would use that to augment firewood; they would probably use the turf-cutters to extract the peat.<sup>41</sup>

There is also evidence that in Germany the troops were engaged in quarrying different building stones and also minerals in various quarries. Detachments of the legions of Lower Germany mined the tufa in the quarries at Brohltal in Upper Germany. Other soldiers were engaged in

quarrying in the Eifel, trachyte at Berkum and on the Drachenfels; in the Eifel also lime was quarried and burnt to make mortar, while lead was mined at Mechernich. Coal was found in the legionary fortress at Bonn and was identified as having been mined locally. More than a score of inscriptions written by Roman troops quarrying at Bad Dürkheim have been found. A quarry near the River Moselle was worked by vexillari le(gionis) XXI Ra(pacis) et auxilia eorum c[o]hortes V.<sup>42</sup>

Legions and auxiliary cohorts and alae all had quite a large number of draught- and baggage-animals and also mules. Each unit must have periodically required replacements of these beasts. Consequently the pridianum of cohors I Hispanorum shows that some of its personnel were away at Haemus bringing draught-animals or guarding baggage-animals and mules. Although the total amount of evidence about the system of replacing such animals is small, probably requisition was the most common. These animals would not require the very high standards and elaborate training that a charger would, but even so, certain qualifications would be necessary; in A.D. 77 C. Valerius Longus, an eques of the ala Apriana, purchased a horse from a legionary centurion called Rufus; according to the bill of sale the latter guaranteed that the horse could eat, drink, and was ita uti bestiam veterinam adsolet. One of the entries on the list of requisitions illegally made in A.D. 133-137 was beasts of burden.<sup>43</sup>

In an ala quingenaria there were almost six hundred horses (each decurio had three, each duplicarius and sesquuplicarius two each); in

a cohors equitata there were either 240 or 120 equites depending on whether it was milliaria or quingenaria. There were also 120 equites attached to each legion. It is obvious that in peace and war all these units would require a regular supply of horses each year to replace mounts that had died, been injured, or were too old for further service. The pridianum of cohors I Hispanorum veterana equitata records that several pedites and equites were temporarily absent across a river outside the province of Lower Moesia to collect horses (equatum). The papyri from Dara provide further information; the actual details of the paperwork involved are dealt with elsewhere. In peace-time, whenever a new horse was required, the commander would send a letter to the provincial governor requesting a replacement and giving details and reasons why a new horse was required. Horses were then sent to the commander with a covering note giving a description and the price of the horse as well as the name of the man to whom it was assigned. All this information was carefully entered in the records of the unit.<sup>44</sup>

Little is known of the system of supplying horses. In war-time they would be commandeered or requisitioned. In the time of the Later Roman Empire there is abundant evidence that Imperial stud-farms in Spain, Thrace, and Asia Minor, especially Cappadocia, provided horses for military use, and a corps of stratores under a tribunus (later comes) stabuli were responsible for examining the horses. Presumably the arrangements under the Principate were similar. As it is known that there were regulations governing the build, height, and age (certain

formam staturam aetatem) of military horses, it would be highly undesirable for the cavalry to rely completely on requisitioning to provide suitable remounts; therefore, to ensure a constant supply of horses fitting the prescribed regulations, the remounts must have come mainly from Imperial stud-farms. This is all the more logical when it is considered that the horses used must have been mares and geldings; the Roman military authorities could never under normal circumstances have tolerated having several stallions together, because they would fight one another, nor having a proportion of their mares in foal, thus impairing the operational efficiency of the ala. It is worth noting that Ammianus Marcellinus says of the horses of the Sarmatians and Quadi:

"Most of their horses are made serviceable by gelding, so that they may not become agitated and roused at the sight of mares, or, when in ambush, become unruly and betray their riders by loud neighing."

These nations formed a substantial part of the Roman cavalry forces, and it is difficult to believe that the Romans did not avail themselves of the advantages of gelding their male horses. Ammianus also describes the duty of the strator in his day:

"Constantianus, a strator, who had been sent to Sardinia to approve horses for military service, was stoned to death on the Emperor's orders, because he had dared to exchange a few of them."

Presumably the man who was sent to carry out the same function of militares equos . . . ad quos probandos missus in the Principate, was the strator consularis, a fair number of whom were attached to the officium of each governor. There is a suggestion that there was a small ranch (saltus) at Irchester, a Roman town situated amid rich horse-

pastures, where Anicius Saturn(inus) strator co(n)s(ularis) was stationed. In the opening years of the third century the good champaign country of the Fylde was perhaps given over to rearing the heavy horses required as remounts by the 5,500 Sarmatian cavalry in Britain. The estate was administered from the settlement at Ribchester by a legionary centurion praepositus regionis.<sup>45</sup>

In the files of cohors XX Palmyrenorum at Dura the list of men who had received or lost their horse, shows that the mounts were approved, appraised, or sealed by the consularis, or the procurator, or a dux, or praefecti; the fact that three different and obviously technical terms (probatus, signatus, and aestimatus) are used strongly implies that each term represents a different stage in the process of supplying remounts for a unit. The strong similarity of two of the terms to those used of human recruits joining the army indicates the different steps in the system of supplying horses for the Roman army. Military documents always use the term probare in a sense that clearly means a preliminary approval or selection; from Vegetius's description of recruiting it is clear that probare means a selection by means of a physical examination and consideration of the recruit's suitability. Vegetius also states that the recruit who has been probatus was given at least four months basic training and when he had passed various proficiency tests, he was signatus.<sup>46</sup>

This is the key to the remount system as recorded in the files at Dura. Several authors state that foals were not mounted or broken in

until they were at least three years old. In the Dura papyri in four of the five cases where the age of the horse is known, it was probatus at four years, in the fifth at two years. On the analogy of the recruits the probatio would consist of an examination of the points of the horse, which are described in great detail, and its age. If satisfactory, the horse would be probatus and only then would it be trained as a cavalry horse, presumably in a training establishment run by the government. Details of the training are known, but not the time it took. Once the horse had been fully trained, it would be tested and if successful, signatus. Thus the probatio would precede the signatio; aestimatus, which is used only of the procurator, refers to a valuation of the horse and presumably the aestimatio is the second of the three stages, when the military authorities were willing to buy the horse from the civilians and then have it trained. The list at Dura is clearly drawn up from letters in the files of the unit and originals are also present. To explain the three different types of action from four different officials, I suggest that the action and official referred to are those with which the cohort at Dura first came into contact with regard to each individual horse. If the suggested chronology is correct, it may well explain the recorded proportion of 10:1:2. It is worth noting that the only instance of aestimatus is also the only instance where a horse did not cost 125 denarii. Presumably the horse was valued individually and strictly on its own merits, when the decision to purchase it was taken, but a fixed price of 125 denarii was charged when the horse was assigned to a particular eques.

It seems probable that the governor was responsible in principle for all horses acquired in his province, but that in practice he delegated the task of obtaining and examining the animals to subordinate officials. Although he may well have carried out a formal inspection at least of the horses, probably the stratores carried out the detailed examination. Other documents in the archives at Dura give details of how individual troopers acquired their mounts; in November or December of A.D. 216 Postumius Aurelianus sent to some officials (probably predecessors of the praefecti) 'a cavalryman who requires for himself a horse that is to be approved'. According to the great roster of A.D. 219 Aurelius Saedus, an eques with twenty-six years' service, was on duty ad equ[u]m prob; he was clearly an experienced judge of a horse and was going either to collect a suitable horse (probatum) or to assist in the examination of a mount (probandum).<sup>48</sup>

Camels were requisitioned either temporarily or permanently. This is well illustrated by a document of the reign of Caracalla; Aurelia Taesis of Socnopaei Nesos made a declaration for registration purposes of her camels:

"For the account given for the past year, A.D. 216, that I provided two fully-grown camels for the visit of our Lord, the Emperor Severus Antoninus, I declare that after the registration and census of the aforesaid year, A.D. 216, the aforementioned camels returned, two, of which one was requisitioned by Aurelius Calvisius Maximus, centurion dispatched for this purpose in accordance with instructions of Valerius Datus, Prefect, for Imperial service in Syria in the most noble armies of our Lord, the Emperor Severus Antoninus, one, and the other camel was rejected as being unfit, one."

Two camels were temporarily requisitioned for the visit of Caracalla to Egypt, which started in the autumn of A.D. 215, and were then returned; later camels were needed for the army of Syria, presumably for Caracalla's eastern campaign. As with horses needed by the army, certain standards were required and a veterinary examination held.<sup>49</sup>

On 19th November, A.D. 161, Tasoucharion through her brother issued a receipt and a copy for money received from a decurio for two camels:

"Tasoucharion, the daughter of Sotus, through her brother Eudas, to Asianus, decurion of the ala veterana Gallica, dispatched by Volusius Maecianus, Prefect, for the purchase of camels for Imperial service.

I have sold you in accordance with this bill two fully-grown, male, white camels with the brand TA on the right rear leg, and have received the agreed price of [ ] silver drachmas."

Again a veterinary examination is implied.<sup>50</sup>

Camels were also used for military convoys. The files of an officer stationed at Babylon contained twenty letters addressed to the civilian officials of various nomes in Egypt ordering them to send camels to several collecting points where they would be received by different NCOs sent by him. An example of part of one letter to the strategus of Arabia will show the general form:

"Since the occasion of the convoy which I am about to make with good fortune is imminent, in accordance with the requisition of the Prefect either bring in person or send through one of your men to Babylon the camels which the Prefect ordered, male, sturdy, fit for convoy work, with Julius Paniscus, sesquiplicarius, who has been dispatched so that when I have inspected the animals there, the price may be paid to the man sent by you."

The letter, which is dated 22nd September, A.D. 203, closes with a threat if the camels were not produced on time at the collecting points; mention is again made of an examination and requirements in the animals (ἀρσενας και ῥωμαλεους δυναμενους ταις πορειαις ὑπερετειν) and a price was to be paid. The animals were to carry baggage (φορτια κατενεχθησεται). Paniscus was also responsible for Boubasteitos, and other soldiers who had been sent out included the centurion Irraeus Malichos for five areas, two principales Serenus and Julius jointly for three, Arrius Nemesianus a signifer for one, Julius Ursus principalis for two, another principalis Julianus for one, and an anonymous centurion.<sup>51</sup>

Although the evidence is not complete, it seems that the army was also concerned in the transporting of large columns of stone from the quarries and used camels hired for this purpose. It is known that military personnel were often engaged in quarrying or supervising other people doing the actual work. On 30th January, A.D. 163, Satabous made a declaration of his five camels, one of which was on hire 'for use in transporting the porphyry column' (προς χρειαυ του καθελκομενου κεινονος πορφυρειτικου). His brother Harpagathos made a similar declaration at the same time. In both instances the camels were on hire (ἐπι μισθοφορω. In A.D. 119 a man who appears to have been a soldier, was sent to collect as much barley as possible; a fifty foot column was being transported and supplies of barley for the baggage animals were almost exhausted.<sup>52</sup>

In the great rosters at Dura the assignment ad hostias occurs three times in A.D. 219 (one entry was later erased) and ad leones occurs seven times in A.D. 219 and four times in A.D. 222. Although it is possible that both of these may be the names of places, it seems more probable that the entries refer to animals. A large number of animals were sacrificed during the course of each year at the various religious ceremonies; from the feriale Duranum it is known that at least twenty-three oxen, twelve cows, and seven bulls were sacrificed annually, and as animals intended for sacrifice had to have certain qualities which might not be found in the beasts on the prata of the unit, plus the analogy of the modern cowboy or gaucho, the meaning of the entry ad hostias is almost certainly that several troopers were escorting sacrificial victims. Lions may well have been required for amusement in the amphitheatre at Dura or their skins for the special uniforms of the signiferi. The lions were presumably transported in cages and so the small party of infantrymen plus two troopers in A.D. 219 and three infantrymen plus one trooper in A.D. 222 would have been sufficient. In A.D. 222 a pedes probably has the assignment ma]ndra; presumably he was looking after the stalls where the sacrificial victims or lions or other animals were kept. In A.D. 222 an infantryman has the entry ]. custod[; from the pridianum of cohors I Hispanorum, where in custodia refers to men guarding various animals, it may be suggested that this soldier was similarly employed.<sup>53</sup>

CHAPTER VII: SUPPLIES

NOTES

1:

Alexander - SHA, Alex., 52.

Vegetius - 2.9.

Josephus - B.J., 3.85.

A.D. 14 - Tacitus, A., 1.35.

Apollinaris - P.Mich. 445 and 446.

vacatio - Tacitus, H., 1.46, 58; A., 1.17, 35.

2:

"The rest - Vegetius, 2.7.

"Even the - 2.19.

"Soldiers chosen - 3.8.

3:

"It is - Vegetius, 3.8.

firewood, food, and water - 1.22.

Carc must - 3.3.

same place - 3.8.

4:

IGRR I 1262; cf. Proceedings of American Philosophical Society, 98. 153ff.

5:

Rectus - P.Lond. 1171.

Mamertinus - PSI 446.

6:

Tiberius - Suetonius, Tib., 32.

Avidius - SHA, Avid., 4.

John the Baptist - NT, Luc., 3.12-14.

Aragua - III 14191 = IGRR IV 598.

Scaptopara - III 12336 = IGRR I 674.

Euhippa - Comptes Rendus des Séances, 1952, 589-599; cf. AE 1953 90.

Phaenae - IGRR III 1119.

7:

Lydia - These three inscriptions were first published by Keil and Premerstein in Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, 57.37ff, 25ff, 11ff, respectively as quoted below; text reproduced in F.F. Abbott and A.C. Johnson, Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire.

Aga Bey - Abbott and Johnson, op.cit., 142.

Mendechora - ibid., 143.

Ekiskuju - ibid., 144.

c.A.D. 140 - Revue de Philologie, XVII.111-119.

John - see n.6 above.

8:

Fendoch - PSAS LXXIII.137-138.

8 (cont.):

Saalburg - information from Dr.Schönberger.  
Cawthorn - Arch.J., LXXXIX.36

9:

Vegetius - 1.22; 2.19; 3.8 passim.  
stockpiled - 3.2,3,8.  
exercises - 2.23; 3.4.  
A.D. 14 - Tacitus, A.,1.35.  
A.D. 57/58 - A.,13.35.

10:

commander - Vegetius, 2.9.  
praefectus castrorum - 2.10.  
Paternus - Dig.,50.6.7.  
Dura - P.Dura 82.ii.9.  
Trajan - Report VII-VIII.129, n.868.

11:

chaff - Lesquier, 355ff.  
territorium - cf.Chapter VIII: Food, n.19-31.  
Arrius Ater - O.Milne 104. Probably the same soldier collects  
chaff at approximately the same time in O.Tait 1642.  
ἐλάη - O.Tait 1654, 1655, 1669, 1671; WO 906.  
ἐπέφα - O.Tait 1670, 1680, 1681, 1683.  
Χωρτή - O.Tait 1682, 1684, 1685.  
παρεμβολή - O.Tait 1658, 1659; WO 1461.  
"I have received - O.Strass. 445; cf.Ammianus, 23.2.8, who says  
that chaff (palea) was given to the animals of an army consuetudine.  
εἰς τὴν χρίαν - O.Tait 1666; cf.O.Tait 1676.  
εἰς ἑποκαυσίαν - O.Tait 1667; cf.WO 927, 936.  
Aprius Gemellus - O.Milne 108.

12:

civilians - O.Tait 1656, 1657.  
Arrius Ater - see n.11 above.  
others - O.Tait 1641, 1642, 1643, for example.  
Marcianus - O.Tait 1660.  
Maximus - O.Tait 1665.  
curator - O.Tait 1672, 1673.

13:

Varro - Ll., v.66, sv lectica.  
Frontinus - Strat.,4.1.43.  
Vegetius - 2.19.  
Trajan's - Cichorius, taf.LXXXI.  
Newstead - Curle, Newstead, 283-285, pl.LXI and LXII.  
Milecastle 50 - CW2, XXV.227.  
Vegetius - 2.10.  
Proculus - CLA 7I.A.5,16,26.  
Germanus - CLA 7I.B.5,16,26.  
Quadratus - CLA 9.5,14,23.

14:  
BGU 1564.

15:  
A.D. 128 - P.Fyl. 189.  
A.D. 119 - P.Oxy. 2230.  
A.D. 118 - P.Giess.69; cf.A.C. Johnson, Roman Egypt, 625-626 (371).  
A.D. 105 - CLA 219.11.18.  
A.D. 87 - CLA 7V.XI.3-5.  
vestimenta - CEA 7I.A.9,29; B.9,29; CLA 9.7bis,18,26.

16:  
palm rope - BGU 1612.  
palm fibre - Stud.Pal., XXII.137.

17:  
used - cf.Pliny, NH.,15 passim.  
other sources - A.C. Johnson, Roman Egypt, 3 cites and discusses them.  
Strabo - ibid.  
A.D. 199 - PSI 683.  
Wādī Fawākhīr - see Chapter VIII: Food, n.60ff.  
Chester - Journal of Chester and North Wales Architectural, Archaeological, and Historical Society, XXXIII.104.  
oil of radishes - Pliny,N.H.,23.94.  
caused - cf.G.Lapage, Animals Parasitic in Man, 221ff, 249ff.

18:  
third century - Stud.Pal., XXII.92.  
Hadrian - Dio, 69.12.  
Vespasian - Tacitus, H.,2.82.

19:  
Corbulo - Tacitus, A.,12.35.  
Hadrian - Fronto, Princ.Hist.,10.  
legionary century - Hyginus, M.C.,1.  
cohors milliaria equitata - 27.  
cohors milliaria peditata - 28.  
helmets - Isidore, Orig.,18.4.1.  
Josephus - B.J.,3.95.  
pay - CLA 7I.A.7,18,28; B.7,18,28; CLA 9.7,16,25.  
A.D. 14 - Tacitus, A.1.17.  
A.D. 144 - as yet unpublished; cf.Chapter V: Administration and Paperwork, n.54.

20:  
Frisians - Tacitus, A.,4.72; I am grateful to Dr.B.Dobson for discussion on the post Olenius held.  
Hadrian's Wall - AA4, XLII.41-64, especially 60, for references.

21:

third century - PSI 465; for the restoration as proposed here cf. JRS, LVI.243.  
A.D. 215 - BGU 655.  
A.D. 144 - P.Grenf.51.

22:

Valerius - O.Guéraud 8  
Marcus and Apollinarius - O.Guéraud 17.  
Antonius - O.Guéraud 14.

23:

Trajan's - Cichorius, taf.XX, LX, LXV, XV-XVII; TATC, 18-25.  
exercises - Vegetius, 3.4.  
Vitruvius - 2.ix.3-4.  
Vegetius - 4.26.  
time - Vitruvius, 2.ix.1-2; Vegetius, 4.25-26.  
Fendoch - PSAS, LXXIII.151.  
later writer - Ammianus, 18.2.5.  
Tacitus - A., 1.35.  
Fendoch - loc.cit.  
Inchtuthil - JRS, XLIV.84-85; XLV.122.

24:

A.D. 206 - BerRGK 40.179 (151).  
A.D. 207 - XIII 6623 = ILS 9119.  
A.D. 212 - XIII 6618.  
A.D. 214 - XIII 11781.  
lignaria - Heinrich Bingemer, 'Die Ohrenbacher Schanze' in Saalburg Jahrb., 10.29-33.  
Stockstadt - Limesführer, 118.

25:

praefectus castrorum - Vegetius, 2.10  
tools - 2.25.  
tignarii and structores - 2.11.  
A.D. 51-52 - Tacitus, A., 12.38.  
Arenacum - H., 5.20.  
Newstead - Curle, Newstead, 277ff.  
Saalburg - seen by the present writer in the museum at Saalburg.  
Künzing - Saalburg Jahrb., 21.82.  
Brampton - CW2, LXVI.1-36.  
Niger - AE 1937 174; Wiener Studien, 54.188-192.

26:

Full details and references in Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 68-70.

27:

Vegetius, 2.7.

28:

Paternus - Dig.,50.6.7.

optio fabricae - cf. Passerini, legio,609 (75).

Neuss - H. von Petrikovits, Novaesium: Das römische Neuss, 19.

Egypt - e.g. IGRR I 1246; Aegyptus, 38.152-154 cites other examples.

29:

Bonosus - ILS 9094.

Chesters - seen by the present writer in the museum at Chesters.

Bonn - Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 45.

Plotinus - CLA 7IV.b.7.

Newstead - Curle, Newstead, 292ff.

Inchtuthil - JRS, LI.160.

Vindonissa - C.Simonett, Führer durch das Vindonissa-Museum in Brugg, 114.

Strasbourg - AE 1955 105.

30:

Paternus - Dig.,50.6.7.

inscriptions - Passerini, legio, 609 (80).

job - ibid.

pellio - Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, sv pellio.

hides - see n.21 above.

A.D. 207 - ILS 9493.

actor - Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, sv scaenicus.

two separate - cf. medicus medical officer and medical orderly, ensor surveyor and quartermaster, librator hydraulic-engineer and slinger, curator acting commander and accounts-clerk, for example.

Milecastle 50 - CW2, XXXV.247.

31:

hides - see n.21 above.

Germany - K.J. Forbes, Studies in Ancient Technology, V.51,59-60 cites examples and references.

Caersws - unpublished excavation report; I owe the information to Dr.M.G. Jarrett.

32:

A. Ganser-Burckhardt, Das Leder und seine Verarbeitung im römischen Legionslager Vindonissa.

33:

J. McIntyre and I.A. Richmond, 'Tents of the Roman Army and Leather from Birdoswald', in CW2, XXXIV.62-90.

34:

ursarius - Passerini, legio, 609 (89) gives only XIII 8639; add XIII 5243 = ILS 3267, and RGK Bl.2.40.65.

Vegetius - 2.16.

Germanicus - Tacitus, A., 2.13.

legion - P. Couissin, Les armes romaines, 415-417, 422-425, 443.

auxiliary - ibid., 422.

venatores - see Chapter VIII: Food, n.30.

title - it seems unlikely to me that the job of the ursarius was to catch bears for use in the amphitheatre, as O. Kleeman has recently suggested (Bonner Jahrb., 163.206). If this were so, I would expect that there would be such ranks as leonarius, luparius, etc.

Restitutus - XIII 12048.

Zugmantel - as kindly shown me by Dr. Schönberger; it is as yet unpublished.

35:

Inchtuthil - JRS, LI.160; Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute, 200.956-968; Colvilles Magazine, 1960.

clavicularius - Passerini, legio, 608 (64); cf. TLL sv clavicularius.

36:

Vindonissa - see n.31-32 above.

Paternus - Dig., 50.6.7; cf. Passerini, legio, 609 (74ff).

τεχνιται - Herodian, 3.4.8-9.

Vitalis - RIB 156 = ILS 2429.

fabricae - AJA 64.27 cites references for Neuss, Wiesbaden, Niederbieber, Mainz, Housesteads, Benwell, Gellygaer. R. MacMullen, Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire, 24 adds Inchtuthil, Caerleon, Hochmauer. Add Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 44ff for references to Bonn, Hofheim, and Carnuntum.

25,000 - RHW, 272.

Corbridge - ibid., 149 for references. Recent excavation shows that this must have started before A.D. 197.

Newstead - Curle, Newstead, 149ff.

Künzing - Saalburg Jahrb., 21.82.

37:

regularia - RE XII.1682; XIII part 6, p.129.

Xanten - Bonner Jahrb., 110.70-109; cf. R. MacMullen, Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire, 28. For other tileries cf.

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 64.231, n.79.

Saalburg - H. Schönberger, Führer durch das Römerkastell Saalburg (twenty-second edition), 25.

38:

civilian - information from Mr. J.P. Gillam.

Bonn - BerRGK 27.103 (184).

Mainz - AE 1941 107.

Holledorn - XIII 8729: cf

38 (cont.):

Drobeta - AE 1939 19.

Herrera - Collection Latomus, 44.374ff.

Scalesceugh - R.G. Collingwood and J.N.L. Myres, Roman Britain (second edition), 238.

Hardknott - ibid.

Vindonissa - JRS, XLI.105ff.

39:

Holt - W.F. Grimes, Holt, Denbighshire: the Works Depot of the Twentieth Legion at Castle Lyons; F.H. Thompson, Roman Cheshire, 53-59.

Brampton - CW2, LXV.133-168.

40:

Rufus - Tacitus, A., 11.20.

lead - I.A. Richmond, Roman Britain (second edition), 149-154.

water-pipes - EE ix.1039 = IIS 8704a.

Derbyshire - O. Davies, Roman Mines in Europe, 11-12, 15, 150, 159.

Redesdale - ibid., 163; RR, 120.

41:

coal - for all references see Antiq.,J., XXXV.199ff.

peat - Curle, Newstead, 284.

42:

Germany - Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 116-117.

Bad Dürkheim - BerRGK 27.73-75 (80).

Moselle - IIS 9120.

43:

animals and also mules - I give a summary of the evidence in my article in Latomus, forthcoming ('A Note on P.Dura 64').

pridianum - CLA 219.ii.35-37; for my restoration m(ulorum) the discussion will be published in the article mentioned above.

A.D. 77 - PSI 729.

A.D. 133-137 - PSI 446.

44:

ala - Hyginus, M.C., 16.

cohors equitata - 26-27.

legion - Josephus, B.J., 3.120.

pridianum - CLA 219.ii.20.

Dura - P.Dura 56, 58, 97; YCS, XI.171ff.

elsewhere - see Chapter V: Administration and Paperwork, n.70-72.

45:

system - YCS, XI.171-172.

war - Tacitus, A., 1.71; 2.5.

Later Roman Empire - A.H.M. Jones, Later Roman Empire, 625-626, 671.

45 (cont.):

regulations - Cod.Theod., VI.xxxi.1.; all three requirements are given in the Dura documents. cf. Vegetius, 1 passim.

Ammianus - 17.12.2.

strator - 29.3.5.

Irchester - I.A. Richmond, Roman Britain (second edition), 96;

RIB 233.

Fylde - JRS, XXXV.15-29.

46:

Dura - these two paragraphs are a précis of a paper on the system of remounts in the Roman army, which I hope to publish shortly.

list - P.Dura 97; DPP, 296-302; YCS, XI.175-176.

human recruits - Vegetius, 1 passim.

probare - for example: CLA 215.4; BGU 696; P.Dura 89.i.14-15;

restored in CLA 219.1.32-33.

Vegetius's - 1.5,6,7; 2.19; cf. Pliny, Ep., 10.29,30.

signatus - Vegetius, 1.5; 2.5.

47:

three - Varro, R.R., II.vii.13; Vergil, G., 3.190.

points - Vergil, G., 3.72ff; Xenophon, R.E., I-III.

training - Varro, R.R., II.vii.15; Vergil, G., 3.115-117; Xenophon, R.E., III.7; VII.5ff, especially 13-15; VIII-X.

list - P.Dura 97.

letters - P.Dura 56 and 58.

aestimatus - P.Dura 97.15.

48:

stratores - see n.45 above.

A.D. 216 - P.Dura 66PP 11-13; in view of all the evidence discussed above, I think it better to take sibi as dative of the person concerned rather than dative of the agent with the gerundive of obligation; this will be in accordance with the evidence and

avoid the apparent exception caused by the latter interpretation, as voiced, for example, by R.O. Fink (DPP, 41).

A.D. 219 - P.Dura 100.xxxviii.18.

49:

BGU 266.

50:

P.Gen. 35.

51:

P.Flor. 278; cf. Lesquier, 371ff.

52:

transportation - most of the evidence is discussed in Lesquier, 370ff.

Satabous - BGU 762.

Harpagathos - P.Lond. 328.

A.D. 119 - P.Giess. 69; the man is identified as a soldier by A.C.

Johnson, Roman Egypt, 625.

53:

three - P.Dura 100.xxxvi.22,26; xlii.23.

seven - P.Dura 100.xx.20; xlii.7; xxvi.5,6; xxxi.3; xxxiv.30;  
xxxvi.9.

four - P.Dura 101.xlii.6; xiv.16; xv.19; xxxiv.28.

places - DPP, 41.

feriale - P.Dura 54.

amphitheatre - Report VI.78ff; Report IX part III.47-49.

uniforms - P.Couissin, Les armes romaines, 422.

ma]ndra - P.Dura 101.x.21.

custod[ - P.Dura 101.xxi.3.

pridianum - CLA 219.ii.36-37.

CHAPTER VIII

FOOD

The task of providing a constant and sufficient amount of military supplies and especially food was by no means the least important part of the work involved in the day to day running of army life. In time of war the troops would forage from the enemy countryside, as is frequently mentioned in literature and also shown on several scenes on Trajan's Column. The pridianum of cohors I Hispanorum veterana based at Stobi in Macedonia but operating in Lower Moesia in the Second Dacian War in A.D. 105, shows that it had men in Gaul to collect corn, across the Danube to defend the corn supply, on a reconnaissance mission, and at corn ships. The army would requisition supplies from defeated tribes or towns and receive them from allies. According to Josephus the legionaries carried with them as part of their equipment sickles to reap the crops and also rations for three days. A scene on Trajan's Column depicts the legionaries carrying their kit on a stake; this consisted in part of a string-bag for forage, a metal cooking-pot and mess-tin, examples of all of which have been discovered in this country. However, when an army was not on active service, the arrangements to supply food for men and animals were extensive and complex.<sup>1</sup>

The magnitude of the food requirements of the Roman army has generally not been realised. According to Tacitus every Roman fort in Britain, when Agricola was governor, was provided with sufficient supplies to last for a year. Even in the time of Polybius each legionary and auxiliary infantryman and cavalryman received a fixed amount of grain, and this can also be seen in Caesar's army. Calculations show that each

Roman soldier would eat approximately one third of a ton of corn each year, and that this amount of grain would occupy half a cubic yard of space in the granary. Examination of the horrea in legionary and auxiliary forts has shown that they were capable of containing sufficient grain to last for one year. The granaries at Fendoch, whose garrison was a cohors milliaria peditata, could contain a year's supply of some 250 tons of grain, the three so far found at Chester could easily hold between them 1,000 tons, while at Inchtuthil there were twice that number of granaries of only slightly smaller dimensions. According to a papyrus from Egypt, 20,000 artabae of barley, or 1,400,000 pints, which would weigh 625 tons, were needed each year to feed the horses of an ala quingenaria; this amounts to a little over one ton of barley for each horse and is remarkably similar to the amount prescribed by Polybius for the mount of an auxiliary cavalryman. If each soldier received three pounds of corn per day and the frontier forces of Britain in the third century numbered 25,000 men, then the daily consumption of corn would have been thirty-three and a half tons.<sup>2</sup>

In peace-time the army used various sources from which to obtain its food supplies. One major source was from the civilians of the provinces; this could take the form of requisitions or compulsory purchase at a fixed price; food supplied in this way could come to the army directly or via the procurator. Another important source of supply was food produced on military land (territorium or prata); this was sometimes grown by the military themselves, at other times by

civilians to whom the land was leased. A soldier could augment his supply of food from other sources: by extortion, by private purchase from inns or shops in the canabae or vici, by hunting, or from his family.

Several sources speak of the iron rations a soldier carried when on active service; these would, of course, form the basic part of a soldier's diet in peace-time. This seems to be the case with Hadrian, whose policy of keeping the troops fully trained but engaged on no actual warfare is well known:

"Hadrian himself also used to live a soldier's life among the other ranks, and, following the example of Scipio Aemilianus, Metellus, and Trajan, cheerfully ate in the open such camp food as bacon, cheese, and vin ordinaire."

This ciba castrensia will have been the same as the rations that the infantrymen of a cohort took up quickly along with their arms on manoeuvres in Numidia in A.D. 128. Iron rations on active service are mentioned in connection with generals in the second century:

"Avidius Cassius forbade the soldiers when on expedition to carry anything except bacon, hard tack, and vin ordinaire."

"Pescennius Niger gave orders that no one was to drink wine on expedition, but that they should all be content with vin ordinaire. He also forbade pastry-cooks to follow the expedition, and ordered the soldiers and everyone to be content with hard tack."

The bacon will have included fat or lard for cooking purposes. The hard tack (bucellatum) is, of course, part of the corn ration, which could be cooked into this form, although in the middle of the first century Galba had issued grain to soldiers when on expedition. Acetum

was low quality wine, which was at times mixed with water to form a drink called posca; it thus seems to be the equivalent of vin ordinaire, and even today the Italians add water to their cheaper wines to drink with meals. This was the drink that one of the soldiers in the execution squad offered Christ.<sup>3</sup>

There is other evidence that gives a little more information about the basic food of the army. Vegetius devotes a whole chapter to the care that must be given by a commander to provide sufficient supplies:

"Shortages of wood and food must be avoided in winter, of water in summer. Indeed, the need for corn, vin ordinaire, wine, and also salt must at all times be kept at a reasonable level."

Appian, describing a besieging Roman army in 151 B.C., which was suffering as much as the besieged, gives the normal diet, which is almost the same as that mentioned by Vegetius, and also the siege diet; although this is a description of the army of the Republic, it can be cited for the Imperial army as well because of the conservatism of Roman military practices and also because the Scipio cited as a precedent for Hadrian took part in this siege:

"The soldiers were worn out by the continuous watch, lack of sleep, and the unaccustomed food of the country. They had no wine, salt, vin ordinaire, or oil, but fed on wheat and barley, and large quantities of meat and hare boiled without salt, which upset their digestion."

It is worth noting that it was the excessive quantities of saltless meat and foreign food and the lack of their normal varied diet that caused the illness; corn is not here mentioned as the staple food. In 38 B.C. Herod procured large scale supplies for the Roman army:

"Immediately on hearing the request, Herod set off into the country and left Silo no excuse for departing, because he brought an unexpectedly large quantity of provisions and gave instructions to the Samaritans to bring down corn, wine, oil, livestock, and all the other provisions to Jericho, that there might be a plentiful supply for the troops for the time being."

By τα βοσκηματα he probably means cattle. Vegetius says that at the slightest suspicion of an enemy invasion, provisions should be taken inside forts: fodder for the horses, wine, vin ordinaire, cereals, and fruit for the men, while pigs are to be killed and turned into bacon, and also other animals that cannot be kept alive, are to be slaughtered and killed.<sup>4</sup>

It has been frequently stated that the armies of Julius Caesar and the early Principate lived exclusively on corn, and never ate meat unless forced to by starvation, and even then with the greatest reluctance. This is clearly an exaggeration; there are numerous literary references to Roman armies before and after that period eating other grains, vegetables, and meat, and this evidence is supported by that of archaeology, epigraphy, and the papyri. It was the difficulties that faced a large, mobile army in arranging vast quantities of fresh meat and vegetables, not inborn vegetarianism or religious convictions, that explain why Caesar's army ate corn; corn was easily obtained almost everywhere, could be stored in bulk, would keep in different climates, and could be made into various dishes. Apicius notes that in summer meat could be kept without salting only for a few days. When Scipio reintroduced military discipline to the army at Numantia in 134 B.C., he ordered that the only way the troops could eat their meat was by roasting or

boiling it. For this purpose he reduced the number of cooking utensils to the standard three, a spit, a boiling pan, and a cup. The evening meal was always either roast or boiled meat. Similarly, Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus ruled in 109 B.C. that the only way the soldiers could eat their meat was either roasted or boiled. In both cases it should be noted that the troops ate meat as part of their normal diet. Both these generals were used as models by Hadrian. Sallust notes that in 111 B.C. Roman forces received cattle and four years later they still had large numbers of cattle on which they lived exclusively for a week without any trouble. Polybius notes that the acorns of Italy were used to feed a large number of pigs, which were slaughtered specifically for the army. In his description of the camp of the Roman army there was a place reserved specifically for cattle. Varro records that the army of the Republic gave names to two types of haggis which they found in different parts of Italy. The only 'evidence' for the early Principate for a distaste by the soldiers for meat is a description of the army under Corbulo in A.D. 59; this passage has been taken out of its context, and even so, it is almost certain that Tacitus is here imitating the language of Caesar:

"Corbulo and his army, although they had suffered no losses in battle, were worn out by shortages and exertion, and were driven to ward off hunger by eating the flesh of animals. Moreover, water was short, the summer was blazing, the marches were long . . . . Finally, they reached cultivated land and harvested the crops."

Under such appalling conditions and in the middle of the desert, when they almost certainly had no salt to season the meat or wood to cook it, it is hardly surprising that the soldiers were not exactly one hundred

per cent enthusiastic at eating carne pecudum (probably sheep, which they would first have to catch); any food infection would destroy the army in a matter of hours. Similarly, the shipwrecked troops of Germanicus in A.D. 16 ate horsemeat.<sup>5</sup>

It is also necessary to examine the instances where the army of Caesar is supposed to have been very reluctant to eat meat. In 52 B.C. Vercingetorix adopted a scorched earth policy against Caesar; the crops were not ripe, all stores and granaries were burnt down, the scattered Roman foraging parties were successfully cut down, and the nearest tribes gave Caesar no grain:

"Because of the poverty of the Boii, the slackness of the Aedui, and the burning of the barns, the army was in great difficulties over the supply of grain, to such an extent that for several days the soldiers were without grain and drove cattle in from the more distant villages and so held out against great hunger. However, there was no outcry at all from the men."

Caesar simply states the obvious fact that the only food that the army could get for a considerable distance from where they were, was cattle, and so the soldiers were forced to have an all meat diet for several days. It should be noted that there were no grumbles from the soldiers about eating meat. Later that year the rebel Aedui captured Noviodunum where Caesar had stored all his grain and equipment; the grain was taken away or destroyed by the rebels. However, by means of forced marches the Romans reached the swollen Loire which they managed to cross safely; the enemy had thought the river impassable and so had not bothered to remove the frumentumque in agris et pecoris copiam:

"The army obtained a supply of grain in the fields and large quantities of cattle, with which it restocked itself."

Caesar's men did not even have second thoughts about taking both cattle - and in large quantities - and corn. At Dyrrachium Caesar's army ran out of supplies of frumentum and the corn was not yet ripe; accordingly, he offered his men other forms of food:

"The men did not object, when they were issued with barley or vegetables. Indeed meat, of which there was a plentiful supply from Epirus, they held in great esteem. The men who had been with Valerius, discovered a type of root called chara, which, when mixed with milk, greatly eased the shortage of supplies. There was plenty of this and they made a sort of bread out of it."

Although barley was normally given to soldiers as a punishment, vegetables were certainly not issued for this purpose. A vegetarian army could never be said pecus . . . . magno in honore habebant. The use of large numbers of cattle to supply meat and milk caused little comment.

Similarly, in the campaigns at Lerida, when the stock of corn from the previous year had been exhausted, the present crop was not yet ripe, and heavy rains had cut off supplies from all other sources, Caesar had no qualms at all in considering using meat to feed his army.<sup>6</sup>

To increase his popularity when he was Dictator, Caesar distributed meat to the people of Roman, as well as grain and oil. As the people in the city and the soldiers in his army were of the same social background, it is very unlikely that Caesar would have made such a gift and thus jeopardised his popularity, if there had been such a universal distaste for meat among the Italians at that time. Within a few months of Caesar's death a Roman general slaughtered and salted all the cattle

he could find in anticipation of a siege. Similarly, Hirtius in 43 B.C. supplied a besieged force with food by floating the carcasses of pecora down stream and also salt packed in jars to preserve the meat. Herod had provided τα βοσκηματα among supplies for Roman troops in 38 B.C.; his actions were designed to gain the support of Silo and his men, and he was too astute a person to have provided Roman soldiers with a food which was repulsive to them. At the fort at Rödgen, which was occupied in the last decade of the first century B.C., bones from pits which contained only Augustan material consisted of thirty-eight examples of oxen, thirty of pig, twenty-two of sheep and goats, eight of red deer, two of roe deer, and one of chicken. The early Roman fort at Hofheim, which is pre-Flavian in date, has produced evidence of oxen, pigs, chicken, red deer, roe deer, boar, goose, heron, bear, wild ox, as well as oysters and mussels. The feriale Duranum has its origins in the feriale instituted by Augustus; although the number of oxen and cows that had to be slaughtered at the various sacrifices increased in the course of the Principate, there can be little doubt that once the ceremony was over, the troops would eat the carcasses as beef. Indeed, Josephus records that at the celebrations after the capture of Jerusalem in A.D. 70:

"When all had been rewarded as he thought each had deserved, Titus offered prayers for the whole army. He then stood down to thunderous applause and turned his attention to the sacrifices in honour of his victory. A large herd of oxen were assembled at the altars and he sacrificed all of them and distributed the meat to the army for a banquet."

A similar purpose for the sacrificial killing of an ox seems to be the only solution for a strange find recorded at Ribchester:<sup>7</sup>

"Tradition also records a singular discovery at Ribchester, viz., the skull of an ox, covered with some remains of leather and studded with gold. It is very possible that such a preparation might have been used for some sacrificial purpose, and it was an idea not likely to occur to an inventor."

The basic diet then in peace-time will have consisted of corn, bacon, cheese, and probably vegetables to eat and vin ordinaire to drink; the soldier would also have access to salt and olive-oil. This must have been the standard food towards the cost of which a fixed amount was deducted from each pay installment (ad victum); the consistent uniformity of this deduction of eighty drachmas suggests that the same amount was always deducted for the basic diet as provided by the army; anything extra would be bought by the soldier out of his spending money and this would not be shown on the list of compulsory stoppages. How much of these basic items of the diet a soldier would receive each year, is not known; however, a rough indication can be gathered from the amounts specified for men working on farms: four modii of wheat in winter, four and a half in summer, one pint of olive-oil plus vin ordinaire and fish-pickle each month, and one modius of salt per year. Clearly a soldier would not receive less and in all probability more. When the amount required by one legionary for a year is calculated and then multiplied by 5-6,000 for his unit, the sheer logistic scale of the requirements is very impressive.<sup>8</sup>

However, a greater variety of food was available and would be distributed on the special days of celebration in the military calendar;

an extra deduction was made to cover the cost of the special camp dinners during the Saturnalia (saturnalicium k(astrense)). Some indication of the wide variety of foods that a military unit would use in a year is given in a fragmentary papyrus dated to late in A.D. 199; it is part of a survey undertaken to report on the various foods given as payment in kind towards the maintenance of the army:

"For since I believe that the people care for supplying our most noble soldiers with necessities, so also is it necessary to care for them."

Among the 'necessities' that can be read are wheat, lentils, hams, cattle, calves, goats, and pigs to feed the men, as well as wine, and hay and other fodder crops for the animals, and oil of radishes, which was used for cooking like olive-oil. A similar but even more fragmentary

document referring to provisions to be supplied εἰς Χριστῶν [τῶν] γυναικῶν στρατιῶν[των], is known for the year A.D. 232. In either

A.D. 121 or 123 someone in a town in Macedonia provided at his own expense

ταῖς τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος τῶν στρατευμάτων  
δοσείας παρασχόντα τὰς εἰς τὰς ἀγῶνας,

which amounted to 400 medimni of corn, 100 of barley, 60 of beans, and 100 measures of wine.<sup>9</sup>

As has been stated, corn was the basic item in the diet of the Roman troops. It could, of course, be turned into various dishes, the most obvious of which is bread, but it could also form the basis of soup, porridge, or the various types of pasta eaten by Italians today and discovered at Pompeii. Into whichever type of food the grain was to be

cooked, it first had to be ground to form flour. Herodian records that Caracalla led the life of an ordinary soldier, which included baking his own bread:

"He set a frugal table, even going so far as to use wooden vessels for eating and drinking. He ate the bread that was available; with his own hand he would grind his personal ration of corn, make it into a loaf, bake it in the ashes, and eat it."

The ashes were those in the camp ovens, numerous examples of which occur in every fort; at Saalburg, for example, forty-two ovens are known in four main groups behind the fort walls. From Mainz has come a stone implement used for stamping the camp bread; on one face it contained the name of the legion (L.XIIII.G.M.V.) and on the other three faces 7 Caecil plus the name of a different man and v; these three were presumably the men who acted as bakers in the century and v was the number of the oven. From Zugmantel has come a wooden long-handled shovel for putting the loaves in and out of the oven. Normally in peace-time the troops would eat fresh bread; it would only be a martinet, such as Ulpus Marcellus, who would deliberately choose to eat stale bread. Julian, who reverted to the practices of the Imperial army, ate porridge with the other ranks.<sup>10</sup>

The process of grinding the corn into flour would be a long and laborious one and in each unit many man-hours would be spent on this task. Each contubernium seems to have been equipped with a small handmill and each century with a larger one. Most forts have produced evidence of these; Newstead, for example, four complete sets of the contubernium size and many other fragments plus a handle of ashwood. The wheat and barley here were often ground beside a well. From forts in Germany,

especially Saalburg, the mill stones and the mechanisms have been found and restored. The larger sizes required four to six men to operate and they could grind 220 pounds of grain an hour; however, certain adjustments could have been made to vary the capacity or the number of men or perhaps even to use an animal to provide the necessary power. It is therefore not surprising that about half of the water-mills known in Roman Britain occur along Hadrian's Wall; they were built in the third century at the North Tyne, Haltwhistle Burn, and the Irthing, and there may well have been other examples. When it is considered that the British frontier contained the highest concentration of troops for its size and that they would need about thirty-three tons of grain to be ground each day, the saving in man-hours over a year by using the water-mills is obvious.<sup>11</sup>

There is further information on the bread a soldier would eat.

The Elder Pliny states:

"It is a fixed law of nature that with every variety of wheat army-bread is heavier by one third than the grain."

This can only mean that panis militaris was wholemeal bread. Authorities both ancient and modern have shown that wholemeal bread is more palatable than white bread and has greater nutritional value, as it is richer in vitamins and especially vitamin B1. At Trimalchio's banquet Habinnas said that he preferred brown bread to white because it was nourishing and prevented constipation. 'Vopiscus' states that there were two sorts of army-bread, the normal standard (panes militares castrenses) and one of higher quality, perhaps eaten by the officers (panes

militares mundos). A recipe for making bread given by Cato required only flour and water.<sup>12</sup>

A large part of the food that the army needed was levied as compulsory purchases which each province had to provide. Tacitus states that every Roman fort in Britain was supplied with sufficient food to last for a year and this must have come mainly in the form of compulsory purchase. From the description of the sharp practices previously employed by certain officials that Agricola put right in the winter of A.D. 78/79 (frumenti et tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum mollire), the correct and normal procedure can be seen: the authorised amounts were assessed by the governor; in areas lacking in grain the contributions might be commuted; in most areas delivery was made to the nearest fort. Excavation of the farmsteads in Cranbourne Chase suggested that part of the harvest was requisitioned by the Roman authorities. Both Boudicca and Calgacus are made to complain about the requisitioning of food.<sup>13</sup>

The methods by which military personnel requisitioned food from provincials could easily lead to abuse; several edicts by various Prefects of Egypt stress that it was illegal for soldiers to requisition anything for themselves or their unit without a letter of authorisation (diploma), and that any soldiers found acting without one would be heavily punished. Perhaps the best example of how the system legally worked is the receipt issued by Antonius Justinus, which is reproduced as figure 9. The receipt and its several copies with their precision and legal phraseology show that everything was fair and above board.

Figure 9

To Damarion, strategus of the Hermopolite nome, from Antonius Justinus, duplicarius, dispatched by Valerius Frontinus, commander of the ala Heracliana stationed at Coptos. I have received the measured amount from the elders of the village of Terton Epa in the Upper Paternite district of the quota imposed upon their village from the twenty thousand artabae of barley which the Prefect, Longaeus Rufus, commanded to be purchased from the harvest of the past year, A.D. 184, for the requirements of the aforesaid ala, namely one hundred artabae of barley (100 artabae), measured by the public receiving standard according to the measurement prescribed, total 100 artabae, in accordance with the division made by the officials of the nome. I have issued four copies of this receipt.

[ ] June, A.D. 185.

(Signed) I, Antonius Justinus, duplicarius, have received the measured amount of one hundred artabae of barley (100 artabae), as aforesaid.

Presumably the modius discovered at Carvoran was used to measure grain provided by the natives.<sup>14</sup>

Other receipts show that the same soldier was collecting different amounts of barley from other villages at the same time. In addition to the hundred from Terton Epa collected in June, Antonius Justinus issued a receipt in May for another one hundred artabae from an unknown village, for another one hundred from Parium in July, for fifteen from Magdola Petechontos, for another amount from Magdola Petechontos in September-November. In this or the following year Justinus issued a receipt for one hundred and seventy artabae from Ereithis. Other more fragmentary receipts record the collection at this time of three hundred and eighty-five artabae from an unknown village, of four hundred and thirty from another, of an unknown amount from Sinpetesis, of two hundred and thirty-five from an unknown village, and yet another unknown amount from an anonymous village. Several of the documents state that four copies were issued, and in fact two have survived of the receipt for three hundred and eighty-five artabae. The eight examples where the amount has survived, give an average of one hundred and ninety-two artabae, which would work out at one hundred and four receipts, each one of which had to be issued in quadruplicate. In addition there is a document to show that the civilians were also arranging the collection of barley for the ala among themselves.<sup>15</sup>

There is also an example of a receipt given a few years later by a somewhat illiterate eques for the purchase of barley:

"Didymus Argentis, trooper of the ala Gallica, to Stotoethus, son of Apygcheus, and the other elders of the village of Socnopaeus Nesus.

I have received from you the purchasable amount of barley measured by the officials, and I have given you the standard price for the two months of June and July.

21st June, A.D. 191."

There is also a receipt for the purchase at a fixed price of bread and wine from the city of Oxyrhynchus for the soldiers in the escort to the Prefect of Egypt on the 4th March, A.D. 220. The first part in Greek is for the purchase of 2,841 loaves at the price of one whole obol per loaf, plus an extra 300 at the prescribed price; the second half in Latin for 600 camp sextarii of wine at four full obols per sextarius. On 10th April, A.D. 165, Cornelius, a decurion of the ala Commagenorum, issued a receipt on an ostrakon to civilians for hay (γραστίς). Another document of the first half of the third century records the delivery of 200 artabae of barley to a centurion, a duplicarius, a sesquuplicarius, and a signifer.<sup>16</sup>

The role played by procurators in distributing the necessities of life to soldiers is aptly noted by Strabo;

"There are also Imperial procurators, men of equestrian rank, who distribute to the soldiers all the necessities of life."

Various papyri provide examples of different employees of procurators providing food for the soldiers. A papyrus from Syene dated to the second half of the second century, is a receipt made out first in Latin and then in Greek to a dispensator Caesaris or εικονοπος Καίσαρος; the Greek part runs:

"The above-mentioned Serapion, trooper, to Trethonius, Imperial Steward.

I have received from you the measured amount of my corn ration for two months for last year consisting of two artabae. I, Melanos, son of Taureinos, trooper, have written on his behalf."

There were also collective receipts; a fragmentary papyrus lists the names of four men in Latin and then gives a receipt in Greek to a Καίσαρων οἰκονομῶν οὐκέραιον for the supply of wheat for the Egyptian month Thoth (equivalent to the Roman month of September):

"Malochus, son of Manus, optio, to Victor Comarinus, Deputy Imperial Steward. The above-mentioned troopers consisting of the aforesaid number have received the measured amount of wheat for the month of September consisting of fifty artabae.  
4th September, A.D. 205."

This is followed by item pedites 7 Belei and nineteen names in Latin; presumably the missing parts of the papyrus recorded food issued to eighteen infantrymen plus their centurion Beleus Zabdeus.<sup>17</sup>

A fragmentary papyrus from Dura reveals a rather complex situation; a procurator, Aurelius Rufinus, citing as his authority a letter from the governor of Syria, asks the commander of cohors XX Palmyrenorum to compel a freedman in charge of praedia fiscalia to provide barley to equitibus siv[e] millionib[us] q[uo]d in vexill(at)ione Appadenens[is] deg(unt):<sup>18</sup>

"Aurelius Rufinus to Justillus.  
Received [day and month] A.D. 221.  
I have appended, Sir, for your information what Antonius Seleucus, Governor, wrote to me.... I ask you to compel the freedmen of our two Emperors in charge to give barley from the Imperial estates to the cavalrymen or muleteers on detachment at Appadana according to...."

Each military unit had land assigned to it which was called territorium or prata; it is by no means certain if there is any difference in meaning between these two terms, although the former is rare and the latter in many contexts has the meaning of meadow land for grazing. No less than fifteen termini Augustales have been discovered marking the boundaries between the prata legionis IIII Macedonicae and the agri of the civitates of Juliobriga and Segisamo; they are mainly situated about ten miles from the camp at Aguilar, although some are about thirty miles away. Calculations for the area of the territorium of legio XXX Ulpia at Vetera based on the distribution of stamped tiles give a length of not less than seven miles and a width of not less than two miles. However, in this instance the method used for calculating the area is not conclusive and the size of the territorium may well have been larger. At any rate, the military units of Lower Germany also had the use of a large part of the North Eifel as well as the land for a long distance along the right bank of the Rhine for the same purpose. In Britain under Hadrian the Fens were drained and the reclaimed land used to grow corn and other crops for the garrisons of the North of England. The territorium of the legionary fortress at Vindonissa was approximately nineteen by twenty-eight miles. There is also a terminalis marking the boundary between the prata of legio XI Claudia based at Burnum and the finis roboretæ. An inscription from Aquincum dated to the reign of Severus Alexander mentions baths built territorio leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis). Auxiliary units also had prata and there are termini indicating the boundary between the prata of cohors IIII Gallorum and

the lands of the civitas Beduniensium and the civitas Luggonum, which were set up under Claudius. A fragmentary inscription dated to A.D. 216 from Chester-le-Street mentions the territorium of an unknown ala. However, there is no evidence for the size of the territorium of an ala or cohors. In Egypt some revenue land was cultivated by soldiers (των δια στρατωνων).<sup>19</sup>

This land was used to provide the troops with supplies of food and raw materials. Whether or not the military actually grew the corn on this land themselves, is not clear, as the evidence is not sufficient. At any rate a vexillation of legio III Augusta was engaged in reaping hay in the time of Severus some fifteen miles from Lambaesis and it is by no means improbable that they were doing so on the territorium of their legion. A fragmentary inscription from Lower Germany dated to A.D. 190 perhaps indicates a vexillation of legio I Minervia under a signifer engaged on a similar task. It was found at Iversheim some eighteen miles from Bonn and presumably represents men engaged in reaping hay in the military area of the North Eifel. Under modern agricultural conditions the area of land mentioned above at Vetera would produce 1,500 tons of corn in one year or two pounds of corn per day for a year for 6,000 men. Calculations on the yield per acre of the native farms in pre-Roman Britain show that the five hundred bushels of corn that a legion would need in a week could not be grown on an area less than seventy acres. The different agricultural implements found at various forts were used in peace just as much as in war; Newstead provided examples of a hoe, half-spade, two half-picks (for tillage rather than

entrenching), a wooden rake, two sickles, a sickle for lopping branches, a sickle-knife, four scythes, a mower's anvil, and a whetstone; all the scythes showed considerable signs of wear and one had been patched. Near the Trajanic fort at Brampton were discovered a ploughshare, hoe, rake, two scythes, and many other tools. Other forts have produced examples of such agricultural implements.<sup>20</sup>

It is also clear that parts of the territorium were let out to civilians to farm on short leases that were confirmed or terminated every five years when a primus pilus or other senior centurion held a lustrum. It would seem probable that one of the conditions of tenure was to give or sell a certain amount of the crop each year to the legion. Examination of the small farmhouses that were built on the territorium of the legions stationed at Vetera and Neuss show that the amount of land assigned to each was comparatively small, between one and two acres per farmstead.<sup>21</sup>

It has been shown that the Roman army at all times in the Empire ate meat as part of its diet. This could be provided in various ways. Sometimes it would be provided by the provinces; mention has already been made of the very fragmentary papyrus that lists among the various foods supplied to the army of Egypt in A.D. 199 hams, cattle, calves, goats, and pigs, while over two centuries earlier Herod had provided the Roman army with livestock. A waxed tablet dated to 9th September, A.D. 29 or A.D. 116, seems to refer to the purchase of a cow by a party of soldiers for 115 pieces; unfortunately, the details are not clear. In time of war cattle were often exacted as part of the peace terms, as

from the Quadi in A.D. 173, while cattle were captured from the Parthians in A.D. 198 and cattle and sheep from the Caledonii in A.D. 209. Late in A.D. 67 a Roman force in Judaea captured 'a vast quantity of asses, sheep, camels, and cattle as booty'. The various units of the army probably also kept cattle on the prata or territorium assigned to each fort; this is the land in Lower Germany near Utrecht on which the Frisii settled in A.D. 58 and is described as agrosque vacuos et militum usui sepositos. A force of auxiliary cavalry was sent to remove them. In the same year land reserved for the same purpose near Wesel was occupied by the Ampsivarii. That one of the main purposes of this land was to be used for grazing the herds and flocks belonging to the units garrisoning the area, can be clearly seen from a speech put into the mouth of Boiocalus, the leader of the Ampsivarii: quo tantam partem campi lacere in quam pecora et armenta militum aliquando transmitterentur? servarent sane receptus gregibus. Perhaps a not dissimilar picture can be seen over a century later in A.D. 179-180. An epitome of Dio records that the 20,000 Roman soldiers stationed among the Quadi and Marcomani would not allow them either to pasture their flocks or to till their fields in peace; the Roman soldiers endured no hardships, as they had baths and provisions of all sorts in abundance (παντα ἀφθονως εἶχειν τα ἐπιτηδεια). Did the Roman troops annexe large areas of the territory of the Quadi to serve as prata for their own cattle? Presumably in winter the animals would be kept in one of the annexes which are found outside almost all forts; units on the British frontier will have kept their animals between the Wall and the Vallum.<sup>22</sup>

An army rank attested on about a dozen inscriptions is pecuarius or pequarius, who must be connected with the pecora et armenta militum. One of these (the only instance where the man is not clearly a legionary) calls the soldier medico peq(uario), while on another pequarii are mentioned among the staff of the hospital. They are also mentioned on the tariff list at the municipium at Lambaesis in the middle of the second century with beneficiarii, signiferi, and perhaps conductores. This strongly suggests that the pequarii are veterinary surgeons and at the municipium they examined the various animals at the market (the fragmentary list included ass, ox or cow, calf, pig, piglet, sheep, goat, kid, lamb). However, the rank seems to be confined to the legions and its function must have differed from that of the veterinarius and ἐπιταροί, who from their titles presumably were responsible for looking after the baggage-animals and horses.<sup>23</sup>

Soldiers were sometimes detailed to look after various animals. On 16th September, A.D. 105, cohors I Hispanorum included in its list of men temporarily absent on duties outside the province:

"At Haemus to bring draught-animals[  
Guarding baggage-animals, including sesquiplicari[  
Guarding mules (?) [."

In the last months of A.D. 216 a letter from the files of the commander of cohors XX Palmyrenorum shows that certain soldiers were acting as guards for herds, probably of sheep (]cum pecoribus esse[]). According to the roster of A.D. 222 a pedes had the assignment ]. custod[ and it is very probable that he was guarding animals like the men in A.D. 105;

the same document probably reveals that another infantryman was assigned to looking after animals in their stalls (ma]ndra).<sup>24</sup>

The evidence thus suggests that the pecuarii in the legions were responsible for looking after the animals intended as food rather than draught-animals, while in the auxiliary units ordinary soldiers seem to have been seconded to look after all types of animal, although of course the alae and conortes equitatae would have their veterinary surgeons for their horses. The feriale Duranum shows that a large number of cattle would be required for sacrifice during the course of the year: the document records that twenty-three oxen, twelve cows, and seven bulls were to be sacrificed each year, but as the feriale is not complete, the actual numbers of animals should be greater than those. Presumably in a legion the pecuarii looked after these animals also, and other soldiers in the auxiliary units.<sup>25</sup>

An excellent picture of the meat that the soldiers ate can be seen from an analysis of the bones that have been excavated at Roman forts. Figure 10 gives a list of twenty-five military sites from Upper and Lower Germany and Britain. All grades of troops are represented over a wide period of time. Vindonissa was garrisoned for most of the first century by a legion; a legionary vexillation also manned the works depot at Holt throughout the second century and others were in garrison at Newstead in the later Flavian and earlier Antonine forts and at the ordnance factory at Corbridge in the third century. Most of the other

Figure 10

	ox	sheep	goat	pig	chicken	red deer	roe deer	bear	hart	pygmy	mussel	
Vindonissa	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		elk, ibex, fish, snail
Saalburg	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	guinea-fowl, goose, bear, beaver, fox.
Zugmantel	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X			
Stockstadt	X			X		X	X	X				wild ox
Niederbieber	X		X		X	X		X	X			
Butzbach	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X			elk, fox, wolf, pike
Rödgen	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					
Hofheim	X			X	X	X	X	X		X	X	goose, heron, bear, wild-ox
Newstead	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	duck, crane, water-vole, elk, fox, badger, raven
Mumrills	X	X		X	X	X				X		wolf, whelks
Bar Hill	X	X		X		X		X		X	X	fox
Caernarvon	X	X		X	X	X			X	X	X	wolf
Brecon	X	X		X		X	X			X	X	fish, 2 types edible snail
Holt	X	X		X	X	X		X		X	X	swan mussel, edible snail
Corbridge	X	X	X	X		X	X		X			fox, badger, beaver, water vole, wild ox, mole
Red House	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					
Rudchester	X	X		X	X	X				X		edible snail
Chesters	X	X				X	X	X		X	X	cockles, limpets
Housesteads	X	X		X	X	X						
Benwell	X	X		X		X				X	X	duck, edible snail
High Rochester	X	X		X		X		X		X		fox, badger
South Shields	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	elk, winkle, limpet, edible snail
Turrets	X	X		X						X	X	
Ribchester	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	goose, swan
Waddon Hill	X	X	X	X	X				X	X		see footnote
	25	22	12	23	17	23	13	10	9	17	12	

sites were manned by alae or cohortes in the late first, second, or third centuries. Waddon Hill was garrisoned by auxiliary troops in the time of Claudius. Red House was the bath house of an ala for a few years at the end of the first century, Rödgen was occupied in the time of Augustus and Hofheim is pre-Flavian. Niederbieber and at first Zugmantel were occupied by numeri, while the turrets along Hadrian's Wall were similarly manned by low grade troops. Percentages for each individual food can easily be obtained by multiplying the total in the list by four.<sup>26</sup>

Detailed analysis of the bones of various domesticated animals discovered at various military sites gives information on the joints of meat eaten. In the turrets along Hadrian's Wall, for example, both mature and immature bones of ox, sheep, and pig were found, showing that the men ate beef and veal, mutton and lamb, pork and sucking pig. One quarter of the sheep eaten by the auxiliaries in their bath house at Red House was lamb and half the pig was sucking pig, while most of the pig remains at Corbridge belonged to young animals. Both beef and veal were eaten at Newstead, Housesteads, and South Shields; some of the cattle and pigs and over half of the sheep and goats were immature animals; at Asciburgium the pigs had been slaughtered when eighteen to twenty-four months old. At most of the sites bones from all parts of the various animals were discovered, showing that whole carcasses were consumed. The bones from the turrets showed that various joints were eaten, but the most common one found was for steaming; indeed, large quantities of beef bones had been deliberately split or broken to obtain

the marrow to form a rich stew. Appian states that the two standard ways of cooking were roasting and boiling and two of the three standard-issue cooking utensils were a spit and a boiling pan. This is confirmed by Frontinus. The vast majority of bones recovered from the fort at Little Chester belonged to oxen under two and a half years old and came mostly from the legs; this suggested that the animals had been flayed and the best meat used for roasting and the leg bones then partly stripped and stewed for broth; they had been broken to extract the marrow.<sup>27</sup>

On the whole the largest percentage of the bones of any one animal is that of the domesticated ox, the remains of which have been discovered at all twenty-five military sites. Sheep - and to a lesser extent goats - were also eaten in large quantities and the former is found in twenty-two instances, including two varieties at Newstead, the latter in twelve. Pork was also very popular and the bones or teeth of the domesticated pig were found on all but two of the twenty-five sites.

The various livestock kept by the different units could also provide them with milk and thus with cheese, which is stated to have been one of the principle items of food eaten by the troops. Varro gives recipes for making cheese, the quality of which was best when made from the milk of cows, then of sheep, then of goats. All these animals were kept at most forts and five cheese-squeezers were found at the legionary tilerly at Holt; it thus seems not improbable that the troops manufactured their own cheeses. Several examples of cheese-squeezers and also cow-bells were found at Corbridge; they may well have been military rather than civilian property.<sup>28</sup>

Hunting clearly was a common way of adding fresh meat to the diet; this is well illustrated by a letter from an auxiliary soldier stationed at Wâdi Fawâkhir in the later first or second century A.D.:

"Dear Valerianus,

Write the note to say that from the month of Agrippina until now we have been hunting all species of wild animals and birds for a year under the orders of the prefects. We have given what we caught to Cerealis and he sent them to you and the skins . . . .

Yours,

Antonius Proclus."

Antonius and his comrades had been officially authorised to hunt πάντα τα θηρία και πετ(ε)ίνα and that is why he asks for an official note (το λιβελλόν) and stresses that they were acting under the orders of the local auxiliary commanding officers. The reason why Antonius was so eager to stress the fact that they had been officially authorised to hunt was that the military legal writers state that a general must not allow soldiers to be used for personal hunting or fishing trips (ad opus privatum piscatum venatum militem non mittere). This is well illustrated by the fact that Tiberius demoted a legatus legionis for sending a few soldiers as an escort to a freedman on a hunting expedition.<sup>29</sup>

Among the list of immunes given by Tarruntenus Paternus are butchers, hunters, and sacrificial attendants (lani, venatores, victimarii). The last named clearly were men who assisted at the various sacrifices held in the religious ceremonies of Roman military life; they are presumably the people depicted at the sacrifice at Apollodorus's bridge on Trajan's Column and the Bridgeness distance slab.

It is possible that the hunters and butchers were responsible for catching and killing the animals required for the sacrifices in addition to providing a supply of fresh meat for the unit. Examination of the skulls of the cattle found at Corbridge showed that some had been killed by being poleaxed, others by having javelins thrown at them. The skull of a calf at South Shields had been poleaxed also. Among the people who Vegetius recommends should be recruited into the army are macellarios et cervorum aprorumque venatores. An inscription from Rome dated to A.D. 241 mentions a man with the rank of centurion who was custos vivari cohh p[r]aett et urbb with two Praetorian venatores immun(es). He is clearly responsible for supervising the pens in which the animals caught by the hunters were kept. A. Titius Severus, a centurion of legio VI Victrix, set up an altar to Diana when he vivarium saepsit at Cologne, probably at some time in the first two decades of the second century; the essential purpose of the vivarium as an enclosure in which livestock was kept is thus demonstrated.<sup>30</sup>

There is no conclusive archaeological evidence to identify a building as a vivarium, but a structure at Dambach and perhaps another at Zugmantel have been so described. Another probable one is at Andernach; here two walls meeting at right angles were found composed of large tufa blocks in the top of which were set at regular intervals holes to contain bars. Unfortunately, the excavations were not completed. It is tempting to suppose that one of the purposes of the annexes that occur outside many Roman forts (in this country and

especially in Scotland) was to keep the various animals in, and such light sheds, in which they were kept in winter, would leave few if any remains. Similarly the Vallum would prevent the horses of the alae and the draught- and baggage-animals of all the units in garrison on Hadrian's Wall from wandering too far away as they grazed; also they could not be stolen. At the first century fort at Asciburgium the cattle, sheep, and pigs may well have been kept in a vivarium, because only the bones of domestic animals were found; one of the oxen seems to have been imported and was not of the native breed.<sup>31</sup>

A third way in which a unit could obtain a supply of fresh meat was by using hunters. Venatores are stated by Tarruntenus Paternus to have been immunes and a vexillation of Legio XI Claudia in A.D. 155 numbered two im[m]unes ven(atores) among its seventy-five men. An inscription found at Birdoswald mentions hunters of Banna (venatores Banness(es)), probably Carvoran, where, in a well probably in the principia, were found a magnificent pair of stag's horns three feet long. Archaeological evidence strongly suggests that venison must have been a common delicacy: in the list of twenty-five military sites the remains of the red deer have been found at all except two and of the roe deer at a total of thirteen. The absence in the former case is probably to be explained by the fact that the men in the turrets were of a lower grade than the auxiliaries and were less well paid and had a lower standard of living, while the men at Waddon Hill were there for only a short time and early in the occupation of Britain; in the latter by the fact that the

geographical and topographical conditions of the environment of the forts were not suitable for this animal. Other members of the deer family that were hunted and eaten include the elk and ibex at Vindonissa, the elk alone at Butzbach, Newstead, and South Shields, while the wild ox was eaten at Corbridge, Stockstadt and Hofheim. Another animal frequently hunted was the wild boar and its remains have been discovered at ten of the forts on the list. In this instance, however, sport may have been combined with the business of hunting for food; G. Tetius Veturius Micianus, for example, set up an altar in Weardale:

"To the Deities of the Emperors and to unconquerable Silvanus, Gaius Tetius Veturius Micianus, prefect of the ala Sebosiana, willingly set up this in fulfilment of his vow for capturing a boar of outstanding fineness, which many of his predecessors had been unable to bag."

If he was stationed at Binchester, he had travelled some fifteen miles to make his catch, and N. Aurelius Quirinius travelled a similar distance in a similar quest, whereas L. Caesius Frontinus and Julius Secundus, the commanding officer and a centurion of cohors I Thracum, travelled only two miles from Bowes. The hare too may well have been hunted for sport rather than food and its remains have been found at nine of the military sites on the list. Large quantities of hares were consumed by the garrison of the Claudian fort at Waddon Hill. Presumably the seven instances of the remains of fox, the three of wolf and badger, the two of beaver, bear, and water-vole, and the one of mole represent hunting for sport rather than food, although several at least are edible, and perhaps the mole is intrusive. Nemesianus in his poem on hunting mentions hare, does, wolf, fox, ichneumon, polecat, and hedgehog.<sup>32</sup>

The Roman soldiers were also partial to sea food, especially shell fish. At twelve of the twenty-five military sites on the list both oysters and mussels were eaten, oysters alone at another five; the garrison of one of these (Mumrills) also ate whelks. It is quite clear that units garrisoned near the sea would have a greater variety of shell fish, because the opportunities to obtain them were better, although efforts were made to send them considerable distances inland. Maryport, which is situated on the Cumberland Coast, produced oysters, mussels, and snails, South Shields at the mouth of the Tyne oysters, mussels, winkles, limpets, and edible snails. However, Chesters, which is situated some thirty miles from the sea, produced evidence of oysters, mussels, cockles, and limpets, Holt on the Dee oysters, mussels, and swan mussels. It is thought that the oysters discovered at Vindonissa in modern Switzerland came from Portugal or the English Channel. Examination of the shells from Waddon Hill suggests that some of the oysters were natural and others cultivated; the site also produced cockles and an example of the species of Venerupis, which the French today still esteem as the delicacy palourde. Edible snails have been discovered at seven different sites and includes two separate varieties at Brecon; indeed, the suggestion has been made that the Roman garrison at Papcastle introduced a delicious species of edible snail (helix pomatia), which is not found anywhere else in England. On one occasion in 106 B.C. a Ligurian soldier collecting water had spotted some snails and started to collect them; in so doing he discovered a way in which a town could be captured. Clearly shell fish were a popular delicacy frequently eaten and the

large number of sites in this country that have produced evidence for them suggests that Juvenal, who almost certainly commanded a unit later stationed at Maryport, may have eaten them here himself.<sup>33</sup>

Occasionally fish was also eaten, pike, for example, at Butzbach, and an unidentified variety at Brecon. At the legionary fortress of Vindonissa fish bones were discovered and also a fishing hook with which to catch the fish in the nearby River Aare; a strong fishing hook was discovered at Richborough and was clearly intended for sea-fishing. Fish bones identified at Waddon Hill included the cod family and the Giant Wrasse, the latter is rather bony but was presumably sought because it closely resembled the Parrot-wrasse, a much esteemed ancient Roman delicacy. If  $\mu\alpha[\iota]\omega\tau[\eta]\varsigma$  is the correct reading in a papyrus, then interesting light is thrown on an incident concerning the military diet. In the early second century Terentianus, a legionary stationed at Alexandria, wrote to apologise to his father for not meeting him and explained why:

"For it was at that time that so violent and dreadful an attack of fish poisoning made me ill, and for five days I was unable to drop you a line, not to speak of going to meet you. Not one of us was even able to leave the camp gate."

He said that he had now recovered from his illness, although in an earlier letter he wrote that he had to be fed by others. The maeotes is described by an expert, however, as being delicious.<sup>34</sup>

Vegetius recommended that in the likelihood of a siege poultry should be kept, because it was both inexpensive to maintain and was

beneficial for the sick. However, it is highly probable that it was eaten almost as part of the regular military diet; that it was kept at other times can be seen from the skeleton of a domestic duck found at Margidunum, one of whose legs had been broken but reset. The remains of chicken have been discovered at seventeen of the military sites listed. Other birds that were also eaten on occasions, probably as a delicacy or the result of a successful fowling expedition, were guinea-fowl and goose at Saalburg, duck, crane, and raven at Newstead, goose and heron at Hofheim, goose and swan at Ribchester, and duck at Benwell. A wide variety of bird bones were discovered at the Claudian fort of Waddon Hill; in addition to many chickens, there were two mallards, a duck (either Gadwall or Widgeon), a small wader the size of a Turnstone or Green Sandpiper, four Rock Doves or domestic pigeons, two Redwings, a bantam, and a raven. As at Newstead this last one may be a camp scavenger. The auxiliary troops in Germany, whose commanders had frequently sent them out to capture white geese whose feathers fetched a good price, will have eaten more than their share of goose. Another reason for keeping poultry was to provide eggs and the shells of eggs and oysters are often found in the hospitals; clearly the invalids had a special diet. Egg shells have also been discovered at Hofheim (in large numbers in the barracks) and at Vindonissa. It is perhaps worth noting here that special wine was imported for the invalids also; barrels which were later re-used as linings for wells at the legionary fortress at Aquincum contained at least two examples of the stamp immune in r(ationem) val(etudinarii) leg(ionis) II

Ad(utricis) and shows that special medicinal wine was imported into that area but no duty was charged as it was for the military hospital; similarly, a graffito on an amphora at Carpow shows that it had contained a special medicinal wine for chest complaints, Vegetius states that it was the duty of every commanding officer to see that aegri contubernales oportunis cibis reficiantur, as well as receiving proper medical treatment.<sup>35</sup>

A further indication of the food and drink consumed by Roman soldiers can be seen from the graffiti and tituli picti on amphorae found on military sites. At the legionary fortress of Vindonissa amphorae have been found with tituli picti mentioning very mature wine from Surrentum (Surre(ntinum) perv(etus)), wine from Messina in Sicily (Mes(sanum) [(amphora)] XIII), and a third old wine is also attested, perhaps a form of fruit cocktail of wine infused on fruit (cond(itum) tinc(tum) [vinum] vet(us)). Green olives preserved in wine-must (oliva nigra ex defr(uto)) were also eaten by the legionaries. Another titulus reads thamni, which probably refers to tunny, although it may perhaps refer to an unidentified herb. Another vessel definitely carried beans, for its titulus records that it contained eleven amphorae of them (fab(ae) [amphora] XI). To sweeten their food the Roman legionaries used honey, and a titulus pictus found at the fortress records the contents and weight of an amphora of honey (mel[.] p(ondo) CLXXVI[.]). All Romans were very fond of fish-sauces, especially garum, to put on their food; garum, however, was very expensive and the legionaries

used a cheaper but inferior variety called muria, although they chose the best of this type: a titulus mentions first rate top quality fish-sauce that was specially piquant (mur(ia) arg(uta) ex(cellens) flo(s)), as well as a variety whose quality was not stressed (m(uria) a(rguta) LXIIII). It seems, however, that they sometimes ate garum that had been watered down; Elagabalus is alleged to have been the first Roman Emperor to serve hydrogarum at public banquets, which hitherto had been militaris mensa.<sup>36</sup>

Further information is provided by graffiti on amphorae in Britain. One written in ink on the neck of an amphora discovered in the wine cellar of the military stores depot at Richborough mentions LYMP[A]; this wine came from Mount Vesuvius and presumably was manufactured before A.D. 79. On one of the handles of an amphora at Newstead was scratched VIN(UM), while at Mumrills a vessel had contained sweet wine (GLVK[VS] (OINOS)) and another at Carpow a special medicinal wine for chest complaints (IIPALI[ ]). An amphora found in Tower 16b on the Cumberland coast had come from Esuris in Lusitania and had contained something that was unsalted, probably olives (INSULSAI[ ]). An amphora from Brough-on-Noe had contained plums (PRVN[A]). Another amphora, which was discovered at Caerleon, had contained Aminean wine (AMINE); this was a high quality white wine which kept well.

Excavation at Dura produced similar evidence for the food. A dipinto on one jar and a graffito on another seem to indicate the name

of a soldier and the number of measures of white grain he had received for his rations. A dipinto on a sherd found in the palace of the dux shows that the vessel had been sent from the village of Banabel and had probably contained wine sent as part of the annona. Graffiti scratched on the walls round the pantry there mention hay and a list of dates in inverse order, another is a receipt for two different amounts of barley and also corn and contained at least thirty-seven tallies below it, another records payment for new cheeses and another type of cheese.<sup>38</sup>

The diet of the Roman soldiers also included fruit and nuts. It will be remembered that Vegetius had advised that if there was the prospect of a siege, large quantities of fruit of various sorts should be collected and stored for food. This is perhaps best illustrated in peace-time at Vindonissa, a legionary fortress for most of the first century A.D. The garrison there ate apples, pears, plums, cherries, peaches, grapes, and elderberries; nut kernels discovered there included the sweet chestnut, walnut, hazelnut, and beechnut. At Saalburg, where the garrison was cohors II Raetorum c R from the reign of Hadrian onwards, the following fruit stones and nut kernels were found: plum, damson, wild cherry, peach, walnut, and hazelnut. All these plants grow quite happily in the area today, although the walnut and peach would require a south-facing slope; presumably they were also grown locally in the Roman era. In Britain an amphora of plums was sent probably from Spain to Brough-on-Noe. The troops at Newstead ate hazelnuts and it is known that the hazel was indigenous there in

Roman times and so the nuts were presumably acquired locally; it is also known that brambles and wild strawberries grew near Newstead and the remains have been found in the fort. The troops at Bar Hill ate walnuts (probably grown locally because they were stunted) and hazelnuts. The legionaries at Holt ate hazelnuts and sloes, both of which were probably picked locally; the troops at Slack ate hazelnuts, those at Castleshaw hazelnuts and sloes. The auxiliary troops manning the fort at Caersws ate cherries and blackberries; although the latter may well have been picked locally, it is known that the cherry was introduced to Britain by the Romans and so in this instance may well have been sent to the fort as part of the annona. Frontinus records that on one occasion in the Republic a Roman army had fed a besieged town by floating nuts down stream to it.<sup>39</sup>

The Roman army also ate vegetables of several varieties, but by far the most common were beans and lentils. They are mentioned on the list of food provided by villages of Egypt for the Roman army in A.D. 199 and a receipt on an ostrakon, probably of the second half of the second century, records that they were supplied to the ala Heracliana. An amphora found at Vindonissa is shown by its titulus pictus to have contained beans. It will be remembered that Caesar gave his troops vegetables.<sup>40</sup>

Archaeology has yielded evidence to confirm the literary and papyrological statements about grain and vegetables. At Castlecary

as much as one hundred quarters of wheat were found, at Ribchester the charred remains of barley lying to a depth of two to three inches were discovered in one granary and a lesser quantity in another; a large quantity of blackened wheat was found at Westerwood, perhaps in a granary. At Newstead the remains of wheat, chaff, weeds, and barley were identified. Caersws produced unidentified vegetable remains, while at Caerleon a considerable variety of grains as well as lentils and horsebeans were imported from the Continent. In the Agricolan granary at Ambleside a layer of wheat was found in an area measuring twenty-five feet by six feet and it was three inches deep. At Papcastle wheat was discovered in an area measuring twelve yards by two yards and in places it was two feet deep. Similar finds have been made abroad: wheat at Saalburg, large quantities of wheat and a vegetable that was probably peas at Hofheim, and peas, lentils, and carrots at Vindonissa. A cabbage stalk was discovered in the late fort at Chesterholm; presumably this vegetable must have been grown in Britain before then too. Clearly grain was kept in the granaries which were specially designed to maintain an even cool temperature. Other foods might well be kept there; at Vindonissa amphorae were re-used as a sort of larder to keep food cool. At Richborough there was a special wine cellar in which oysters were also kept. At some legionary fortresses such as Inchtuthil and Neuss the main roads were lined with stores buildings. It is quite clear that the soldiers received a reasonable amount of fresh fruit and vegetables. There is only one recorded instance of a Roman army suffering from scurvy; this occurred in A.D. 16 when the troops of

Germanicus had been operating in the marshes and forests of Germany and later sailed home; obviously it was then impossible to obtain supplies of fresh fruit and vegetables in sufficient quantity. Pliny the Elder records that the troops were cured by taking a decoction of dock and an inscription on the lid of a medicine box at the fort of Haltern records that it contained this very preparation (e radice Britannica).<sup>41</sup>

One of the most interesting finds was at Caerleon. In a store hut in the military annexe dated to the Flavian era and lying south of the fortress the carbonised remains of various grains and other vegetable matter were discovered amounting to about one litre in all: cultivated barley and also a little wild barley, spelt, rye, and wheat, while both cultivated and wild oats were found, apparently as weeds rather than food, and also lentils, horsebeans, and various weeds. Most of these weeds were not indigenous to Britain and so must have been imported with the cereals; it seems probable that the Romans introduced both the lentils and rye with the intention of growing them. There was good evidence to show that germination in the grain had been deliberately induced and then, as the next stage in the process of malting, the germ was to be killed by mild roasting; unfortunately the roasting, probably using straw, got out of hand and the store hut was set on fire. Clearly beer (cervesa) must have been a favourite drink of Roman troops; the discharged miles of the classis Germanicus at the close of the first century who decided to become a negotiator cervesarius, knew how large the military market was; many soldiers must have had the same philosophy

about life as T. Cissonius, a veteran of legio V Gallica, whose epitaph was dum vixi, bibi libenter; bibite vos qui vivitis. It may perhaps be translated:<sup>42</sup>

"While living, I'm drinking,  
Now I'm dead, you drink instead."

Wherever a unit of the Roman army settled for any length of time traders and others would soon come to provide the troops with some of the amenities that the service did not provide. This is true of the army of the Republic and Caesar no less than that of the Principate. In A.D. 69 the extra-mural settlement outside Vetera could be described as in modum municipii, while in A.D. 131 Arrian commented on the settlement outside Phasis composed of veterans and traders. Archaeology has revealed traces of shops and taverns in the canabae or vicus outside almost every fort, in which the men on garrison could purchase their luxuries in food and other items; Hadrian is reported to have been strict about the places for eating and drinking outside the forts, while Fronto records of the army of the East that it had spent more time in the beer-gardens than in camp. A painting in a thermopolium in the street of Mercury at Pompeii depicts a soldier with a lance wearing a long cloak and holding in his outstretched hand a very tall glass; he says to the innkeeper, who is about to pour something into this, 'Just a dash of water!' (da fridam pusillum).<sup>43</sup>

Just as the small traders provided the extras for the personal consumption and use of the soldiers, so in peace-time contracts for

providing certain supplies in-bulk may well have been awarded to civilian merchants. This can be clearly seen, for example, in the provision of supplies of coarse pottery for the army and probably also for certain items in the diet of the soldiers. This is well illustrated in the third century when a strong connection can be shown between merchants bringing in wine from Aquitania to York; Aurelius Lunaris and Verecundius Diogenes probably had contracts for supplying wine in large wooden barrels for the army of Lower Britain. This system may well have been employed even earlier, because casks almost certainly for wine have been discovered at Newstead and Bar Hill and many other forts. The wording on the stamps branded on the barrels at Aquincum almost certainly proves that the wine (three casks each capable of containing some thirteen hundredweight of wine) was sent by merchants under contract. Similarly, supplies of olive oil in the first and second centuries were probably sent from Spain to Britain under contract. The negotiatores salsari leguminari (if that is the correct expansion) may well have supplied the troops at Vindonissa with their vegetables.<sup>44</sup>

It is clear that a large number of men in each unit of the Roman army would be concerned in some way with the collection or distribution of food supplies for the troops or with making the necessary charges, payments, and records. The overall responsibility, according to Vegetius, rested with the general, as has already been quoted. He elsewhere states that the legatus legionis was responsible for the food supply for his men, as well as for weapons, horses, and clothing.

The importance of this task is also emphasised by Macer; they are both probably drawing on Tarruntenus Paternus as their source. Among the duties of a commanding officer are:

"To be present at the meal times of the soldiers, to test the quality of the food, to keep the quartermasters from cheating."

There is supporting evidence for the commander's responsibility of frumentationibus commilitonum interesse, frumentum probare, menses fraudem coercere. A fragmentary letter from the governor of Syria to the commander of cohors XX Palmyrenorum dated c.A.D. 216 gave instructions concerning the prescribed regulations that were to be observed over the unit's frumentatio; it appears to conclude with references to supplying, utensils, a measure of five, corn, sickles, and sieves. Inscriptions mention legionaries who held the rank of ensor frumenti and also ensor tritici, who were the quartermasters responsible for measuring out the corn or wheat ration to the soldiers. Archaeology provides examples of the utensils used. A bronze weight discovered in the Danube had the name of legio I Italica on the top with the weight (X) and on the side an inscription stating that L. Julius Lucilianus had examined and certified that the weight was correct. A bronze steelyard found at Wroxeter had been used by three different centuries; a steelyard and weights were found at Newstead. The modius discovered at Carvoran may have been used to allocate food to centuries.<sup>45 15</sup>

Various receipts show that soldiers could receive supplies from other soldiers whose normal job it was to arrange this. Although receipts were normally issued individually or to one officer on behalf

of his men, they were sometimes collected together. An example has survived of the receipt-book for the ala Veterana Gallica. This is a roll containing sixty-seven receipts issued by various members of that unit to L. Julius Serenus, the summus curator; each man acknowledges receiving his hay allowance (κραστις (misspelling of γραστις) or faenarium). The receipts were listed in chronological order from 9th January to 10th April, A.D. 179. A typical example is quoted:

"Heliodorus, son of Serenus, trooper in the ala Gallica, in the troop of Ammonianus, and Julius Serenus, trooper in the same troop of the same ala, to Serenus, summus curator. We have received in advance from you on setting out for Euc Bucolia our hay allowance being twenty-five denarii each on 18th January, A.D. 179. I, Achilles, trooper in the same ala in the troop of Herodianus, have written for them at their request, because Heliodorus writes with difficulty. (Signed) I, Heliodorus, have received it as aforesaid."

In three instances acknowledgement is made for the receipt of epulum of ten denarii eight obols.<sup>46</sup>

A soldier who describes himself as procurator gives a receipt to conductoribus feneris for hay supplied by them; it is in very poor Latin and this has resulted in the past in some difficulties of interpretation. However, the title procurator is quite unofficial; it is not a military rank nor has it anything to do with the Imperial Procuratorial service. Here it quite clearly means that Serenus was responsible for managing the distribution of supplies to his turma; it may well be that this duty was later assigned to a man whose rank was curator, four of whom are attested in the same ala half a century later. The conductores appear to have been soldiers whose duty it was to collect

provisions; as they are here described as fenarii, it would appear that others would collect other supplies. The papyrus reads:

"Serenus, acting as food supervisor of the ala Veterana Gallica, the troop of Donatianus, to the officials collecting hay supplies. I have accepted delivery of the hay for the men in my troop for the month of June and I have received the freight-money for myself; there are thirty troopers.  
A.D. 130."

The names of the thirty troopers follow.<sup>47</sup>

The examples already quoted show that in the case of auxiliaries, food and fodder were normally collected from civilians by ordinary soldiers dispatched on a particular occasion to do so, although there were some soldiers permanently assigned to organising the collection of food. However, it appears that more soldiers were permanently assigned to making arrangements for the food supplies of a legion. This must have been the original function of the legionary described as a frumentariu before he took on the additional responsibilities of police work, and Hirtius uses this term for men whose job it was to convey corn in 51 B.C. According to the list of duties that took men away from the legionary camp at Nicopolis T. Flavius Celer left with the frumentarii (exit cum frum[entariis]) on 15th June, A.D. 83, and did not return before 29th August. If the frumentarii were not organised into a special corps until the second century, perhaps by Hadrian, presumably on this occasion they were being employed in their original capacity; Celer had earlier been employed at the granery at Neapolis. In the early second century Sempronius Clemens, a frumentarius, delivered a letter. As the frumentarii would have travelled widely while arranging the

supplies of food, they would be in an admirable position to report on anything unusual they came across in the course of their work or to deliver letters.<sup>48</sup>

The normal peace-time arrangements concerning the supply of food to a unit can best be seen from the files of cohors XX Palmyrenorum. According to the great roster of A.D. 222 the centurion Julius Marianus was assigned ad frumentum) and was engaged in procuring grain for the unit or perhaps supervising existing stores; a pedes may have been on the same task. The correspondence file of Postumius Auralianus shows that some personnel were away obtaining frumentum late in A.D. 216. In A.D. 222 two equites were assigned to collecting food (ad pen(um) comp(arandum)), which was presumably not corn but other items, and perhaps two pedites were similarly engaged. An eques may have been on a similar mission in A.D. 219. Men were also engaged on the collection of barley. In the morning report of 29th March, c.A.D. 233, various soldiers including several equites were sent to collect barley (ad hord(eum) comparandum), while various infantrymen were sent as an escort (in prosec(utionem) hordiator(um)). The roster of A.D. 219 mentions a pedes acting as escort to men collecting barley (in proseq hord), that of A.D. 222 an eques on escort duty. The latter may also mention a pedes who was a hordiator. A strength report of A.D. 250 shows that an infantryman was away on a mission concerned with the collection of barley. However, senior cavalrymen generally seem to have superintended the supply of barley: a decurio, duplicarius, and eques with twenty-six

years' service in A.D. 219, a duplicarius in A.D. 222; in A.D. 225 a decurio and an eques gave a receipt for money issued to them to purchase barley (ἐ]πι ἀγορα[ς κρ]ε(θης). In A.D. 219 a pedes seems to have been involved with a ship containing barley. A roster of c.A.D. 251 seems to mention epulum, while the correspondence file of Postunius Aurelianus may mention men away obtaining supplies of epulum and penus; presumably epulum was better food for a special occasion.<sup>49</sup>

A complex but fragmentary document from Egypt dated to the third century, perhaps to the time of Severus Alexander, is in part very similar to a morning report. In places it clearly has references to food and the collection of it: one piece begins with what is probably a Greek abbreviation for a measure of grain followed by civitat[is] Fa[ with ]c[i]vitatibus in the following line, and it presumably refers to various civilian authorities supplying the army with amounts of food; a little later primorum fru[ refers to frumentum or frumentatio and in the following line there is a reference to spelt or some coarse grain (f]arricam). Another part apparently refers to a distribution of grain (sitarasem derived from σιτηρεσιον, which may also be mentioned again (]esion).<sup>50</sup>

Other papyri referring to Egypt give further information. Here the corn was sent from the countryside to the government granaries in parts of Alexandria at Neapolis and Mercurium. The legionaries stationed in the eastern suburbs of the city at Nicopolis seem to have drawn their

supplies of corn from these two granaries and the rest of it was then shipped to Rome; soldiers are often recorded as leaving for or returning from duty at one or other of the two granaries. In one instance it seems that the legionary was dispatched there to do clerical work; in the others it is not known whether the troops were involved only with the supply of food to their camp or if they were being seconded to non-military employment. A guard roster dating to the later part of Nero's reign mentions men returning a frumento Neapol[is]. The individual files recording the length and nature of duties that took men away from the camp in the last quarter of the first century reveal that Rufus was sent to Neapolis twice, the first time apparently as a shorthand clerk on the instructions of the praefectus castrorum, and to Mercurium once, Valens once to Mercurium, Celer once to Neapolis and later cum frum[entariis]. The duty roster for A.D. 87 records that on 3rd October M. Domitius exit [ad frum]entum Neapoli. In the opening years of the second century Claudius Terentianus wrote and told his father that he had been ordered to go down from Nicopolis to Neapolis on duty, but had been unable to do so because of illness.<sup>51</sup>

The large amount of food that each unit received in any year - the corn alone would easily amount to more than one hundred tons for the comparatively small cohortes peditatae quingenariae - means that highly detailed records would have to be kept. They would involve the collection, storage, and delivery of provisions to each unit, as well as details of receipts for money given. As part of the cost of food was

deducted from a soldier's pay, as the pay records of Proculus, Germanus, and Quadratus show, quite clearly detailed records of the amount of money each individual spent on food would have to be made and receipts issued.

Among the immunes legionis listed by Tarruntenus Paternus are horreorum librarii; they presumably were responsible for co-ordinating and filing all the numerous documents and receipts for the collection, storage, and distribution of the food in the granaries and worked in conjunction with the ensores. In the granaries at Newstead were excavated two small rooms (one of which was heated by a hypocaust) and on the floor of a granary at Ribchester was found an iron stylus; perhaps these were the offices and the pen of the horreorum librarii respectively. The ala Heracliana kept copies of all the amounts of barley contributed by the various villages to the year's supply. In an ala the appropriate records were kept by a curator; he is sometimes called curator turmae, which would imply that there was one to each troop, and no less than four are mentioned in the receipt-book of the ala Veterana Gallica. In this the receipts were made out to a summus curator, L. Julius Serenus, who later became a decurio; it would thus seem that the summus curator was a senior NCO with administrative duties rather like a quartermaster. From the career of C. Julius Dexter the curator turmae appears to have been a junior post, probably a supply clerk under the summus curator. On 27th March, c.A.D. 233, there were two curatores standing watch at the signa at Dura; perhaps a cohors equitata had a curator to each turma

also. Cross-records were clearly also kept: some of the individual receipts from Pselcis carry at the bottom the instructions *τοῖς λιβραρίοις* or *τοῖς κουρατοῦσι* and often have the amount summarised.<sup>52</sup>

In dealing with guard duty Vegetius states:

"Another important duty of the general is to provide for the protection of pastures, the convoy of corn, the provision of water, wood, and fodder; this can only be achieved by posting detachments in suitable positions along the lines of transport."

Elsewhere he states that supplies of food are to be taken to suitable armed posts by prosecutores. It is clear that in time of war it was necessary that supplies of food should be moved in armed convoys; accordingly there are references to this practice: in 30 B.C. Herod sent food to Roman forces with an escort of five Roman and five Jewish cohorts plus cavalry to protect the food convoy. Large quantities of food might well be sent down great rivers with an escort of cavalry patrolling on the banks. Even in time of peace it was sensible to send food in convoys with an escort; the references to cohors XX Palmyrenorum cited above show how various soldiers were detailed to act as escort to others who were engaged in collecting food supplies. There is a striking parallel over a century earlier: Pliny as governor of Bithynia added two cavalrymen tutelae causa to a party of infantrymen under an assistant procurator who were going to collect corn. A relief from Strasbourg shows a legionary soldier driving a wagon loaded with food and pulled by two mules.<sup>53</sup>

Many details of how the Roman army would provide a detachment with supplies are given by ostraca from Pselcis in Egypt. These receipts fall into two categories, those for corn and those for other rations. Corn was regularly issued by an optio, Asclepiades, whose title in full is often given as ὀπτίων παραλήμτης δειτού; the amount of corn for each soldier was regularly one artaba per month, but no price is ever quoted. This is because corn formed a basic part of a soldier's diet and he received a fixed amount (hence it did not have to be given on the receipt) and the cost of this was regularly deducted from his pay. An official whose title is variously spelt, but who seems to have been called κίβαριατωρ was responsible for issuing all rations (except corn) (κίβαριον) and the receipts mostly list wine. As wine, unlike corn, does not appear to have been issued as a fixed part of their military rations, the receipts for it give the amount and cost, so that the appropriate deductions could be made from each individual soldier's pay. It is quite clear that the cost of the wine was deducted from the pay. Presumably the individual soldier had the option of purchasing as much wine as he himself required from the official supplies, or even, if he so wished, of writing home and asking his family to send him some. The optio is clearly a military NCO seconded to a specific task, the cibariator was probably a civilian working for the procurator.<sup>54</sup>

The receipts belong to a detachment of auxiliary infantrymen, cavalrymen, and camel-drivers stationed at Pselcis on outpost duty; most are made out by privates and troopers, but a few NCOs are also

mentioned, three optiones, two armorum custodes and tesserarii, and one signifer and cornicen. The receipts, which belong to the second half of the second century, follow a standard form: they give the name, rank, and subunit of the individual, and the name of the official to whom the receipt was issued; the amount and value of the supplies received are then stated; if the man was illiterate, someone else had to write and sign for him:<sup>55</sup>

"Marcus Aurelius Asclepiades Herminus, in the century of Alexander, to Petronius, commissariat official.  
I have received from you one colophonion of wine valued at two denarii, two drachmas.  
I, Marcus Aurelius Horion Serapion, have written on his behalf, as he is illiterate.  
5th August, A.D. 180."

The corn was issued by Asclepiades, ὀπιων παραλημτης ειτου, and about a score of receipts have survived. Each soldier gave him a receipt to the effect that he had received his one artaba of corn:

"Marcus Aurelius Julius Heracleianus, private, in the century of Titheous, to Asclepiades, optio acting as receiver of corn.  
I have received from you my corn for the month of December, one artaba.  
I, Julius Heracleides, have written this.  
20th November, A.D. 180."

M. Aurelius Isidorus, because he was an optio and therefore a duplicarius, received twice as much corn, which was taken to him by a soldier.<sup>56</sup>

There are some fifty examples of receipts made out to various oibariatores; a man called Petronius received eighteen, Alexander nine, and Herminus, Isidorus, Hierax, Copres, and -thus one each, while in the other cases no name is either mentioned or preserved. With one

exception the cibariator deals with the issue of wine only, either providing it, generally at a stated cost, or giving money to the soldiers to purchase it themselves. The amount of wine issued is often determined by the vessel in which it was contained, either a τρικεραμον or a κολοφονιον; unfortunately, the capacity of neither is known. The fact that two separate measures were used and also that the price for the same amount varies, suggests that different types of wine were purchased. In every instance, with one exception that is abnormal in other ways, the purchase was of wine, not vin ordinaire. In most cases the price was settled at the time:

"Nepheros, son of Nepheros, optio, to Alexander, commissariat official.

I have received from you one triple-ceramom of wine valued at three denarii, twenty obols.  
16th March, A.D. 178."

"Julius Germanus, private, in the century of Sabinus, to Petronius, commissariat official.

I have received from you two colophonions of wine valued at four denarii, 15 obols, total 4 denarii, 15 obols.  
27th August, A.D. 177."

In some cases the wine was issued but the price was left undetermined for the moment:

"Julius Nilus, trooper in the troop of Longinus, to Alexander, commissariat official.

I have received from you one colophonion of wine, not yet valued.

I, B-, tesserarius, have written on his behalf.  
[date]."

In other instances the soldier was given money to purchase his own wine:

"Aurelius Eudaemon, private, in the century of Cassianus, to Petronius, commissariat official.

I have received from you for the cost of a colophonion of

wine, two denarii, eight obols.  
27th August, A.D. 177."

In only one instance is the cibariator not concerned solely with wine:

"Priscus Paulus, trooper, in the troop of Herminus, to Apollos, commissariat official.  
I have received from you for the cost of lentils, salt, and vin ordinaire four denarii, eight obols.  
29th Augustus, A.D. 163."

This is also the only instance where a cibariator issues vin ordinaire (ὄξος) instead of wine (οἶνος).<sup>57</sup>

It is clear that the cost of the wine was in fact deducted from the soldier's pay. At the bottom of several of the ostraca instructions are given to the various clerks (τοῖς λιβαριοῖς or τοῖς κουρατορῶσι) to make the appropriate deduction, the amount of which is often given, preceded by a sign (H); this sign and amount are sometimes given on their own, sometimes after the reference to the clerks:

"Didymus, son of Pachomius, to Alexander, commissariat official.  
I have received from you for the cost of wine 4 denarii.  
5th January, A.D. 178.  
I have written this.  
To the clerks, 4 denarii."

The additions are taken to refer to the sums being entered on the pay accounts of the individuals. A principalis with his higher rate of pay could afford to mix his drinks:<sup>58</sup>

"Asclepiades, son of Demonros, cornicen, in the century of Olympos, to Isidoros Hierax, commissariat official.  
I have received from you one colophonion of wine and one triple-ceramon not yet valued.  
10th April, A.D. 182.  
I, Julius, have written this."

A common way in which many soldiers supplemented the diet provided by the army was by getting additional food from their relatives. In the early second century Claudius Terentianus wrote to his father Tiberianus to thank him for sending two large loaves and some dates. A little later he wrote to his sister Tasoucharion:

"Take every step to provide me with two ceramons - of the biggest size - of olyra and an artaba of radish-oil. I sent you the marjoram with the oil."

Olyra is a type of grain and oil of radishes was used as a substitute for olive oil. He also asked for some fresh asparagus to be sent to him. Another soldier, who freely admitted that he had spent all his money on a mule-cart, wrote in the third century and asked his mother for money, oil, and clothing. He said that Valerius's mother had sent him money, oil, and a basket of meat. In the time of Trajan Saturnilos wrote to his mother thanking her for his monthly allowance and a basket of olives; would she please send an extra jar for his friend.<sup>59</sup>

On the road from Coptos to the Red Sea some three score of letters written on ostraca by soldiers have been found at Wâdi Fawâkhir (Arabic for pottery). The auxiliary troops, who included a centurion and several cavalymen, formed a small post garrisoned in huts around the well; they guarded the important trade route and also the quarry and gold mine. The letters provide a unique insight into Roman military life in a remote post; nearly all the letters are concerned with food, which was sent by wagon and also carried by cavalymen. Some of the soldiers had found camp-wives: Papius wrote to Demetrous hoping that she and the

children were in good health, someone sent his regards to Philotera, and Philocles wrote to Sciphis, while Rustius Barbarus informed his friend Pompeius that he was going to get married; such marriages were, of course, unofficial.<sup>60</sup>

Valerius wrote to Julius about the purchase of barley; Iuperous had sent straw to Licinius and hoped to receive oil in return and had also sent a salad plant called purslane; Rufus had sent Silvanus oil; someone said that he had received eight slices of salted fish but that Clemens had not received one artaba of barley, a jar of mustard, or three matia of onions, but that the writer had in fact received a bundle of cabbages; another anonymous person wrote to Terentius and Atticus that he had received a bundle of radishes (a type used as a purge or emetic) and was sending gourds and citron. Antonius Proculus wrote to Valerianus to say that he had been hunting all species of wild animals and birds and had sent his catches to him via Cerealis; on the back of this letter gardening is mentioned. Someone and Apollinarius wrote to Priscus to acknowledge receipt of a bundle of cabbage and a bunch of eating-grapes. Someone sent an empty bag with apologies for not having found anything to put in it, while someone else asked for fodder to feed his horse plus half an artaba of something and condiments. Thermouthis asked Orion to draw the other half artaba of corn from the granary, add half a mation to it, and send it to Menandros. Longinus had received several matia of mustard and asked his friend to buy him half a congius of radish-oil and the same amount of something else. Castor Chesthotes asked his friend to give the soldier Papirius who delivered the letter

as much wine as he wanted and also some little sacks, presumably with food inside them. Harbekis had received kidney-beans and probably other vegetables; Capito was sending Silurius Priscus five artabae of something; Parabolos asked Zosimes and Schyras to send an artaba of barley. Papirius sent six obols to Demetrous in payment for vegetables that had been sent. Turannis asked his father Antonius to get him an artaba of barley; reference is also apparently made to tunny fish (small ones) and a panacea. Someone wrote to Niger mentioning a wine-measure and a sucking pig, Valerius mentioned an artaba of barley and coconuts, an anonymous person cabbage and perhaps flat fish, while Germanus is apparently mentioned in connection with vegetables, and someone else in connection with cooked fish.<sup>61</sup>

The most interesting of the letters are a set of five from Rustius Barbarus to his friend Pompeius. In a fragmentary one he mentions bread and a basket, in another bread and salt. However, the other three are better preserved:

"Dear Pompeius,

Why on earth haven't you written back to me if you received the loaves? I sent you 15 loaves by Popilius and Dutuporis and also 15 loaves - and a jar - by Draoo, the carter. You used up four matia! I sent you 6 loaves by Thiadices, the trooper, who said he could take them. Please get some weights - as beautiful as possible - made for my personal use and write to me so that in payment for them I can make you some bread or send you the money, whichever you prefer.

I want you to know that I'm getting married. As soon as I am, I'll write to you straight away to come.

Yours,

Rustius Barbarus.

P.S. Regards to -lius."

Presumably Rustius wanted the pondera for baking, which he clearly enjoyed. His marriage, of course, would not be official. Unfortunately, the letter of Pompeius which provoked the following reply from Rustius, has not been preserved:

"Dear Pompeius,

First of all I pray that you are in good health.

Why do you write me such a nasty letter? Why do you think that I am so thoughtless? If you did not send me the green vegetables so quickly, must I immediately forget your friendship? I'm not like that or thoughtless either. I think of you not as a pal but as a twin brother, the same flesh and blood. It's a term that I give you quite often in my letters, but you think of me in a different light.

I have received bunches of cabbage and one cheese. I have sent you by Arrianus, the trooper, a box inside which is one cake and a denarius (?) wrapped in a small cloth.

Please buy me a matium of salt and send it to me without delay, because I want to bake some bread.

Yours sincerely,  
Rustius Barbarus."

The opening line or two of the last letter is lost, but the hand is clearly that of Rustius:

"....for I will give for him to bring....I have received 1 bunch of beetroot and you write to me about [ ] and salt if I need any....Because I need it on a holiday and I have sent you an oil jar to send me 6 cotyli of oil, either castor-oil or radish-oil.

Take care to write and tell me the cost, to you; so that I can pay you like a pal. Tell Serapias that if she wants to receive 15 denarii, I'll bring them to her.

Regards to Sertorius.

Yours,  
Rustius Barbarus."

Apparently Rustius was preparing some special fare for a meal to be eaten quia in die festo. Special deductions were made from the legionaries for saturnalicium k(astrense) and from auxiliary cavalrymen for epulum; this latter may be mentioned twice in the files at Dura. In the case of the legionaries the cost for the seven day festival of twenty drachmas was exactly one quarter of the total deductions for food

for four months. Statius gives a long list of the special dainties and fruit that civilians ate at the saturnalia. It is perhaps worth wondering if the officers waited on the men for one day, as is the custom of the modern British army on Christmas day and thus giving more point to the reactions of the army waiting to cross from Boulogne to invade Britain.<sup>62</sup>

The evidence for the military diet, particularly meat, shows that the food that the soldier ate was remarkably similar to that of civilians; there is no difference, for example, between the meat from domestic and wild animals, poultry, and fish eaten by the legionaries at Vindonissa in the first century A.D. and that eaten by the civilians at Augusta Raurica, and the evidence of tituli picti for various other items of food is remarkably similar; detailed analysis of the bones discovered at the legionary fortress at Lauriacum of the second and third centuries A.D. reveals the same preferences for beef in particular and also pork, lamb, and goat, as the civilians in the nearby town had at the same time. The same similarity can be seen in the times of meals; the average Roman ate a light breakfast early and a large meal in the evening, as is still the practice on the Continent today. Josephus says of the Roman army:

"Each man does not have the right to have his dinner or breakfast at whatever time he fancies, but they all eat together."

As neither Josephus nor Polybius mentions the preparation or eating of breakfast in their descriptions of the army of the Empire and Republic breaking camp in the morning, the obvious answer must be that breakfast

was not substantial; Polynaenus records that the troops of Scipio ate a cold breakfast early and a hot meal of roast or boiled meat at night. Severus Alexander is stated to have had his meals with his soldiers (prandit atque cenavit). Polybius notes that it was standard practice for all the trumpeters and buglers to sound a call at the commander's tent at supper time, when the night pickets were to take up their posts, and Sallust confirms the time. Corbulo informed Tiridates that it was standard procedure in the Roman army for the time of the end of the evening meal to be announced by a bucina; it is interesting that the word he uses for the main meal of the day is convivium. Similarly, the Jews in A.D. 70 planned to attack units of the army besieging Jerusalem at about the eleventh hour of the day, when they expected the men would be off their guard and seeing to their meal. The soldier hero of the tale related by Eumolpus had wine and food for his genula, which he was to have in the early evening and which was sufficient to feed two starving women also.<sup>63</sup>

During the course of this chapter references have been made to the fodder needed for the animals; here it will be convenient merely to summarise the evidence. The survey to report on the various foods given as payment in kind towards the maintenance of the army of Egypt in A.D. 199 mentions hay several times (including one reference to 8,000 bundles of old hay) and other fodder crops. Men occasionally ate barley, but mostly as a punishment, and hay was also used as bedding. However, in these contexts they are mostly for fodder; this would be needed mostly

by the alae and to a lesser extent the cohortes equitatae to feed their horses, but it must be remembered that even legions and cohortes peditatae would require a certain amount for the various draught- and baggage- animals they kept and in the former case for the one hundred and twenty equites legionis plus any horses kept for officers for ceremonial occasions. From Egypt a document dated to A.D. 185 referring to the ala Heracliana states that it needed 20,000 artabae of barley a year or 1,400,000 pints, which would weigh 625 tons or one ton per horse per annum; there is a series of receipts issued by various personnel of this regiment at this time who were collecting various amounts of barley towards the total. A receipt for barley towards the amount needed by the ala Gallica in A.D. 191 is similar. A letter from the files of cohortes XX Palmyrenorum in A.D. 221 requests the tribune to see to it that barley was supplied equitibus sive] mulionib[us] who were in a vexillation at Appadana; here again it is probable that the barley was for the horses and mules rather than the men. The rosters and other documents in the unit's records show that personnel were frequently dispatched for the collection or purchase of barley or to escort those doing this.<sup>64</sup>

Hay could be provided in various ways. In A.D. 130 Serenus acknowledged to the conductoribus fenus that he had received the fenum for the thirty riders in the troop of Donatianus in the ala Veterana Gallica. The receipt-book of the same regiment in A.D. 179 contained sixty-seven receipts issued to the summus curator acknowledging the issue

of the hay allowance (γρᾶστis) of twenty-five denarii but in three instances of epulum of ten denarii eight obols. In A.D. 165 a decurion of the ala Commagenorum issued a receipt for γρᾶστis from civilians. On other occasions soldiers reaped the hay themselves: at sometime between A.D. 198 and 209 a vexillation of legio III Augusta set up an altar some fifteen miles from Lambaesis while they were morantes ad fenum sec(andum); a fragmentary inscription from Lower Germany dated to A.D. 190 perhaps indicates that a vexillation of legio I Minervia under a signifer were engaged on a similar task (mor(antium) ad fen(um) s]ec(andum) et c(ustodiam) a[gend(am)) at Iversheim, which is eighteen miles from Bonn; in the former case they were presumably operating on the territorium legionis, in the latter on the military estate in the north Eifel. The military authorities tried to avoid as much as possible situations where the draught-animals had to be fed on seaweed or where a trooper confessed that he had no fodder to feed his horse.<sup>65</sup>

It was the intention of the Roman military authorities that the fodder mentioned above should be collected, stored, and issued only when it was needed. Clearly to safeguard these supplies it was good policy that the horses should be put to graze as much as possible when the weather and supplies of grass permitted; Josephus describes how the Roman cavalry used to put their horses to graze regularly:

"Some of the cavalry, whenever they went out to collect wood or fodder, while they were gathering these supplies, used to take the bridles off their horses and turn them loose to graze."

Vegetius cautions a commander not to be negligent at night through

pascentium equorum dispersio. Varro recommended that the best food for horses when in the meadows was grass, and dry hay when in stalls or stables. A horse used in the army should be fed morning and afternoon. At Newstead an iron peg with a ring inserted at one end which was used to tether horses or other animals was discovered in the exercise-hall and may have been dropped while assembling to go out on manoeuvres.<sup>66</sup>

## CHAPTER VIII: FOOD

### NOTES

1:

war - e.g. Caesar, B.G., A.32; 5.17; Josephus, B.J., 2.528.  
Trajan's - e.g. Cichorius, taf.CX.  
kit - Cichorius, taf.IV; TATC, 6-9.  
Josephus - B.J., 3.95.  
pridianum - CLA 219.11.19, 31-33.

2:

Tacitus - Agr., 22.  
Polybius - 6.39.12-15.  
Caesar's - see below.  
Calculations - CW2, XX.127-142, reproduced more or less as Appendix III in Furneaux and Anderson's second edition of 'Agricola' (1922).  
horrea - see previous note, to which should be added the forts mentioned below. It should be noted that Haverfield made no allowance for a central gangway and consequently his figures give too large a capacity; there is thus no need to interpret annuis copiis as meaning supplies to last in effect for two years, which is a very strained interpretation and hardly fits the Latin.  
Fendoch - PSAS, LXXIII.131.  
Chester - F.H. Thompson, Roman Cheshire, 39; Latomus, LVII.1497.  
Inchtuthil - JRS, LI.160.  
papyrus - P.AmH. 107.  
625 - I have found by experiment that one pint of barley weighs one pound avoirdupois exactly.  
Polybius - loc.cit.  
daily consumption - CW2loc.cit; RHW, 272.

3:

Hadrian - SHA, Hadr., 10; cf. Alex., 51, 61.  
Numidia - VIII 18042 Bb = ILS 2487.  
Avidius - SHA, Avid., 5.  
Pescennius - SHA, Pesc., 10.  
bucellatum - cf. Ammianus, 17.8.2.  
Galba - Suetonius, Galb., 7.  
acetum - when various items were added to acetum, it was used as vinegar for preserving purposes. Columella states that acetum was manufactured ex vino vapidio. I think that 'vinegar' as a translation is wrong, as it conveys the wrong impression in English. On the analogy of the usage of the modern Italians, I have adopted the translation 'vin ordinaire'. It is perhaps worth noting that εφος in Greek first means a coarse wine and later vinegar made from the coarse wine.  
Christ - NT, Matt., 27.48; Marc., 15.36; Luc., 23.36; Joan., 19.28-30.

4:

Vegetius - 3.3.

Appian - Iber., 54; cf. Frontinus, Strat., 3.14.3 for lack of salt.

Herod - Josephus, Ant., 14.408; cf. B.J., 1.299.

Vegetius - 4.7.

5:

starvation - Caesar, B.C., 7.17, 56 are generally cited and the passage of Tacitus discussed below.

Appian; - 1.7.1.

Scipio - Appian, Iber., 85. cf. Frontinus, Strat., 4.1.1;

Polynaenus, Strat., 8.16.2.

Metellus - Frontinus, Strat., 4.1.2.

Hadrian - SHA, Hadr., 10.

Sallust - Jug., 29, 90-91.

Polybius - 2.15.

camp - Polybius, 6.31.

Varro - L.L., 5.111.

Corbulo - Tacitus, A., 14.24. Parker, Legions, 220 incorrectly states that this took place at the siege of the town.

Germanicus - Tacitus, A., 2.24.

6:

"Because of - Caesar, B.C., 7.17.

"The army - B.C., 7.56.

"The men - B.C., 3.47-48.

Lerida - B.C., 1.48, 52.

7:

popularity - Suetonius, Jul., 38.

Roman general - Appian, B.C., 3.49.

Hirtius - Frontinus, Strat., 3.14.3-4.

Herod - Josephus, Ant., 14.408; B.J., 1.299.

Rüdgen - Saalburg Jahrb., 20.46; only groups 61/19, 61/55a, 61/41 used as evidence here.

Hofheim - E. Ritterling, Das Frühromische Lager bei Hofheim, 194-198.

feriale - YCS, VII; DPP, 192; P.Dura, 54.

Josephus - B.J., 7.16.

Ribchester - W.F. Watkin, Roman Ribchester, 11 - T.C. Smith and J. Shortt, History of Ribchester, 36.

8:

ad victum - CLA 7I.a.6, 17, 27; b.6, 17, 27. cf. however the restored entries in CLA 9.6, 15, 24.

Cato - R.R., LVI-LVIII.

9:

saturnalicium - CLA 7I.a.8; b.8; in CLA 9.6 the amount spent on food is 128 drachmas, whereas in the other two it is only 100; presumably the cost of the saturnalicium was now included.

9 (cont.):

- A.D. 199 - PSI 683.  
A.D. 232 - PSI 797.  
A.D. 121 or 123 - AE 1921 1.

10:

- bread - see n.12 below.  
porridge - Cagnat, 312 cites the recipe.  
pasta - M. Brion, Pompeii and Herculaneum: The Glory and the Grief, pl.126; seen by the present writer in the museums at Pompeii and Naples.  
Herodian - 4.7.5.  
Saalburg - information from Dr. Schönberger.  
Mainz - XIII 6935.  
Zugmantel - seen by the present writer in the museum at Saalburg.  
Marcellus - Dio, 73.8.  
Julian - Ammianus, 25.2.2.

11:

- grinding - of Sallust, Jug., 44-45.  
handmill - Saalburg Jahrb., 3.75-95.  
Newstead - Curle, Newstead, 145-146, pl.XVII.  
wheat and barley - ibid., 109.  
Germany - Saalburg Jahrb., loc.cit.; L.A Moritz, Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity, 123-130.  
water-mills - I.A. Richmond, Roman Britain (second edition), 170-171; HB, 82-83, 143, 161.  
British frontier - see n.2.

12:

- Elder Pliny - NH., 18.67.  
wholemeal - Moritz, op.cit., 195ff.  
Habinnas - Petronius, Sat., 66.2 (cited by Moritz, op.cit., 154).  
'Vopiscus' - SNA, Aurel., 9.  
Cato - B.R., LXX.

13:

- Tacitus - Agr., 22.  
A.D. 78/79 - AgT., 19.  
Cranbourne Chase - Arch.J., CIV.79.  
Boudicca - Dio, 62.3.  
Calgacus - Tacitus, Agr., 32.

14:

- Prefects - see Chapter VII: Supplies, n.4-5.  
Justinus - P.Amh. 107.  
Carvoran - AA3, XIII.85.

15:

Terton Epa - P.Amh. 107.  
unknown - P.Amh. 173.  
Parium - P.Amh. 174.  
Magdola Petechontos - BGU 807.  
Magdola Petechontos [bis] - P.Ryl. 85.  
Ereithis - P.Amh. 108.  
unknown - P.Amh. 175.  
another - P.Amh. 176.  
Sinpetesis - P.Amh. 178.  
unknown - P.Ryl. 274.  
anonymous - P.Ryl. 275.  
Several - P.Ryl. 85; P.Amh. 107; BGU 807.  
two - P.Amh. 175 and 177.  
civilians - P.Amh. 109.

16:

Didymus - P.Grenf. 48; the months are actually  $\mu\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\iota$  and  $\epsilon\phi\iota\tau$ .  
26th May to 25th June.-  
Oxyrhynchus - SB 7181.  
Cornelius - O.Tait 1689.  
centurion [etc] - SB 9202.

17:

Strabo - 3.4.20.  
Syene - P.Clermont-Ganneau 4a.8-15 = SB 9248.  
Malochus - P.Oxy. 735 as revised by J.F. Gilliam in Études de papyrologie, VIII.51, n.1.

18:

P.Pura 64A. For a discussion of this document and especially the rank of the procurator of DPP, 229-232 and Gilliam, op.cit. (n.17), 48ff. I show in a paper on this papyrus to be published in Latomus that these men man a post in the cursus publicus.

19:

fifteen - Archivo Español Arqueologia 29.174ff; Collection Latomus, 44.374-382, including a map as fig. 2, on which I calculate the scale, which is not given, to be about  $13\frac{1}{2}$  milos to the inch.  
Vetera - RE, VIII.A sv Vetera 1825 and 1831; Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 65; cf. ibid., 68-79 for the Eifel.  
Burnum - III 13250 = ILS 5968.  
Aquincum - III 10489 = ILS 2456.  
Cohors IIII Gallorum - ILS 5969; AE 1961 345.  
Chester-le-Street - RIB 1049. A more detailed study than that of R.P. Wright in AA4, XXII.83-90 was made by R. Egger in Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, LX<sup>XVIII</sup>.206-232, especially 217-218, and his restored text, although wrong in places, is given in AE 1952 12.  
no evidence - Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 68.  
Vindonissa - Bonner Jahrb., 163.122.

20:

military - the point is discussed by Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 66.

legio III Augusta - VIII 4322 = ILS 2484.

legio I Minervia - XIII 7946.

Vetera - Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 66.

Britain - RNNB, 23.

Newstead - Curle, Newstead, 283-285, pl.LXI and LXII.

Brampton - CW2, LXVI.1-36.

Other forts - some are listed in R. MacMullen, Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire, 9, n.24.

21:

Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 64-66, cites the evidence and discussion.

22:

A.D. 199 - PSI 683; see n.9.

Herod - Josephus, Ant.,14.408; B.J.,1.299; see n.4.  
tablet - FIRA, III.137.

A.D. 173 - Dio, 72.11.

A.D. 198 - Herodian, 3.9.10.

A.D. 209 - Dio, 77.13.

A.D. 67 - Josephus, B.J.,4.436.

A.D. 58 - Tacitus, A.,13.54; cf.E.Birley (editor), Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, 49ff.

Bolocalus - A.,13.55.

A.D. 179-180 - Dio, 72.20.

annexes - I do not think the point has been made in print before.

23:

pecuarius or pequarius - Passerini, legio, 609 (70) cites a few examples; to those add (in addition to the rest cited below):

III 11017, 10428, 2568, 2569, 2791, 2827, 18086; XIII 8287;

AE 1910 131.

medico peq(uario) - XIII 7965.

hospital - VIII 2553 = ILS 2438 to both of which add AE 1906 9.

Lambaesis - AE 1914 234.

veterinarius and ἰατροὶ - Passerini, legio, 609 (69).

24:

A.D. 105 - CLA 219.11.35-37. I discuss the restoration of m(ulorum) (my own proposal) in a paper in Latomus forthcoming.

A.D. 216 - P.Dura 66QQ.10.

A.D. 222 - P.Dura 101.xxi.3.

ma.jndra - P.Dura 101.x.21.

25:

P.Dura 54.

26:

Vindonissa - C. Simonett, Führer durch das Vindonissa-Museum in Brugg, passim.

Saalburg - Saalburg Jahrb., 5.106-122, 144ff.

Zugmantel - op.cit., 122-131.

Stockstadt - op.cit., 131-136.

Niederbieber - op.cit., 136-144.

Butzbach - Saalburg Jahrb., 18.67ff.

Rödgen - Saalburg Jahrb., 20.46ff.

Hofheim - E. Ritterling, Das Frühkrömische Lager bei Hofheim, 194-198.

Newstead - Curle, Newstead, 371-377.

Mumrills - PSAS, LXIII.568-573.

Bar Hill - MacDonald and Park, Roman Forts on the Bar Hill, 126-129.

Caernarvon - R.E.M. Wheeler, Segontium and the Roman Occupation of Wales, 170-171.

Brecon - The Roman Fort near Brecon, 250-251.

Holt - W.F. Grimes, Holt, Denbighshire: the Works Depot of the Twentieth Legion at Castle Lyons, 185-186.

Corbridge - AA3, VII.78-125.

Red House - AA4, XXXVII.168.

Rudchester - AA4, I.28. -

Chesters - HB, 91.

Housesteads - AA2, XXV.299.

Benwell - AA4, V.74.

High Rochester - AA2, I.85.

South Shields - Transactions of the Natural History Society of Northumberland and Durham, VII.146-148.

Turrets - AA4, XLIII.193-200.

Ribchester - J.H. Hopkinson, The Roman Fort at Ribchester, 32.

Waddon Hill - Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society, 86.142ff.

To the finds at Waddon Hill in figure 10 should be added: fox; two mallards, duck, wader, four rock doves or domestic pigeons, two redwings, bantam, raven; Giant Wrasse and a member of the cod family; cockles, venerupis, edible snail.

Asciburgium - Zeitschrift für Tierzucht und Züchtungsbiologie, 77.62-73.

The absence of any type of food in any fort in figure 10 does not mean that it was not necessarily not eaten there; many of the excavations were not complete and quite a few of the analyses were made a considerable time ago.

27:

military sites - for all references see n.26.

Appian - Iber.,85.

Frontinus - Strat.,4.1.1; Polynaesus, Strat.,8.16.2; cf.n.5.

Little Chester - Derbyshire Archaeological Journal, LXXXI.107-108.

28:

cheese - SHA, Hadr.,10.

Varro - R.R.,2.11.3.

Holt - W.F. Grimes, Holt, Denbighshire: The Works Depot of the Twentieth Legion at Castle Lyon, 168.

Corbridge - seen by the present writer in the museum at Corbridge.

29:

Wādī Fawākhīr - O.Guéraud 14.

legal - Dig.,49.16.121.

Tiberius - Suetonius, Tib.,19.

30:

Paternus - Dig.,50.6.7.

Apollodorus's - Cichorius, taf.CIX.

Bridgeness - RIB 2139, pl.XVIII.

Corbridge - see n.26 above.

South Shields - ibid.

Vegetius - 1.7.

A.D. 241 - VI 130 = ILS 2091.

Severus - XIII 8174 = ILS 3265. The legion is pia fidelis but not Domitiana and the inscription must thus date after A.D. 96, but before c.A.D. 122 when the unit moved to Britain. The centurion may well have been detached from his unit at provincial HQ.

31:

Dambach . . . Zugmantel - information from Dr. Schleiermacher; the details of the structures can be seen in ORL sv.

Andernach - information from a conversation with the excavator, Dr. Röder. Although no bones were found (the animals were presumably slaughtered elsewhere), he dates the building to the end of the first century. There is as yet no trace of a fort at Andernach for this date, although it was a station of the classis Germanica. However, there are as yet substantial portions of the site unexcavated, and my opinion is that even if the structure did not belong to a unit of the Roman army, it seems highly probable that it was a vivarium, perhaps to keep the animals that may have been used to tow the boats against the current of the Rhine, but that even so, the vivarium of a unit of the Roman army must have been not dissimilar.

annexes - FPRB, 156-158 cites examples.

Vallum - I do not think that the point has been made before.

32:

Paternus - Dig., 50.6.7.

A.D. 155 - III 7449.

Birdoswald - RIB 1905 = ILS 3548; cf. RHW, 192.

Carvoran - J.C. Bruce, The Roman Wall (second edition), 235.  
military sites - see n.26.

Micianus - RIB 1041 = ILS 3562. I agree with Professor Birley that there seems to be only one inscription on the stone and not two. Multi antecessores eius surely means his predecessors in command of the aia and can hardly be taken to mean that praefecti regularly came all the way from Lancaster to hunt in Weardale.

The answer probably is that he was stationed at Binchester, the nearest cavalry fort in the second century.

Quirinius - RIB 1042; cf. RIB 1091-1092.

Frontinus - RIB 733.

Secundus - RIB 732.

33:

list - see n.26.

Maryport - RHW, 219.

Papcastle - CW2, XLVIII.204; cf. LXIII.107.

106 B.C. - Sallust, Jug., 93.

Juvenal - Sat., 4.141-142; cf. BR 36; RBRA, 20.

34:

Vindonissa - C. Simonnet, Führer durch das Vindonissa-museum in Brugg, 37, Abb. 12.1.

Richborough - J.P. Bushe-Fox, Fourth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, 348; it was not possible to associate the find with a particular garrison.

Terentianus - P.Mich. 478 and notes; cf. 477 and Athenaeus, VII. 309-312.

35:

Vegetius - 4.7.

Margidunum - JRS, XVI.136.

listed - see n.26.

Germany - Pliny, N.H., 10.54.

hospitals - I.A. Richmond and M.P. Charlesworth, The Roman Army, 25.

Aquincum - Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter, 24.6-29, especially 29; AE 1933 120.

Carpow - JRS, LII.166 (51).

Vegetius - 3.2.

36:

Vindonissa - ASA 1926, 197ff; M.H. Callender, Roman Amphorae, 37-41; add ASA 1929, 184, no.6.

Elagabalus - SHA, Elag., 29.

37:

Richborough - J.P. Bushe-Fox, Fourth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, 253-254; cf.6, 50.

Newstead - Curle, Newstead, 268.

Mumrills - JRS, LIV.184 (40).

Carpow - JRS, LIII.166 (51).

Mawbray - JRS, XLV.148 (25).

Brough-on-Noe - JRS, LIII.160 (50). This is my own reading of the graffito; I am grateful to Professor E. Birley and Mr R.P. Wright for their help and comments on this.

Caerleon - JRS, LVI.224 (51).

38:

dipinto - YCS, XIV.189-190 (200).

graffito - op.cit., 193 (214).

wine - Report IX, part 3, 56-57 (963).

hay - ibid., 50-51 (956).

receipt - ibid., 52-53 (958).

cheese - ibid., 53-55 (959).

39:

Vegetaus 4.7.

Vindonissa - C. Simonett, Führer durch das Vindonissa-Museum in Brugg, 136.

Saalburg - J. Baas, Die Obstarten aus der Zeit des römischen Saalburg v.d.H. (Saalburg Jahrb., 10.14-28).

grow - information from Professor D.H. Valentine, Professor Emeritus of Botany, Durham University, who also provided the English terms for the Latin names of the fruit.

Brough-on-Noe - see n.37.

Newstead - Curle, Newstead, 109, 353ff.

Bar Hill - MacDonald and Park, Roman Forts on the Bar Hill, 129.

Holt - W.F. Grimes, Holt, Denbighshire: The Works Depot of the Twentieth Legion at Castle Lyon, 185.

Slack - I.A. Richmond, Huddersfield in Roman Times, 66.

Castleshaw - ibid.

Caersws - RFW, 55.

introduced - Pliny, N.H., 15.102; cf. M.P. Charlesworth, The Lost Province, 71ff.

Frontinus - Strat., 3.14.2.

40:

A.D. 199 - PSI 683.

ala Heracliana - WO 1013.

Vindonissa - ASA, XXVIII.207.

Caesar - B.C., 3.47; cf.n.6.

41:

- Castlecary - RWS2, 453.  
Ribchester - J.H. Hopkinson, The Roman Fort at Ribchester, 13; .  
Guide to the Roman Fort at Ribchester, 6,18.  
Westerwood - RWS2, 256.  
Newstead - Curle, Newstead, 359-366.  
Caersws - RFW, 55.  
Caerleon - see n.42.  
Ambleside - CW2, XXI.3-4.  
Papcastle CW2, XXIV.371-373; cf. LXXIII.106,112.  
Saalburg - seen by the present writer in the museum there.  
Hofheim - see n.26.  
Vindonissa - C. Simonett, Führer durch das Vindonissa-Museum in Brugg, 136.  
Chesterholm - information from Professor Birley.  
Vindonissa amphorae - M.H. Callender, Roman Amphorae, 36, pl.IVb.  
Richborough - J.P. Bushe-Fox, Fourth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, 6,50.  
Inchtuthil - JRS, XLIII.105; XLV.122; XLVI.122; XLVIII.132; XLIX.104; L.213.  
Neuss - cited in JRS, XLIII.105.  
scurvy - I.A. Richmond, 'The Roman Army Medical Service', in University of Durham Medical Gazette, June, 1952.

42:

- Caerleon - H. Helbaek, 'The Isca Grain, a Roman Plant Introduction in Britain', in New Phytologist, 63, 158-64. cf. JRS, XLIX.103.  
negotiator - AE 1928 183.  
Cissonius - ILS 2238.

43:

- traders - e.g. Appian, Iber., 6.85; Sallust, Jug., 45; Valerius Maximus, 2.7.1; Caesar, B.G., 6.5.  
A.D. 69 - Tacitus, H., 4.22.  
A.D. 131 - Arrian, Peripl., 9.  
Archaeology, - RBRA, 69ff; FPRB, 9ff, 24ff, 167ff; Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 55ff.  
Hadrian - SHA, Hadr., 10.  
Fronto - ad Verum Imp., 2.1.19; cf. Princ. Hist., 12.  
Pompeii - P. Gusman, Pompeii, the City, its Life and Art, 220; cf. pl. III

44:

- coarse pottery - information from Mr J.P. Gillam.  
Lunaris and Verecundius - Ant. J., XXVI.9-10; I.A. Richmond, Roman Britain (second edition), 172.  
casks - cited in Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter, 24.6ff.  
Aquincum - ibid.  
olive-oil - information from Dr. M.H. Callender.  
Vindonissa - XIII 5221.

45:

Vegetius - 3.3.

legatus - 2.9.

Macer - Dig., 49.16.12.

cA.D. 216 - P.Dura 61.

frumenti - V 936 = ILS 2423; AE 1917-18 29.

tratici - ILS 9091.

Danube - III 784.

Wroxeter - JRS, LIV.179 (12).

Newstead - Curle, Newstead, 309-310.

Carvoran - AA3, XII 85ff.

46:

P.Hamb. 39.12.

47:

CLA 203. I came to roughly the same conclusions independently from Marichal. I am indebted to M. H.-G. Pflaum for listening to my discussion and proposals on the procurator in this document and also Dr. B. Dobson.

48:

Hirtius - Caesar, B.G., 8.35.

Celer - CLA VII.D.7.

Hadrian - RE, VII.sv frumentarii (Fiebiger).

Näpolas - CLA VII.D.2.

Clemens - P.Mich. 472.

49:

Marianus - P.Dura 101.xvi.17.

pedes - 101.ix.6.

A.D. 216 - 66DDD.

two equites - 101.xxxiii.15; 101.xxxv.19.

two pedites - 101.vii.19; 101.xiv.20.

A.D. 219 - 100.xxxiv.31.

cA.D. 233 - 82.ii.4-5.

A.D. 219 - 100.xxx.18.

A.D. 222 - 101.xxxiv.24.

ho]rdiat[or - 101.xxxvi.18; this is my own proposed restoration.

A.D. 250 - 95.b.1.23.

decurio - 100.xli.2.

duplicarius - 100.xxxiii.26.

eques - 100.xxxvi.10.

A.D. 222 - 101.xxxvi.18.

A.D. 225 - 129.

A.D. 219 - 100.xix.4.

cA.D. 251 - 105.b.1.9; this is my own proposed restoration.

Postumius - 66II.3-4; these are my own proposed restorations.

50:

document - P.Mich. 450 + 455, first shown to be one document by J.F. Gilliam in AJP, 71.432-438.

civitatis Pa[ - 450 recto, 1.

cl]ivitatus - 450 recto, 2.

primorum fru[ - 450 recto, 5; this is my own suggestion.

f]arricam - 450 recto, 6; Gilliam, however, read it as ]Arri

Ammonian[.

sitrasem - 455a verso, 20.

lesion - my own tentative suggestion to the fragment mentioned in the introduction of 450.

51:

guard roster - PSI 1307.11.23.

Rufus - CLA 7II.A.2,8,5.

Valens - CLA 7II.C.7.

Celer - CLA 7II.d.2,7.

A.D. 87 - CLA 7V.XXX.3.

Terentianus - P.Mich. 478.

52:

Paternus - Dig., 50.6.7.

Newstead - Curle, Newstead, 60.

Ribchester - J.H. Hopkinson, The Roman Fort at Ribchester, 13.

ala Heracliana - see n.14-15.

curator - AA4, XVI.249-250.

ala Veterana Gallica - P.Hamb. 39.

Dura - P.Dura 82.i.7.

Pselcis - SB 6971; 6968; cf. O.Tait 2016; see n.54.ff.

53:

Vegetius - 3.8.

prosecutores - 3.3.

39 B.C. - Josephus, B.J., 1.301; Ant., 14.410.

rivers - CLA 219.ii.29ff; AE 1956.124; Pflaum, Carrières, 476-494, especially 482-483 (181 bis).

cohors XX Palmyrenorum - see n.49.

Pliny - Ep., 10.27.

Strasbourg - Espérandieu, Recueil, VII.5499.

54:

Pselcis - the site has produced the remains of Roman military buildings. As the receipts to the optio and those to the cibariatores have been found separately there, one feels right in assuming that they came from different offices belonging to the two types of official. cf. Classical Review, 33.49.

54 (cont.):

two categories - the ostraca are published in various places: WO 1128-1146, 1265; SB 6953-6976; O.Tait 2003-2041. They have recently been studied by Claire Préaux, 'Ostraca de Pselcis de la Bibliothèque Bodléenne' in Chronique d'Égypte, 26, 121-155.

optio - Préaux, op.cit., 132ff.

κιβαριατωρ - ibid., 133.

family - e.g. BGU 814; P.Mich. 481.

civilian - apart from the ostraca at Pselcis, the post of cibariator is known at only a few other places: P.Athens 64 (second century, provenance unknown), a κιβαριατωρ delivers wine, and an ostrakon from Mons Claudianus, dated A.D. 136/137, which was later published by Préaux in Chronique d'Égypte, 26.354-363. However, the latter is almost certainly not referring to a soldier but to a civilian working in the quarries there, who hired out his services and received cibaria from a cibariator (J.F. Gilliam, Chronique d'Égypte, 28.144-146). This is probably the correct answer, as P.Clermont-Ganneau 2 clearly refers to a civilian cibariator at a quarry (Syene?), cf. Aegyptus, 31.206-211. Elsewhere Gilliam seems to equate the cibariator with a member of the staff of a procurator (Études de Papyrologie, VIII.49-58. especially 51).

55:

standard form - cf. Préaux, op.cit., 126-129.

Herminus - SB 6961.

56:

Asclepiades - there is only one example of an optio issuing wine; here apparently it is vintage wine and in a measure not specified elsewhere in the receipts, and only one where he issues money in lieu (WO 1128).

one month - only one of these receipts is for two months (WO 1140).

Heracleianus - WO 1130. The month is actually Χυακ (sic) (27th November to 26th December).

Isidorus - WO 1135.

57:

one exception - SB 6967, for which see below.

Nepheros - SB 6963.

Germanus - SB 6957.

Nilus - SB 6958.

Eudaemon - WO 1265; see Préaux, op.cit., 127, n.2.

Paulus - SB 6967.

58:

λιβαριας - e.g. SB 6971; see below.

κουβατορβει - e.g. SB 6968; O.Tait 2016.

on their own - e.g. SB 6973, 6976.

Didymus - O.Tait 2017 revising SB 6971.

additions - cf. Préaux, op.cit., 136-137.

Asclepiades - O.Tait 2020.

59:

Tiberianus - P.Mich. 476.  
Tasoucharion - P.Mich. 481.  
Another soldier - BGU 814.  
Satornilos - P.Mich. 203.

60:

O. Guéraud, 'Ostraca grecs et latins del 'Wâdi Fawâkhir', in Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archologie orientale, XLI. 141-196.

61:

Valerius - O.Guéraud 8.  
Lupercus - 9.  
Rufus - 10.  
someone - 12.  
anonymous - 13.  
Proclus - 14; see n.29 above.  
Someone and Apollinarius - 16.  
Someone - 18.  
someone else - 19.  
Thermouthis - 20.  
Longinus - 21.  
Castor - 22.  
Harbekis - 24.  
Capito - 25.  
Parabolos - 26.  
Papius - 31.  
Turannic - 32.  
Someone - 38.  
Valerius - 41.  
anonymous - 42.  
Germanus - 44.  
someone else - 53.

62:

fragmentary - O.Guéraud 4 (= CPL 306).  
another - O.Guéraud 5 (= CPL 307).  
Why on earth - O.Guéraud 1 (= CPL 303).  
First of all - O.Guéraud 2 (= CPL 304).  
for I will give - O.Guéraud 3 (= CPL 305).  
legionaries - CLA 7I.A.8; B.8.  
auxiliary - P.Hamb. 39.  
Dura - P.Dura 66II.3; 105.b.i.9; both are my own proposed restorations.  
Statius - Silv., 1.6.  
waited - Dio, 60.19.

63:

Augusta Raurica - cf. 29 Jahresbericht der Stiftung Pro Augusta Raurica, VI-VII.  
Lauriacum - Helga Baas, Die Tierknochenfunde aus den spätrömischen Siedlungsschichten von Lauriacum, I: Die Rinderknochen, passim, especially 3, 64-69. This is a doctoral dissertation at Munich University which I owe to Prof. Dr. J. Boessneck. The legionary material came from the L-Komplex, the civilian from the Z-Komplex.  
average - U.E. Paoli, Rome, its People, Life, and Customs, 86ff.  
Josephus - B.J., 3.86.  
Josephus [bis] - B.J., 3.89ff.  
Polybius - 6.36.  
Polynaenus - Strat., 8.16.2.  
Alexander - SHA, Alex., 51.  
Polybius - 14.3.  
Sallust - Jug., 106.  
Corbulo - Tacitus, A., 15.30.  
A.D. 70 - Josephus, B.J., 6.157.  
Eumolpus - Petrónius, Sat., 111-112.

64:

A.D. 199 - PSI 683.  
bedding - CLA 71.a.5, 16, 26; b.5, 16, 26. cf. CLA 9.5, 14, 23.  
legions and cohortes - I sum up the evidence in my article in Latónus; forthcoming.  
A.D. 185 - P.Amh. 107.  
A.D. 191 - P.Grenf. 48.  
A.D. 221 - P.Dura 64A.  
records - see n.49.

65:

A.D. 130 - CLA 203.  
A.D. 179 - P.Hamb. 39.  
A.D. 165 - O.Tait 1689.  
A.D. 198-209 - VIII 4322 = IIS 2484.  
A.D. 190 - XIII 7946 and notes; cf. Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 68-69.  
seaweed - Caesar, B.Afr., 24.  
trooper - O.Guéraud 19.

66:

Josephus - B.J., 6.153.  
Vegetius - 3.8; cf. 3.22.  
Varro - R.R., 2.7.7.  
morning and afternoon - Xenophon, R.E., IV.  
Newstead - Curle, Newstead, 280; pl. LVIII.3.

CHAPTER IX

PARAMILITARY DUTIES

In military provinces the units of the Roman army were placed in forts at key sites, such as river-crossings and route centres. The point is well illustrated by Strabo's description of the distribution of the units of the army of Egypt in the time of Augustus:

"There are also three legions of soldiers, one of which is stationed in the city and the other two in the countryside. Apart from these there are nine Roman cohorts, three of which are in the city, three on the borders of Ethiopia in Syene as a guard for those regions, and three throughout the rest of the countryside. In the same way three alae are stationed at key points."

The troops at Syene were there to guard the Nilometer (εἰς δ' ἐνταυθα  
τρεις σπειραι ῥωμαίων ἰδρυμένας φρουρας χαρην).

However, most of the units maintained a large number of outposts throughout the surrounding area; so numerous and scattered were these that Hadrian thought it necessary to mention them to legio III Augusta in A.D. 128 (quod multae quod diversae stationes vos distinent). In time of war it would be necessary for detachments of the army to occupy bridge-heads and other important strategic points; cohors I Hispanorum maintained men in garrison at C--ra outside Lower Moesia and in the province at Piroboridava on the left bank of the Sereth and on detachment at Boridava on the Oltu during the early stages of the Second Dacian War. In time of peace such outposts would still often be maintained, as Hadrian and Strabo prove, and used to keep law and order and safeguard the security of the province. Personnel of the Roman army were often employed on such paramilitary tasks as policing important towns, suppressing brigands, maintaining peace in the countryside, protecting caravans, dispensing justice, acting as customs officials, collecting taxes, operating

immigration control, supervising markets, maintaining scouting patrols, and communications, and escorting convoys.<sup>1</sup>

Aristides in his oration to Rome provides good examples of the benefits of the pax Romana and how it was provided and guaranteed by the Roman army. The benevolent system of government of the Romans meant that they did not have to place garrisons in the citadels of the towns and cities in the various provinces to preserve peace and loyalty

(φρουρων δε ουδεν δει τας ακροπολεις εχοντων). Indeed,

most provinces required very few units of the Roman army:

"In this way cities are free from garrisons, and battalions and regiments are sufficient to protect whole countries; even these are not stationed in large numbers throughout the cities in each of the countries, but are dispersed in the countryside with defined spheres of control. The result is that many countries do not know the whereabouts of their garrisons. But if a city anywhere had grown excessively large and had exceeded its ability to maintain internal order, you did not begrudge them the soldiers to guard and watch over them."

The last sentence is a reference to a further outbreak of rioting in the turbulent city of Alexandria. Aristides further states that because the Roman army had a just and equitable system of recruiting from the cities, the latter did not mind having no troops of their own to provide protection, as these would, of course, be superfluous:

"The result is that all the cities are well pleased with the dispatch of these men to be their own representatives, while each city has no local militia whatsoever nor does it look for military protection to any quarter other than to you, because it is for this reason and no other that those who went out from the cities have been organised so well."

These recruits were taken into the army, trained, and then mostly stationed on the frontiers:

"When you have found and treated them in this way, you posted them on the frontiers of the Empire, where you stationed them at intervals and assigned them areas to guard, some to some, others to others."

Walls were erected on the frontiers instead of around Rome. These walls had towns on the borders (πόλεις ἐφορίας) and colonies. It was the Roman army who guarded these, as if they themselves were an additional entrenchment (ὡς περ δε τάφρος, κυκλῶ περιεργει στρατοπέδον). Aristides stresses that the real defence of the Empire and the pax Romana was the well-trained army:

"The ring, much greater and more impressive, utterly and completely impregnable and indestructible, outshines them all. None of those in the history of the world has ever been so firm, for these walls are shielded by men who have not acquired the habit of flight. They have been closely drilled in that systematic training which Homer mentions of the Myrmidons in the passage cited, comparing them with a wall, namely in all the tools of war . . . . Such are the well-organised systems that enclose us, the one the circle of fortifications at individual points, the other the guardians of the whole world."

He believed that this was the reason why there were occasional clashes on the frontiers rather than full scale wars. Such was the nature of the pax Romana guaranteed by the army, although fighting was in the blood of the Romans (τοσαυτη ἀρ' ἔμιν εἰρήνη, κἀν πατριον πολεμεῖν).<sup>2</sup>

The number of outposts that a unit would man can be seen from some papyri from Egypt dating to the last quarter of the second century. The receipt-book for the ala Veterana Gallica for the first three months of A.D. 179 shows that men from that unit manned a dozen different stationes between the Delta and Arsinoite; some were in the neighbourhood

of Alexandria, especially the district called Bucolia, others were further away (for example, Aphroditopolis, Scenae Mandrae). The entries strongly suggest that each post was regularly relieved. Pay accounts of an unknown cohort belonging to the period A.D. 192-196 show that it manned at least eight outposts in villages sited along two roads running east and south in the northeastern part of Egypt at Rinocorura, Ostracina, Heracleopolis Parva, Heliopolis, Thaubastum, Babylonia, Herropolis, and an unknown site. The unit itself was perhaps stationed at Pelusium. Similarly, detachments of legionaries were deployed over the whole of Egypt. Dida, an equus of the ala Vocontiorum, recorded armatum feci stationi meses [sic] quinque at El-Moueh. In A.D. 9 in a time of apparent tranquillity detachments of the Roman army were guarding various places throughout Germany to maintain peace at the request of the inhabitants.<sup>3</sup>

The files of cohors XX Palmyrenorum, especially the two great rosters of A.D. 219 and A.D. 222, provide much information about the number of posts manned by soldiers detached from Dura. However, it must be remembered that only 60% of the duties of the estimated total of the former and 63% of the latter have survived, and consequently more soldiers were certainly assigned to these and probably other posts. In A.D. 219 sixty-two soldiers including a duplicarius and nineteen equites were stationed at Appadana, a town on the mouth of the River Chabur to the north of Dura. In A.D. 222 there were forty-nine soldiers there including twelve equites; they represent 9% and 7% respectively of the attested total.

A very fragmentary roster for A.D. 222-224 also attests ten pedites there. A garrison from Dura is attested in Appadana in A.D. 208, when it entertained the Persian envoy Goces as he was passing through the province; in A.D. 211, when two of its members seem to have been in disciplinary trouble; in A.D. 221, when the tribune was asked to see that barley was provided for equitibus sive milionibusque in vexill(atione) Appadanensium deg(unt). According to the roster of c.A.D. 235 and a list of principales of A.D. 236 men from the cohort were still stationed there. The unit also sent a sizeable detachment to Becchufrayn, the site of which is unknown. In A.D. 219 eighty-nine soldiers or 12% of the men attested in the roster were stationed there; they consisted of the leading centurion, a sesquuplicarius, and sixty-eight pedites other ranks, and eighteen equites including a duplicarius; the detachment also included a clerk to keep records of the men there ([B]e[c]h offic). Three years later thirty-seven soldiers are attested there including one duplicarius and three equites (6%). On 28th March, c.A.D. 233, a morning report lists a soldier from Becchufrayn among its missi/reversi items. A post had been maintained at Becchufrayn from the early years of the third century, for in a private letter a soldier wrote to a centurion at Dura telling him about life there. The two rosters show that other posts were manned by men from the cohort: eleven are attested in both years at Magdala, all of whom were pedites except one in the latter; seven and eight pedites in A.D. 219 and A.D. 222 respectively at BIRTHA to the north of Dura; seven and three pedites respectively at Castellum Arabum; and six and three equites respectively at Chafer Avira. In A.D. 222

six men are attested at Barbalissus, a town 170 miles north of Dura, and one man at Alexandria and one at Capera. A fragmentary summary of dispositions of the personnel dated to c.A.D. 240 lists men at Chafer and Castellum. Five men in A.D. 219 have the assignment parthia, which was probably a region.<sup>4</sup>

The duty roster of an Egyptian legion for the first ten days of October, A.D. 87, gives details of the guard duties outside the camp as well as inside. The camp was situated in Nicopolis, a suburb of Alexandria, and men in a patrol on the road leading to it are mentioned four times (via Nico(politana)). On the 3rd one man was in a watchtower (specula), while on the 1st Q. Cassius Rufus was stationed on an island, presumably near the Pharos (insula). Four men had the entry pro quintanesio against their names, perhaps to be expanded as some form of procubitor and meaning a period of outpost duty lasting for five days; P. Clodius Secundus and C. Julius Longus from Sidon jointly were on this duty for the first five days of the month and were then relieved by Q. Petronius and C. Aemilius. On the 7th C. Aemilius Valens was perhaps acting as a guard for men concerned with the cotton harvest (goss[ipion]). Another document from the same files notes that a little earlier T. Flavius Valens had left for guard duty at the mint (Exit ad moneta).<sup>5</sup>

In provinces on the frontiers of the Empire the units of the Roman army would maintain constant patrols in the frontier area, the zone immediately beyond the physical frontier in which the barbarians were not

allowed to settle, and in the territory beyond that. The need for this in time of war is obvious and is well attested by many instances: the pridianum of cohors I Hispanorum, for example, records that some of its men including a centurion and equites were across the Danube exploratum. However, the need for patrols was still as necessary in time of peace as in war and the system is well illustrated by the frontier in Britain in the third century. There were five outpost forts beyond the line of Hadrian's Wall and each contained a cohors milliaria equitata: High Rochester also contained a numerus exploratorum, Risingham a numerus exploratorum and a detachment of Raeti gaesati. Neither fort was large enough to contain even the cohors at full strength and so a substantial part of the cohort and also the additional units must have been continuously away from the fort and engaged on patrols. There is good evidence to suggest that there was a long-range scouting post at Jedburgh and probably another at Tweedmouth. Although such units of frontier scouts are not attested epigraphically at the other three outpost forts, it seems certain that they were in fact attached to their garrisons; Netherby was called castra exploratorum in the third century, showing that it was the headquarters of the scouting and patrol system beyond the Wall. Additional irregular garrisons are also attested at Housesteads and Great Chesters in the third century, who may well have patrolled the areas immediately to the north of the Wall.<sup>6</sup>

Not surprisingly the files of cohors XX Palmyrenorum reveal that various members were away from Dura on scouting patrols (exploratores). According to the great roster of A.D. 219 five pedites and ten equites

were engaged on scouting duties, in A.D. 222 four pedites and four equites are attested so employed. However, as both rosters only preserve just over half of the estimated totals, it can be calculated that normally about a score of men from the cohort would be exploratores in the frontier area of Syria Coele.<sup>7</sup>

Because the individual units of the Roman army in a province might often be sited some distance apart, and for other obvious strategic considerations, it was necessary for the military authorities to have an efficient and rapid system of communications between the individual forts, the outposts, scouting patrols, and military headquarters. One way of doing this was to station cavalymen in relays to act as dispatch-riders; this was standard procedure in the armies of the Republic and Caesar and was practised in the Principate also. The technical term seems to have been dispositus. This system of posting riders at intervals meant that news and information could be sent very rapidly from one place to another. The two great rosters of cohors XX Palmyrenorum reveal that in A.D. 219 fourteen equites had the assignment dispositus and in A.D. 222 fifteen; no pedes is attested with this duty, as is obvious. One of the main duties of the 120 equites legionis must have been to act as dispatch-riders for the legion; they seem to have operated as such especially in connection with the guards.<sup>8</sup>

Archaeology has revealed several examples of the signalling systems employed by the Roman army in Britain at various dates. The system of milecastles and turrets on Hadrian's Wall and of milefortlets and towers

on the Cumberland coast was the most regular and had special long-range signalling-posts at Pike Hill, for example. The predecessor of this was a series of signal-towers linking forts along the Stanegate. A system of signal-stations, forts, and a road associated with the Cleaven Dyke presumably represent the Agricolan pattern. Information was passed from the outpost fort at Bewcastle to various parts of Hadrian's Wall from a signal-tower on the summit of Gillalees Beacon; the information was carried by a rider from the fort to the tower. A complicated system of signal-platforms was discovered alongside Dere Street at Four Laws; perhaps it represents a similar system for the eastern half of the Wall. Communications between the senior officer of the Wall garrisons at Stanwix and the legionary fortress at York were provided by an arterial road along the Stanmore Pass with several small signalling-towers.<sup>9</sup>

The way in which personnel of the Roman army were employed to maintain lines of communication and also to provide security in the vicinity can well be illustrated by two inscriptions from Numidia. In A.D. 188 a watch-tower was erected at Ksar Sidi el Hadj near a road junction to ensure the safety of travellers (burgum Commodianum s[p]eculatorium inter duas vias ad salutem commeantium nova tute[1]a). This building was later dismantled and replaced by a similar structure two miles to the north-east along the road at Loth Bordj about A.D. 215; the garrison of this burgus speculatorum Anto(ninianorum) was a numerus Hemesenorum under a legionary centurion praepositus. They controlled the movements of all personnel passing along the wadi from the frontier to the interior and were in a key signalling-position with the other

military posts along this route.<sup>10</sup>

In those provinces in the East that were on the borders of the Empire, soldiers would be stationed at various points to assist and protect caravans of merchants trading across the frontier. An inscription records that troops in Egypt in A.D. 137 constructed a road from Berenice to Antinoopolis with frequent water-stops, caravanserais, and forts for protective garrisons. Similarly under Augustus or Tiberius a large party of legionaries and auxiliary cavalrymen were building cisterns (lacci) and constructing or repairing forts along the road from Coptos to Berenice. Presumably the soldier who describes himself as *στρατιωτης εκληρουργος υδρευατων* was engaged in building such watering-places. Thus the tariff set up at Coptus in A.D. 90 contained a list of toll fees and the cost of permits to defray the expense of maintaining these services. The Elder Pliny records that on the road from Coptus to Berenice there were frequent watering-places (mostly called *Hydreuma*) at stages along the road; at Trogodyticum 'a garrison is stationed on outpost duty at a caravanserai accommodating two thousand travellers'. Many details of the life of a small guard-post in one of these forts are preserved in the ostraca from Wâdi Fawâkhir. In other parts of the Empire soldiers might be stationed in mansiones and stationes of the cursus publicus and some of the men from cohors XX Palmyrenorum seem to have been so employed at Appadana.<sup>11</sup>

Ulpian states that it was the duty of a governor to keep his province peaceful and quiet (pacata atque quieta provincia) and he explains how

to do this:

"This is not difficult, if he acts diligently to search for wicked men and remove them from the province; he must search for temple-robbers, brigands, kidnappers, thieves, and punish any one committing these offences, and suppress the people who harbour them, without whose aid a brigand cannot lie low for long."

Ulpian's phrase is strikingly similar to that used by Tacitus to describe the state of Britain when Agricola handed over the province to his successor (provinciam quietam tutamque). When Avillius Flaccus was appointed Prefect of Egypt in A.D. 32, his first task was to restore good order in Alexandria and throughout the countryside. To achieve this he used the legions and auxiliary regiments and battalions:

"He instructed the officers not to withhold the pay of the soldiers and so encourage them to pillage and steal, and the soldiers individually not to interfere in matters outside their military duties, but to remember that they had also been ordered to maintain the peace."

Thus a governor was to use his troops *την ειρηνην διαφυλαττειν*.

It is quite clear that a governor was responsible in peace-time for maintaining peace and security in the countryside and suppressing brigandage. For this purpose detachments of soldiers were stationed throughout the countryside, and Tertullian, writing in the first quarter of the third century, could say:

"Military posts are stationed throughout all the provinces for tracking down brigands."

However, these scattered posts were not always adequate and at times larger forces had to be employed to suppress - not always successfully - well organised bands of brigands such as those under Tacfarinas in Africa c.A.D. 17-24 and Bulla in Italy in c.A.D. 206-207. At first a centurion was

responsible for directing operations against Bulla, later a tribune of the Praetorian Guard with a large force of cavalry.<sup>12</sup>

The details of how the Roman soldiers operated against brigands can be seen from an edict of M. Sempronius Liberalis, Prefect of Egypt, issued on 29th August, A.D. 154. Recent disturbances had been quelled but there was still unrest in the countryside; many people had left their farms because of the burden of the various liturgies and were now brigands:

"Others have voluntarily run away and prefer to associate with criminals and brigands. That they may learn that I am taking action and advise both them and others to return, let them know that instructions have been given to the epistrategi, strategi, and soldiers dispatched by me for the security and peace of the countryside to check raids as soon as they begin by anticipation and forethought and to take immediate counteraction once a raid has been made. My men have been ordered to interrogate criminals caught in the act about brigandage."

The soldiers were not immediately successful, for on 26th October, A.D. 158, a civilian police official testified that he had posted a copy of this edict at a farmstead. On other occasions the Roman authorities clearly succeeded: on 28th October, A.D. 144, the town council of Sala in Mauretania Tingitana publicly thanked M. Sulpicius Felix, praefectus alae II Syrorum civium Romanorum, because one of his many acts of kindness towards the municipium had been to provide guards to protect their fields, flocks, and forests from brigands. However, attempts to suppress brigandage in that part of the world were not always so successful: Nonius Datus, the legionary engineer, records an incident on his journey from Lambaesis to Saldae in Mauretania Caesariensis c.A.D. 152:

"I set off, but on the way I fell in with brigands; although I was stripped and wounded, I managed to get away with my equipment."

Another soldier was even less fortunate, because among the list of permanent losses from conors I Hispanorum in A.D. 105 is one man killed by bandits (occisus a latron[i]bus). In A.D. 9 the Germans asked Varus to send them detachments of soldiers to arrest brigands; these legionaries were killed not by the brigands, but by the Germans. According to the writers of Roman military law soldiers who failed to stay and fight to protect praefectum centuriae a latronibus circumventum were punished; this suggests that a century would often be sent to deal with a small outbreak of brigandage. It is tempting to wonder if Q. Calpurnius Concessinius had suppressed a band of brigands in the frontier area of Britain or perhaps in the northern Pennines (caesa Corionototarum manu) rather than an unknown tribe or sept. Latrunculi exterarum gentis successfully raided a salt-works in the frontier area of Scotland in the second century and carried off a woman condemned there. Detachments of British legions were sent under L. Artorius Castus to put down rebellious peasants in Brittany, perhaps in A.D. 184-185. In c.A.D. 208 C. Julius Septimius Castinus, when legatus legionis I Minerviae, led vexillations of all the legions of the two Germanies adversus defectores et rebelles; there is no evidence for any political or foreign disturbances at this time in that area and it seems best to assume that he was in command of a security force operating after an outbreak of brigandage. One of the tasks assigned to M. Valerius Maximianus in the course of his long career was the command of detachments, when he was procurator Moesiae Inferioris c.A.D. 176, to suppress brigands who were

too active across the border, (eodem in tempore praeposito vexillationibus et at detrahendam Briseorum latronum manum in confinio Macedon(iae) et Thrac(iae)). At the same time Didius Julianus was busy suppressing brigandage in the wild hinterland of the province of Dalmatia.<sup>13</sup>

Brigands tended to flourish in Judaea and there are many references to the use of Roman soldiers to hunt and capture them. As early as c23 B.C. brigands were proving to be so troublesome that Varro, the governor of Syria, was ordered by Augustus to lead his army and exterminate them. Agrippa had been unable to suppress brigandage, but when Judaea was again put under a procurator in A.D. 41, Fadus soon cleared them from the countryside. In A.D. 51 brigands attacked and robbed a libertus Caesaris who was foolishly travelling from Jerusalem to Bethoron without a military escort; Cumanus sent soldiers to search the neighbouring villages to see if they could find either the brigands or the baggage hidden there. It will be remembered that Ulpian b c stated that it was the duty of a governor receptoresque eorum coercere sine quibus latro diutius latere non potest. In the following year Cumanus used an ala and four cohorts to attack brigands under Eleazar and succeeded in killing or capturing many of them. His successor Felix also captured many including Eleazar himself. Festus also attacked the brigands and captured and killed many. The two criminals executed at the same time as Christ were brigands who had presumably been captured in a security operation by the Roman forces. Barabbas too was a brigand who had been arrested after leading an insurrection

and committing murder in Jerusalem; he was in military custody and awaiting execution. At a similar early date the hero of Eumolpus's tale was guarding the corpses of latrones who had been crucified on the orders of a governor in the East.<sup>14</sup>

In Judaea various charlatans and false prophets appeared from time to time and persuaded large numbers of people to follow them into the wilderness; they soon either joined up with brigands or became brigands themselves, and were accordingly treated as such by the Roman authorities. In A.D. 36 Pilate sent a force of cavalry and infantry to remove the Samaritan followers of a crank from Tirathana; some were killed, others put to flight, and many were taken prisoner. In A.D. 44 Fadus sent an ala to deal with the four hundred followers of the charlatan Theudas, who were waiting for the waters of the River Jordan to divide so that they could cross; again some were killed and many captured including Theudas. About ten years later Felix captured and executed many of these charlatans with a mixed force of cavalry and infantry. The biggest danger and disturbance was caused by an Egyptian false prophet; with some 4,000 followers he proposed to attack Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, kill the Roman garrison, and set himself up as ruler. Felix, however, quickly ordered a large force of cavalry and infantry to put on their battle kit and attack; many of the prophet's followers were either killed or captured, although he and a few others escaped. Claudius Lysias a year or two later thought that Paul, who had just been arrested, was this Egyptian, because they had both caused such an

uproar. The brigands and charlatans now joined forces to terrorise the countryside. Festus, the next procurator, in turn used a mixed force of cavalry and infantry to kill the followers of yet another charlatan. Such people were not confined to Judaea; in A.D. 69 a certain Mariocus, who declared himself to be the champion of Gaul and a god, collected a following of 8,000; this fanaticam multitudinem was crushed and he was captured by some cohorts with the aid of some militia of the Aedui.<sup>15</sup>

Normally the military forces in a province would be sufficiently strong to suppress brigandage or to keep it at a minimum. However, at times a gifted leader like Tacfarinas or Bulla would cause so much trouble that special measures would have to be taken by the authorities; such a person was Maternus in A.D. 186:

"Soon afterwards another plot was hatched against Commodus. A man named Maternus, who had been a soldier but with a record of many dreadful crimes, deserted and persuaded others to do likewise. He soon collected a large band of desperadoes. At first Maternus raided and plundered villages and the countryside, but when he had amassed a large amount of money, he collected an even larger band of villains by offering a generous share of the booty and loot. The result was that they were no longer regarded as brigands but as enemies. They now attacked the largest cities, broke open the jails, released the prisoners regardless of what crime they had been imprisoned for, promised them their freedom, and thus persuaded them to join his band. They harassed the whole of Gaul and Spain, attacked the largest towns; some they set fire to, the rest they looted and abandoned. When Commodus was informed of this, he sent angry and threatening letters to the governors of the provinces accusing them of negligence, and ordered them to raise an army against the brigands."

The number of military units in these provinces was very small and totally inadequate to deal with brigandage on this scale. Pescennius Niger was sent to deal with the situation and with the help of Severus,

the governor of Lugdunensis, succeeded in putting down the brigands, although a few with Maternus slipped into Italy and attempted to assassinate Commodus. In the late 150s Fronto, who had just been elected proconsul Asiae, took great steps to ensure that his province would not be troubled by bandits during his term of office; one of the people he asked to go with him to assist was Julius Senex:

"From Mauretania also I summoned to me Julius Senex, a man whose love for me was the same as mine for him, so that I might have the benefit not only of his loyalty and diligence, but also his unceasing military efforts in hunting down and suppressing bandits."

Clearly all governors were expected to be capable of militari industria circa quaerendos et continendos latrones.<sup>16</sup>

Sometimes a centurion was appointed to maintain law and order over a district in a province; such an officer was called centurio regionarius. His duties can clearly be deduced from the dedication on a statue set up by the colony of Antioch in Pisidia about the middle of the third century to honour Aurelius Dionysius; on the front the ἑκατοντάρχος <sup>ε</sup> ῥεγέωναρτος was praised 'for being fair and for having preserved the peace', and on the back 'for guarding the lives of many and preserving the peace'. The centurion in charge of a region is attested elsewhere: C. Severius Emeritus at Bath, for example, M. Aelius Honoratus from near Brigetio on 15th October, A.D. 210, Ingenus from Lauriacum, and an anonymous one from Sens. An indication of the function of this post before the term regionarius became finally established comes from Egypt in the second century: Valerius Maximus is called <sup>ε</sup> ὁ ἐπι των τῶρων (ἑκατοντάρχος). Towards the end of the third century a decurion

in Egypt is twice called (δεκαδραχος) ἐπι εἰρηνης Ἡρακλεοπολιτου; presumably he was employed in a similar way to the centurions. At Ribchester in the third century a legionary centurion was regularly appointed praepositus numeri et regionis over the Fylde, where the heavy horses for the Sarmatian cavalry were reared.<sup>17</sup>

However, by far the most detailed picture of the use of military personnel in police work comes from Egypt, because many of the papyri recording the complaints made to them have come to light. Occasionally a decurion is mentioned, but mostly the person is a centurion. These officers were stationed in security areas on the edge of cultivation; the complaints come mostly from villages along the fringe of the northern edge of the oasis (for example, Socnopaei Nesus, Karanis, Philadelphia), but a few come from the south (Tebtunis) and south-west (Euhemeria) fringes. Very occasionally a complaint is made to a centurion and also to a civilian magistrate and presumably the military were responsible for maintaining law and order in those areas in which it was more convenient for the Roman authorities to make use of them rather than of civilians. The earliest example is dated to 20 B.C. and they continue into the third and even the fourth century. There is quite clearly a standard form in which the person made his complaint: the name and address of the aggrieved party, the nature of the complaint, and the request for the centurion to investigate, question, arrest, and punish. There is only one exception:

"To Valerius Maximus, the centurion over the region, from Tautes, daughter of Stotoeteus, priestess, of the village of Socnopaei Nesus in the division of Heracleides.

Sir, your kindness surpasses that of anyone else in the world, and I, a helpless widow, have need of this same kindness. The matter is like this:"

Unfortunately the papyrus is lost from there onwards and it is not known what caused this unusual form of appeal.<sup>18</sup>

The most common complaint made to a centurion or decurion on police work was about assault. Sometimes there was no motive: Pancebis reported to the decurion Longinus in A.D. 167-168 that he and his brother Onnophris had been attacked for no reason by Saturnilus and a gang of men; his brother was critically ill and Pancebis asked that Saturnilus should be arrested and brought to trial. Money, however, was often the motive in one way or another. On 27th April, A.D. 37 at Euhemeria, Petermuthis, a tax-official, and a companion, while trying to recover a debt from two shepherds, were beaten by them and robbed of money and a belt; the centurion C. Trebius Justus was asked to investigate. In c.A.D. 102 a priest asked the centurion Messius Audax to arrest on a charge of assault four men who owed him money but refused to pay; they had attacked him, torn his clothing, and threatened to kill him. Two brothers complained to the centurion Proculus in A.D. 175-180 that when their father had died, two of his heirs had come to the house and stolen some rings; when the sons attempted to prevent them, they had been beaten; they asked Proculus to arrest and question the two men. Stotoetis, who stated that physically he was weak, had suffered repeatedly from bullying and violence at the hands of Hecysis, one of his in-laws,

who was now demanding that Stotoetis sign over to him his share of some joint property, or he would kill him; on 27th September, A.D. 184, he finally managed to screw up enough courage to ask the centurion Aurelius Antonius to arrest and question Heocysis and said he would then press even more serious charges. When the sow belonging to the daughter of an eighty year old Arab archer got away, he asked the soldier into whose house it had run, if it was still there, but had been assaulted by the latter; he accordingly reported the matter to the centurion Aurelius Marcianus on 22nd November, A.D. 248. <sup>19</sup>

The centurions were often asked to investigate cases of theft and larceny. On 7th April, A.D. 216, Aurelius Pacyseus reported to the centurion Aurelius Calvisius Maximus that seven artabae of wheat had been stolen from a store in the upper storey of his daughter-in-law's house; the thieves had effected an entry by cutting through the ceiling of the room below. He had already made some enquiries himself and suspected some people whom he asked Maximus to arrest. It is known that on the same day he also sent an identical letter to the civilian *επιτηγος*. On 18th November, A.D. 176, Soterichus of Tebtunis found that the door of his unoccupied house had been forced and the contents completely ransacked; he would furnish a full list of the missing articles and asked that enquiries should be made. On 24th November, A.D. 133, Papontos reported that someone had stolen four goatskins and four fleeces; he asked that enquiries should be made and the guilty arrested and punished. On the night of 24th November, at some time in the second

century, while Herais and her daughter were away, some people had broken into their house, killed the butler, his brother, and the daughter's maid, and stolen clothing, the silver, money, and jewelry; she reported the matter to the decurion Antonius Longus and gave a detailed inventory including size, shape, colour, material, etc; she seems to have been more concerned at the loss of her valuables than the murder of the three servants. In one instance the complainant had actually caught the thief red-handed: Limnaeus, a steward on the estate of Doryphorus, requested the centurion L. A(mnius (?)) to have Apollonius and his accomplice sent to him; he and his men had caught them in the act of picking olives from the estate at dawn on 28th September, A.D. 71. <sup>20</sup>

Yet another aspect of police work in which military officers were involved was concerned with missing persons. Nemous reported to the centurion Julius Julianus and the decurion Julius Conon that her husband had left their house in Philadelphia in the early afternoon of 2nd March, A.D. 207, and had not been seen since, although search parties had been organised. Julianus was kept busy, because on 11th October in the same year he was requested by twenty-five villagers of Socnopaei Nesus to arrest five brothers who were terrorising the village and preventing the sowing of the crops. Another woman, however, suspected foul play: on 22nd December, A.D. 216, she reported to the centurion Aurelius Julius Marcellinus that her father, a hunter called Calabis, and her brother Nilus had left their home in the village of Tebtunis on 29th November, to hunt hares and had not yet returned; she continued:

"I therefore suspect that they have come to a fatal end, and I submit this statement to inform you of the matter, so that if they have come to a fatal end, the guilty persons may be held accountable to me."

She had also submitted a copy of her statement to the civilian στρατηγός. From the same village a few years earlier in A.D. 201 comes a variation on the theme: Heraclia complained to the centurion Gallus that her husband Hermes had run off with all the money her parents had left in their will and was squandering it.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to the above examples of burglary, robbery, and assault, there are also a few examples of other crimes reported to centurions. There was a case of malicious damage in the time of Severus Alexander in the village of Tebtunis: while Aurelius Heracleides was away on official business, his she-ass escaped; some of his neighbours organised a search party and found the ass tied up and dead; he asked the centurion Aurelius Basileides to investigate the matter and punish the culprit. On 9th May, A.D. 192, Sabinus Zosimus reported to Valerius Germanus a case of arson by person or persons unknown at Karanis on the night of the 7th. The same area had another fire-raiser: on the night of the 10th August, A.D. 214, Satyrus reported to the centurion Aurelius Valerianus that some unknown person had set fire to all the vines that he possessed causing considerable damage; he requested Valerianus to take steps to apprehend the guilty party. There was a case of trespassing, threatening behaviour, and robbery: Hermon owned some property near the village of Teis that included a fishing pool, for which he paid taxes; a large number of fishermen, aided and abetted by a soldier Titius, had come

without permission and caught fish to the value of a silver talent; when he remonstrated with them, they threatened him. As a tax-paying citizen, he asked the centurion Q. Caius Passer on 12th May, A.D. 31, to arrest the accused and compel them to pay the value of the stolen fish, and not to trespass in future.<sup>22</sup>

In most of the instances cited above, the centurion or decurion is requested to detain a suspect person for questioning or to arrest a guilty one. There are a few cases where a centurion gives instructions to this effect. On 19th July, 20 B.C., Petesuches was ordered to bring in a woman wanted for questioning by 'Anchoriphis, the centurion at Sendrypaeis'. Similar demands to produce a wanted person were made over two centuries later, by Aurelius Kyrus in the opening years of the third century and in A.D. 211 by Crenuleius Quintilianus. On 6th January, A.D. 242 (?), a centurion ordered Syrus, who was acting as *στρατηγος* for Oxyrhynchus, to send several people to him who were suspected of being involved in embezzlement in deliveries of corn; he was sending a stationarius as escort. Another centurion ordered the chiefs of the village of Syra to send up a person who was wanted. Sarapodorus told his brother Phanion that if he did not turn up to give evidence on his behalf before his bail expired, he would get the centurion to issue a subpoena and send a soldier to deliver it and escort Phanion to the court. In one example where a centurion issues instructions, an arrest seems to be imminent; the letter is in Greek with the Latin date of 4th June added at the bottom:<sup>23</sup>

"From Domitius Julianus, the centurion.

On receipt of my first letter in fact, you should not have ignored it, but come to me and informed me to whom the crops belonged that have caused the dispute. But now, on receipt of this letter, come to me, as the agents of Heron the Exegetes are making vehement charges against you."

It is quite clear that each centurion did not specialise in investigating one particular form of crime, but dealt with each case that was brought to his attention. Mention has already been made of Julius Julianus, who was asked to investigate in the same year A.D. 207 a case of a missing husband from Philadelphia and a mob of hoodlums terrorising Socnopaei Nesus. However, the best example is Ammonius Paternus in A.D. 193. On 18th April he received a complaint from Melas of Socnopaei Nesus who possessed equal shares with his cousin Harpagathes in a walled site in which they stored fodder. On the previous day Harpagathes had come along in a violent rage, seized Melas's fodder, refused to allow him to use his own part, tried to claim that every thing belonged to him, and driven him away; he asked Paternus to send for Harpagathes. Six weeks later on 2nd June he received a complaint from Syrus of Arsinoe; he and his brother had paid the whole of that month's grain tax and nine out of ten artabae of another tax. Because of this one outstanding artaba, four tax-officials had come while he was in the fields, taken his mother's dress, and beaten her; she was now seriously ill in bed. He asked that these men be arrested. A fortnight later on 17th June, Aclaris and Onnophris from Maremphe reported that two nights earlier someone - they did not know who - had stolen twelve boxes of vegetable seeds from their farmlands; would Paternus please organise a search.<sup>24</sup>

There are also one or two instances not in the papyri where a centurion in Egypt is asked to take police action. In the middle of the second century a husband whose Christian wife had divorced him, because he refused to mend his ways, persuaded a centurion who was a friend of his, to arrest Ptolemy who had been responsible for converting the wife to Christianity. The centurion accordingly arrested Ptolemy, interrogated him, and put him in prison to await trial. In A.D. 250 Nemesion was falsely accused before a centurion of associating with brigands; he easily cleared himself of this charge, but was then accused of being a Christian; the centurion therefore arrested him and sent him in chains to the Prefect.<sup>25</sup>

Centurions were employed in a similar way and at times arrested people on various charges in other provinces. This is well illustrated by the case of the Emperor Macrinus, who was forced to flee after his forces had been defeated by those of Elagabalus, and also the case of his son Diadumenianus in A.D. 218:

"While he was at Chalcedon, Macrinus was seized. On the arrival of the men who had been sent by Elagabalus [....], he was arrested by Aurelius Celsus, a centurion, and taken as far as Cappadocia, as if he were one of the lowest criminals. There he learnt that his son also had been arrested; while Diadumenianus was travelling through Zeugma, where in the course of a previous journey he had been declared Caesar, Claudius Pollio, the centurion of the fort, arrested him."

In A.D. 73 Antiochus, the king of Commagene, was suspected of treacherously corresponding with the Parthians; his army under his two sons fought with units of the Roman forces in Syria under Paetus and the king fled:<sup>26</sup>

"On his arrival at Tarsus in Cilicia, Antiochus was arrested by a soldier dispatched by Paetus, who sent him to Rome in chains."

The papyri provide further information about the use of individual soldiers to keep the peace in the country. According to the list of duties that took Egyptian legionaries away from camp for a certain length of time, T. Flavius Valens left on 19th September, A.D. 87 for chora. He was thus one of the security forces stationed in the countryside. There was also co-operation between the Roman army and the native police and guards organised by the civilian authorities. In the late second century a centurion issued instructions in Greek addressed to the elders and officials of the village of Taurenus:

"From Domitius Annianus, the centurion.  
See to it that the usual guard is provided from your tower  
as far as the boundaries of the farmstead called Amminus's."

The date is given, as often when a centurion writes to civilians in Greek, in Latin at the bottom; this was presumably so that the copy could be correctly filed with the military. Personnel from the army were even attached to ships; in the first century legionaries were seconded to the ποταροφυλακεια to provide the military authority, if necessary, to levy tolls and inspect cargoes at the Delta or guard the banks and canals in its upper reaches from bandits. Accordingly, a papyrus records that T. Flavius Celer left with the river guard (Exit cum potamofulacide) and returned later in the same year on 24th May, c.A.D. 80. The river guard was later absorbed by the fleet, but soldiers were still seconded to provide the patrols with the necessary security; a document of the early third century contains the oaths of certain river guards who swear to do their duties properly:

"On the usual boat with the soldier on guard beside us so that nothing untoward might happen."

It is thus quite clear that the soldier was there to provide the necessary protection for the sailors (μετα του ημειν παραφουλαβοντος στρατιωτου ως μηδεν ατοπημα γενεσθαι).

Nearly all legionary forts were situated on a navigable river and maintained a number of small boats for patrol purposes; thus a disce(n)s epibata of legio VII Claudia was on a supply or control mission at Naissus on the River Margus in the second half of the second century. It is known that in the later second century also legio XXII Primigenia at Mainz controlled its own navalia; presumably they used their boats for a similar purpose; at any rate, the legion had shipwrights (nauegi). A steering oar was discovered at Newstead; perhaps the legionaries there kept patrols on the Tweed. A gubernator of legio VI Victrix died at York; perhaps he may have piloted patrol vessels up the upper reaches of the Ouse.<sup>27</sup>

The beneficiarius consularis is an excellent example of a soldier seconded for various duties outside the camp. Exactly how many there were to each province is not known, but thirty are twice attested attached to the headquarters of the legatus legionis III Augustae provinciae Numidiae; Tacitus states that when the command of the legion was taken away from the proconsul Africae and entrusted completely to the legatus legionis, the beneficia were shared between the two, and epigraphy shows that other members of the praetorium of the governor of Numidia were less in number than those elsewhere; perhaps the number of beneficarii consularis for other provinces was sixty, although it is

possible that the total varied with the size and needs of each province.<sup>28</sup>

They were seconded to perform various duties. The governor might use one to carry an important message to another province: L. Julius Ursus Servianus, the governor of Upper Germany, sent one in A.D. 98 from Mainz to Cologne in Lower Germany to inform Trajan that Herva was dead. However, they were generally stationed in posts either on the frontier line itself or on the major lines of communication, and especially where the two met. This can well be seen by distribution maps of the sites where beneficariii consularis are attested in the provinces of eastern Europe and also very clearly in Lower Germany. The same pattern emerges in Britain: in the frontier zone beneficarius posts are known at Housesteads, Chesterholm, and Risingham, and on the major lines of communication at Catterick, Bimchester, Lanchester, and of course Risingham on the main road east of the Pennines, and at Greta Bridge on the road over the Stainmore Pass connecting York and Stanwix, and in the west at Lancaster. Occasionally a beneficarius was situated in a post in the interior of the province, as at Winchester and Dorchester on Thames. Presumably the ben(eficiarius) leg(ati) pro(praetore) who died at Wroxeter was engaged on official business in the then forward zone.<sup>29</sup>

Those stationed in posts on the main roads were clearly intended to ensure that the lines of communication were kept open. Domaszewski pointed out that a large proportion of beneficariii consularis set up altars to the goddesses of roads and crossroads (Biviae Triviae

Quadriviae); it is therefore not surprising to discover that in A.D. 191 the beneficiarius consularis Q. Varius Vitalis restored an altar to 'the god who devised roads and paths' at Catterick, a mile or two south of the junction of the road over Stainmore to Carlisle and Stanwix and the main road north to Corbridge. On the frontier they will have supervised the traffic crossing to and fro and exacted whatever tolls and charges were necessary, and presumably supervised markets held nearby or in the vici, if there were no local magistrates. Such posts are always near a fort, either legionary or auxiliary, or a town, especially one on which trade routes converge. Some at least of the beneficiarii had a small staff to assist them, for at Vazanis a beneficiarius and short-hand clerks (exceptores) jointly set up an altar. On the side of an inscription the beneficiarius Q. Aemilius Rufus portrayed a writing-case and various writing implements that he had used in his post at Salonae. A beneficiarius and a vilicus manned a customs post at Mainz and beneficiarii and other Roman soldiers are mentioned on the tariff list at Lambaesis. It is probably more than chance that the only fort in Britain which is truly per lineam valli that has a beneficiarius consularis attested stationed there, is also the only one with a gateway through the Wall other than at a fort, milecastle, or road, namely Housesteads with the gateway at the Knag Burn. An inscription from Aquincum dated to A.D. 210 mentions two beneficiarii consularis who were agentes curam legionis); they seem to have been responsible for supervising the passage of commerce and traffic between the territorium legionis and the territorium coloniae. Beneficiarii stationed in towns

far from the frontier were probably appointed to supervise some particular local matter. During the course of the third century, requests for police action were put to the beneficarii stationed in Egypt in the same way as to the centurions. At any rate, in the first quarter of the third century Tertullian complains that beneficarii and curiosi in the course of their work visited shopkeepers, butchers, thieves, gamblers, and pimps, who were on their files, as well as Christians, and took money. It is also highly probable that the beneficarii stationed in key positions throughout the countryside could pass on intelligence information that they came across. An inscription from Alta Ripa in A.D. 181 shows that there was a certain amount of co-operation between the various stationes.<sup>30</sup>

Little is known about the precise location and appearance of the stationes. The number and location would of course depend on the importance of the site and geographical factors; there were, for example, at least four at Cologne, the capital of Lower Germany: at the south gate of the city, in front of the south tower of the colonia, on the left bank of the Rhine, and also on the opposite side at Köln-Deutz. At Stockstadt the statio lay between the fort and the crossing of the Main and similarly, at ~~Gross~~ Krotzenburg it lay between the west gate of the fort and the Roman bridge over the Main; however, at Obernburg the post was sited along the road south of the fort and not between it and the river. At Saalburg the post was probably the building outside the east gate (porta principalis sinistra) on the Roman road running north from Heddernheim and crossing the frontier at the fort. At Risingham the

statio was perhaps to the north-west of the fort between it and the bridge crossing the Rede. It has been suggested with great probability that the small square building underneath the Church of St. Georg in Cologne represents one of the stationes in the city.<sup>31</sup>

It is quite clear that a beneficiarius consularis served in his post for a fixed length of time. Many set up an altar expleto tempore or exacta statione, when they had finished their stipulated term in a post. Often they did more than one term, as when they state iterata statione or prima statione. An inscription from Risingham well illustrates this: Secundinus set up an altar and described himself as 'beneficiarius consularis on his first tour of duty at Risingham' (b]f cos Habitanci prima stat). Analysis of dedications has revealed that the length of the tour and the day on which it commenced and ended, varied from province to province; in Upper Germany the tour was for six months starting on the idus Ianuariae (13th January) or idus Iuliae (15th July), in Noricum the date tended to be the idus Maiae (15th May), and in Upper Pannonia it tended to be round about October.<sup>32</sup>

It is not known for how long a man would remain a beneficiarius consularis or how many tours of duty he would do at any one statio, if indeed there were any definite rules about such matters. Claudius Pompeianus set up a dedication in Praunheim on 13th January, A.D. 213 and set up another eight years later to the day at Grosskrotzenburg, but had been replaced here by 16th January, A.D. 223 at the latest.<sup>33</sup>

Most cities in provinces not under the Emperor's control were policed by civilians paid for and appointed by the local authorities. However, sometimes the capital or some other very important city received a detachment of the Roman army to act as a police force and maintain law and order; for example, an urban cohort was stationed at Lyons to guard the mint, and another at Carthage. In such instances the soldiers were presumably used in the same way as those under the praefectus urbi at Rome; the Digest lists among his duties that:

"Quite clearly he must have soldiers stationed at intervals to keep the populace quiet and to report to him events and where they are taking place."

This policy can well be illustrated from Pliny's correspondence with Trajan:

"It was a very wise move, Sir, on your part in ordering Calpurnius Macer to send a legionary centurion to Byzantium. Please consider giving similar attention to Juliopolis. Because it is such a small city, it sustains very heavy burdens, and so much heavier are the wrongs it bears, because it is so much weaker. Whatever help you grant Juliopolis will benefit the whole province, as it is on the frontier of Bithynia, and most people travelling through the province cross there."

Trajan's reply, however, shows that the number of towns in this category was very small:<sup>34</sup>

"Byzantium is an exceptional case, because of the crowds of travellers flocking in from all quarters. Accordingly, following the practice of previous times, I deemed it proper to aid its magistrates by means of a garrison under a legionary centurion. But if I decide to help Juliopolis in the same way, I shall burden myself with a precedent, because other cities, especially the weaker ones, will request the same aid. I have such confidence in your carefulness that I believe you will use every means to protect the town from wrongs. If anyone commits a breach of the peace, he is to be arrested at once; should the offence be too serious for summary punishment, in the case of soldiers you must notify their officer of your findings, or, in the case of people returning to Rome, inform me by letter."

Josephus gives many examples of the use of Roman soldiers as police to maintain law and order in the various cities of Judaea. In A.D. 26, when the Jews refused to give way on the question of admitting the images of the Emperor into Jerusalem, Pilate surrounded them in the stadium at Caesarea with soldiers three deep whom he ordered to move the Jews on at sword point if necessary. Later, fearing trouble as a result of his decision to build an aqueduct, he put soldiers in plain clothes among the crowd and ordered them to use batons, not their swords, to clear them. The Jews and Syrians in Caesarea quarrelled and rioting broke out; Felix ordered the Jews to leave the forum, but they refused; he then armed his soldiers and cleared the place, and some Jews were killed, others captured. However, moderate Jewish leaders prevailed upon him to have the recall signalled. A few years later in May A.D. 66 trouble broke out between the Greeks and Jews at Caesarea; the Jewish leaders bribed Florus to adjudicate in their favour and he took their money but did not fulfil his side of the bargain. Jucundus, a praefectus alae appointed to settle the dispute, was unable to do so; when the Jewish leaders reminded Florus about the money, he had them arrested and put in custody. In June of the same year the actions of the troops at Jerusalem in quelling rioting caused distress to the Jewish leaders, and eventually the governor Florus had to intervene with his army:

"Summoning the high priests and the Council, he announced that he would evacuate the city, but would leave them whatever garrison they thought fit. They promised to maintain complete order and prevent any uprising, if he left them one cohort, but not the one they had fought; the people hated it because of what they had suffered from it. Florus accordingly replaced the cohort as they requested, and withdrew with the rest of his forces to Caesarea."

On the outbreak of the rebellion in August the new cohort and its praefectus Metilius were massacred.<sup>35</sup>

Jerusalem provides a good example of the use of a unit of the Roman army to maintain law and order in an important but turbulent city. From a statement by Josephus referring to the year A.D. 51, it is quite clear that the auxiliary cohort stationed at Jerusalem was put on special alert at all the Jewish feasts, especially the Passover:

"The people had gathered in Jerusalem for the feast of unleavened bread, and the Roman cohort had taken up its position above the portico of the Temple; soldiers in full battle kit always mount guard at the feasts to prevent any disorder from such a large crowd."

In another account he says:

"When the feast called Passover was at hand, at which it is our custom to serve unleavened bread, a large crowd assembled from all quarters for the feast. Cumanus, fearing that some disorder would thus arise, gave orders for one unit of soldiers to take up their arms and stand guard on the porticoes to quell any disorder that might arise. This action was taken at the feasts by all the procurators of Judaea."

Elsewhere he describes how at one point the tower of Antonia impinged on the porticoes of the Temple, where there were steps:

"A Roman cohort was permanently quartered in Antonia. At the feasts they were posted in full battle kit at intervals around the porticoes and watched the people to prevent any disturbances."

In A.D. 51 the coarse humour of one of these soldiers provoked rioting which forced Cumanus to call in the rest of his army in full battle kit as reinforcements. The disturbances lasted for almost a year and eventually Quadratus, the governor of Syria, had to intervene, and Celer, the tribune in command of the cohort, was sent to Rome, court-martialled

and dismissed the force with ignominy, and handed over to the Jews for execution. Quadratus personally supervised the arrangements for keeping the peace at the Passover of A.D. 52, which passed without trouble, and Cestius Gallus did the same in A.D. 65. A history of rioting at the Passover shows the need for the cohort stationed at Jerusalem to be put on special alert. The chief priests and elders planned to have Christ arrested before the Passover in the hope of avoiding riots; when sentence was passed on him on the second day of unleavened bread, the whole cohort was drawn up ready in the governor's residence to take up its position. There is the possibility that this cohort was seconded to the use of the client king to keep the peace at Jerusalem at the Passover.<sup>36</sup>

There are several references to this cohort in Jerusalem in connection with the arrest, trial, and execution of Christ; one Gospel records:

"Judas took the cohort and the police provided by the chief priests and the Pharisees, and they made their way equipped with lamps, torches, and weapons . . . Then the tribune and the cohort and the Jewish police arrested Jesus and put him in chains; they took him first to Annas."

After the sentence was passed, the soldiers of the governor, Pontius Pilate, who had been present at the trial, took Christ away:

"Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus to the governor's residence and paraded the whole cohort round him."

The soldiers are mentioned in another account:

"The soldiers led him inside the courtyard, that is inside the governor's residence, and assembled the whole cohort."

The men of the execution squad were, of course, Roman soldiers.<sup>37</sup>

Soldiers were also employed to carry out the judicial sentences passed by their commanding officer or, if they were seconded to provincial headquarters, by the governor. In the latter instance they were normally speculatores, and it is interesting to see that when the Gospel of Mark was written, the term ἐπεκουλάτωρ was used to describe the soldier whom Herod sent to execute John the Baptist; clearly Herod was modelling his army on that of the Romans. A centurion was making the preparations to flog Paul in A.D. 58. Similarly the New Testament provides details in the case of Christ: after sentence had been passed on him, Christ was handed over to the soldiers for flogging. The execution party consisted of a squad of four armed soldiers with a centurion in charge; to pass the time after crucifying the three condemned men and while waiting for them to die, the soldiers drank vin ordinaire and dined for the clothes of the condemned, as they were legally entitled to do. Later, at the request of the Jews, Pilate ordered the soldiers to break the legs of the prisoners.<sup>38</sup>

Although the bodies of the criminals who had been executed were mostly handed over to the relatives for burial, in certain special cases the corpses were left unburied as a public warning and example to others; in such circumstances a guard of one or more soldiers was posted to watch over the remains. This is well illustrated in the tale of Eumolpus: the governor of an eastern province had ordered that some captured brigands should be executed; the armed soldier posted to guard the corpses (miles qui cruces asservabat ne quis ad sepulturam corpus detraheret) fell in

love with a beautiful widow and during the course of their romance and his absence from his guard post (laxatam custodiam), one of the relatives took down one of the corpses and buried it; the soldier planned to commit suicide to avoid execution for having deserted his post, but the widow suggested they put the corpse of her husband on the cross instead. Similarly, the remains of the Christians executed at Lyons under Marcus Aurelius were guarded by soldiers:

"They threw out to the dogs those who had been strangled in the jail and guarded them carefully by night and by day, so that none of them might be attended by us. Then they threw out the remains left by the wild animals and the fire, torn and charred, and the heads of the others and the rest of the bodies similarly unburied. These they watched with a military guard for many days."

Eusebius makes it quite clear that there was nothing unusual in παρεφυλαττον μετα στρατιωτικης επιμελειας. The same principle can be seen in operation after the execution of Christ. When Joseph of Arimathaea requested the body for burial (Jewish law forbade that corpses should be left unburied during the Passover), Pilate sent for the centurion who had supervised the execution, to confirm that Christ was in fact dead. Then the Jewish leaders on the Saturday wished the guard to be transferred from Calvary to the tomb to prevent an attempt on the part of the Disciples to cause further trouble by removing the corpse. Pilate granted them a military guard (εχετε κουστωδιαν), which they then posted outside the entrance, after they had sealed it, to guard the tomb. At the sight of the terrifying apparition at dawn on the Sunday, the guards were petrified with fear. Later they returned to Jerusalem.<sup>39</sup>

"After the women had set off, some of the guards returned to the city and reported to the chief priests all that had happened. After meeting with the elders and conferring together, they gave the soldiers a substantial bribe and told them, 'Say, "His disciples came during the night while we were asleep and stole the body." If the governor should get to hear of this, we will put matters right with him and see that you don't get into trouble.' The soldiers took the money and did what they were told. This story became widely known and even today is current in Jewish circles."

A governor of a whole province, according to Ulpian, had the power of condemning criminals to the mines. It is clear that such dangerous convicts damnati in metalla would need a military guard to prevent them from escaping. At Ptolemais Hermiu in Egypt the soldiers guarding the convicts set up dedications wishing themselves good luck (omnibus commilitonibus qui hic fuerunt ad custodias felic(iter)); the units involved were the cohors scutata civium Romanorum and cohors III Ituraeorum, who were all under the supervision of a decurion of ala Vocontiorum, Q. Caesius Valens. Presumably the soldiers guarding the woman slave of M. Cocceius Firmus at the salt-works near the Firth of Forth had not been able to keep a very close watch on the convicts. There are many other examples of soldiers in charge of people at mines and quarries, some, although not all, of whom were convicts. Prisoners of war were often sent to the mines under military guard; after the capture of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 Titus sent large numbers of able-bodied Jewish prisoners in chains to the mines in Egypt; three years earlier his father Vespasian had sent 6,000 prisoners to do navying for Nero's canal across the Corinthian Isthmus; the road from Tarichaeae to Tiberias was lined with soldiers who presumably guarded the prisoners on their journey to and stay

in Greece. Under Marcus Aurelius Christians were, it is alleged, kept under guard working in the mines in Sardinia and extensively in the East later.<sup>40</sup>

A very full picture of how a Roman military unit on police work was expected to keep the peace, maintain law and order, stop rioting and prevent lynchings can be seen in Jerusalem in A.D. 58, when the tribune Claudius Lysias and his cohort were called upon to rescue Paul from the fury of the mob. The first trouble was caused by some Jews from Asia who incited the mob:

"The whole city was in uproar with the crowds milling together; they seized Paul and dragged him out of the Temple and shut the gates immediately. While they were seeking to kill him, a report reached the tribune in command of the cohort that the whole of Jerusalem was in turmoil; he immediately took some centurions and soldiers and came down on the rioters at the double. On seeing the tribune and the soldiers, they stopped beating Paul; the tribune came forward, arrested Paul, and ordered him to be shackled with two chains. He then asked who the man was and what he had done. Some of the crowd shouted one thing, some another; as he could not learn the truth because of the hubbub, he gave orders that Paul should be taken into the barracks. When he reached the steps, Paul had to be carried by the soldiers because of the violence of the mob who pursued them closely shouting 'Kill him!'."

When about to enter the barracks, Paul asked the tribune for permission to speak to the mob. On learning that his prisoner was not the false prophet whose followers had recently caused much trouble, Lysias gave his permission. However, Paul soon provoked the crowd and further rioting ensued; the tribune was compelled to use force a second time to prevent the mob from lynching Paul:

"They had given him a hearing up to this point, but they now raised their voices and shouted 'Down with people like him! It's not right that his sort should live!' As they were shouting and waving their cloaks and flinging dust in the air, the tribune ordered him to be arrested and brought to the barracks; he gave instructions that he was to be examined by flogging to ascertain the cause of the outcry against him. When they had tied him up for the lash, Paul asked the centurion who was standing there, 'Have you the authority to flog a man who is a Roman citizen and who has not been tried?' On hearing this, the centurion went and reported it to the tribune; he asked what his instructions were, as the prisoner was a Roman citizen. The tribune came and asked Paul if he was in fact a Roman citizen, to which Paul replied in the affirmative. The tribune replied, 'It cost me a lot of money to acquire my citizenship,' to which Paul answered, 'I was born a Roman citizen.' Those who were to beat him immediately withdrew, and the tribune was afraid, because he realised that Paul was a Roman citizen and that he had put him in chains. On the next morning, because he wished to learn the truth about the Jewish accusations, he released Paul and ordered the chief priests and the entire Council to assemble. He then took Paul down and stood him before them."

When Paul spoke again, it soon became clear that there was going to be a repetition of the previous day's events. Accordingly, Lysias had to send his troops in for a third time to save Paul:<sup>41</sup>

"Because the uproar was mounting, the tribune feared that Paul would be torn to pieces by the crowd, and so he ordered his soldiers to go down, pull him out of the middle, and bring him to the barracks."

In several incidents where soldiers were employed to act as riot police, they used not their swords but batons or cudgels to disperse crowds. Pilate so used soldiers to disperse a crowd of Jews demonstrating at Jerusalem about the construction of an aqueduct. Florus sent two cohorts to break up a demonstration outside the city and his men used wooden clubs. It is perhaps worth wondering if these wooden implements were in fact the wooden training-weapons used by the

soldiers.<sup>42</sup>

Soldiers were also used as riot police in Alexandria. Claudius Terentianus, a legionary stationed there, wrote to his father Tiberianus in the early second century; he apologised for not registering a document earlier and explained why:

"For you know that now we are working hard, because we are suppressing the uproar and anarchy in the city."

In his next letter he again refers to this violent riot and says that he had been injured in it, but that the people who had broken the laws had been dealt with. Unfortunately nothing more is known of τ[ο]ν θορυβον και ἀκαταστασίαν της πόλ[εως]. In the early 140s there was another outbreak of rioting in Alexandria to which Aristides refers obliquely:<sup>43</sup>

"But if a city anywhere has grown excessively large and has exceeded its ability to maintain internal order, you did not begrudge them the soldiers to guard and watch over them."

According to the lex Iulia de vi publica it was a capital offence to be in possession of arms without official authority. Accordingly, a governor would regularly employ his soldiers to make searches for weapons and confiscate them. As soon as Ostorius arrived in Britain in the late autumn of A.D. 47, he began to disarm those areas of the island which were to become embodied in the peaceful part of the province; this included the client states also, and the Iceni had to be disarmed forcibly. However, it is clear that the search parties had not been thorough, because when the Iceni rebelled in A.D. 60, they were able to use hidden supplies of

weapons to great effect. During his term of office as Prefect of Egypt Flaccus thought that the Jews were keeping large quantities of weapons in their homes and therefore he instituted a house-to-house search of Jewish property:

"He therefore sent for a centurion in whom he had great trust, called Castus, and ordered him to take the most intrepid soldiers in his company and quickly and without giving notice to enter the Jewish houses and to make a search to see if there were any supplies of weapons there."

The centurion and his men made a most thorough search of all the houses but did not find any weapons. These searches were not confined to the city of Alexandria:

"And yet not long before a man called Bassus to whom Flaccus had assigned this duty, collected weapons from the Egyptians who lived in the countryside. Then one could see a large fleet of boats which had sailed down stream and moored in the river harbours loaded with every type of weapon, and also a large number of baggage-animals carrying bundles of spears across their backs and hanging down on each side to balance equally, while from the camp wagons, almost every one of which was full of complete sets of weapons and armour, moved in a single orderly line, all visible at one glance; the distance between the harbours and the armoury in the palace where the arms were to be stored, was in all one and a quarter miles."

A papyrus dated to A.D. 35 is an order from Flaccus to all civilians forbidding them to be in possession of weapons. Encolpius was discovered by a soldier carrying a sword with which he intended to commit suicide; when the soldier discovered that Encolpius was not in fact a legionary too (he foolishly gave a fictitious century and legion), he disarmed him.<sup>44</sup>

It was often necessary that a person awaiting trial should be moved from one part of the province to another. The many letters from

villagers to centurions stationed throughout the countryside asking them to have a person arrested, clearly show that soldiers were expected to escort the accused. In such instances an escort of one or more soldiers was provided. On 6th January, A.D. 242 (?), a centurion sent a stationarius to Oxyrhynchus to escort a man who had been arrested on the centurion's orders by the acting-strategus and who was wanted for questioning in connection with embezzlement of shipments of corn. In A.D. 250 a centurion sent Nemesion to the Prefect of Egypt in chains and under escort. When Paul was in protective custody in Jerusalem in A.D. 58, a band of forty Jews plotted to kill him as he was being taken from the barracks to address the Council on the next day. However, Paul's nephew got to hear of the plan and told Paul of it; he asked a centurion to have the boy sent to the tribune to whom he told his story. Lysias immediately took countermeasures:

"The tribune then dismissed the youth, with orders not to tell anyone what he had told him. He then summoned two centurions and gave them instructions to get ready a force of two hundred infantry, seventy cavalymen, and two hundred guards to proceed to Caesarea at the third hour after sunset. He ordered them to provide a mount for Paul and deliver him safely to the governor Felix."

Lysias then wrote a short but detailed report and the party set out before the ambushing party could learn of the Roman precautions:

"Following their instructions the soldiers took Paul and brought him by night to Antipatris. On the next day the infantry returned to their barracks and the cavalry escorted Paul to Caesarea, where they delivered the letter to the governor and handed Paul over to him."

Two years later when Porcius Festus, the new governor, had taken over, the Jewish leaders asked him to bring Paul from Caesarea to Jerusalem,

so that they could have another chance to kill him on the way. Festus, however, had read the reports and refused. Sarapodorus asked his brother, who was the key witness at his trial, to be sure to arrive in court before his bail expired:

"If you refuse to come, they will send a soldier with me to find you, and we will have to pay extra travelling expenses."

'They' was a centurion who had assigned Sarapodorus an arbitrator, allocated a civilian official to keep him under watch, and permitted the bail. In A.D. 51 the procurator of Judaea, Ventidius Cumanus, sent soldiers to arrest the notables (in one account all the inhabitants) of several villages suspected of harbouring brigands and bring them in for questioning. The defeated Emperor Macrinus was arrested in A.D. 218 and sent under a centurion from Chalcedon almost to Antioch like a captured brigand (ἑστρεφ τῆς ἀγέτης) with whom he was escorted. A similar fate befell his son Diadumenianus.<sup>45</sup>

Once a person had been charged, arrangements would have to be made to see that he did not abscond while waiting for his hearing. Normally the defendant would be kept in custody. It is quite clear that Roman soldiers looked after prisoners in military prisons, as is shown by the evidence of literature, the legal codes, epigraphy, and archaeology. At Rome civilian prisoners awaiting trial were kept in custody by the Praetorian Guard; as it is known that various soldiers were seconded to the staff of a governor to interrogate and execute prisoners, they must also have been employed to guard them. It was only when Pliny proposed to use soldiers instead of slaves to guard the public prisons that Trajan

ordered him not to do so. Although the soldiers guarding Peter were probably Jewish ones appointed by Herod and not Roman soldiers seconded to his use, the technical language used seems to show that Herod had organised his forces along the lines employed by the Romans and had presumably adopted their practice in guarding prisoners.<sup>46</sup>

According to the legal writers, Hadrian, Pius, and other Emperors decreed that whenever a person was arrested, the official making the arrest had to send a report to the magistrate who was to hear the case. The person who made the arrest also had to give evidence personally. Claudius Lysias sent such a report giving the details about Paul to Felix in A.D. 58:

"Claudius Lysias to Felix, the Governor.  
The Jews had seized the accused and were about to murder him, when I intervened with the troops and rescued him, because I had learned that he was a Roman citizen. As I wished to ascertain the charge on which the Jews were accusing him, I took him to their Council. I discovered that the accusation involved controversial points of Jewish law, but that there was no charge against the man meriting either the death penalty or imprisonment. When I received information of an attempt that was to be made on the man's life, I immediately sent him to you. I have instructed his accusers to put their case against the man before you."

It should be noted that Lysias's report is not completely accurate; he did not discover that Paul was a Roman citizen until later, when he had almost had Paul flogged illegally. When the accusers arrived five days later, Tertullus opened the case for the prosecution and Paul replied to this. Felix was then legally bound to adjourn the case until the arrival of Lysias, who was, of course, the only independent witness of the events.<sup>47</sup>

When it was known that Paul was a Roman citizen, special arrangements were made for him. When Paul arrived under military escort in Caesarea in A.D. 58, Felix read the report and said:

"I shall hear your case when your accusers arrive.' He then gave orders that Paul was to be held in custody in the governor's residence, which was the former palace of Herod."

Five days later he adjourned the hearing to await the arrival of the tribune, so that the detailed evidence could be given, and ordered Paul to be put under open arrest:

"Felix, who was quite well informed about the Christian movement, adjourned the hearing. He stated that he would go into the case when Lysias the tribune came down. He gave instructions to the centurion to keep Paul under surveillance but not closely, and not to prevent any of his friends from making themselves useful to him."

However, the preliminary hearings dragged on and Paul's case had not been concluded two years later when Felix was succeeded by Porcius Festus. On the long journey to Rome Paul was still under open arrest, as he was permitted to spend the night with friends at Sidon. At Rome Paul was put under house arrest for another two years while waiting for his case to come before the Emperor:

"When we arrived in Rome, Paul was permitted to lodge by himself with a soldier to keep guard over him."

A variant reading emphasises that Paul received special treatment that the other prisoners, who were not Roman citizens appealing to the Emperor, did not:

"When we arrived in Rome, the centurion handed over the prisoners to the commander of the camp, but Paul was permitted to lodge by himself with a soldier to keep guard over him."

It is not known for certain who the στρατοπεδάρχης was. Paul later stated that the fact that he was under house arrest had actually helped

to promote and not to hinder the spread of Christianity, which was now becoming well known among the Praetorians - clearly from the soldier guarding him - and the rest of Rome.<sup>48</sup>

If a particular case had to go to Rome to be heard, it was only to be expected that the Roman authorities would send the prisoner under armed guard to Italy. Again the best documented instance is that of Paul, of whom Festus commented, 'You have appealed to the Emperor, and to the Emperor you shall go':

"When it was decided that we were to sail to Italy, they handed over Paul and some other prisoners to a centurion of cohort I Augusta, who was called Julius."

It is quite clear that Paul was not under close arrest, because at Sidon the centurion permitted him to spend the night with friends ashore. However, it is also obvious that the escort would have got into serious trouble, if any of the prisoners had escaped, because when the ship had been buffeted by heavy seas for a fortnight and was aground off Malta and was ready to break its back:

"The soldiers wanted to kill the prisoners to prevent them from swimming away and escaping, but the centurion wanted to save Paul and stopped their plan."

When the party eventually arrived in Rome, the centurion handed his prisoners over to a high ranking officer of the Praetorian Guard.<sup>49</sup>

Prisoners, however, who were not Roman citizens and who did not have the right of appeal to the Emperor, were sent to Rome under close arrest. When Pliny reported an instance of gross contempt of court, Trajan ordered him to send the prisoner in chains to his Praetorian

Prefects (vinctus mitti ad praefectos praetorii mei debet). Christians who under interrogation admitted that they were Roman citizens, had also to be sent to Rome; Pliny reported:

"There were also some others who were possessed with the same infatuation; because they were Roman citizens, I have entered them on the list of persons to be sent to Rome."

At about the same time Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, was sent under a very close day and night guard from Syria to Rome (μετ' ἐπιμελεστάτης φρουρῶν φυλακῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐνδεδεμένος);

there were ten soldiers guarding him. One of Paul's fellow-prisoners was Aristarchus of Thessalonica; he, unlike Paul, was sent to Rome under close arrest and kept there in close confinement. In A.D. 52 Quadratus sent the Jewish and Syrian leaders responsible for rioting in Caesarea to Rome in chains; however, the two Roman officials most responsible for mismanaging matters, the procurator Cumanus and the tribune Celer, were sent to Rome under open arrest. However, when the latter was convicted, he was sent back to Judaea for punishment in chains. In the same year Felix, the new procurator Judaeae, captured Eleazar, who had been a brigand chief for twenty years, and sent him to Rome in chains. In A.D. 73 Antiochus the king of Commagene was arrested by a centurion and sent to Rome in chains on a charge of having treacherously entered into correspondence with the Parthians. While they were on the journey at Sparta, Vespasian sent instructions that he was to be released but kept there for the moment. In A.D. 18 Rhescuporis, a king of Thrace, was escorted to Rome for trial on a charge of murder by a large number of soldiers as if as a guard of honour

(specie honoris valida manus); however, the nearer to Rome they came, the more obvious it became that they were merely a guard (apertiore custodia). Pliny also records that Paetus, who had joined the rebellion of Scribonianus against Claudius, was sent by sea in A.D. 42 with an escort of soldiers. Similarly, loyal governors sent to Maximinus under armed guard envoys who had been dispatched by the Senate to urge rebellion against him. There are also other instances of prisoners being sent under military escort to Rome.<sup>50</sup>

There are several examples of the reports that were sent with the prisoner from Pliny's correspondence with Trajan. Sempronius Caelianus had found two slaves who had illegally tried to enlist in the army; after submitting a report to the Emperor, he sent the slaves to Pliny with another report. Apuleius, a soldier stationed at Nicomedia, also sent a man who claimed to have been a slave of one of Trajan's generals, and to have been captured by the Dacians, sent to Parthia, from where he had escaped. The man's statement is quoted in the report sent with him by Apuleius, which is quoted in turn by Pliny, who sent him and a nugget of gold to Trajan with another report.<sup>51</sup>

Eusebius reveals further examples in the use of Roman soldiers against Christians. Dionysius, the bishop of Alexandria, who had been forced to flee, described his adventures in A.D. 249 in a letter:

"On a former occasion, when the persecution under Decius was proclaimed, at that very hour Sabinus sent a frumentarius to make a search for me. For four days I stayed at home expecting the arrival of the frumentarius, who was going round making a thorough search of everywhere, the roads, the rivers,

the fields, where he suspected that I might be hiding or travelling, but because he lacked perception, he did not find the house."

Dionysius then tried to make his escape, but without much success:

"At about sunset I and my companions fell into the hands of the soldiers and were taken to Taposiris; by Divine Providence Timothy was not with us at the time and was not caught."

Timothy found some friends who burst into the house where the soldiers were guarding their prisoners, put the former to flight, and freed the latter. In A.D. 204 Origen was making himself so unpopular in Alexandria that soldiers had to be posted outside his house to protect him from the wrath of the mob. In A.D. 222 Mamaea, the mother of Severus Alexander, wanted to see and talk to him, and so she sent a military escort to accompany Origen on his journey to Antioch. The part played by the tribune and the cohors urbana against the Christians at Lyons in the reign of Marcus Aurelius is well known.<sup>52</sup>

Roman soldiers were at times put in civilian clothes and used as a sort of Imperial secret police. Otho used some of the personnel of his large army in Rome in A.D. 69 to keep an eye on potentially troublesome people; they were dispersed throughout the houses of the more important people in civilian clothes. A suspicious Emperor like Domitian could misuse them; Epictetus records that they were used as agents provocateurs:

"In the following way the rash at Rome are caught by soldiers. A soldier in civilian dress sits down beside you and starts speaking ill of the Emperor; then you, as if you had received from him some guarantee of good faith in the fact that he began the abuse, yourself likewise tell him of everything you really think, and the next thing is that you are led off to prison in chains."

The use of soldiers on police work of this kind was not confined to the capital; Pliny wrote in a letter:

"There are men, just as there are in the forts, even more so in our field of letters in plain clothes, whom, if you search diligently, you will find are armed and equipped and indeed of the most ardent spirit."

Reference has already been made to the fact that Pilate, when governor of Judaea, sent a large number of soldiers in plain clothes into a protesting mob to disperse them with batons and not swords. According to the duty roster a legionary in Egypt, M. Antonius Crispus, was on plain clothes police work on 4th October, A.D. 87 (pagane cultu).<sup>53</sup>

Along the frontier zones there were markets for trade between the inhabitants of the Roman Empire and the natives outside. These markets were carefully supervised by the military, and people from outside Roman territory were not allowed to cross the frontier for trading purposes except at authorised points. The need for the soldiers can easily be seen from the fact that even in areas away from the frontier, the Roman authorities only permitted markets if under proper control could be maintained (dumtaxat causa coire convenire sine iniuria et incommodo cuiusquam liceat). This system was in operation by A.D. 9 in the frontier areas of Germany and large numbers of Roman soldiers were dispersed through the region for this and other purposes. In A.D. 70 the Tenoteri, who inhabited the east bank of the Rhine, complained to their fellow kinsmen, who now lived in the Roman city of Cologne, about the regulations laid down by the Roman authorities:

"Until today the Romans have closed rivers, lands, and in a way, heaven, to prevent us from meeting and conferring together, or else - and this is a greater insult to men born to arms - to make us meet without weapons, almost naked, under guard, and paying to cross."

The inhabitants of Cologne agreed to waive part of the Roman procedure: they abolished the dues and did away with the military guard (there were no Roman soldiers there at the time anyway to escort people sub custode), but insisted that the crossings should be 'during the day and without arms'. The Germans dwelling outside the Empire were accustomed, according to Tacitus, to attend all meetings carrying arms; the Romans, of course, realised that this could easily cause trouble and so used soldiers to disarm everyone at such meetings under Roman control. Tacitus elsewhere stresses that the people of Cologne did not require military supervision (non ut custodirentur). It was only in very exceptional cases that an outside tribe would be allowed not to comply with the normal regulations; such was the case with the Hermunduri, who, because of their outstanding loyalty, were permitted to trade on the frontier and also as far inside Roman territory as Augsburg:

"It is because they are loyal that they are the only Germans to trade not only on the river bank, but deep inside the province and in the most splendid city in Raetia. They cross over in many places and without a guard. To the other nations we show only our arms and camps, but to them we have revealed our homes and estates, but they do not covet them."

This system seems still to have been in operation in the first quarter of the third century. Tertullian noted that even in his day the Germans were not permitted to cross the frontier boundaries. During the course of his brief reign in A.D. 193 Pertinax abolished the river tolls.<sup>54</sup>

The most detailed information about the supervision of markets by the military comes from the Danubian frontier in the second half of the second century. Here the natives were not allowed to settle within so many miles of the frontier and could only meet to hold markets under certain strict conditions. Among the various peace terms that Commodus laid down for the Quadi and Marcomanni in A.D. 180 were:

"In addition he ordered that they should not meet together either often or in many parts of the country, but only once every month and in one place and in the presence of a Roman centurion. Furthermore, they were not to wage war on the Iazyges, the Buri, or the Vandili. He made peace on these terms and abandoned all outposts in their country beyond the border zone that had been demarcated."

This was a new concession because in A.D. 173 Marcus Aurelius had refused this privilege to the Quadi:

"They did not, however, receive the right of trading in the markets, for fear that the Marcomanni and Iazyges, whom they had sworn neither to receive nor to allow to pass through their country, should mingle with them and passing themselves off for the Quadi, should reconnoitre the Roman forts and purchase provisions."

In the case of the Marcomani these regulations were first instituted in A.D. 173:

"He restored to them half of the border zone, so that they might now settle to within a distance of five miles from the Danube. He established the places and the days for their trading, as previously these had not been fixed."

The same market regulations for the Iazyges as for the Quadi and Marcomani were established in A.D. 175, except that in their case the border zone was ten miles broad. The importance attached by Marcus to ensuring that the potential enemy could not make an unauthorised crossing into Roman territory can be seen by his action in A.D. 179:

"He released the Iazyges from all the restrictions imposed on them, except those concerned with their meeting together for trading, not possessing boats of their own, and keeping away from the islands in the Danube. He permitted them to cross through Dacia to have dealings with the Rhoxolani as often as the governor of Dacia allowed them."

Commodus, however, in A.D. 180 insisted on a five miles wide border zone between Dacia and other tribes.<sup>55</sup>

It has been suggested that the diversa loca listed in the British section of the Ravenna Cosmography are to be equated with the places mentioned by Dio where the natives could meet for trade or to hold assemblies. The source gives as examples seven sites of which several can be identified with varying degrees of certainty, near the Tay (Taba), in the territory of the Selgovae (Segloes), and also of the Damnonii (Dannoni), at Clackmannan (Manavi), and perhaps the Clochmabenstane (Maponi). It may also be suggested that when a legionary centurion is attested in a frontier fort in the third century and no mention is made of a temporary command of a vexillation or auxiliary unit, some of these instances may well represent centurions seconded to supervise the markets. The practice of using military personnel to supervise the assemblies of natives in the frontier areas can be seen as early as the first decade of the first century A.D. in Germany.<sup>56</sup>

From the canabae at Lambaesis has come an altar with an inscription stating that two standard-bearers and their assistants were engaged in supervising the market there. (sig(niferi) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) agentes cura(m) macelli v.l.a.s. cum azutoribus suis). A guard roster

dating to late in Nero's reign shows that various soldiers were engaged in checking the weights in a market in Egypt; men were assigned ad pondera macelli duos ad ca[. Perhaps other men were similarly employed, for earlier reference is made to ponderunt ex eis qui ad cunios[. <sup>57</sup>

Outside various Roman forts in the frontier zones, often legionary fortresses, there have been discovered gigantic buildings consisting of a large courtyard surrounded by numerous small shops; it has been suggested that such buildings at places like Vindonissa, Carnuntum, and Aquincum were markets at which traders from both inside and outside the Roman Empire could meet under the protection of the garrison and the supervision of various troops. Indeed, so similar in plan is site XI at Corbridge that it may well have been used or intended for a similar purpose; it should be remembered that Corstopitum had the second largest vicus on the British frontier and was only just over two miles from the Wall on the main north-south trunk road, while the fair held at Stagshaw Bank only a mile away may well have had its origin in a Roman market. A graffito cut on a sherd of Samian ware, which can be dated to c.A.D. 160, seems to refer to the days on which the market could be held, but unfortunately the precise meaning is not very clear (logabi nundinensium); it came from the fort of Seligenstadt;†, and there is other evidence to suggest markets at other forts on the German limes, for example, at Arnsburg. Early mediaeval markets are attested at the sites of the Roman forts at Alteburg-Heftrich and Altenstadt and presumably have their origins in markets supervised by the Romans.<sup>58</sup>

There is some evidence to show that Roman soldiers were engaged, occasionally at least, in the collection of customs duties. In some instances the soldiers clearly acted as a guard to a civilian agent of the procurator who collected the money, but in other cases it appears that the soldiers collected it themselves. According to the tariff at Zarai, a post on the borders of Numidia and Mauretania Caesariensis, a new set of customs regulations was instituted in A.D. 202 after the departure from there of a cohort (lex portus post discessum cohortis instituta). Clearly the military were connected in some way with the collection of the customs duties, but the precise details are not known. A centurion and detachment were stationed at the harbour of Leuce Come (El Haura) on the Red Sea; the reference probably dates to the third quarter of the first century A.D.:

"There is another harbour and fortified place which is called Leuce Come, through which runs the road to Petra and Malichas, king of the Nabateans. The place has a mart and a station for small ships being fitted out and sent from Arabia there. Accordingly, a centurion and an armed force are dispatched there to act as receiver of the 25% duty on imported merchandise and also as a guard."

A customs post at Mainz seems to have been manned jointly by a beneficiarius consularis and a villicus, the agents of the governor and procurator respectively. Various soldiers are mentioned in the tariff list (lex portofri) at the municipium at Lambaesis, a natural route centre, and they were presumably engaged in supervising and collecting the various tolls and charges; mention is made of sig]niferorum. aut [...]beneficiarios [...]pe]cuarios et con[; the last word is perhaps to be expanded as con(ductores). The style of lettering suggests a date

in the reign of Hadrian or Pius. According to the regulations of the tariffs at Palmyra, set up in accordance with a decree of the Council on 18th April, A.D. 137, the commander of the Roman unit stationed there ( $\delta$  ἐν Παλμυροῖς τεταγμένος) was responsible for judging disputes between individuals and the publicani; however, it was governors of the time of Nero, Corbulo and Mucianus, who were originally responsible for such steps. Two commanders of alae stationed there were honoured in the second century for their good will towards the town; presumably they had given decisions favourable to prominent citizens. Perhaps this explains why at Lambaesis legionary specialists were used. In A.D. 186 the inhabitants of the Tauric Chersonesus had appealed to Commodus about the tax on prostitutes collected by soldiers; the Emperor issued new instructions to the tribunus praepositus and centurion to collect the tax without giving offence to the citizens and without exceeding the prescribed amount (ut scias quae sint officia militum agentium in vexillatione Chersonessitana de capitulo lenocini). Presumably as at Leuce Come soldiers were the most effective means of collecting the money. A fragmentary papyrus from the Prefect of Egypt dated to c.A.D. 200 mentions an eight drachma tax which was to be paid, and also centurions, who presumably were to collect it.<sup>59</sup>

Further information about the use of Roman soldiers for this purpose comes from Dura. Before the Roman occupation of the town the mayor was responsible for posting customs officers, gatekeepers, and gendarmes to collect the various tolls and question travellers before permitting them to enter through the main gate. When cohors XX Palmyrenorum was

garrisoned in the town in the early third century, the στρατηγος still retained the powers and responsibility for the civilian administration of Dura, but he lost his police powers (he was no longer called ἐπιστρατης). The tribune now assigned certain soldiers to the Palmyrene gate to collect the tolls and examine travellers. At least five beneficiarii (Antonius, Euphrastas, Themarsas, Hermias, Theodotus) and six statores (Rabbula, Heliodorus, Malchos, Mammos, Salmanus, Hetereios) are known from graffiti scratched there, sometimes with tribuni added. It is clear that they worked together, but what difference there was in their functions, if any, is not known. Relations between the mayor and these military personnel must have been friendly, because from the north tower at this gate came a plaque set up to the str(ategum) Dur(ae), his wife, and four sons by ben(eficiarii) et dec(uriones) coh(ortis).<sup>60</sup>

The use of Roman troops on the frontiers of the Empire and elsewhere to collect customs duty and tolls strongly suggests that they must also have been used to prevent smuggling. The control system for crossing the frontier operated by personnel of the army makes this even more probable. However, the papyri have so far produced no actual examples of soldiers so employed in the Principate. In the Later Roman Empire Abinnaeus was requested by an official of the government natron monopoly to impound any natron that was illegally entering Arsinoite, and also the people and animals carrying it. The many similarities between the files of Abinnaeus and those of the Principate again suggest that soldiers must have been so employed during the earlier period also.<sup>61</sup>

The fact that Roman soldiers supervised the entry of natives to trade across the frontier means that they were also responsible for what nowadays is termed immigration control and passport checks. Archaeology has revealed the details of how precisely the Roman soldiers controlled crossings at the frontier, whether it was for customs or immigration. On Hadrian's Wall all traffic from the north could cross only at a fort, milecastle, or gateway. One of the purposes of the Vallum in the Hadrianic plan was to direct all traffic from the south to a causeway across it to the south of a fort; access to each causeway and to the road across the frontier was barred by a gateway controlled by personnel in the fort to the north, who could thus make the necessary examinations and checks. Similarly, checks could be made where a major road crossed the Wall, as at Portgate and near Stanwix; if the gateways were constructed on the same pattern here as the later one at Knag Burn, people wishing to cross the frontier would be admitted through one set of gates, be checked and pay whatever tolls were necessary, and then be allowed through the other set on the other side. Similar in purpose and design to the Vallum was the Cleaven Dyke, which ran probably for about ten miles from the Isla to the foothills of the Grampians near Dunkeld, and represents the limes of the Flavian era. A signal-tower on Black Hill, the highest point in the immediate vicinity and less than three miles from Inchtuthil, faces and controls the only two known examples of a passage in the Dyke, where native tracks cross the frontier. These gaps are of the same width as those in the German and Raetian limes, which are also guarded by a watch-tower when a native track crosses the frontier, as at auf der Wurzel, or a Roman road, as at Saalburg. When

natives crossed over the frontier into Roman territory, the soldiers presumably made their immigration checks and charges on the same lines as when they crossed over to trade. What is almost certainly a survival of part of this procedure of the Imperial era can be seen in the correspondence of St. Augustine at the end of the fourth century. It was customary for the Arzuges, when crossing the limes Tripolitanus to act as porters or to watch the crops, to take an oath in the presence of the tribunus or decurio in charge of the frontier; such a practice was common on all frontiers throughout the Empire.<sup>62</sup>

Further proof of the use of military personnel for frontier control can be seen from a set of inscriptions commemorating the building of watch-towers (burgi) and guard-posts (praesidia) along the right bank of the Danube. These towers and posts in the stretch of limes between Aquincum and Intercisa were constructed between the middle of A.D. 184 and the middle of the following year, and forts were also constructed at about the same time. The towers and posts in the other sectors of the limes were presumably built at a slightly later date. Thirteen inscriptions from the Aquincum-Intercisa sector have been found all with identical texts:

"Commodus fortified the whole bank with watch-towers constructed from the ground up and also with guard-posts at places suitable for the secret crossings of brigands."

At the same time in Mauretania Caesariensis near Auzia on the then frontier turres were built for the similar purpose of securitati provincialium suorum:

"Commodus, looking after the safe-keeping of his provincials, built new towers and repaired the old ones by the work of his soldiers."

Structures with a similar purpose were built almost half a century earlier elsewhere: a numerus burgariorum et veredariorum Daciae Inferioris was rebuilding its fortlet on a larger scale and adding towers.

In describing the province of Numidia in A.D. 238 Herodian states:

"Because of the large number of Moorish barbarians encircling it, the province is defended by a line of forts to check sudden raids."

In A.D. 70 Festus, the legatus legionis III Augustae, had used a force of auxiliary cavalrymen and infantrymen to crush a band of Garmantes, who had crossed the frontier and were marauding around Lepcis. Perhaps the band of Corionotatae that Q. Calpurnius Concessinius had destroyed near the frontier of Northern Britain in the third century had made

τας ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀπαιτας.

In the second century a raid by latrunculi exteræ gentis probably from Fife succeeded in capturing a woman who had been condemned to the salt-works in the frontier area.

In A.D. 59 Corbulo sent troops to ravage the territory of the Mardi, a tribe of brigands living in the mountains. The pattern of forts, watch-towers, and guard-posts was similar on all the frontiers; thus the purpose and method of controlling the movement across the frontier of people wishing to cross for both good and bad reasons, were the same everywhere, and the troops helped to stop trouble stationed in their posts per loca opportuna ad clandestinos latrunculorum transitus. It was to help the soldiers to control these movements that border zones either five or ten miles wide along the various frontiers were set up in which the natives could not settle.<sup>63</sup>

Soldiers would frequently be used in peace-time to escort convoys of food and other supplies; these convoys could be bringing supplies from military or civilian sources or from the procurator. In A.F. 9 in Germany in a time of apparent tranquility Varus had detached many legionaries from his main army to act as escorts to provision trains. Pliny, when governor of Bithynia, probably in the winter of A.D. 111/112, had assigned two cavalrymen as an escort (tutelae causa) to a party of soldiers attached to the assistant procurator who were going to Paphlagonia to collect corn. One and a half centuries earlier Herod had similarly assigned cavalrymen to a combined force of Roman legionaries and mercenary infantrymen collecting supplies of food. Several decades later another convoy ran into difficulties from the bandit followers of Athrongaeus:

"On one occasion near Emmaeus they dared to surround an entire Roman company who were engaged in convoying corn and arms to the legion. The brigands shot down the centurion and forty of his bravest men, and the rest, in danger of the same fate, were saved by the arrival of Gratus and the Sebastelians coming to their rescue."

A relief from Strasbourg depicts a legionary, who had been stationed there, driving a wagon laden with provisions and drawn by a team of mules; another relief depicts a soldier of legio XIV driving a wagon loaded with supplies; these are clearly scenes from peace-time, although similar wagons are portrayed often on Trajan's Column during the Dacian Wars. The files at Dura provide further details: according to the morning report for 29th March, c.A.D. 233, various infantrymen of cohors XX Palmyrenorum were acting as escort (missi in prosec(utionem) hordiator(um) mil(ites)) [J] [Y] Mariani. [ ] to other soldiers, including cavalrymen, who had been sent to procure barley. According to the great roster of A.D. 219

the infantryman Aurelius Bassus was assigned as escort to a convoy of people collecting barley (in proseq hord) and a trooper, Flavius Maximus, was almost certainly employed on a similar mission in A.D. 222 (in proseq[.]). A file of twenty letters of an officer at Babylon concerns camels being requisitioned for use in convoys.<sup>64</sup>

Vegetius mentions precautionary measures that must be adopted when there was a threat of war, to secure food supplies by using armed escorts and depots; the arrangements in peace-time must have been similar:

"All cattle, grain, and wine must be collected into convoys by selected guards to transport them to suitable fortlets strengthened by armed guards."

The word for escort (prosecutores) is the same as that used in the papyri. A description of the depots is given elsewhere.<sup>65</sup>

In Egypt, at least until the end of the first century A.D., a legionary soldier was assigned as a guard to each government ship bringing wheat from Middle Egypt to Alexandria. The soldiers guarded the cargo itself and also a sealed sample; on arrival at Alexandria the latter would be opened and the contents checked against the cargo to see if it had been tampered with or spoilt in the course of its trip down the Nile. A pottery jar containing such a sample had the following statement inscribed on it:

"From the nome of Oxyrhynchus.  
Ammonius, son of Ammonius, pilot of a government ship with the emblem [ ], has attached to him as escort Lucius Oclatius, soldier of legio XXII, second cohort, century of Maximus Stoltius; Hermias, son of Petalus, pilot of a second boat with the emblem 'Egypt', has attached as escort Lucius

Castricius, soldier of legio XXII, fourth cohort, century of Titus Pompeius. This is a sample of the cargo we have loaded from the harvest for the year 3 B.C., Ammonius  $433\frac{1}{4}$  artabae of wheat loaded to the bulwarks, Hermias  $433\frac{1}{4}$  artabae of wheat, also loaded to the bulwarks; total cargo of wheat consigned by Leonidas and Apollonius, sitologi of the lower toparchy, Eastern division,  $866\frac{1}{2}$  artabae of wheat, plus the supplement of one half artaba per hundred. We loaded from 29th to 31st October and we have sealed this jar with both our seals, Ammonius's with a figure of Ammon, Hermias's with a figure of Harpocrates.

15th November, 2 B.C."

This practice is confirmed by the papyri: on 28th October, A.D. 15, Sextus Actinius, in the century of Arius, in legio XXII, was escort to the government transport ship 'Ibis' and guarded  $1,718\frac{1}{2}$  artabae of wheat that were being transported from Arsinoite, while on 8th August, A.D. 77, Claudius Celer of the same legion was escort to a boat carrying a similar cargo from Oxyrhynchus, It is perhaps possible that soldiers accompanied the cargoes from Egypt to Rome, as, for example, Irenaeus may have done. In A.D. 201 the praefectus annonae gave instructions to the shipowners' association of Arles to have iron fastenings on the cargoes of grain stamped and escorts on board the ships delivering grain to Rome. His letter was to the branch office at Berytus and his comment that speculation was common, suggests that soldiers had not been used sufficiently frequently on escort duty.<sup>66</sup>

There is plenty of evidence for equestrian officials in war-time supervising the transport along major rivers such as the Danube and Euphrates. of corn, (annona) and supplies (copiae) or of This is well illustrated by the career of M. Valerius Maximianus:

"Selected by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and sent on active service in the German expedition to transport in convoy along the Danube the requirements for the corn supply of the armies of both Pannonias; he was put in command of detachments of the Misene, Ravenna, and British fleets, and also selected cavalry forces of Africans and Moors for the reconnaissance of Pannonia."

The field army of Hyginus, which dates to the period A.D. 168-177, includes Mauri equites DC, Pannonii veredarum DCCC, classici Misenates D, Ravennates DCCC, exploratores CC. Clearly this is a similar force detailed for the same duty. This use of sailors to man the ships and soldiers to provide an armed escort is matched exactly by detachments seconded from cohors I Hispanorum in A.D. 105:

"Across Danube to defend corn supply [ ]  
Across Danube on a reconnaissance mission with Paullinus  
centurion troopers[ ]  
At the camp of the ala at the corn ships including decurion 1[ ]"

Clearly the arrangements in peace-time would be similar but on a smaller scale.<sup>67</sup>

Personnel of cohors XX Palmyrenorum seem to have been employed with a similar purpose of acting as escorts to grain ships. Three marginal annotations occur in the great roster of A.D. 219 mentioning ships, one of which was a corn ship (.navem hor[d]); according to the great roster of A.D. 222 a soldier was on duty ad naves d(e)f(endendas). In Britain Hadrian seems to have been responsible for a massive drainage scheme for the Fens; this enabled large quantities of food to be grown there, which could easily be transported by canal and river to York. It therefore seems not unlikely that legionaries in Britain would have been detached for such escort duties on grain boats travelling from the Fens to the

military North. Each unit of the Roman army had a small number of supply craft; accordingly, the list of immunes given by Tarruntenus Paternus includes pilots (gubernatores) and it is tempting to wonder if M. Minucius Audens guber(nator) leg(ionis) VI who died at York, had been employed on such trips. Both the Column of Trajan and also that of Marcus depict soldiers acting as escorts to supply craft. Grain ships were normally used to supply the legionary fortresses along the Rhine.<sup>68</sup>

One of the most important supplies from the point of view of the soldiers for which military escorts would have to be provided, was that of the money for their pay. Even for the comparatively small and poorly paid cohors quingenaria peditata the total amount of money required would be quite large and for the 5-6,000 very well paid legionaries the amount would be considerable indeed. It was therefore necessary to provide a military escort for the pay convoy. That such escorts would be needed can be seen from the fact that the Helvetii revolted against the troops of Caecina in A.D. 69, because legio XXI had seized money they had sent as pay for a garrison. The papyri from Dura provide a picture of how these escorts operated. Four times every year from the time of Domitian to Severus (three times per annum before and after that period) before the day on which the pay was to be issued arrived, a sizeable detachment of soldiers travelled from the fort to the procurator carrying the estimates for the unit. The evidence from cohors XX Palmyrenorum shows that in the case of this unit the party consisted of about thirty men; they were mostly pedites to provide protection for the money but also included equites to act as a mounted escort and a few dromedarii, whose

camels actually carried the coins. Not all units of the Roman army had dromedarii attached to them, but the use of cavalry and infantry for the convoy would be the same in any province. Occasionally the governor might bring the money with him on a tour of inspection, as Arrian did to the five cohorts at Apsarus and the ala at Sebastopolis; even so, the money would be well protected by the singulares. When it was clear in the closing weeks of A.D. 69 that the troops in Germany would not get their supply of money for the stipendium in the new year by the normal method, they sent centurions to the Gallic communities asking for auxilia ac stipendia.<sup>69</sup>

In the third century Brough-under-Stainmore was used as a centre for collecting and storing various materials that had been assembled by different units in the north of Britain. Various auxiliary units and legionary vexillations sent to Brough large consignments of material that had been carefully countersealed by their senior officers; there the contents were unpacked either for storage or redistribution. The only material that can be identified is that sent by cohors II Nerviorum stationed at Whitley Castle; one of their seals bears the legend metal(lum) showing that they dispatched lead or silver extracted from it, which had been obtained from the lead mines of Alston Moor. The other units must have collected other materials, because the seals show that the consignments were handled and countermarked in different ways. As all mines and quarries were Imperial property, the official at Brough responsible for the collection and distribution must have

been an agent of the procurator Augusti. Once the contents had been checked, they would be repacked and sent under military escort to their destination, which in most cases was presumably York.<sup>77</sup>

CHAPTER IX: PARAMILITARY DUTIES

NOTES

1:

Strabo's - 17.1.12.

Nilometer - Strabo, 17.1.48.

Hadrian - VIII 18042 Ab = ILS 2487.

cohors I Hispanorum - CLA 219.ii.21,27,28.

2:

φρουρων - Aristides, 64.

"In this way - 67a.

"The result is - 76.

"When you - 78.

Rome - 80.

πολεις - 81.

ὡςπερ 82.

"The ring - 84.

clashes - 70.

τοδουτη - 71a.

3:

A.D. 179 - P.Hamb. 39; cf. Lesquier, 245-246, 391-392.

A.D. 192-196 - P.Berlin 6866A + B; cf. Marichal, Occupation, 66-69.

legionaries - Lesquier, 392-393.

Dida - AE 1911 121 = ILS 9142; cf. Lesquier, 81,465.

A.D. 9 - Dio, 56.19.

4:

A.D. 219 - P.Dura 100.

A.D. 222 - P.Dura 101.

A.D. 222-224 - P.Dura 102.

A.D. 209 - P.Dura 60B.

A.D. 211 - P.Dura 63B.

A.D. 221 - P.Dura 64A.

cA.D. 235 - P.Dura 104.

A.D. 236 - P.Dura 116.

A.D. 219 - P.Dura 100.

clerk - P.Dura 100.xxxvii.3.

Three years - P.Dura 101.

cA.D. 233 - P.Dura 82.i.14.

early years - P.Dura 46.

two rosters - P.Dura 100 and 101.

cA.D. 240 - P.Dura 94.

parthia - P.Dura 100; cf. DPP, 40.

5:

via - CLA 7V.IV.8; XV.8; XXV.3; XXVI.8.

specula - CLA 7V.VIII.3.

insula - CLA 7V.IX.1.

pro quintanesio - CLA 7V.V.1-5; X.1-5; XVI.6-9; XVIII.6-9.

gossipion - CLA 7V.II.7.

moneta - CLA 7III.C.3.

6:

pridianum - CLA 219.11.29.

Britain - RR, 95-96; RHW, 227ff; RNNB, 97-99.

7:

A.D. 219 - P.Dura 100.

A.D. 222 - P.Dura 101.

estimated - DPP, 42; cf. 30-31.

8:

dispatch-riders - Livy, 37.7 per dispositos equos prope incredibili celeritate; Caesar, B.C., 3.101 per dispositos equites.

great rosters - P.Dura 100 and 101.

no pedes - I do not find the restoration of P.Dura 101.v.16

sufficiently convincing and believe that qdp is better expanded as q(uondam) d(e)p(utatus).

120 - see Chapter II: Guard Duties, n.7.

9:

Hadrian's Wall - RHW, 89-100, 103-110, 126-128, 140-141.

Stanegate - RHW, 143.

Cleaven Dyke - RNNB, 54.

Gillalees Beacon - RHW, 233-235.

Four Laws - RR, 101-102.

Stainmore - Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond, 293-302.

10:

A.D. 188 - VIII 2495; J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 239-242.

A.D. 215 - VIII 2494 = ILS 2636; Baradez, op.cit., 235-238.

For the date cf. JRS, XL.63; for the garrison cf. AE 1933 45 revising VIII 2496, AE 1926 145, AE 1933 46.

route - Baradez, op.cit., 241 and passim, also map on 218.

11:

caravans - Lesquier, 431ff.

A.D. 137 - IGRR I 1142.

lacc1 - III 6627 = ILS 2483.

ἐκλήροοργος - IGRR I 1246.

A.D. 90 - IGRR I 1183.

Pliny - NH, 6.100-106.

Wâdi Fawâkhir - see Chapter VIII: Food, n.60-62.

cursus publicus - I have a paper in Latomus, forthcoming, which discusses the point. The basic evidence is AE 1955 266;

Hellenica, X.46-62; P.Dura 64.

12:

Ulpian - Dig., 1.18.13.

Agricola - Tacitus, Agr., 40.

Flaccus - Philo, in Flac., 5.

Tertullian - Apol., 2.

Tacfarinas - Tacitus, A., 2.52.

Bulla - Dio, 77.10.

13:

A.D. 154 - BGU 372.  
A.D. 158 - P.Fay. 24.  
A.P. 144 - AE 1931 38; cf.RBRA, 150; Gsell and Carcopino, Mélanges, 48.1-39.  
c.A.D. 152 - VIII 18122 = ILS 5795. For date cf. Pflaum, Carrières, 370 (156).  
A.D. 105 - CLA 219.ii.10.  
A.D. 9 - Dio, 56.19.  
military law - Dig., 49.16.6.9.  
Concessinius - RIB 1142.  
salt-works - Dig., 49.15.6; cf.RBRA, 87ff.  
Custus - Pflaum, Carrières, 535-537 (196); PIR2.A.1184.  
Castinus - PIR1.I.368.  
Maximianus - AE 1956 124; Pflaum, Carrières, 476-494, especially 489 (181 bis).  
Julianus - Gnomon, 31.514 on SHA, Did.Jul., 1.

14:

c23 B.C. - Josephus, B.J., 1.398-99.  
Fadus - Ant., 20.5.  
Cumanus - B.J., 2.228-229; Ant., 20.113-114.  
Ulpian - Dig., 1.18.13.  
Cumanus [bis] - Josephus, B.J., 2.236; Ant., 20.122.  
Felix - B.J., 2.253; Ant., 20.160-161.  
Festus - B.J., 2.271.  
two criminals - NT, Matt., 27.38, 44; Marc. 15.27.  
Barabbas - NT, Marc., 15.7; Luc., 23.19, 25; Joan., 18.40.  
Eumelpus's - Petronius, Sat., 111-112.

15:

Pilate - Josephus, Ant., 18.85-87.  
Fadus - Ant., 20.97-98; cf. NT, Act., 5.35; Eusebius, 2.11.  
Felix - Josephus, Ant., 20.160-161; B.J., 2.258-260.  
Felix [bis] - Ant., 20.169-171; B.J., 2.261-263, which gives the number following as 30,000; Eusebius, 2.21.  
Lysias - NT, Act., 21.38.  
brigands and charlatans - Josephus, Ant., 20.172; B.J., 2.264-265.  
Festus - Ant., 20.188.  
Maricocus - Tacitus, H., 2.61.

16:

Maternus - Herodian, 1.10.1-3.  
Niger - Herodian, 1.10.3-7; SHA, Pesc., 3; Sev., 3; cf. Com., 16.  
Fronto - ad Ant.Pium, 8.

17:

Aurelius Dionysius - IGRR III 301.  
Emeritus - RIB 152 = ILS 4920.  
Honoratus - AE 1950 105 correcting AE 1944 103.  
Ingenuus - AE 1953 129.  
anonymous - XIII 2958.  
Maximus - BGU 522.  
decurion - PSI 184 and 222.  
Ribchester - RIB 583 and 587; JRS, XXXV.15-29; of Chapter VII:  
Supplies, n.45.

18:

Egypt - Lesquier, 235-236.  
cultivation - Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek, V.23-27.  
dated - a good but by no means exhaustive list is given in Sergio Daris, Documenti per la Storia dell'Esercito Romano in Egitto, in his notes to SB 9290 = P.Yale inv.555 (69).  
Maximus - BGU 522.

19:

Longinus - P.Tebt. 304.  
Justus - P.Ryl. 141.  
Audax - BGU 36 = BGU 436.  
Proculus - P.Gen. 3.  
Antonius - P.Amh. 78.  
Marcianus - P.Graux 4 = SB 7464.

20:

Pacyseus - BGU 322; of BGU 321.  
Soterichus - P.Tebt. 332; of commentary on it.  
Papontos - P.Fay. 107; of commentary on it and Hermes, XXX.567ff.  
Heraiis - P.Hamb. 10.  
Linnaeus - P.Oslo 21.

21:

Nemous - P.Gen. 17.  
villagers - P.Gen. 16.  
woman - P.Tebt. 333.  
Heraclia - P.Tebt. 334.

22:

Basileides - SB 9203.  
Germanus - BGU 651.  
Valerianus - P.Oslo 23.  
Passer - P.Oxy. 2234.

23:

20 B.C. - P.Oslo 30.  
opening years - P.Hawara 3.  
A.D. 211 - P.Grenf. 62.  
A.D. 242 - P.Oxy. 62.  
Another centurion - P.Bibl.Uñ.Giss. 15.  
Sarapódorus - BGU 1676.  
Julianus - P.Yale inv.555 = SB 9290.

24:

Julianus - see above n.21.  
18th April - P.Mich.175.  
2nd June - BGU 515.  
17th June - BGU 454.

25:

Ptolemy - Eusebius, 4.17.  
Nemesion - 6.41.

26:

A.D. 218 - Dio, 79.39-40.  
A.D. 73 - Josephus, B.J., 7.238.

27:

Valens - CLA 7II.C.9.  
Annianus - CLA 207.  
παραποφυλακεια - RIN, 112-113.  
Celer - CLA 7II.D.4-5.  
oaths - PSI 734.  
epibata - III 14567 = ILS 9225; RIN, 137.  
navalia - RIN, 148; XIII 6714 = ILS 2435 (A.D. 185); XIII 6712  
(A.D. 198).  
nauegi - AE 1911 225 = ILS 9226.  
Newstead - Curle, Newstead, 313.  
gubernator - RIB 653 = ILS 4787.

28:

thirty - VIII 2586 = ILS 2381; AE 1917-18 57.  
Tacitus -H., 4.48.

29:

Servianus - SHA, Hadr., 2.  
maps - A.von Domaszewski, 'Die Beneficiarierposten und die  
römischen Strassennetze' in Westdeutsche Zeitschrift, XXI (1902),  
158-211; Mócsy, in Acta Arch.Acad.Scient.Hung., III.196, Abb.3;  
Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 72ff and Abb.23.  
Housesteads - RIB 1599 = ILS 4230.  
Chesterholm - RIB 1696.  
Pisingham - RIB 1225 = ILS 4728; perhaps RIB 1226.  
Catterick - RIB 725 = ILS 3929; RIB 726.  
Bischoester - RIB 1030 = ILS 4785; RIB 1031.

29 (cont.):

Lanchester - RIB 1085.

Greta Bridge - RIB 745, 747.

Lancaster - RIB 602.

Winchester - RIB 88 = ILS 4786.

Dorchester on Thames - RIB 235 = ILS 5458.

Wroxeter - RIB 293; the fact that the legion lacks the title victrix, the man was still serving after thirty-one years, and the lack of a cognomen in another tombstone found with it, all strongly suggest a date before A.D. 60.

30:

communication - A. von Domaszewski in Westdeutsche Zeitschrift, XII. 159; Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 72-74.

Domaszewski - op.cit., 207, n.365 citing two examples in Germania Inferior, ten in Germania Superior.

Vitalis - RIB 725.

frontier - that the beneficiarii on the frontiers supervised traffic and made the necessary charges seems clear from all the other evidence. I cannot agree with Professor Birley (RBRA, 85 and RHW, 238) that they supervised native fairs; Dio specifically states that legionary centurions were used for this; a glance at the distribution maps for the Continent would show that this would mean that a meeting place must be postulated every few miles along the frontier and Dio states that the natives had to keep so many miles away from the frontier; although the local military commander could often supervise the vicus outside his fort, a large and prosperous one could easily take up too much of his time; civilian magistrates are attested at four frontier forts in Britain. near - Petrikovits, op.cit., 74.

Vazanis - VIII 10723.

Salonae - III 12895.

Mainz - XIII 11816.

Lambaesis - AE 1914 234.

Housesteads - RIB 1599 = ILS 4230; RHW, 111, 180ff.

Aquincum - III 10429 = ILS 2410; Domaszewski, Religion, 99.

Tertullian - Fug.in Pers., 13.

intelligence - RBRA, 83.

Alta Ripa - ILS 2401 + Addenda.

31:

Cologne - Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 74.

Stockstadt - RBRA, 85.

Grosskrotzenburg - Germania, 39.166.

Obernburg - Aschaffener Jahrbuch, 2.137-142; Bayerischen Vorgeschichtsblättern, 21.115-122.

Saalburg - as suggested in RBRA, 85.

31 (cont.):

Risingham - the inscription of the beneficiarius consularis (RIB 1225 and perhaps also 1226) was "taken 'out of the river' north of the fort" (RR, 137 quoting Camden and Cotton, Britannia (1607), 662). There was a bridge across the Rede to the north of the fort (RR, 68, fig.2), and in view of the parallels from forts in Germany, it seems to the present writer better to site the post here rather than as in RBRA, 85.  
Cologne - Petrikovits, op.cit., 74-76, Abb.24.

32:

fixed length - H. Lieb 'Expleta Statione' in BR, 139-144.  
Risingham - RIB 1225 = ILS 4728; cf. RBRA, 84.  
Analysis - Lieb, loc.cit.

33:

XIII 7338; AE 1962 228; Lieb, op.cit.; cf. W. Schleiermacher, Germania, 39.166-168.

34:

civilians - cf. A.H.M. Jones, The Greek City, 212ff.  
Digest - 1.12.12.  
Pliny's - Ep., 10.77.  
Trajan's - 10.78.

35:

imagos - Josephus, B.J., 2.169-174; Ant., 18.55-59.  
aqueduct - B.J., 2.175-177; Ant., 18.60-62; cf. Eusebius, 2.6.  
Felix - B.J., 2.266-270; Ant., 20.173-178.  
Florus - B.J., 2.285-292.  
"Summoning - B.J., 2.331-332.  
Metilius - B.J., 2.449-454. Josephus uses ἑπαρχος instead of χιλιάρχος; was an ordinary cohort used instead of a cohort Italica? cf. A.N. Sherwin-White, Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament, 155, n.2.

36:

"The people - Josephus, B.J., 2.224.  
"When the feast - Ant., 20.106-107.  
"A Roman cohort - B.J., 5.244.  
Cumanus - B.J., 2.225-227; Ant., 20.108-112.  
Quadratus - B.J., 2.244-246; Ant., 20.133.  
Gallus - B.J., 2.280.  
Christ - NT, Matt., 26.5.  
governor's residence - cf. n.37 below.  
client king - Josephus states that at the Passover in 4 B.C. the Jewish police were unable to subdue trouble-makers who had roused the crowd. Archelaus sent in μετα βπειρας χιλιάρχων (B.J., 2.11) or βπειραν τε δηλιτων χιλιάρχων (Ant., 17.215).

36 (cont.):

Josephus normally uses these technical terms of Roman soldiers; these events took place a matter of days after the death of Herod, who is known to have received many special privileges from Augustus. In view of this, and if Josephus is being consistent in his usage, it is fair to suppose that a unit of the Roman army was seconded to help keep order, if necessary, in a notorious trouble-spot at dangerous times as a favour to Herod.

37:

"Judas took - NT, Joan.,18.3.  
"Then the soldiers - Matt.,27.27.  
"The soldiers - Marc.,15.16.  
execution squad - see n.38.

38:

speculatores - see Chapter X: Other Duties, n.7.  
Herod - NT, Marc.,6.27; cf.A.N. Sherwin-White, Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament, 109-110, 124.  
Paul - see n.41.  
flogging - NT, Matt.,27.27-31; Marc.,15.15-20; Luc.,23.22;  
Joan.,19.1-2.  
execution party - Matt.,27.32-54; Marc.,15.21-39; Luc.,23.26-47;  
Joan.,19.17-37.

39:

Eumolpus - Petronius, Sat.,111-112.  
Lyons - Eusebius, 5.1.  
Pilate - NT, Marc.,15.44-45.  
Jewish leaders - Matt.,27.62-66.  
Sunday - Matt.,28.4  
"After the women - Matt.,28.11-15.

40:

Ulpian - Dig., 1.18.6.8.  
Ptolemais - III 12069 = ILS 2611; III 12067 = ILS 2609; III 12068 = ILS 2610.  
Forth - RBRA, 87ff.  
examples - see Chapter X: Other Duties, passim; Lesquier, 242-243.  
Titus - Josephus, B.J.,6.418.  
Vespasian - B.J.,3.538-540.  
Christians - O. Davies, Roman Mines in Europe, 14, citing Pseudo-Origen, Philosophemena, IX.12, and Eusebius, M.P.,13.1.

41:

"The whole city - NT, Act.,21.30-36.  
speak to the mob - Act.,21.37-40.  
"They had given - Act.,22.22-30.  
"Because the uproar - Act.,23.10.

42:

Pilate - Josephus, B.J., 2.176 βυλοῖς; Ant., 18.60 εμυταλας  
Eusebius, 2.6 βυλοῖς.

Florus - Josephus, B.J., 2.326 βυλοῖς.

Vegetius - see Chapter III: Training and Exercises, passim.

43:

Terentianus - P.Mich. 477

next letter - P.Mich. 478.

Aristides - 67a.

44:

A.D. 47 - Tacitus, A., 12.31.

A.D. 60 - A., 14.31.

"He therefore - Philo, in Flac., 86.

"And yet - in Flacc., 92.

papyrus - Revue de Philologie, 22.18-27; Archiv für Papyrusforschung,  
I.168-172.

Encolpius - Petronius, Sat., 82; cf. 94.

45:

centurions - seen. 18-22 above.

A.D. 242 - P.Oxy. 62.

A.D. 250 - Eusebius, 6.41.

Paul - NT, Act., 23.12-21.

"The tribune - Act., 23.21-24.

Lysias - Act., 23.25-30.

"Following their - Act., 23.31-33.

Festus - Act., 25.1-5.

Sarapodorus - BGU 1676.

Cumanus - Josephus, B.J., 2.229; Ant., 20.114.

Macrinus - Dio, 79.39-40.

Diadumenianus - ibid.

46:

military prisons - Dig., 49.16.13.5; Passerini, legio, 608 (63-64):

Tacitus, H., 1.58; A., 1.21; 3.22; cf. Juvenal, Sat., 6.560;

Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 45.

Rome - Cod. Just., 4.65.4; Pliny, Ep., 10.57; for Paul of A.N.

Sherwin-White, Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament,  
108-109.

governor - see Chapter X: Other Duties, n.7.

Pliny - Ep., 10.19 and 20.

Herod - Act., 12.1-19; cf. Sherwin-White, op.cit., 123-124, 136-137.

47:

legal - Dig., 48.3.6.

Lysias - NT, Act., 23.26-30.

five days - Act., 24.1-21.

48:

"I shall hear - NT, Act.,23.35.

"Felix, who - Act.,24.22-23.

Festus - Act.,24.27.

Sidon - Act.,27.3.

house arrest - Act.,28.16; cf.28.30.

variant reading - ibid., sv app.crit.: ὁ ἑκατοντάρχος παρέδωκεν

τοὺς δεσμίους τῷ στρατοπέδῳ.

στρατοπέδῳ - A.N. Sherwin-White, Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament, 108ff, discusses the problem.

Praetorians - Philem.,12+131.

49:

'You have appealed - NT, Act.,25.12.

"When it was - Act.,27.1; cf. RE sv cohorts I Augusta.

Sidon - Act.,27.3; see n.48.

"The soldiers - Act.,27.42-43.

Rome - see n.48.

50:

Pliny - Ep.,10.57.

"There were - Ep.,10.96.

Polycarp - Eusebius, 3.36.

Aristarchus - NT, Act.,27.2; Col.,4.10; Philem.,24; cf.Act.,  
19.29; 20.4; Eusebius, 2.22.

Quadratus - Josephus, B.J.,2.243; Ant.,20.131.

Roman officials - B.J.,2.244; Ant.,20.132.

latter - B.J.,2.246; Ant.,20.136.

Felix - B.J.,2.253; Ant.,20.161.

Antiochus - B.J.,7.238-240.

Rhescuporis - Tacitus, A.,2.67.

Paetus - Pliny, Ep.,3.16.

Maximinus - Herodian, 7.7.6.

other - JRS, LVI.159,182.

51:

Caelianus - Pliny, Ep.,10.29 and 30.

Apuleius - Ep.,10.74.

52:

Dionysius - Eusebius, 6.40.

A.D. 204 - 6.3.

A.D. 222 - 6.21.

Lyons - 5.1. The most recent discussion of the point is A.R.

Birley, Marcus Aurelius, Appendix IV: Marcus and the Christians.

53:

secret police - O.Hirschfeld, Kleine Schriften, 576-612.

Otho - Tacitus, H.,1.85.

Epictetus - Dis.,4.13.5.

53 (cont.):

Pliny - Ep., 7.25.

Pilate - see n.35.

Crispus - CLA 7V.XIV.4.

54:

dumtaxat - VIII 270.

A.D. 9 - Dio, 56.18.

Tencteri - Tacitus, H., 4.64.

inhabitants - H., 4.65.

Tacitus - Ger., 13.

elsewhere - Ger., 28.

Hermundurī - Ger., 41.

Tertullian - adv. Iud., 7.

Pertinax - Herodian, 2.4.7.

55:

A.D. 180 - Dio, 73.2.

A.D. 173 - Dio, 72.11.

A.D. 173 [bis] - Dio, 72.15.

A.D. 175 - Dio, 72.16.

A.D. 179 - Dio, 72.19.

A.D. 180 - Dio, 73.3; for the dating of all these episodes in these wars I have followed J. Fitz, Acta Arch. Acad. Scient. Hung., 14.33-35.

56:

diversa loca - RR, 97; RNNB, 107.

Germany - Dio, 56.18.

57:

Lambaesis - VIII 18219 = ILS 2415; from the details of the find spot it is clear that it came from the canabae and not from the municipium as stated in the Corpus.

Egypt - PSI 1307.

58:

Vindonissa [etc] - R. Laur-Belart, Vindonissa: Lager und Vicus, 74-77, citing Vindonissa, Carnuntum, Augusta, Octodurus, Brigantium. Egger, Anzeiger der oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 88.223, citing Vindonissa, Carnuntum, and two at Aquincum.

Corbridge - AA4, XXXVII.14.

Stagshaw Bank - Northumberland County History, IV.209-210.

Seligenstadt - W. Schleiermacher, 'Nundinenses', Germania, XXXII. 326-328.

Arnsburg - ibid.

Alteburg-Heftrich and Altenstadt - ibid.; cf. JRS, XXVI.197-198.

59:

Zarai - VIII 4508; for interpretation cf. S.J. De Laet, Portorium, 266-267.

Leuce Come - De Laet, op.cit., 306-310; E.H. Warmington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India, 11; De Laet, op.cit., 307, n.1.

"There is - Anonymous, Peripl.Mar.Erythr., 19.

Mainz - XIII 11816; cf. De Laet, op.cit., 140.

Lambaesis - AE 1914 234.

con(ductores) - this is my own proposal.

date - JPS, IV.143.

Palmyra - IGRR III 1056; cf. Syria, 22.155-175; Revue Historique, 195.10-23.

Two commanders - cf. RBRA, 146ff.

Tauric Chersonesus - III 13750 = IGRR I 860.

Egypt - P.Oxy. 1185, verso.

60:

mayor - Report II, 156-159.

ἐπιστατης - ibid., 160-161.

statores - Report I, 32ff; II, 119ff. (The beneficiarii are cited there also).

tribuni - R14 cited in Report I, 38. That there was no difference between βενεφικιαριος and βενεφικιαριος τριβουνι can be seen from the fact that Aurelius Antoninus twice has the former title (R6 and R7) and twice the latter (R2 and R3); cf. Report I, 33-35.

plaque - Report II, 148-151.

61:

P.Abinn. 9.

62:

Hadrian's Wall - RHW, passim, especially 88-99. 103-110, 116-125; CW2, L.43-53.

Cleaven Dyke - PSAS, LXXIV.37-48.

German - Arch.J., XCII.38.

auf der Wurze - Limesführer, 38-39, and fig.13.

Saalburg - H. Schonberger, Führer durch das Römerkastell Saalburg (twenty-second edition), 30, Abb.3.

St Augustine - Epist., 46 and 47; cf. JRS, XL.31.

63:

Danube - Acta Arch.Acad.Scient.Hung., 14.76-77, cites all the references. All the thirteen inscriptions belong to this time (A.D. 184-185, e.g. ILS 8913) except ILS 295 which is dated to A.D. 185.

Auzia - VIII 20816 = ILS 396. cf. VIII 22629 = ILS 5849.

numerus burgariorum - III 13795 = ILS 9180; for veredarii cf. Hyginus, N.C., 24, 30, and ILS 9181.

Numidia - Herodian, 7.9.1.

63 (cont.):

Garymantes - Tacitus, H., 4.50.  
Corionototae - RIB 1142.  
Fife - Dig., 49.15.6; RBRA, 87ff.  
Mardi - Tacitus, A., 14.23.

64:

Varus - Dio, 56.19.  
Pliny - Ep., 10.27 and 28.  
Herod - Josephus, B.J., 1.301; Ant., 14.410.  
Athrongaeus - B.J., 2.63; Ant., 17.282-283.  
Strasbourg, Esperandieu, Recueil VII, 5499.  
legio XIV - Germania Romana, taf.XIV.1; this and the one from  
Strasbourg are reproduced in Historia, XII.taf.IV.  
Trajan's - Cichorius, passim.  
c.A.D. 233 - P.Dura 82.ii.5.  
A.D. 219 - P.Dura 100.xxx.18.  
A.D. 222 - P.Dura 101.xxxiv.24.  
Babylon - P.Flor. 278.

65:

Vegetius - 3.3.  
depots - see Chapter VIII: Food, n.53.

66:

"From the - SB 9223 = Journal of Juristic Papyrology, IV.106-115.  
Actinius - P.Lond. 256.  
Celer - P.Oxy. 276.  
Irenaeus - BGU 27.  
A.D. 201 - III 14165.

67:

equestrian officials - they are listed and discussed by H.-G.  
Pflaum in his discussion of the career of Maximianus in Libyca, III.  
135-154, especially 142-143.  
Maximianus - ibid., 135-136. of Pflaum, Carrières, 476-494  
(181 bis) and AE 1956 124.  
Hyginus - M.C., 30.  
A.D. 105 - CLA 219.ii.31-33. I have followed Marichal's  
interpretation of alaris as 'the camp of the ala', but Fink's  
expansion to [n]avario 'naval installations' (cited in Marichal's  
notes) would be equally apt in this context.

68:

A.D. 219 - P.Dura 100.xix.4,25; xxix.24.  
A.D. 222 - P.Dura 101.xxi.6; this seems to me a more probable  
expansion of df than those suggested by DPP, 41, especially in  
view of the evidence cited above.

68 (cont):

Britain - the detailed results have not yet been published, but for an interim report see The Times for 1.2.63, an article by P.Salway entitled 'New Light on Fens under the Romans', which gives the Hadrianic date. cf.FPRB, 5-6; I.A. Richmond, Roman Britain (second edition), 128-129.

supply craft - RIN, 137, 148.

Paternus - Dig., 50.6.7.

Audens - RIB 653 = ILS 4787.

Trajan - Cichorius, taf.XXXIII-XXXIV.

Marcus - Caprino, tav.LI.fig.102.

Rhine - Tacitus, H., 4.27; cf. 4.35 where they have to use the road because the enemy have control of the river.

69:

pay - the detailed evidence and reasoning of my theory are given in a paper called 'Ratio and Opinio in Roman Military Documents' to be published in Historia, XVI.

Helvetii - Tacitus, H., 1.67.

Arrian - Peripl., 6 and 10.

Germany - Tacitus, H., 4.36; cf. 4.26.

70:

I.A. Richmond, 'Roman Lead Sealings from Brough-under-Stainmore' in CW2, XXXVI.104-125. As only 133 could be examined out of what originally must have been thousands, I cannot agree with Richmond's division into regular and occasional quotas on the basis of the number that have survived today.

CHAPTER X

OTHER DUTIES

In addition to all the duties so far described, each soldier would at times be engaged on tasks which were not exclusively military. These could be both inside the fort and outside. In the former instance each soldier had to keep his own kit in good order and at times might well have to clean that of officers. Similarly, men were employed to keep the camp and its various installations clean; equites would have the further tasks of mucking out the stables and currying their mounts. These and other fatigues must have been common; soldiers might also act as escorts to officers. A large number of men were seconded from each unit - especially the legions - to the service of the provincial governor; they were mostly employed on clerical and judicial work. Similarly, men were detached to the service of the procurator or other officials or even civilians. Soldiers were constantly employed on the routine tasks of maintenance and repairs to the fort or obtaining the necessary materials to carry out the repairs. In addition they built structures primarily of military importance but also of benefit to the province. They could be employed on civilian projects, building parts of towns or repairing structures or even building whole towns, developing the province, providing technical assistance or building materials. Soldiers were used to supervise or provide technical skills in mines and quarries. Troops were also employed in the military postal service. A commanding officer acted as judge for the civilians of the area.

Although each soldier was expected to clean and keep in good order his own equipment and uniform, it is clear that some soldiers were at times

assigned to clean that of others. The legionary duty roster for the first ten days of October, A.D. 87, shows that on the 8th C. Julius Valens was assigned as a batman (galeariato); presumably one of his duties would be to clean and polish the equipment of the officer whom he was serving. This was a task assigned to C. Aemilius Valens for four days from the 2nd; he had to clean and polish the uniform of the centurion Helius, perhaps his special ceremonial uniform (ornatus Heli). Soldiers were often assigned to a task that involved boots (cal(ceamenta)), almost certainly that of cleaning them: C. Julius Valens (who was later the batman) on the 4th, Q. Cassius Rufus on the 10th, and P. Clodius Secundus on the 8th and specifically to deal with the boots of the centurion Helius on the following day. However, it also seems probable that these tasks involved making repairs to the boots; on the 3rd C. Julius Longus from Ausonia left with Asinius 'for boots', presumably to collect supplies of new footwear. It is tempting to wonder if the beeswax found at Vindonissa was used in cleaning and polishing equipment.<sup>1</sup>

The emphasis placed by the military authorities on cleanliness, which can be seen in their wish for the soldier to spend time on spit and polish on his equipment, is also evident from the fact that in the duty roster for the first ten days of October, A.D. 87, several tasks occur involving the use of soldiers to clean various parts and installations of the camp. The most frequent entry is ballio, a misspelling of balneo; this was bath house fatigues, entailing raking out ashes, stoking up the furnace, and other such tasks; this duty was performed by no less than

nine different soldiers, who spent between them a total of eighteen days on it. Q. Annius spent the first two days of the month cleaning the streets of the camp (scoarius). On the 3rd C. Julius Valens was assigned ad cunic [; this seems best interpreted as meaning that he was employed in drainage work of some sort. Two soldiers were employed on the necessary but unpleasant task of cleaning the latrines; C. Valerius and M. Longinus A- on the 2nd and 6th respectively were assigned sterous. These duties must have been universal; every camp had streets which would have to be swept and those in a legionary fortress, including all the side streets, would amount to several miles in length. Almost every fort had a bath house and every one must have had latrines; perhaps the best excavated example of the former is at Chesters, of the latter at Housesteads; clearly the task of cleaning the latrines would be even more unpleasant with the more primitive type as at Waddon Hill, although this is remarkably similar to the method used by British forces in tropical areas. A rake was discovered in the baths at Newstead and might well have been used to clear out debris. According to the roster for A.D. 222 at Dura a soldier had the duty ras. [; the word Hadrian uses for the cohort which made a first rate smooth ditch, was radendo, and perhaps Maximus was cleaning out ditches also (rasu[ra?]). The veranda in front of the men's quarters at Inchtuthil contained a row of timberlined pits, in which rubbish had been placed; presumably each contubernium was responsible for keeping its own rooms clean.<sup>2</sup>

In an ala and to a lesser extent a cohors equitata it would be necessary to muck out the stables regularly. In his book on equitation

Xenophon recommended that it was highly desirable to remove the horse-droppings daily from the stables where cavalry horses were kept. It seems highly probable that such sound advice was followed by the Roman army; presumably some of the equites were detailed in turn to muck out the stables each day, a not inconsiderable task when it is remembered that an ala quingenaria contained about six hundred horses and a cohors milliaria equitata and a cohors quingenaria equitata about half and a quarter of that total respectively. According to the great roster of A.D. 222 the éques Julius Maximus was assigned ras.[; perhaps it is worth speculating that he was being punished by being assigned to mucking out the stables for a certain time (rast[rum]). At Margidunum a pit of early second century date was excavated, at the bottom of which, sealed by a layer of clay, was discovered straw, horse-dung, and other stable refuse. Some of the dung was no doubt used as manure on the crops on the territorium of the units, and doubtless some was sold to nearby farmers. It might well be to cart away dung that C. Valerius Longus, an éques of ala Apriana, purchased a horse from a legionary centurion in A.D. 77, which was guaranteed ita uti bestiam veterinam adsolet. Even a cohors peditata and a legion had a large number of draught- and baggage-animals whose stables would have to be cleaned.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, the horses would have to be regularly groomed. That this was normal peace-time procedure can be seen from the fact that Fronto mentions that it was one of the points that the badly-disciplined army of the East had not done:

"The horses were shaggy from lack of attention, the riders impeccably groomed - you never saw a soldier with a hairy leg or arm!"

Vegetius stresses that a decurion must compel the men in his troop to keep the equipment of their mounts clean and no doubt he meant currying and grooming of the horses as well. Again the method of doing this is prescribed by Xenophon. 'Vopiscus', although in a passage that is perhaps not authentic, quotes what he claims to be standard military procedure:

"Each man is to curry his own horse and pack-horse, no one is to sell the fodder of the animals, and they must jointly look after the mule that belongs to the century."

Whether or not the statement is true in its context, there can be no doubt that the equi, sagmarii, and muli centuriati were regularly groomed.

In a stable at the Antonine or Severan fort at Ilkley a strigil was discovered; clearly this had been used to groom the horses of the cohors equitata. Similarly, the horses would have to be watered regularly.<sup>4</sup>

The entries in the legionary duty roster mentioned above frequently state that a soldier was serving in one or other of the centuries. The most frequent simply states that the man was employed in his own century (in 1) and no less than nine men have this designation a total of fourteen times. Clearly this rather vague-sounding entry must have been a more specific duty and it seems best to suppose that a soldier assigned to 'duty in century' was a member of a fatigue party for that day employed on the miscellaneous day to day tasks that would occur. Members of this century were also seconded to other centuries - presumably for the same sort of job - but in every instance for a period of several days in succession. L. Sextilius Germanus spent six days from the 5th onwards in

the century of D. Decrius, C. Valerius at least four from the same day on in that century; C. Julius F- was in the century of Serenus from 5th to 10th, while C. Julius Longus from Sidon spent three days (6th to 8th) in the century of Helius and C. Valerius Felix the first two days of the month in the century of Caecilius.<sup>5</sup>

Vegetius states that senior officers had beneficiarii to assist them and this is confirmed by epigraphy. The duty roster for the first ten days of October of A.D. 87 shows that some of the other less senior officers were assigned a legionary soldier for one or two days as comes. This probably means that the other rank acted as an escort to the officer for the day and performed the duties of an orderly. P. Antonius Crispus was comes to a tribune from the 7th to 9th, C. Aemilius was escort to Serenus, who is known to have been a centurion, on the 2nd, while M. Julius Felix was escort to the same officer from the 1st to 5th, and C. Valerius was comes to the primus pilus on the 1st.<sup>6</sup>

Although the governor of a province had a familia of freedmen and slaves, who carried out the more menial tasks, many of his staff were soldiers seconded from the units under his command. Some of their duties were clerical, as in the case of the men of cohors I Hispanorum veterana who were detached to the provincial headquarters with the clerks (ad [p]raetorium c[um] l[ibrariis] [sic]) in A.D. 105. The head of the officium was a centurion with the title of princeps praetorii or princeps officii praesidis. He was helped by three cornicularii consularis.

The governor had sixty beneficiarii consularis whom he could use for a variety of different tasks; there were also a number of frumentarii and candidati (the latter probably not before the time of Severus) available for different duties. In connection with his duties in dispensing justice the governor had three commentarienses, who looked after the judicial records; tēn spēculatores for each legion in the province, who executed the condemned, and a number (perhaps ten) of quaestionarii to torture prisoners. The princeps, cornicularii, and commentarienses had assistants (adiutores). To keep the many documents there were clerks (librarii), accountants (exacti), and shorthand clerks (exceptores), although they were sometimes simply called immunes consularis. To act as equerries he had stratores and as orderly a domicurius. The governor would have to attend to many religious rites and ceremonies and so had the service of a haruspex, victimarius, and pullarius. There were also interpreters (interpretes).<sup>7</sup>

All these posts were filled by serving legionaries seconded to the governor's headquarters. If a province had no legions, legionaries were detached from a neighbouring province; the two Pannonias, for example, provided troops for Dalmatia. Provinces governed by procurators, however, such as the two Mauretanas, employed auxiliary troops for this purpose. Pliny as governor of Bithynia had only a few auxiliary units under his command; nevertheless, he had had to assign to Gavius Bassus, praefectus orae Ponticae, more than the ten beneficiarii, two equites, and a centurion that Trajan had declared to be the correct number. As a bodyguard the

governor had pedites and equites singulares seconded from the auxiliary cohorts and alae in the province. It is not known how many they numbered, but they were at times organised in a numerus; it is not impossible that the total varied with the importance of the province.<sup>8</sup>

Several reliefs depict a speculator going on a tour of duty. One shows L. Bassius Nigellius, formerly of legio VII Claudia, sitting in a carriage drawn by three horses; he is driven by a coachman and has a servant with him. Another fragmentary relief from Tomi depicts only the wheels of the carriage and the hooves of a horse, but presumably was similar. The carriage belonged to the speculator Vibius Severus and is dated to the late second or first half of the third century.<sup>9</sup>

The files of cohors XX Palmyrenorum at Dura mention several members of the unit who had been dispatched to the governor's headquarters at Antioch. The morning report for 29th March, c.A.D. 233, reads:

"Returned: the men previously dispatched to the governor's headquarters with letters, soldiers [."

The following entry records that a soldier of cohors II Equestris, probably on a similar mission, had returned with them. The great roster of A.D. 219 notes that a pedes with twenty-seven years' service and an equus sesquiplicarius with fifteen years' were ad praetorium, that of A.D. 222 notes that two troopers each with nineteen years' service were similarly employed. A fragmentary strength report seems to list under 1st August, c.A.D. 250 the dispatch or return of two groups of soldiers ad pr]aet(orium) praesidis; in October soldiers seem to have returned

from a mission to the cornicularii on the governor's staff at Antioch (Rr ex [1]s qdp cor cog). The ages of the four men as revealed in the rosters might suggest that it was policy to send men with considerable military experience but who might not be very active in the field. However, it should be remembered that a younger soldier with initiative might prefer the increased possibilities of promotion at provincial headquarters under the eye of the governor, as Apollinarius, for example, had clearly decided by trying to become a clerk on the staff of the governor rather than the legion, although the same man was in charge of both.<sup>10</sup>

The archives from Dura provide some information on the singulares. The great roster for A.D. 219 records twenty-two examples, that of A.D. 222 fifty-nine. In the former twelve are pedites, including three who are duplicarii, and ten are equites; in the latter fifty-two are pedites, including one duplicarius, Aurelius Julius Apollinarius who held the same post three years earlier, and seven are equites. The average length of service of the pedites was ten years in A.D. 219, but only eight in A.D. 222, when ten men had been assigned as singulares before they had served a year and another three with only one year's service; the equites had served an average of sixteen years in A.D. 219 and eighteen in A.D. 222, and the minimum length of service was seven years. However, the earlier roster lists only 60% of the estimated total strength of the unit and the latter only 63%; it is therefore not possible to state how many troops a unit would normally send to act as singulares, since the proportions of the attested men here are 3% and 9% respectively. A fragmentary roster

of A.D. 251-256 attests at least nine singulares, including one duploarius; the only two attested dates of enlistment give length of service of at least twenty-six and twenty-one years, with the possibility of up to another five years; most, if not all, were pedites. A papyrus dated to A.D. 236, which appears to contain a list of principales, mentions two pedites who were singulares, both of whom had served twelve years. Sing]ulares v(iri) [c(larissimi) are mentioned in a copy of a letter giving details of men absent from Dura in A.D. 243-244 in connection with the eastern campaign of Gordian III. Similarly, the pridianum of cohors I Hispanorum Veterana in A.D. 105 shows that four soldiers, including a decurion, were singulares, to the governor Fabius Justus.<sup>11</sup>

Some soldiers would also be sent to help the procurator of the province, either to form part of his officium or to act as a guard for the convoy of supplies, money, taxes etc. Examples of both uses can be clearly seen in a letter of Pliny to Trajan:

"Sir, your freedman and procurator, Maximus, assures me that in addition to the ten beneficiarii whom you ordered me to assign to Gemellinus, he himself must have six soldiers. In the meantime I thought it proper to leave him with the three I found in his service, especially as he was going to Paphlagonia to collect corn. In addition and at his own request, I gave him two troopers as an escort. Will you please inform me what your instructions are for the future."

There is here a clear distinction between the beneficiarii assigned to the administration of Viridius Gemellinus, procurator Ponti et Bithyniae, and the milites and equites assigned as an escort to Maximus, the freedman assistant to the procurator. In his reply Trajan makes it clear that the assistant's soldiers should normally be restricted to

two from the governor and two from the senior procurator. When the rebellion of Boudicca broke out, the colonists at Colchester requested aid from the procurator Decianus Catus, who was perhaps at London; he sent them less than two hundred men; as these men are described as not having the regular weapons (sine armis iustis), they were perhaps in part soldiers who had been seconded to his officium and who had therefore not retained their full set of armour and weapons.<sup>12</sup>

Examples of soldiers seconded to form part of the administrative staff of a procurator can be deduced from their titles, for example, cornicularius, beneficiarius, and perhaps exactus; they presumably supervised the clerical work done by the familia of Imperial slaves and freedmen. A strength report from Dura dated A.D. 250-251 records the return of troops to the unit including:

"Returned from those previously dispatched to the officium of the procurator, soldiers 4."

A fragmentary roster of A.D. 250-256 records that at least two men were serving at the officium procuratoris. In A.D. 105 a pridianum records that one infantryman was temporarily detached from cohors I Hispanorum to work in the officium of Latinianus, the procurator of Lower Moesia.<sup>13</sup>

Little is known of the details of the numbers or the arrangements involved in the case of soldiers seconded to the procurator. It is clear from what both Pliny and Trajan write that the troops needed for escort duties were supplied on an ad hoc basis. However, a papyrus from Dura suggests that the troops sent to the procurator may well have

been periodically replaced. A letter dated to early July, A.D. 216, from the correspondence files of Postumius Aurelianus, presumably sent by the governor, reads:

"I have sent back to you the twenty-eight soldiers of cohors XX Palmyrenorum, which is under your command, from the service of Aurelius Theodorus, Imperial procurator, to whom I have assigned other soldiers in their place."

The names of the men follow, written in a second hand, although it is perhaps possible that some were transferred to a vexillation and not sent back to Dura; one of the men has besides his name the entry immun, and he may well have been a clerk. The next letter in the roll, although very fragmentary, appears to have been similar. Two other letters in the file apparently refer to members of the cohort returning from duty with a procurator.<sup>14</sup>

However, it is quite clear that the financial procurator had no military power over the troops who had been put under his ministerium; they were there simply to act as an escort and protect him or valuables under his care, or alternatively, to run his administration. An example of soldiers protecting the person of the procurator is given by Herodian: in A.D. 237 a procurator in Africa was attacked by an angry crowd of farmers and his bodyguard of soldiers attempted to defend him but were routed. An Imperial slave called Stephen foolishly travelled without an armed escort and brigands ambushed him and robbed him of his baggage at Bethhoron in A.D. 51. Any attempt on the part of the procurator to take upon himself such military authority would result in legal charges being brought against him, as in the case of Cn. Lucilius

Capito, procurator provinciae Asiae, in A.D. 23; Tacitus appears to be quoting the acta senatus:

"Tiberius stated with great severity that he had given his procurator no judicial powers, except over Imperial slaves and revenues; if Capito had usurped the authority of the governor and had employed military forces, then in so doing he had exceeded the Emperor's instructions."

He could, however, make use of the soldiers under his ministerium to compel others to carry out their requirements. The procurator C. Herennius Capito sent soldiers from Jamnia to Anthedon in A.D. 36 to demand 300,000 sesterces that Agrippa owed to the Imperial treasury in Rome; they were to escort the money back if paid, and if it was not, to detain him and his ship there. In the opening years of the third century in Phrygia the procurator Aurelius Threptus sent an optio, Aurelius Symphoros, to announce his decision on a dispute between the two villages of Anossa and Antimacheia on the subject of providing oxen for the angareia and to supervise the settlement. The optio's action and dealings with the councils are recorded in two letters. His settlement proved ineffective without a soldier being permanently stationed there to enforce it; accordingly, on 11th October, A.D. 213, the procurator Philocurius sent a stationarius to safeguard his decision. It was because he lacked direct military authority over his soldiers that the procurator was at times unable to prevent troops who were in theory, at any rate, supposed to help him preserve peace, from unlawfully attacking and robbing provincials; an example is the village of Aragua on an Imperial estate in Phrygia, where the tenant farmers were beaten and robbed of their plough oxen by soldiers and officials of the

procurator at sometime between the years A.D. 244-247. Such soldiers also seem illegally to have arrested tenants on an Imperial estate at Aga Bey to send them to the procurator at sometime in the first half of the third century. There is no evidence that soldiers under the ministerium of Decianus Catus, procurator provinciae Britanniae, were involved in the scandalous behaviour in taking over the property of Prasutagus in A.D. 60. However, procurators did at times use soldiers in an unlawful way: at some time between A.D. 180 and 183 the tenants of the saltus Burunitanus complained of a procurator:

"He sent soldiers into the aforementioned Burunitan Estate and gave orders that some of us be arrested and assaulted, others be put in chains, some - including men who were actually Roman citizens - to be beaten with rods and cudgels."

On the pretext of examining accounts in c15 B.C. Apollos illegally used a soldier as a bailiff to take two new garments from the village of Comas.<sup>15</sup>

A governor might well on occasion assign soldiers to escort various civilians. A document of the first half of the second century shows that the soldier Antonius was with the epistrategus Vindex. A military document of A.D. 143 with the name, date of enlistment, and duty of soldiers, reveals that C. Julius Front[is] (?) was oum epistr[atego]. Lucian would have come in for even worse treatment from the false philosopher Alexander had it not been for his escort:<sup>16</sup>

"I brought with me two soldiers, one armed with a lance, the other with a spear, whom I had got from the governor of Cappadocia, a friend of mine, to escort me as far as the sea."

Soldiers were also assigned at times as a guard of honour to various high ranking dignitaries who were visiting or passing through the province. Thus the great roster of A.D. 219 from Dura shows that at least fifty-six soldiers were detached as a guard of honour to the Emperor Elagabalus on his journey from the East to Rome (ad dom(inum) n(ostrum)); whether or not they escorted him to Rome or only as far as the borders of Syria is not known. The one thing that did most to bring the rebellious troops of legio I and legio XX back to order in A.D. 14 was the thought of Agrippina and her young son travelling from their fortress at Cologne to the territory of the Treviri without the standard guard of honour of centurions and soldiers (feminas illustres non centurionem ad tutelam non militem nihil imperatoriae uxoris aut comitatus soliti). In A.D. 18 Rhescuporis, a king of Thrace, was sent to Rome to face a trial; he was provided with a large escort of soldiers, ostensibly as a guard of honour (specie honoris valida manus).<sup>17</sup>

Most of the permanent forts and military structures were normally, provided that geological conditions were suitable, constructed of stone. Consequently soldiers were often detailed to the quarries to hew the stones that would be used to construct the various buildings. The pridianum of cohortis I Hispanorum records that some of its men were [in] Dardania ad metella [sic]; thus even in the middle of a war soldiers were well to the rear mining or quarrying. Whenever there was a large scale building programme in a province, soldiers would be sent to the quarries to cut stones; thus more than a dozen quarries along the line of Hadrian's Wall

were used to build the Wall and its structures. In a legionary fortress the total length of the walls of the barracks was eight miles, the perimeter of the fortifications one and a quarter miles. Epigraphy and archaeology reveal the vast quantity of buildings inside the camp: headquarters, barracks, granaries, hospital, veterinarium, officers' houses, workshops, stores, stables, exercise-halls, prison, sheds for the guns, and at times baths, as well as ramparts, gates, and turrets. It is estimated that 30,000 feet of stone was used for the fortress walls of Inchtuthil, 3,000 cubic yards for three granaries at Chester. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that a few soldiers at least were continually employed in hewing and trimming stones to stockpile a ready supply of suitable material for the new buildings and conversions to stone that regularly took place in peace-time and also for the running repairs that would be necessary to the camp.<sup>18</sup>

There is also further evidence to support this theory. It is quite clear from inscriptions found there that some military forces were continually employed in the quarries in Germany to stockpile supplies of stone. The hard work would be done by munifices under the skilled instruction of lapidarii. That this work was not pleasant can be seen from the undisguised delight of Apollinarius, when he was appointed librarius legionis and thus became an immunis and was exempt from work in the quarries to provide the stones for the new road systems; in a letter to his father Sabinus dated to 27th March, A.D. 107, he says:

"Things are going well for me here. Thanks to Sarapis I got here quite safely and while the others [ ] the whole day long are cutting stones and are engaged on other tasks, I so far have suffered none of this."

In a letter to his mother Tasoucharion dated to 19th February, A.D. 108, he writes:

"I give thanks to Sarapis and Good Fortune that while everyone is toiling away the whole day through cutting stones, I as a principalis walk around doing nothing."

Clearly the reason why most of the legion was engaged in quarrying stones was that the province had been formed only a year or two earlier and the legion had not had time to stockpile supplies of building stones; thus milestones reveal that the same troops were still building roads several years later. Similarly, while a vexillation of legio XIII Gemina was toiling under Caracalla in a quarry at Micia in Dacia, Aurelius Arimus set up an altar on which he proudly showed that he did not have to take part in the work because he was immuni[s]. Even so, other soldiers working in quarries found time to make comments and draw doodles of their centurion or optio. In c.A.D. 90 the Prefect of Egypt gave instructions for a geological survey to be carried out to find a suitable quarry for building stone for a new quarry that a working party of soldiers ((κ)α(ε)τρῆσις) was going to exploit. The soldier who actually discovered the quarries set up a dedication in verse:<sup>19</sup>

"Pan and the nymphs granted Isidorus to find these quarries in the land of Menippoeus, when a working party of soldiers was cutting stones for a quay for our land on the orders of Mettius Rufus."

The life of a timber building was only about twenty-five years and the timbers would then have to be replaced because they were rotting.

It was for this reason that the earth walls and wooden towers of the fort at Phasis were rebuilt in brick. This is well illustrated by an inscription from the fort of Bumbesti dated to A.D. 201, which records that the garrison had to replace their turf walls with ones built of stone (muros cesp[it(icos)] castro[rum] coh(ortis) I A[u]reliae Brittonum @ Antoniniana(e) vetust(ate) dila[psos] lapide eos restituerunt). The papyri show that day to day tasks such as cleaning out the ditches were done, while archaeology has revealed that the ditch of the Vallum was cleaned out in places several times in the second century. This, plus the very size and extent of the forts, makes it clear that a certain amount of maintenance to buildings and structures would have to be carried out. Several inscriptions mention that buildings had collapsed through old age: at Leiden an armamentarium, for example, at Lancaster a balineum and basilica, at Risingham a gate and walls, at Walldürn a balineum.

At Birdoswald:

"The cohort restored the commanding officer's house, which had been covered with earth and had collapsed in ruins, and also the headquarters and bath house."

Clearly some commanding officers had not ensured that regular inspection of the structures and the necessary repairs had been carried out.<sup>20</sup>

Reference has already been made to the fact that epigraphy and archaeology show that the units of the Roman army built their own forts and the many different types of building inside them. They also built other works which had a military purpose but which would soon be of considerable use and benefit to civilians in the province. A good

example of this is roads, which were mostly laid out and constructed by soldiers in the military advance, but which civilians later freely used and maintained. Thus a milestone fifty-four miles from Petra records of Trajan:

"When Arabia had been reduced to the status of a province, he opened up and paved a new road from the boundary of Syria as far as the Red Sea through the agency of C. Claudius Severus, governor."

Similarly, men from the legions of Pannonia had been sent to Nauportus in A.D. 14 to build roads, bridges, and other projects (ob itinera et pontes et alios usus) to consolidate the lines of communication that an army made when advancing into enemy territory (penetrat interior aperit limites). A few years earlier the troops in Germany had been building towns for the native communities, as well as clearing forests, building roads, constructing bridges, and other similar tasks. The water stops and camps built by the army of Egypt under Augustus or Tiberius would be of considerable use to civilians and traders. One of the peace terms between Decebalus and Domitian in A.D. 89 was that the Roman army were to loan the Dacians military craftsmen for aid in constructing many projects (δημιουργους παντοιας τεχνης και ειρηνικης και πολεμικης); they included many specialists to make and maintain the heavy siege equipment and artillery. In the same way, although the soldiers constructed frontier works which were principally a means for military defence and a springboard for counter-attack, they were also designed to promote economic development in the frontier zone.<sup>21</sup>

The garrisons in each province could supply a large number of

highly-trained building craftsmen and technicians of every type and the munifices as an unlimited labour force. It was therefore only to be expected that the Emperor should decide that it was suitable - and incidentally extremely inexpensive for the Imperial fiscus - to make use of the army on civilian building projects. Accordingly, Ulpian in the Digest states that part of a governor's duties was to lend ministeria quoque militaria in connection with the repair or construction of public buildings. Reference has already been made to the fact that Domitius Corbulo, Pompeius Paulinus, and L. Vetus had employed the armies of the Germanies in digging canals as much to keep the troops occupied as to develop the province. The best descriptions of soldiers being employed to develop civilian projects are those in connection with Probus; he is said to have used them to increase the supply of corn in Egypt by building bridges, temples, porticoes, basilicas, dredging river-mouths, draining marshes and turning them into good agricultural land. Similarly, he had used his troops to plant vines throughout Gaul, Moesia, and Pannonia and on drainage schemes in the last place also. For this reclamation policy there was a precedent: Augustus had used the army of Egypt to clear out some canals and to dig new ones; his purpose in using militari opere to clean out the canals, which had been silted up through lack of attention, was to increase the supply of grain for Rome. Aristides describes the many engineering feats that the Roman army accomplished for the development of the provinces:

"'Earth common to all,' said Homer, and by your works you have made it so; you have measured the whole of the world, you have spanned rivers with every kind of bridge, you have

hewn a way through mountains and made it fit to carry traffic, you have filled the desolate areas with posting stations, you have pacified everywhere into accepting a settled and orderly way of life."

In A.D. 112 Trajan had a completely new bridge built opera militum suorum for the export of marble from Hippo Regius. Vespasian used men of legio IV Scythica and legio X Fretensis as well as sailors of the classis Syriaca to construct a tunnel to divert a mountain stream that was threatening to cause the harbour of Seleuceia to silt up. In March, A.D. 73, two legions constructed a type of Archimedes screw for raising water from the Euphrates in Commagene (opus cochli[dis]).<sup>22</sup>

It appears to have been government policy to use the troops to make poor land into good agricultural land. The efforts of Augustus in Egypt, and Probus in many parts of the Empire, have already been mentioned, where they used soldiers serving in the army to improve the fertility of the soil by draining marshy land and cleaning out canals. In Britain, probably during the reign of Hadrian, the soldiers were used to drain the Fens to turn marshes into land suitable ..... for growing corn on a large scale, doubtless for the military North. The evidence also strongly suggests that when a soldier was discharged and given land (missio agraria), this would often require not a little work on his part before it became suitable for farming. The legionaries of Pannonia complained bitterly in A.D. 14 that on discharge they would, like others, receive not good quality arable or pasture land, but that which was undrained or rugged (per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inoultam montium accipiant). The land around the veteran colony at

Lincoln founded in A.D. 90-96 was marshy. In c.A.D. 200 Julius Valerius, a veteran in Egypt, stated that he had received land from the Emperors on which he had spent much time and money on irrigation ditches, sluices etc. On 26th May, A.D. 227, Julius Demetrius, a veteran of cohors III Augusta Thracum, signed a deed of sale. As a result of a missio agraria he already owned land in Rhakoukaitha or Raquqeta, which means 'The Marshy'. He decided to purchase further land in the territory of the village of Sachare-da-hawarae, which means 'The White Barrage', at Karkaphtha or Qarqapta, which means 'A Hill', especially one rising up from an alluvial plain. The land he wished to buy was bordered by the River Chabur and 'a canal of water' and vineyards that he already possessed. The new property contained six hundred vines, fruit-bearing and other trees. The meaning of the place names shows that Demetrius must have spent considerable time and effort in converting the marshy land into good farming land. As his former unit was stationed at Sachare, which means 'Barrage', there can be little doubt that many veterans of cohors III Thracum here received marshy land between the Chabur and Euphrates, which they would have to drain themselves. Similarly, both serving soldiers and veterans were used to construct the cisterns, water-channels, and other means of irrigation to turn the barren soil of North Africa and Syria into good agricultural land and similar reclamation work was carried out elsewhere. Clearly members of the Roman army when serving or discharged played a major role in this.<sup>23</sup>

It was only to be expected that before long the troops would be used

to repair old or ruined buildings or to construct new ones in towns; sometimes the Imperial fiscus paid the cost, sometimes the local authority. Thus in October of A.D. 144 the town council of Sala in Mauretania Tingitana thanked M. Sulpicius Felix for having used the men of ala II Syrorum on the mammoth task of strengthening the town defences but keeping the cost as low as possible (municipium infestioribus locis maximo murorum opere minimo sumtu [sic] ambiendo). A century later the two Philips used soldiers to build a military wall to defend Romula. This led to the army being used to build whole towns: two inscriptions state that legio III Augusta built the colony at Timgad in A.D. 100 and aerial photographs of the colonia reveal the military planning quite clearly; another town probably constructed by the soldiers at the same time was Theveste, while the plans of the coloniae in Britain at Colchester, Gloucester, and Lincoln are so similar that the suggestion has been made that they were the disused sites of the fortresses and the installations for the towns were in fact military originally. The troops who encouraged the veteran settlers at Colchester in A.D. 60 were probably there to build the temple, senate house, theatre, and other amenities. Soldiers were also used to build roads and repair them for civilian and not for military use. In A.D. 123 legio III Augusta built a road from Carthage to Theveste; in A.D. 137 the army of Egypt constructed the road from Berenice to Antinoopolis with an abundant supply of water-stops, caravanserais, and protective garrisons, the purpose of which was to divert traffic from the Coptos-Berenice route to the new colony. In Syria in A.D. 163-165 M. Volusius Maximus,

a centurion of legio XVI Flavia, supervised the repair of a road; the cost was paid by the citizens of Abila but the troops 'repaired the road which had been washed away by a flood, by tunnelling through a mountain'. Perhaps a not dissimilar picture is revealed under Caracalla, when legio III Gallica at Berytus widened the road by removing part of the mountain overhanging the river. It seems highly probable that ala II Asturum constructed the drains for the vicus at Chesters and connected them up to the main drain of the fort. According to the records of a legion in Egypt in the last quarter of the first century A.D. T. Flavius Saturninus had left for harbour-dredging on 15th January (Exit ad hormos confodiendo[s]). M. Marcius Clemens may have been employed on a similar task in October of A.D. 87. Another legionary, T. Flavius Valens, may well have been used to provide civilians with technical aid; on 15th January he was assigned to the manufacturing of paper.<sup>24</sup>

At times technical specialists were detached from the army to provide expert assistance for civilian projects in their own and other provinces. This is well illustrated in two separate instances with the librator, who was a hydraulic-engineer. When Pliny was governor of Bithynia in the early second century, he devised a scheme to link Lake Sophon with the sea and thus facilitate the transporting of exports; the province could supply the labour force required but an expert was needed to see if the lake was above sea-level, and if so, by how much. Pliny therefore requested Trajan to send him an architectus or a librator to make an accurate survey. Trajan gave cautious approval to the scheme and told Pliny to submit a request for a librator to Calpurnius

Macer, the governor of Lower Moesia. Pliny made a further inspection of the site and came to the conclusion that the best scheme would involve canals, dykes, dams, and sluices. He had written to Macer requesting a librator to make a detailed survey. Trajan replied that there was no reason why Calpurnius Macer should not send him a suitably qualified librator. Unfortunately, there is no further record in the correspondence of the survey made by the hydraulic-engineer.<sup>25</sup>

The second example concerns the construction of an aqueduct at Bougie in Mauretania Caesariensis in the mid-second century. The aqueduct was for the civitas of Saldae and was designed by Nonius Datus, a librator of legio III Augusta. The inscription is incomplete, but it is clear that Datus, made at least three separate visits over a period of about fifteen years to make surveys, draw up plans, and supervise the project. This consisted of an aqueduct on arches in the open running from the source at Toudja for thirteen miles to Bougie and a tunnel 527 yards long through the mountain near El Abel joining Wadi S'rir and Wadi Rhir; it was this latter part that caused the difficulties. Datus had originally drawn up a detailed plan for the aqueduct for Petronius Celer, who is known to have been procurator in A.D. 137; he had not, however, stayed to supervise the work to the end and difficulties had arisen which delayed construction. The next stage, so far as can be seen, was that Porcius Vetustinus, who is known to have been procurator in A.D. 150, requested Crispinus, the legate of Numidia, to send Datus, who was now a veteran, to supervise the work and to stay for several months to deal with any difficulties that might occur. Datus stayed, but not for long

enough; afterwards the two parties engaged on the construction of the tunnel working from opposite ends wandered off course and would thus not meet in the middle. The result was that the next procurator, Varius Clemens, had to request the legate Etruscus in A.D. 151 or 152 to send Datus again. This time the librator was permitted to stay until the excavation was completed (he used military labour for this) and the water was flowing at the correct rate. The inscription, appropriately headed Patientia, Virtus, and Spes, is given as figure 11. 26

Clearly there must have been many cases where a military specialist was sent to make the necessary plans and perhaps supervise the execution of a civilian project. Unfortunately, only a few are attested in literature: Caligula sent a primipilaris to make the necessary survey for the canal he planned to construct at the Corinthian Isthmus. So accurate was this survey that when the canal was actually dug in A.D. 1881 it followed the line of the planned Roman one. Nero had planned to use the Praetorians to dig the canal, but apparently only at the ceremony of cutting the first sod. However, other instances can be deduced: the forum in many provincial towns, especially in Britain, is so similar in plan to the headquarters building of a fort that it seems very probable that military architecti were employed to design and supervise the construction of the most important civic building. Military surveyors (mensores) must often have been employed to lay out whole towns. There is also a strong suggestion that at Verulamium the

Figure 11

....to Etruscus: "Sir, the civitas of Saldae and I with the citizens of Saldae ask you to urge Nonius Datus, veteran of legio III Augusta, hydraulic-engineer, to come to Saldae to finish what remains of his work." I set off, but on the way fell in with brigands; although I was stripped and wounded, I managed to get away with my equipment. I arrived at Saldae and met the governor Clemens, who took me to the mountain where they were without any confidence in the work and bemoaning the tunnel, because it appeared that it would have to be abandoned, as the tunneling of the passage was longer than the distance through the mountain. It appeared that the excavations had wandered off line to such an extent that the upper one turned to the right and to the south, the lower one similarly to the left and the north; consequently both passages were wandering off line. The line had been marked off over the mountain from east to west. To prevent the reader from falling into any error about the excavation, the meaning of the words 'upper' and 'lower' in this instance is that the 'upper' is where the tunnel receives the water, the 'lower' where it emits it. Although I marked out the work for them to see who was having what part of the tunneling, I assigned the work to the rivalry of soldiers of the fleet and pikemen and thus they joined to pierce the mountain. I first made my survey and then marked out the course. I decided it should be constructed according to the plan which I had given the governor Petronius Celer. The work was finished, the water flowed along, and the governor Varius Clemens made the dedication. Five modii.

To make my work on this appear more clearly, I attach several letters.

Porcius Vetustinus to Crispinus: "Sir, you have been very well disposed to me and particularly generous and kind in sending me the veteran Nonius Datus, so that I can deal with him about the work, the supervision of which he has undertaken. For this reason, although I was pressed for time and hurrying to Caesarea, nevertheless I made the journey to Saldae and saw that the aqueduct was well begun but was a large project and could not be completed without the supervision of Nonius Datus, who was dealing with it energetically and conscientiously. I therefore request you to grant us permission for him to stay in charge of the work for several months in case...."

defensive ditch constructed after the destruction caused during the rebellion of Boudicca was designed and laid out by a military surveyor but dug by civilians.<sup>27</sup>

Military experts and especially surveyors, as well as being used at times to lay out structures in the towns, were also occasionally employed to assist the civilians in the countryside. Two inscriptions from Dalmatia show that a legionary centurion had determined the boundaries between the Nedites and Corinienses and that later another two centurions confirmed them. In the closing years of the second century agri et pascua et fontes were assigned under the supervision of a cornicularius praefecti called Manilius Caecilianus. However, it must be added that the military authorities may have had an ulterior motive: Vegetius stresses that it was necessary for a GOC to have highly detailed maps; thus the military surveyors must have been employed quite frequently in drawing maps of their own province and also a large extent of the territory beyond the frontier.<sup>28</sup>

Another way in which personnel from the army were used to assist cities was by providing building materials. This is well illustrated by two inscriptions: in A.D. 83 at Acoris T. Egnatius Tiberianus, a centurion of legio III Cyrenaica, was 'in charge of the quarries that produce the paving-stones for the city of Alexandria'. In A.D. 160 a detachment of the classis Germanica was 'quarrying stones for the forum of Colonia Ulpia Traiana'; it was engaged in obtaining trachyte from

Drachenfels in the Siebengebirge for the colony at Xanten. During the years A.D. 101-103 vexillations from all the forces of Lower Germany were engaged in quarrying light tufa for the colonia. Geological examination of buildings in civilian areas has shown that the building materials came from areas that were under military supervision and thus obtained by the soldiers; trachyte from Berkum was used in the baths at Colonia Ulpia Traiana and the mortar used in the amphitheatre there and in the aqueduct from the Eifel came from lime quarried either in Paffrath or in the Eifel. Almost certainly the other building materials quarried by the military in Germany were used on occasions for civilian projects.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to being stationed to guard convicts at mines soldiers often supervised the work of other people there. At Philae in A.D. 203 a dedication was set up by the official supervising the work at the quarry there (curam agente op(eris) dominic(i) dec(urione) al(ae) Maurorum):

"New quarries were discovered at Philae and many massive <sup>11</sup> pilasters and columns were extracted under Subatianus Aquila, Prefect of Egypt, and Aurelius Heraclides, decurion of the ala Maurorum, who supervised the work of Imperial property."

Trajan appointed Annius Rufus, a centurion of legio XV Apollinaris, to be in charge of the marble quarry at Mons Claudianus (praepositus operi marmorum monti Claudiano). By the time of Hadrian the quarry here, which produced a grey granite, was under an Imperial procurator, who sublet it to a contractor; even so, an officer of the Roman army, a centurion of cohors I Flavia Cilicum called Avitus, was stationed there to supervise. Two tribunes, Priscus and Optatus, with an architectus, were supervising at Mons Claudianus at some time in the second century; in A.D. 137 another

tribune Severus was in a similar position at Mons Porphyrites. Under Augustus P. Juventius Rufus, a tribune of legio III Cyrenaica was associated with other superintendants of quarries at Wadi Semna. In the later second century or a little later a group of people going to work probably as a liturgy in the alabaster quarries and salt-works were accompanied by Σαρανιων βενεφικιαριος). A decurion supervised work at the quarries at Antinoe at an unknown date (προστατης έργων) while a legionary recorded that he had been ἐπι τῶ έργῳ at Wadi Hammamat in A.D. 18. Centurions were at times detached from their own units to supervise work in quarries in other provinces; two blocks of marble found in Rome but coming from the new quarries in Carystos record that Sergius Longus, a centurion of legio XXII Primigenia was supervising the work; thus in the latter part of the reign of Hadrian the centurion was detached from his unit in Upper Germany and sent to Greece. Longus appears to have been an expert, because inscriptions actually found in the quarries at Carystos show that he was still supervising, although his unit was now legio XV Apollinaris, which was then stationed in either Upper Pannonia or Cappadocia. Legio XXII Primigenia seems to have had a supply of such experts who were sent to other provinces; two columns of stone from Phrygia found at Rome have inscriptions which state that they came from the caesura Tulli Saturnini, a centurion of that legion.<sup>30</sup>

As the Roman army had no equivalent of radio, telephone, or teleprinter, all communications in peace-time had to be made by letters.

Philo notes that there was always a frequent exchange of letters between the Prefect of Egypt and Rome and the correspondence of Pliny with Trajan and that of other legati confirms that governors would be in almost constant touch with the Capital. There must also have been a steady stream of letters between the governor and the commanders of all the units in his province, and soldiers were used to carry them. The volume of this exchange of letters can be seen from the fact that Aurelius Postumianus sent or received at least fifty-seven letters in the last six months of A.D. 216 on the subject of personnel who were away from Dura. Cavalrymen were stationed at intervals (dispositi) throughout the province for dispatch-riding. However, it is clear that other soldiers were employed to carry letters. A soldier being sent to another official might well take with him the letter that concerned him. The morning report of cohors XX Palmyrenorum for 29th March, c.A.D. 233, reports the return to Dura of several soldiers who had been dispatched with letters to the governor at provincial headquarters in Antioch (Reversi q(uondam) d(e)p(utati) ad praet(orium) praes(idis) cum epistul[is] m(ilitis)). A soldier of cohors II Equestris who had been on a similar mission, returned with them. According to the great roster of A.D. 219 a dromedarius was engaged in carrying letters (cum epis[t]ul(is)). A stator was sent with a letter to two important officials by Postumius Aurelianus on 3rd July, A.D. 216. On 24th February, A.D. 103 Priscus, a singularis, delivered a letter from the Prefect of Egypt to Celsianus, the commander of cohors III Ituraeorum. Letters from soldiers found at Karanis show that in the early second century a frumentarius was delivering letters, as also apparently was a speculator, although these

of course were private and not official letters. A relief depicts a speculator travelling in a carriage drawn by three horses; he may well have carried the letters when on such a tour. Clearly a large number of soldiers were continually engaged in delivering letters; thus in the military legal works a soldier captured while delivering letters (epistulam fert) is put in a special category and pardoned.<sup>31</sup>

The commanding officer of a unit was called upon to act as judge in civilian legal matters for the surrounding area. Although this practice reached its peak in the Later Roman Empire, as the papers of Flavius Abinnaeus, for example, clearly demonstrate, it goes back to the army of the Principate. Several examples are revealed from the records of Laronius Secundianus, tribunus cohortis XX Palmyrenorum at Dura. On 20th April, A.D. 235 he issued judgement to the effect that Abedsalman was released from his obligations in connection with the sale probably of a slave, although another civilian seems not to have been released from but held to a debt. Laronius seems to have devoted that day to hearing legal cases brought by civilians; another judgement he gave on the same date was on a case involving a dispute between two parties who had an oral but not a written agreement about the division of a potter's shop; the tribune appears to have refused the eviction of one party. A third but highly fragmentary ἀποφάσις signed by Laronius of the same time may have involved papyrus.<sup>32</sup>

According to Tarruntenus Paternus one of the duties of a commanding

officer was to listen to the complaints of the men in his unit (querellas commilitonum audire). That each commander did this, there can be little doubt. However, there must have been occasions when the commander did not have the necessary authority to deal effectively with the complaint and he would then have to send the man to a higher official, for example the governor, or to the person against whom the complaint was made. The great roster of A.D. 222 records that three soldiers were away ad querend(um) and it seems best to suppose that they had been sent to have a complaint solved. Certainly other officials requested that men of the cohort be sent to answer complaints made against them.<sup>33</sup>

Officers might well at times also be called upon to assist in judicial matters. At some time in the reign of Claudius, for example, the praefectus castrorum in Egypt appointed P. Matius, a centurion of legio III Cyrenaica, to act as iudex to conduct a hearing into the claims of three equites on the estate of a veteran trooper who had died intestate. Matius co-opted a decurio from three separate alae to act as assessors.<sup>34</sup>

## CHAPTER X: OTHER DUTIES

### NOTES

1:

Julius Valens - CLA 7V.III.8; I cannot agree with Marichal's interpretation.

Aemilius Valens - CLA 7V.II.2-5.

Julius Valens - CLA 7V.III.4.

Rufus - CLA 7V.IX.10.

Secundus - CLA 7V.V.8-9.

Longus - CLA 7V.XI.3-5.

Vindonissa - mentioned in C. Simonett, Führer durch das Vindonissa-Museum in Brugg.

2:

ballio - CLA 7V.II.9; III.7 and 10; IV.6; VII.3; XIV.1; XVI.4 and 5; XX.4,5,6; XXI.1,4,5,6,7,8; XXIV.6;

scoparius - CLA 7V.XXVII.1-2.

ad cunic 7 - CLA 7V.III.3.

stercus - CLA 7V.XIX, this is an obvious restoration I have made; XXXI.6.

Chesters - AA4, VIII.219ff.

Housesteads - RHW, 181.

Waddon Hill - Proceedings of Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society, 86.142ff. For the method used at Inchtuthil cf. JRS, LVI.198.

Newstead - Curle, Newstead, 283, pl.LXI.

Dura - P.Dura 101.xxxiii.9.

Hadrian - VIII 18042 Bb = ILS 2487.

Inchtuthil - JRS, XLIII.105.

3:

Xenophon - R.E., VI.2.

ala - Hyginus, M.C., 16.

cohors - M.C., 25-27.

Maximus - P.Dura 101.xxxiii.9.

Margidunum - JRS, XVI.36.

Longus - PSI 729.

cohors peditata and a legion - I collect the evidence in an article in Latomus, forthcoming.

4:

Fronto - ad Verum Imp., 2.1.19.

Vegetius - 2, 14.

Xenophon - R.E., V-VI.

'Vopiscus' - SHA, Aurel., 7.

Ilkley - Proceedings of Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, XII.37.

watered - Dio, 72.10, for example.

5:

in 7 - CLA 7V.II.10; III.9; IV.5 and 9; VI.3; X.10; XIV.3 and 5; XV.5,6, and 9; XXIV.8; XXV.5 and 6.

Germanus - CLA 7V.VII.5-10.

Valerius - CLA 7V.XIX.5-8.

F- - CLA 7V.VIII.5-10.

Longus - CLA 7V.X.6-8.

Felix - CLA 7V.XXIII.1-2.

6:

Vegetius - 2.9<sup>7</sup> cf.2.7.

epigraphy - Passerini, legio, 605 (22); 606 (32, 36, 39, 46).

Crispus - CLA 7V.XIV.7-9.

Aemilius - CLA 7V.XVIII.2.

Felix - CLA 7V.XXXII.1-5.

Valerius - CLA 7V.XIX.1.

7:

soldiers seconded - Rangordnung, 29-37; Passerini, legio, 603-605 (1-20); A.H.M. Jones, Studies in Ancient Government and Law,

161-162 = JRS, XXXIX.44.

A.D. 105 - CLA 219.ii.34.

8:

neighbouring - Rangordnung, loc.cit.

procurators - ibid.

Pliny - Ep., 10.21 and 22.

singulares - RBRA, 22.

9:

Nigellius - ILS 2378; cf. Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, 26.267ff.

Severus - AE 1960 348; cf. Revue des études grecques, 72.214-215.

10:

cA.D. 233 - P.Dura 82.ii.7.

cohors II Equestris - P.Dura 82.ii.8.

A.D. 219 - P.Dura 100.xxi.8; xxxvi.7.

A.D. 222 - P.Dura 101.xxxiii.11; xl.2.

A.D. 250 - P.Dura 95.a.i.2,8.

Apollinarius - P.Mich. 466.

11:

A.D. 219 - P.Dura 100; DPP, 44 incorrectly stated that there were twenty-one.

A.D. 222 - P.Dura 101.

Apollinarius - P.Dura 100.xxi.4; 101.xvi.19; he had enlisted in A.D. 203.

A.D. 251-256 - P.Dura 105.

A.D. 236 - P.Dura 116.i.5,7.

11 (cont.):

A.D. 243-244 - P.Dura 81.6. This restoration is not suggested in the footnotes but is given in the index. For the revised date and interpretation, cf. 'M. Aurelius Atho Marcellus', a paper of mine in JRS, LVII, forthcoming.

A.D. 105 - CLA 219.11.25.

12:

Pliny - Ep., 10.27; cf. A.N. Sherwin-White, The Letters of Pliny, 597.

Trajan - Ep., 10.28.

Decianus - Tacitus, A., 14.32. This is my own theory; I am grateful to M. H.-G. Pflaum for discussion on the point.

13:

examples - M. H.-G. Pflaum kindly informs me that he intends to publish a detailed list and discussion shortly.

A.D. 250-251 - P.Dura 95.b.11.27.

A.D. 250-256<sup>1</sup> - P.Dura 105.b.11.11; f.3.

A.D. 105 - CLA 219.11.26.

14:

"I have sent - P.Dura 66D; cf. ibid., v.10 and BR, 45-55.

next letter - P.Dura 66E.

Two - P.Dura 66 H and R.

15:

A.D. 237 - Herodian, 7.4.6.

A.P. 51 - Josephus, B.J., 2.228; Ant., 20.113.

A.D. 23 - Tacitus, A., 4.15; cf. Dio, 57.23; AE 1934 90.

A.D. 36 - Josephus, Ant., 18.158. Cf. Pflaum, Carrières, 23-26 (9) and PIR2.H.103 for his post at the time.

third century - JRS, XLVI.46-47; mentioned but no text quoted in AE 1957 167.

A.D. 244-247 - IGRR IV.598.

third century - Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, 57.37ff.

A.D. 60 - as has been suggested by A.H.M. Jones, Studies in Ancient Government and Law, 124, who appears to misunderstand a passage of Tacitus: (A., 14.31) regnum per centuriones, domus per servos velut capta vastarentur clearly shows that the governor's officials supervised the incorporation of the new territory into the province, while those of the procurator saw to the money and household effects. Agr., 15, which is not quoted by Jones, states:

legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret . . . alterius manus centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere clearly does NOT refer to soldiers under the service of the procurator, but clarifies the first passage. I have discussed this point with M. H.-G. Pflaum who agrees with me.

A.D. 180 - VIII 10570; cf. 14464 = IIS 6870.

cl5 B.C. - BGU 1188.

16:

Antonius - P.Bibl.Un.Glss., III 20.

Front[on(?)] - Schrifttafeln 9.

Lucian - Alex., 55.

17:

A.D. 219 - P.Dura 100; DPP, 41.

A.D. 14 - Tacitus, A., 1.40-41.

A.D. 18 - A., 2.67.

18:

pridianum - CLA 219.11.22.

Hadrian's Wall - HB, 33ff and passim; RIB 998-1016, 1946-1952, for example.

fortress - cited by I.A. Richmond in J.P.V.D. Balsdon, The Romans, 145.

Epigraphy and archaeology - for example, Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 42-47; Cagnat, 360-361; Passerini, legio, 618ff; IIS, passim; the Inchtuthil reports in JRS.

Inchtuthil - JRS, XLIII.105.

Chester - F.H. Thompson, Deva Roman Chester, 42.

19:

Germany - see Chapter VII: Supplies, n.42.

lapidarii - Dig., 50.6.7.

Sabinus - P.Mich. 466.

Tasoucharion - P.Mich. 465. I cannot agree with the dating of the editors that 465 is earlier than 466. The context of each letter makes better sense to my mind to suppose that 465 is eleven months later than 466, not that 466 is one month later than 465. I am grateful for discussion of the point to Mr. G.R. Watson, who now agrees with my view. This makes the possibility that when Apollinarius talks of himself as a principalis, he may well by then have been appointed to such a rank.

Arimus - III 12566.

comments and draw doodles - RIB 998-1016, 1442. In RIB 1001 I suggest that 'At the foot of the block the marks resembling the arabic numerals 17 cannot now be interpreted' 'be read as' (unus) (centurio), referring to the figure immediately adjacent. The troops of legio II Augusta thought themselves lucky, because although they had cut 184 stones from this quarry, each of them still had only one centurion. In RIB 1008 the face surely belongs to the optio Agricola in charge of the vexillation. In RIB 1008 and 1009 the troops mention the working-face (officina) as did those in the quarry, for example, at Reinhardsmünster (officina leg VIII Aug (XIII 5989)).

c.A.D. 90 - IGRR I 1152; Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 9.5-10.

20:

life - information from Mr. J.P. Gillam.

Phasis - Arrian, Peripl., 9.

Bumbesti - III 14485a = ILS 9179.

papyri - e.g. CLA 7V.III.3.

Vallum - HB, 31.

Leiden - ILS 9178.

Lancaster - RIB 605 = ILS 2548.

Risingham - RIB 1234 = ILS 2618.

Walldörn - ILS 9184.

Birdoswald - RIB 1912. In this instance, however, it is perhaps possible that the damage was received in the Picts' war but the Roman authorities could not bring themselves to admit this.

21:

Reference - see n.18 above.

roads - e.g. III 3200 = ILS 2478; VIII 10230 = ILS 2479.

"When Arabia - III 14149 = ILS 5834.

ob itinera - Tacitus, A., 1.20.

penetrat - Velleius Paterculus, II.120.2; cf. Tacitus, A., 1.56, 61, 63; Herodian, 3.14.5.

Germany - Dio, 56.18-20.

Egypt - III 6627 = ILS 2483.

A.D. 89 - Dio, 67.7; 68.2.

frontier works - Carnuntina, III.25-33.

22:

civilian - cf. Cagnat, 361-363; Daremberg and Saglio, sv manus militaris; Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 64.218;

Lesquier, 237ff.

Ulpian - Dig., 1.16.7.1.

canals - see Chapter III: Training and Exercises, n.33.

Probus - see Chapter III: Training and Exercises, n.32.

Augustus - Dio, 51.18; Suetonius, Aug., 18.

Aristides - 101.

A.D. 112 - VIII 10117.

Vespasian - RIN, 115; cf. IGRR III 1005.

A.D. 73 - Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 26.206-207; cf. Strabo, 17.30; Vitruvius, 10.6.

23:

Augustus - see n.22.

Probus - ibid.

Fens - full report not yet published; for summary cf. The Times of 1.2.63.

missio agraria - Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der Alten Welt: Band II Römisches Reich (1965), 147-162, especially 149-151.

A.D. 14 - Tacitus, A., 1.17.

A.D. 90-96 - Arch.J., 103.66.

cA.D. 200 - Wilcken, Chr., 461.

23 (cont.):

A.D. 227 - P. Dura 26; the notes give the geographical translations.  
Africa - J. Barradez, Fossatum Africae, passim; JRS, XLVII.173ff  
XLIII.65ff; XXXIX.81ff; XL.30ff.  
Syria - R. Mouterde and A. Poidebard, Le limes de Chalcis, passim;  
A. Poidebarde, Le trace de Rome, passim.  
major role - Carnuntina, III.25-33.

24:

Sala - AE 1931 38.  
Romula - III 3031.  
Timgad - VIII 17842 and 17843; of. M. Grant, The Birth of Western  
Civilization, 273, pl.15.  
Theveste - J.S. Reid, Municipalities of the Roman Empire, 279.  
Britain - the point was made to me by Dr. J.C. Mann.  
A.D. 60 - Tacitus, A., 14.31-32; in 33 they are defined as modica  
militum manus, but nowhere as a garrison.  
A.D. 123 - VIII 10114 = ILS 5835.  
A.D. 137 - IGRR I 1142.  
A.D. 163-165 - III 199-201 = ILS 5864-5864a.  
Berytus - III 206/7 = ILS 5865.  
Chesters - FPRB, 166.  
Saturninus - CLA 7III.B.3.  
Clemens - CLA 7V.XXII.1-3.  
Valens - CLA 7III.C.1.

25:

Pliny - Ep., 10.41.  
Trajan - Ep., 10.42.  
Pliny - Ep., 10.61.  
Trajan - Ep., 10.62.

26:

Bougie - VIII 2728 = ILS 5795.  
consisted - L. Leschi, Études d'épigraphie, d'archéologie et  
d'histoire africaines, 267ff; T. Mommsen, Archäologische Zeitung,  
28.5ff.  
Celer - Carrières, 1097.  
Vetustinus - ibid.  
Clemens - ibid.

27:

Caligula - Suetonius, Calig., 21.  
A.D. 1881 - L. Spague de Camp, The Ancient Engineers, states this.  
Nero - Suetonius, Ner., 19.  
forum - Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 64.221-222, n.112.  
towns - ibid., n.111.  
Verulamium - A.L.F. Rivet, Town and Country in Roman Britain, 78.

28:

Dalmatia - III 9973 = ILS 5953; III 2883 = ILS 5953a.  
Caecilianus - AE 1946 38.  
Vegetius - 3.6.

29:

A.D. 83 - AE 1904 216; cf. IGRR I 1138.  
A.D. 160 - XIII 8036 = ILS 2907 + addenda.  
A.D. 101-103 - RIN, 151.  
Geological - Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 116.  
building materials - see Chapter VII: Supplies, n.42.

30:

convicts - see Chapter IX: Paramilitary Duties.  
A.D. 203 - III 75.  
Trajan - III 25 = ILS 2612.  
Hadrian - IGRR I 1255; cf. 1256.  
second century - CIG 4713d,e,b.  
A.D. 137 - cf. Lesquier, 439ff.  
Augustus - AE 1910 207.  
later second - P.Ryl. 92.  
unknown date - Archiv für Papyrusforschung, II.564 (116).  
A.D. 18 - IGRR I 1236.  
Longus - ILS 8717.  
Longus [bis] - III 12286 and notes.  
Saturnini - ILS 8716a+b.

31:

Philo - in Flac., 108.  
Pliny - Ep., 10. passim.  
other - cf. JRS, LVI.157-158.  
Postumianus - P.Dura 66.  
dispositi - see Chapter IX: Paramilitary Duties, n.8.  
Antioch - P.Dura 82.ii.7.  
cohors II Equestris - P.Dura 82.ii.8.  
dromedarius - P.Dura 100.xliv.2.  
A.D. 216 - P.Dura 66A.  
A.D. 103 - CLA 215.26.  
frumentarius - P.Mich. 472.  
speculator - P.Mich. 469; see notes.  
relief - Propyläen Weltgeschichte, Propyläen-Verlag, II.447.  
cf. the fragmentary but similar relief described in Revue des études grecques, 72.214-215.  
legal - Big., 49.16.5.5.

33:

Abinnaeus - H.I. Bell, V. Martin, E.G. Turner, and D. van Berchem,  
The Abinnaeus Archive: The Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign  
of Constantian II.

32 (cont.):

Abedsalman-- P.Dura 125.  
potter's shop - P.Dura 126.  
papyrus - P.Dura 127.

33:

Paternus - Dig.,49.16.12.

A.D. 222 - P.Dura 101.xi.28; xxxv.17; xli.17. I disagree with DPP, 42 that this refers to quaero and not queror; P.Dura 94.6 may well be the former, although a soldier with a complaint about his pay may have been sent to the procurator to solve the problem. officials - e.g. P.Dura 63A and B; 55A and B, 62, and 64, which are clearly the result of complaints.

34:

P.Mich. 159.

CHAPTER XI

INDIVIDUAL DUTIES

This chapter is concerned with the individual duties, which fall into several categories. First, I shall deal with the responsibilities and duties of the officers, namely the commanding officer, centurions, and decurions, and in a legion the tribuni and praefectus castrorum; secondly, a short review of the work done by the specialists and craftsmen; thirdly, a few examples of the detailed literary descriptions which reveal the wide range of duties a soldier might be engaged on in time of peace; lastly, a detailed analysis of several papyri to reveal the many ways in which the Roman army employed its personnel. This is not intended as a mere repetition or a detailed résumé of the previous chapters; some of the material has been discussed before and this chapter is concerned with the broad outlines and wide range of duties.

The most important person in any unit was the commanding officer, whether he was the legatus of a legion or praefectus of an ala or tribunus of an auxiliary cohort. He was ultimately responsible for everything and everyone in his unit. The legal responsibility and duty of a commanding officer are given by Macer in his book on military law:

"The duty of a general consisted not only in laying down disciplinary rules but also in maintaining them.

"Paternus too wrote that the man who keeps in mind that he is in command of an armed force must give leave very sparingly, not allow a horse that belongs to the army to be taken out of the province, and not to send a soldier on any private business, fishing, or hunting. The following warning is given in the Regulations on Discipline by Augustus: 'Although I know that there is nothing strange in soldiers being exercised in specialist work, nevertheless I have a fear that if I allow anything which may turn out to be of advantage to me or you, a limit in this matter such as I may find tolerable, may not be kept.'

"It is the duty of tribunes or those who are in command of armies, to keep the soldiers in the camp, to bring them out for exercises, to keep the keys of the gates, from time to time to do the rounds of the guards, to be present at the meals of the soldiers, to test the quality of the food, to prevent the quartermasters from cheating, to punish offences within the limits of their authority, to be present frequently at the headquarters, to hear the complaints of the soldiers, to inspect the sick."

Any commander employing his men on duties for private and not military purposes would be in trouble. Tiberius degraded a legatus legionis because he had sent some soldiers with a freedman on a private hunting trip; the Elder Pliny, who probably witnessed such acts when he was a commander in Germany, records that the feathers of white geese in Germany fetched a good price:

"The price of their feathers is five denarii per pound. For this reason officers commanding auxiliary units are frequently charged with having sent whole cohorts away from their guard posts to capture these fowls."

The commanding officer had to be informed when his orders had been carried out, and Tacitus states that this was standard military practice (ut mos militiae).<sup>1</sup>

Vegetius states that the legatus legionis was responsible both for the legion under his command and also for the various auxiliary units under his charge; he then describes the duties of the commanding officer and stresses that these were the same in peace-time and also in war (in ordinatione pacis vel necessitate bellorum):

"The tribunes, the centurions, and the other soldiers carried out his orders. He gave the password for the guard and order for departure. If a soldier committed any offence, it was through the authority of the commander of the legion that he was punished by the tribune. The arms of all the soldiers, as well as their horses, clothes, and food-supply, were under

his charge. It was on his orders that strict discipline and the exercising of not only the infantry but also the cavalry of the legion were daily maintained. He himself, as a just, diligent, and level-headed man, by continual work directed the legion entrusted to him to all zeal and effort, in the knowledge that the excellence of the men under him redounded to the credit of the commander."

Tacitus gives many instances of legati legionis carrying out certain of these duties or failing to do so; among these can be cited the examples of Castronius, Agricola, and Coelius, while the remarks of Hadrian to the army of Nūmidia well reflect that Catullinus had carried out his duties satisfactorily as also had the commanding officers of various auxiliary units.<sup>2</sup>

The files of cohors XX Palmyrenorum at Dura, particularly the letters to and from the tribune, illustrate very clearly how some of the duties of the tribunus were or were not carried out. Two letters, probably dating to early in the reign of Elagabalus, indicate that the commanding officer was not carrying out his duties of militēs in castris continere: the first, from an important official, notes that some letters had aroused strong feelings; soldiers of the cohort had abandoned their camp and were wandering about Parapotamia; the letter concluded with a demand that the tribune immediately bring them back to the camp and take steps in the future to maintain discipline (te sine mora commilit[ones in castra] sua inducere et de cetero [curare] ut ex disciplina agant). The second letter is perhaps a translation in Greek of the first and notes that the soldiers are not completely obedient to their commander. The same tribunus or his predecessor had not been conscientious in

frumentationibus commilitonum interesse, frumentum probare, mensorum fraudem coercere: a letter from the governor dated to c.A.D. 216 gave instructions about the prescribed procedures [frumentationi coh(ortis) XX Palmyrenorum [Antonin]iana c(ui) p(raees) observari]: the letter seems to conclude with references to supplying, utensils, a measure of five, corn, sickles, and sieves. Another duty was delicta secundum suae auctoritatis modum castigare; two fragmentary letters of A.D. 211 show that Agathonius was somehow concerned in requests for the punishment of soldiers in his cohort; one soldier in the century of Seleucus was accused of a forced sale which perhaps involved a procurator, and Themarsas and Hierus were accused of an unknown charge. Two letters of A.D. 221 show that the tribune was responsible for the supply of food and maintaining discipline: the procurator asked him to compel an Imperial freedman to provide barley for cavalrymen and muleteers at Appadana and also to compel a clerk to give satisfaction to another soldier.<sup>3</sup>

Other letters reveal more aspects of the many duties that a commanding officer would be concerned with in peace-time. Three letters from a roll dated to A.D. 208 and another of A.D. 240-250 concern the procedures for the assignment of new horses to men in the cohort. A file of circular letters of approximately A.D. 208 reveals what duties the tribunus cohortis XX Palmyrenorum and other auxiliary commanders and officers in charge of legionary vexillations did: Goces, an important Parthian dignitary, was travelling through Syria on a visit to Severus and the commanding officers were instructed to entertain him (secundum morem ei xenia ei offere [sic]); they were authorised to draw the

necessary funds from the treasuries of their unit and submit the accounts of the expenditure to the procurator who would refund the money.

Another circular letter orders that pridiana and other documents should be submitted. Another letter involved the procedure for paying the soldiers and perhaps specified what proportions of pay were to be given. There are also another seventeen letters in the files on such or other duties, but unfortunately they are too fragmentary to be read with any certainty.<sup>4</sup>

The commanding officer was still responsible for troops who had been sent out on various missions; consequently he would receive letters from other officials about them and would have to send some himself. The correspondence file of Postumius Aurelianus for the last six months of A.D. 216 contained over fifty such letters about members of his unit who were away on various tasks. He requested two important officers, probably of a legion, to return immediately personnel from cohors XX Palmyrenorum to Dura; a letter from the governor stated that he was returning twenty-eight men of the cohort from service with the procurator to their unit. Another four letters mention men from Dura with the procurator, while another seven refer to soldiers given to various officials, in one instance as many as twenty men, and another may well be a list of such men, while yet another may refer to personnel being detached with another unit. A man requiring a horse had been sent to some officials; a letter mentioning the governor or procurator may perhaps refer to camels and a list of men needing them; some men were with herds.

Another letter mentions men involved in the supply of frumentum, another apparently with penus and epulum. The remaining thirty-six letters on the roll are too fragmentary to say what the duties of the men involved were.<sup>5</sup>

In a legion there were also other senior officers. The second-in-command was the senatorial tribunus laticlavius, whose duties were presumably to assist the legatus in every way and to learn the castrorum rudimenta; this, so Tacitus says in talking of his father-in-law, was the duty of a tribune who took his post seriously:

"He got to know the province and to be known by the army; he learned from the experts and chose the best people as his models; he sought nothing for the sake of boasting, he refused nothing by reason of fear; he acted with caution and alertness."

Pliny too notes that service as tribunus laticlavius was undertaken so that a young man might become accustomed to command by obeying and learn how to lead by following others. Elsewhere he makes a similar point about the Emperor Trajan and his stipendia decem when military tribune. Indeed, if the legate died, the tribunus laticlavius generally took over the command of the legion until the arrival of a replacement.<sup>6</sup>

The five tribuni angusticlavii were mainly employed in administrative duties; it was these officers of the legions of Germany who arranged the details of the discharge of the men who had served their time in A.D. 14 (missio per tribunos); the same officers reported on the ability and record of each centurion, doubtless from their own experience with them

in running the legion. It was from the tribunes that a general asked for reports on the character of the soldiers:

"He then had the military tribunes bring before him the men of a seditious nature. In the Roman army the character of each individual soldier is always entered in the records."

However, it is clear from many instances in Tacitus that they had powers of discipline and control over the troops. Piso removed severos tribunos and centurions from the legions of Syria in A.D. 18 and the regular and orderly running of the legions soon disappeared. Through their administrative duties they got to know most of the men; thus they knew the names of those guilty of misconduct and brought the commander reports on the morale of the other ranks. Isidore was probably thinking of them when he gave the definition: tribuni vocati quod militibus sive plebibus iura tribuunt. When Pliny asked Pompeius Falco to confer the post of tribunus angusticlavus on his friend Cornelius Minicianus, he stressed his qualifications for the post as rectissimus iudex fortissimus advocatus, which would be required for such an administrative post. In the army of the Republic such judicial work was one of the main duties of a tribune (forma tamen Romanorum castrorum constabat una ea spe quod tribunos . . . et iura reddere in principis sinebant). Not a few of these officers were so efficient at their administrative duties that they were appointed to hold a census. In Egypt they were regularly employed to conduct the examination of veterans (ἐνικρίσις): in A.D. 103 Proclus, in A.D. 140 -ionat-, in A.D. 148 Magius Sabinus, in A.D. 166 M. Julius Senecion, in A.D. 182 Cocceius Varus, for example.<sup>7</sup>

The tribunus semenstris probably was in charge of the equites legionis. Vegetius describes the duties of the tribuni legionis:

"Such was the attention given to exercising the troops that the tribuni and praepositi not only ordered the men under their command to be exercised daily in their presence but were themselves so perfect in the art of weapons that they set them an example. The attention and effort on the part of the tribune earn praise, when his soldiers' uniforms are clean, their arms bright and in good order, and the men themselves well trained to exercise and discipline."

Unless Vegetius has misunderstood his sources, this description does not refer to the tribunes of a legion in the Principate. It would refer, however, to the tribuni commanding auxiliary units and the duties of the tribunus laticlavus who was assisting the legatus in his. Other examples of military duties that the tribuni legionis had are supervising the column of march with the centurions, and acting as officer of the watch.<sup>8</sup>

In a legion the praefectus castrorum was the officer responsible for all the equipment in the camp; his duties are given by Vegetius:

"There was also an officer called the praefectus castrorum; he was junior in rank to the commanding officer, but had a post of considerable importance. He was concerned with the site of the camp, the rampart, and the ditch, and the tents or barracks of the soldiers and all baggage were under his charge also. He was responsible for the care of the sick soldiers and the medical orderlies who looked after them, and the expenses involved. It was also his duty to provide vehicles, pack-horses, and the metal tools such as saws and axes for cutting and felling timber, spades for digging ditches, turf-cutters for constructing ramparts, and others for the supply of water. He was also responsible for seeing that there was always an adequate supply of firewood, straw, as well as rams, onagers, ballistas, and the other types of artillery. The man chosen for this post was always one who had had a long and successful career, so that he could correctly instruct others in matters that he himself had done with distinction."

The longam probatamque militiam that Vegetius stated was necessary, is confirmed by the career of Aufidienus, who had been diu manipularis dein centurio mox castris praefectus and whose personal standards, which he set to the men also, were too high in A.D. 14. The post of praefectus castrorum was generally held immediately after that of primus pilus in the case of a man who was leaving the army, or while he held the grade of primus pilus bis in the case of a man who was going on to higher posts; in either instance the average man would be about sixty.<sup>9</sup>

Several passages in Tacitus illustrate the roll that the praefectus castrorum played in the construction of military installations. In c.A.D. 51 a praefectus castrorum, eight centurions, and some legionaries were killed while building forts in Silurian territory. In A.D. 70 the Batavian rebels killed the praefectus castrorum, five centurions, and some men of legio X Gemina who were engaged in felling timber. Aufidienus and a party of legionaries had been engaged in building roads, bridges, and other installations in A.D. 14. In A.D. 80 T. Suedius Clemens, the praefectus castrorum of the camp of the two legions in Nicopolis in Egypt, sent a legionary to the public granary at Neapolis presumably in connection with supplies for the soldiers. However, as the organisation of the army developed, the praefectus delegated the supervision of various of his duties to other people, although probably he still retained overall responsibility. Tarruntenus Paternus mentions the optio fabricae and the optio valetudinarii, and inscriptions confirm the existence of these two officials, who presumably took over 'the

immediate responsibilities for the supply, paperwork, and expenses of the day to day running of the workshop and hospital.<sup>10</sup>

Another indication of the various duties that men would be engaged on at any given time can be seen in the lists of specialists in the Roman army. The list of craftsmen given by Vegetius is quoted elsewhere, although they were probably not, as he says, all under the praefectus fabrum. A more detailed list still is given by Tarruntenus Paternus in his first book on military matters quoted in the Digest; these are the men quibusdam aliquam vacationem munerum graviorum condicio tribuit. They are surveyors, the optio in charge of the hospital, medical orderlies, dressers, craftsmen, ditch-diggers, farriers, master-builder, pilots, shipwrights, ballista-makers, glaziers, smiths, arrow-makers, copper-smiths, makers of mechanisms of artillery, wagon-makers, shinglers, sword-cutlers, water-inspectors, makers of the tuba and the cornu, bow-makers, plumbers, blacksmiths, masons, men trained to burn lime, chop wood, cut and burn charcoal, butchers, hunters, sacrificial assistants, optio in charge of the workshop, male nurses, clerks to instruct, clerks of the granaries, clerks in charge of the savings, clerks in charge of wills and properties, assistants to adjutants, grooms, tanners, keepers of the armoury, herald, and trumpeter.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the normal training given to the recruits in handling their weapons by the doctores armorum and armatura and in marching and foot drill by the campidoctor, various other men would be undergoing training to become specialists or craftsmen. Although Vegetius in his

day recommends that smiths, blacksmiths, and wagon-makers should be enlisted directly, it seems that the army trained soldiers to become specialists and craftsmen. In a few instances the soldiers undergoing instruction (discentes) could learn their new trade or job by working alongside their fully qualified colleagues in the appropriate quarter of the camp; the discentes immunes, for example, could learn the clerical methods of the army from the other clerks in the officium; the discentes capsariorum by working with the other dressers and medical orderlies in the hospital would acquire their medical training. However, quite clearly the discens bucinator could not acquire instruction in the camp or anywhere in the immediate vicinity, as his practice trumpet-calls might not be distinguishable from the real ones and would throw the whole camp into complete confusion; once he was proficient enough, he might work with a fully qualified trumpeter in the camp. Similarly, although the aquilifer and signifer undergoing instruction may have practised giving the different visual signals with the eagle and standard on the parade ground, they would have to do so further afield for the reasons given above, when they trained in conjunction with the bucinator and tubicen who were transmitting the audible signals to them. However, it must be remembered that in peace-time the standard-bearer was involved more in keeping accounts and so the discens signiferum would spend a good deal of his time learning the military accountancy system by working in the offices in the headquarters. The men who were training to become equites legionis might well learn some equestrian skills in the indoor exercise-hall or on the parade ground, but clearly many aspects of their training could

only he learnt on the cavalry training ground. The disce(n)s epibeta must obviously have received most if not all of his instruction outside his camp, although most legionary fortresses were situated on navigable rivers. The soldier who is described as discens ar, could, if he was training to be a custos armorum, have received his instruction in the armoury, or if he was to hold the post of armatura, in the exercise-hall or on the parade ground. The man training to be a master-builder (architectus) could have received some practice in the camp supervising the general repairs; however, in A.D. 210 at Iversheim, eighteen miles from Bona but in the military area for the troops of Lower Germany, Valerius Amandus, who was training to be a master-builder, constructed a lime-kiln under the supervision of a centurion of legio I Minervia (furnus factus ar(chitectante) Val(erio) Aman(do) discente); it is possible that this was only a practice and not a real kiln. Similarly, the librator could learn some of the principles of hydraulic-engineering from the water supply system of the fortress, perhaps working with the praefectus castrorum and the aquillices, but even so he would need first-hand experience also; at Ain Cherchar in Numidia in ca.D. 224-227 legio III Augusta constructed an aqueduct designed by Clodius Septimus, a discens librator; it may or may not be significant that the soldiers made a vow when starting to build the aqueduct. In one instance epigraphy has revealed that there was an instructor to teach specialists (doctor fabrum), while Paternus lists clerks who can give instruction (librarij quoque qui docere possint). Clearly there must have men undergoing instruction in the auxiliary units also, but they are not attested epigraphically or papyrologically except for a discens)

mens(orem) on 29th and 30th May, A.D. 239 at Dura and a disc.[ there at some time in the decade A.D. 245-255. <sup>12</sup>

In a legion the people responsible for the efficient running of the unit were the centurions; similarly, in the auxiliary units it was in the hands of the centurions and decurions in the cohortes and alae that the smooth running of their unit lay. The detailed responsibilities of the officers as enumerated by Vegetius have been quoted and discussed elsewhere. They were often appointed to a wide range of duties both in the camp (for example as officer of the watch) or outside it (as in charge of the governor's praetorium) or to act as police officials in the countryside or a legionary centurion as acting commanding officer of a cohort, but these duties are too numerous to enumerate here and are anyway beyond the scope of this thesis. One centurion, however, does deserve special mention, namely the primus pilus. He was in command of the first century of the first cohort almost certainly only for one year. In addition to these duties as chief centurion, he would act as adviser to the legatus legionis. He seems to have been associated closely with the eagle and was probably responsible for it, especially on ceremonial occasions. At the end of his term of office, he dedicated his vitis at the shrine of the eagle in the headquarters on the birthday of the legion. <sup>13</sup>

Vegetius gives the derivation of the rank optio:

"Optiones are so called from 'adoption', because if their superior officer was incapacitated through illness, they, as if adopted by them and acting instead of them, looked after everything."

Festus notes that the optio's duties were to assist the centurion (is adiutor dabatur centurioni) and Varro makes a similar point (quo facilius obeat publica officia). It is thus abundantly clear that the duty of the optio was to assist his centurion universa curare. Epigraphy shows that in legio III Augusta at one time there were no less than sixty-four optiones; this, plus the fact that on occasions such a person describes himself as being the optio of a century, make it clear that there was one optio to each centuria. It also seems obvious that the way in which an optio carried out his duties while assisting his centurion, would decide whether or not he would be recommended for a commission; hence some describe themselves as optiones ad spem, when they had received this recommendation but were awaiting a vacancy. The five optiones, however, of the first cohort assisted the princeps to run the tabularium principis, which was responsible for the organisation of the day to day running and routine of the whole legion. It is also clear that some optiones were supernumerary and did not assist a centurion or the princeps, but had some specific duty. Paternus in his list of immunes quotes two examples: the optio fabricae and optio valetudinarii; these are confirmed by epigraphy. In the former case the NCO was responsible for the running of the workshop, in the latter (and an inscription from Lambaesis shows that there were two) of the hospital. Elsewhere an optio might be employed to supervise a particular local task: at Mainz, for example, to be in charge of the dockyard (navalia), at Mainz also of

the prison (custodiarum); the sawmills in Germany in the vicinity of Ohrenbach were regularly under the supervision of an optio of legio XXII Primigenia. An optio was often appointed to supervise the collection of supplies: Antonius Titan, for example, was ὀπτίων ἐπιμελητῆς ἱματισμῶν and is known to have arranged for two hundred blankets to be delivered to his legion. Asclepiades, ὀπτίων παραλημτῆς βίτου, was responsible for the supply of corn to the troops at Pselcis. In the third century at least, an optio seems to have been in charge of the exacti in the tabularium legionis; if this is so, then presumably another would have been in charge of the librarii. Auxiliary cohorts also had optiones, each of whom will have assisted his centurion in the same way as those in a legion. In A.D. 144 Julius Silvanus was described as ἐπιτροπος κατα διαθηκ(ην). An optio at Dura was in charge of arranging entertainment.<sup>14</sup>

A second important NCO who was also often employed on a wide range of duties, was the signifer. In battle he carried the standard, as Vegetius says, and was thus a key person in transmitting signals. In time of peace, according to Vegetius, he was also responsible for keeping the deposita of the men in his century; for this reason he was normally a man of some education. Thus a document of A.D. 117 contains the receipts issued by the signifer of each century of cohors I Lusitanorum to the centurion who had acted as draft-conducting officer; the receipt was for the total amount of money ἑκατ δηνοςίτου to the credit of the recruits for each century. It was not surprising that the signifer would often be assigned a specific duty outside the camp where his knowledge of

accountancy would be of considerable use. Two standard-bearers with their assistants were agentes curam macelli at Lambaesis in the canabae; presumably they were responsible for collecting tolls and fees.

Signiferi, with other specialist military personnel, are mentioned on the lex portoria from the municipium at Lambaesis and presumably played a similar role. These NCOs were not infrequently sent to arrange military supplies: Flavius Silvanus, for example, javelins of palm wood, Arrius Nemesianus camels; in both instances the signifer paid the civilian the price for the item. At Bonn the signifer will have been responsible for the accounts of the men in the pottery factory.

Signiferi regularly took part in the lustrum that the primus pilus would carry out on the territorium legionis; presumably their skill in accountancy was used in calculating the rents of people leasing part of the land. A document from Egypt late in the reign of Nero refers to guard duty; one item reads Domitius 'signif(er)' ad valetudinari[um]; was the signifer stationed at the hospital so that the invalids might not be disturbed by the noise of the bucinator for example? Hyginus noted that the hospital must be in a quiet part of the camp (ut valetudinarium quietum esse convalescentibus posset). The two optiones navaliarum at Mainz both state they were signiferi before mentioning this new post; perhaps they were in fact signiferi who had been given special responsibility for the dockyard with the title rather than the rank of optio.<sup>15</sup>

One of the best literary descriptions of the various activities of soldiers is that given by Dio. In the years leading up to A.D. 9 the

army was extensively employed in promoting civilisation by various means in those parts of Germany under Roman control:

"Soldiers of the Roman army were wintering there and towns were being founded; the natives were adapting themselves to the orderly Roman ways, were becoming accustomed to holding markets, and were meeting in peaceful assemblies."

The natives were learning all this *μετα φυλακης*. The irresponsible behaviour of Varus caused the Germans to plan rebellion and undid all the work of the troops. They succeeded in getting the Roman forces to move away from these districts in the direction of the Weser; they gave the impression that they intended to live peacefully and would thus not need the army to enforce this:

"Consequently Varus did not keep his army together, as was proper in hostile country. He distributed large numbers of his soldiers to helpless communities who requested them, allegedly to guard various places, or to arrest robbers, or to escort provisions convoys."

When Arminius led the uprising, all these detachments were massacred.

The main body of the army was still acting *ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ*: 16

"The mountains were uneven and full of ravines, the trees grew close together and very tall. This meant that the Romans, even before the enemy attacked them, were engaged in felling trees, building roads, constructing bridges, and labouring on all the necessary tasks of this nature. They had many wagons and a large number of baggage-animals with them, as in time of peace, and there were also not a few women and children and a large retinue of servants following with them."

The letters of the Younger Pliny reveal a great amount of detail about the various aspects of the day to day running of the Roman army. Pliny himself as tribunus laticlavus in Syria was ordered in addition to his normal duties to audit the accounts of all the auxiliary units

and still found time to cultivate the friendship of several philosophers. He mentions that his uncle had composed a military textbook; that disciplinary action was taken against a centurion named as the co-respondent in an affaire with the wife of a military tribune; that soldiers were used to escort prisoners to Rome. He also gives many examples of the use of patronage in securing commissions or posts. Even more detail is revealed from the letters to Trajan, when Pliny was governor of Bithynia covering a period of about two years; he had assigned soldiers to act as guards in the public prisons throughout the province; others to escort a man charged with contempt and others as guards to Christians being sent to Rome for trial. Although he had so few troops under his command, Pliny still had to assign some for service with other officials: ten beneficarii, two equites, and a centurion to the praefectus orae Ponticae, who requested more; ten beneficarii to the procurator, and to his assistant, who had already three men and who requested six, two troopers. Trajan ruled that Pliny should normally assign to the latter two men directly and two of the soldiers already seconded to the senior procurator. Some of Pliny's men were stationed in other towns, such as Nicomedia, and Pliny requested a legionary centurion and his company from Lower Moesia for Juliopolis. He also made a request twice for a hydraulic-engineer from the same source, or alternatively for an architectus. To carry out Trajan's wish that the units should be kept at full strength, recruiting was carried out; two slaves were discovered and had to be punished; similarly the Emperor ordered Pliny to ensure that commanding officers maintained discipline

and punished men under their command guilty of any offences. At the same time Pliny was employed in forwarding confidential reports, recommendations, and requests for further posts, as well as petitions from soldiers. The troops of the province also took part in the various Imperial celebrations, the annual renewal of the oath of allegiance, the anniversary of the Emperor's accession, and Trajan's birthday.<sup>17</sup>

Each commanding officer was responsible for his men when they were in and out of the camp and dispensed justice to the civilians. Such duties were regular in peace-time for most commanding officers. It is quite clear that in some cases the commander of a particular fort was permanently assigned some special local responsibility. Mention has already been made of the fact that the commanding officer of the cohort at Zarai was responsible for operating the customs regulations there. Similarly, the prefect who commanded the ala stationed at Palmyra was responsible for judging disputes between individuals and the publicani. Parts of Derbyshire seem to have been under direct military rule and were administered by the commanders of the local forts. It is therefore obvious that in time of peace ab epistulis must have chosen for posts which entailed such extra responsibilities as these, men with particularly suitable qualifications; it cannot be purely coincidental that two of the commanders honoured by the people of Palmyra for handling their duties of arbitration so well, Vibius Celer and Julius Julianus, are both known from their careers to have been men of exceptional ability. Similarly, for over half a century the ἐπαρχος who commanded a unit near Histria

was often called upon to intervene between that city and the tax-farmers of Thrace over the exemptions which the city had. In A.D. 49 Arruntius Flamma was instructed by the governor of Moesia to preserve the rights of the people of Histria around Peuce. Earlier Asiaticus, another *ἐπαρχος*, had conducted a detailed survey of the sources of revenue of the town. At other times a commanding officer with suitable qualities might be appointed to settle disputes between local factions: Jucundus, a praefectus alae, was appointed by Florus in A.D. 66 to try to settle the differences between the Greeks and Jews at Caesarea; such disturbances were not isolated cases in the East and many officers must have carried out these duties which are not dissimilar to the role played by United Nations observers at Gaza, for example, today. A census was held periodically in each province and officers of the army were employed in carrying out some of the work involved:<sup>18</sup>

"Edict of C. Vibius Maximus, Prefect of Egypt.

As a house-to-house census is impending, it is necessary to announce to all people who are absent from their own homes for any reason whatsoever, to return to their own homes, in order that they may complete the standard arrangements for the census and hold firmly to the cultivation of the land that belongs to them. However, I know our city has need of some people from the countryside and I therefore wish that all those who have a prima facie reasonable cause for remaining here, to register themselves with Bullatius Festus, the praefectus alae, whom I have appointed for this purpose. Those who show that their presence is necessary, will receive certificates from him in accordance with this proclamation by the 24th of the present month of July."

Perhaps the best indication of the many duties that a commanding officer would do for the nearby town, can be seen in the extract from

the meeting of the town council of Sala in Mauretania Tingitana dated to 28th October, A.D. 144. They wished to honour M. Sulpicius Felix, the commander of ala II Syrorum civium Romanorum because he had been cum militiae tum civilium munerum verissumi auctoris. His duties as the commanding officer and the way he had carried them out, they do not mention; they do, however, mention how he had helped the civilians by maintaining the peace, supervising the town accounts, acting as arbitrator, using soldiers to guard the woods, the fields, and the townspeople working there, preventing any loss of cattle or other items from raids from marauding tribes, using his troops to build the town walls, and providing the civilians in an emergency with food from the granaries in his fort without endangering the supplies for his men. In supervising the accounts and building the walls he may well have employed some of the specialists in his regiment. Although there is not the epigraphic evidence, it is only logical to assume that all commanding officers will have carried out not dissimilar duties with regard to the inhabitants of nearby towns.<sup>19</sup>

One of the most interesting of all Roman military documents comes from the files of one of the two legions in Egypt in the last quarter of the first century. The recto, in addition to two pay documents and a list of men who were probably being discharged, contains a list of the missions that took four legionaries away from their camp on the outskirts of Alexandria at Nicopolis between the years A.D. 80 and 87. The duties are varied; men were twice sent to the two state granaries in Alexandria, Mercurium and Neapolis, probably to act as guards or perhaps to supervise

food for their own unit, although in a third instance at Neapolis the soldier was there to act as a shorthand clerk. The same men also acted as guards: one went with the river-fleet on its patrol up the Nile as guard, another was away on police work in the country, while at another time he was providing security at the mint. In two other duties they may have been supervising the work of others or perhaps engaged on the tasks of harbour-dredging and making paper themselves; in another two instances the task is lost in a lacuna. In other cases the document simply states that the soldier left on an unspecified mission with someone else: with the centurion Timinius, with Maximus Liberalis, with someone whose name is lost, and with the frumentarii; in this last instance they were probably concerned with the acquisition of food supplies. The whole document is reproduced elsewhere.<sup>20</sup>

This document ends on 19th September, A.D. 87, and was superseded in date by another on the reverse, which is in two parts. Most of the first is lost, but it contained a list of names and numbers of men who were not available for duty in the century in camp at Nicopolis followed by the heading RELIQUI xxxx. The fragmentary numbers add up to thirty-two, plus two names and two equites, giving a minimum total for the century of seventy-four (although it may, of course, be higher), plus the two equites legionis, which is not far short of the theoretical strength of eighty pedites. Of the forty men nine were opera vacantes, mostly because they were immunes and specialists; they were a custos armorum, a conductor, a wagon-maker (carrarius), a batman of the tribune (secutor

tri[b(uni), a custos domi (perhaps a man responsible for the house of an officer), two clerks (a librarius and a cerarius), a supranumerarius, and a man on picket duty (stationem agens).<sup>21</sup>

The remaining thirty-one men (to whom another five were later added) were then allocated various duties for the first ten days of October, A.D. 87. A chart was drawn up with a square for each day's duty opposite the name of each munifex. This duty roster is reproduced as figure 12 and 13. This is by far the most impressive single document that illustrates the day to day work of a unit of the Roman army in peace-time. Dashes against various names for the first day show that the duty of this soldier was the same as that on the previous day, the last entry on the previous duty roster. Presumably three such rosters were made out each month. Figure 14 is a table drawn up showing the various duties grouped together in categories with the total number of days spent by the total number of men for any one duty. Of the five men who were added to the original thirty-one, only the first has been given, because the entry was made by the same clerk; the others were added later and no duties can be read against any of their names. Presumably all five became available for duty after the whole document was first made, the thirty-second man before his other four comrades. Unfortunately lacunae make it impossible to read all the entries. Of the 320 man-days under consideration, thirty-six are lost in lacunae, and in another twenty the reading or meaning is not clear; the total amount of days spent on duties was 157.<sup>22</sup>

**Figure 12**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I	G. DUTRIUS								Leave by Perris, Ion of S.U.	Leave
II	C. DUTRIUS								Each house Perris	Duty in
III	J. DUTRIUS	Unf. 10	Illius	before	as before		Gothen	armory	Duty in	Duty in
IV	L. DUTRIUS	25 7	Illius	Boots	in 7	before	H. .	Between	Duty in	house
V	F. DUTRIUS	25 7	Duty in	Fl. 10	in 7	before	before	Boots	Duty in	
VI	L. DUTRIUS	25 7	Duty in	Fl. 10	in 7	before	before	Boots	Duty in	
VII	L. DUTRIUS	25 7	Duty in	Fl. 10	in 7	before	before	Boots	Duty in	
VIII	C. DUTRIUS	25 7	Duty in	Fl. 10	in 7	before	before	Boots	Duty in	
IX	L. DUTRIUS	25 7	Duty in	Fl. 10	in 7	before	before	Boots	Duty in	
X	L. DUTRIUS	25 7	Duty in	Fl. 10	in 7	before	before	Boots	Duty in	
XI	L. DUTRIUS	25 7	Duty in	Fl. 10	in 7	before	before	Boots	Duty in	
XII	L. DUTRIUS	25 7	Duty in	Fl. 10	in 7	before	before	Boots	Duty in	
XIII	L. DUTRIUS	25 7	Duty in	Fl. 10	in 7	before	before	Boots	Duty in	
XIV	L. DUTRIUS	25 7	Duty in	Fl. 10	in 7	before	before	Boots	Duty in	

Figure 13

Case No.	Location	Activity	Time	Duration	Frequency	Notes	Frequency	Notes
XV	H. J. Guard	Guard	...	...	...	...	...	...
XVI	Prunery	Prunery	...	...	...	...	...	...
XVII	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XVIII	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XIX	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XX	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XI	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XII	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XIII	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XIV	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XV	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XVI	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XVII	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XVIII	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XIX	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XX	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XI	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XII	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XIII	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XIV	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XV	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XVI	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XVII	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XVIII	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XIX	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...
XX	Score to Jorans	Score to Jorans	...	...	...	...	...	...

Figure 14

Duty	No. of days	No. of men
Guard at headquarters	3	3
Guard at gate	10	7
Guard at standards	1	1
Guard on rampart	1	1
Street patrol	6	1
Training area of century	1	1
Artillery practice	4	4
Patrol on Nicopolis road	4	4
Watch tower	1	1
Island (Pharos)	1	1
Outpost duty for five days	18	4
Guard to cotton pickers	1	1
Plain clothes police work	1	1
Cleaning uniform of Helius	4	1
Cleaning boots	3	3
Cleaning boots of Helius	1	1
Batman	1	1
Armoury (cleaning and repairing weapons)	5	4
Bath house fatigues	18	9
Latrines	2	2
Street cleaning	2	1
Drainage	1	1
Duty in century	14	9
Duty in century of D. Decrius	10	2
Duty in century of Serenus	6	1
Duty in century of Helius	3	1
Duty in century of Caecilius	2	1
Escort to tribune	3	1
Escort to Serenus	6	2
Escort to chief centurion	1	1
stretcher bearer	1	1
Left with Asinius for boots	3	1
Left with tribune	9	1
Left for harbour with Aelius	3	1
Left for granary at Neapolis	5	1
On leave	2	1
Not known	20	11
<u>Lacunae</u> in document	36	22

The most detailed evidence for the day to day duties of men in an auxiliary unit is undoubtedly that of cohors XX Palmyrenorum. The evidence and examples of morning reports, letters, tabulations, summaries, guard rosters, and lists have been given; the two documents that reveal the most information about the assignments of the pedites, equites, and dromedarii are the two great rosters of A.D. 219 and 222. The strength of the cohort on the former occasion is reliably estimated to have been about 1,210 men, on the latter 1,040; in the first document the grand total of duties that can be read is 727 or 60% of the estimated strength of the unit, in the second 659 or 63%. Thus if the duties in the missing portions were on exactly the same proportion as those on the parts preserved and legible, then the number of men engaged on each task would be approximately doubled. A detailed analysis of the assignments grouped in categories is given in figure 15. <sup>23</sup>

The only guard duty in the camp that appears to be mentioned is that at the standards. A score of men, all troopers, were away on manoeuvres at the training ground. The cornicularius, actuarius, signiferi, and the other ranks assigned to the officium carried out the paperwork of the cohort. Other men were obtaining and guarding supplies of animals (horses, sacrificial victims, and lions) or provisions (food, corn, barley). Soldiers were on outpost duty in ten places, others were stationed in relays for dispatch riding or were scouting; pedites and equites were assigned to the governor as singulares and a few were at provincial headquarters. At times men were escorting convoys, on one occasion other men were collecting barley, and a substantial party

Figure 15

Duty	A.D. 219	A.D. 222
Guard at the sacred standards	7	0
On manoeuvres at training ground	20	22
Clerical work	30	18
Adjutant	1	1
Staff-sergeant	1	1
Standard-bearers	5	4
Obtaining horse	1	0
Obtaining sacrificial animals	3	0
Obtaining lions	7	4
Stall	0	1
Collecting food	1	4
Collecting corn	0	2
Collecting barley	3	2
Appadana	62	49
Birtha	7	8
Magdala	11	11
Beccufrayn	89	37
Castellum Arabum	7	3
Chafer Avira	6	3
Barbalissus	0	6
Alexandria	0	1
Capera	0	1
Parthia	5	0
Dispatch-riders	14	15
Guard to governor	22	59
Scouting	15	8
At provincial headquarters	2	2
Escort to barley-collectors	1	0
Escort	0	1
Taking estimates for pay	10	20
With grain-ship	1	0
With ship	2	0
Guarding ship	0	1
Taking letters	1	0
On complaint	0	3
With the Emperor	56	0
Not returned	1	1
Overstayed leave	1	0
In custody	0	1
Transferred to other units	3	0
Transferred from other units	2	0
Discharged	3	0
Deceased	0	1
Available for duty	327	369

took the estimates to the procurator's office and escorted the pay back to camp; other soldiers were connected with ships, in one case a grain ship. Other men were carrying letters or taking a complaint. In A.D. 219 a large party of troops was detached as a guard of honour to Elagabalus on his journey from the East to Rome. A handful of soldiers were still on the books of the cohort but not on a duty or available for one; they included men who had not returned, had overstayed their leave, were in custody, had been transferred to and from other units, discharged, or died. Finally, the number of men with a bar beside their name to indicate that they were available for any duty is 45% and 56% of the grand total of duties that can be read.

CHAPTER XI: INDIVIDUAL DUTIES

NOTES

1:

Macer - Dig., 49.16.12; RBRA, 143 surprisingly omits principiis frequenter interesse.

Tiberius - Suetonius, Tib., 19.

Pliny - N.H., 10.54.

Tacitus - A., 1.6.

2:

Vegetius - 2.9.

Caetronius - Tacitus, A., 1.44.

Agricola - Agr., 7 and 8.

Coelius - H., 1.60.

Catullinus - VIII 18042 Aa, Cb = ILS 2487; ILS 9134.

auxiliary - VIII 18042 Aa, Cb = ILS 2487.

3:

first - P.Dura 55A.

second - P.Dura 55B.

c.A.D. 216 - P.Dura 61.

one soldier - P.Dura 63A.

Themarsas and Hieres - P.Dura 63B.

A.D. 221 - P.Dura 64A + B. In an article in Latomus, forthcoming, I show that the soldiers from Dura are working in a post of the cursum publicum.

4:

A.D. 208 - P.Dura 56.

A.D. 240-250 - P.Dura 58.

Goces - P.Dura 60B.

pridiana - P.Dura 60C.

paying - P.Dura 60D.

seventeen - P.Dura 57, 59, 60A, 62, 65, 68, 70-80.

5:

two important - P.Dura 66A.

governor - P.Dura 66D.

four - P.Dura 66 H, N, O, R.

seven - P.Dura 66B, F, G, T, EE, OO, BBB.

another - P.Dura 66L.

yet another - P.Dura 66MM.

horse - P.Dura 66PP.

camels - P.Dura 66E; this is my own proposed expansion of lmellos.

herds - P.Dura 66QQ.

frumentum - P.Dura 66DDD.

penus and epulum - P.Dura 66II; this is my own suggested expansion of the words epulu. and pe... of the fragmentary document.

6:

second-in-command - VIII 18078.

Tacitus - Agr.,5.

Pliny - Ep.,8.14.

Trajan - Pan.,15.

died - Passerini, legio, 571.

7:

missio - Tacitus, A.,1.37.

centurion - A.,1.44.

"He then - Appian, B.C.,3.43.

Tacitus - e.g. from only one book: A.,1.32, 35, 42, 49, 56.

Piso - A.,2.55.

misconduct - A.,1.44.

morale - A.,2.12.

Isidore - Orig.,9.3.29.

Pliny - Ep.,7.22; cf. RBRA, 141.

Republic - Livy, 28.24.

census - Passerini, legio, 574.

A.D. 103 - P.Hamb. 31.

A.D. 140 - BGU 113.

A.D. 148 - BGU 265.

A.D. 166 - PSI 447.

A.D. 182 - BGU 847.

8:

tribunus semenstris - Passerini, legio, 578-579; this was first suggested by Domaszewski (Rangordnung, 41).

Vegetius - 2.12.

misunderstood - he says there were ten to a legion, one for each cohort. Cf. 2.7, where he says the man in command of the first cohort was a tribunus maior and the other nine minores.

column of march - Arrian, Ekt.,6.

officer of the watch - cf. Chapter II: Guard Duties, n.10.

9:

Vegetius - 2.10.

Aufidienus - Tacitus, A.,1.20.

post - these are the conclusions of B. Dobson in his doctoral thesis on the Principilares, which I have followed.

sixty - RBRA, 27.

10:

ca.D. 51 - Tacitus, A.,12.38.

A.D. 70 - H.,5.20.

A.D. 14 - A.,1.20.

A.D. 80 - CLA 7II.A.1-3.

Paternus - Dig.,50.6.7.

fabricae - Passerini, legio, 609 (75).

valetudinarii - Passerini, legio, 608 (65).

11:

Vegetius - 2.11; see Chapter VII: Supplies, n.27.  
praefectus fabrum - BR, 62-63, especially n.11.

12:

normal training - see Chapter III: Training and Exercises, passim.  
Vegetius - 1.7.

immunes - Passerini, legio, 606 (38 mentioned).

capsariorum - Passerini, legio, 609 (68).

bucinator - ibid., 608, (59).

aquilifer - ibid., 608 (57).

signifer - ibid., 608 (58).

accounts - Vegetius, 2.20; cf. Chapter V: Administration and Paperwork, n.16.

equites - Passerini, legio, 610 (102).

exercise-hall - cf. Chapter III: Training and Exercises, n.10.

parade ground - ibid., n.11-14.

cavalry training ground - cf. Chapter IV: Manoeuvres, n.22-25.

epibeta - Passerini, legio, 610 (105).

ar- - ibid., 608 (60).

architectus - ibid., 608 (61 mentioned).

Amandus - VIII 7945 revising ILS 2459.

praefectus castrorum - Vegetius, 2.10; see above, n.9.

aquilioes - Dig., 50.6.7.

Septimius - AE 1942-43 93. This rank is not mentioned by Passerini.

doctor fabrum - Passerini, legio, 609 (76).

Paternus - Dig., 50.6.7.6.

auxiliary - I am grateful to Professor E. Birley and Dr. B. Dobson for stating that there are no examples that they know of.

A.D. 239 - P.Dura 89.1.3 and 9.

A.D. 245-255 - P.Dura 96.5.

13:

centurions - Vegetius, 2.14; cf. Chapter III: Training and Exercises, n.8.

decurions - ibid.

watch - cf. Chapter II: Guard Duties, n.9.

praetorium - cf. Chapter X: Other Duties, n.7.

Police - cf. Chapter IX: Paramilitary Duties, n.18-26.

temporary - e.g. P.Dura 89.1.7, 13.

duties - e.g. Lesquier, 135-136.

primus pilus - I have followed the conclusions of B. Dobson in an unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Durham University) entitled 'The Principales of the Roman Army', passim, especially 161ff, 329ff. Dr. Dobson intends to publish a revised version of his thesis in a year or two.

14:

Vegetius - 2.7; cf. Passerini, legio, 607 (50).

Festus - p.198 (Müller).

Varro - Paulus ex Festo, p.184 (Müller).

Epigraphy - VIII 2554 = ILS 2445.

century - e.g. RIB 544 = ILS 2441 opt[il]ionis ad spem ordinis 7 Lucili Ingenui.

optiones ad spem - cf. RIB 544 = ILS 2441 cited above.

first cohort - cf. Chapter V: Administration and Paperwork, n.4 and 6.

Paternus - Dig., 50.6.7.

fabricae - Passerini, legio, 609 (75).

valetudinarii - Passerini, legio, 608 (65).

✓ Lambaesis - VIII 2553 = ILS 2438 + AE 1906 9.

Mainz - XIII 6714 = ILS 2435; XIII 6714. cf. Chapter IX: Paramilitary Duties, n.27.

Mainz also - ILS 2436; cf. Passerini, legio, 608 (63).

Ohrenbach - cf. Chapter VII: Supplies, n.24.

Titan - cf. Chapter VII: Supplies, n.15.

Asclepiades - cf. Chapter VIII: Food, n.54 and 56.

exacti - cf. Chapter V: Administration and Paperwork, n.3.

Auxiliary - e.g. RIB 1523; cf. RIB 809; Rangordnung, 57.

Silvanus - cf. Chapter V: Administration and Paperwork, n.59.

Dura - cf. Chapter XII: Off-Duty, n.11.

15:

signifer - Passerini, legio, 606 (49).

Vegetius - 2.7.

deposita - 2.20; cf. Chapter V: Administration and Paperwork, n.16-17.

A.D. 117 - PSI 1063. Cf. J.F. Gilliam's discussion of this document in Historia Augusta Colloquium 1964/65, 91-98.

canabae - cf. Chapter IX: Paramilitary Duties, n.57.

municipium - ibid., n.59.

Silvanus - cf. Chapter VII: Supplies, n.18.

Nemesianus - ibid., n.51.

Bonn - ibid., n.38.

lustrum - Passerini, legio, 620-621 cites the evidence.

Domitius - PSI 1307.ii.20; signif was inserted later.

Hyginus - H.C., 4.

Mainz - cf. n.14 above. I am indebted to Professor E. Birley for discussion on whether these men held both posts simultaneously and to Dr. L. Weber for showing me the find spot of these altars (only a few yards from the Rhine).

16:

"Soldiers - Dio, 56.18.

"Consequently - Dio, 56.19.

"The mountains - Dio, 56.20.

17:

audit - Pliny, Ep., 7.31.  
philosophers - Ep., 1.10; 3.11.  
uncle - Ep., 3.5.  
centurion - Ep., 6.31.  
prisoners - Ep., 3.16.  
patronage - Ep., 2.13; 3.8; 4.4; 6.25; 7.22; 8.23; cf. 3.20.  
prisons - Ep., 10.19 and 20.  
contempt - Ep., 10.57.  
Christians - Ep., 10.96.  
praefectus - Ep., 10.21 and 22.  
procurator - Ep., 10.27.  
Trajan - Ep., 10.28.  
Nicomedia - Ep., 10.74.  
Juliopolis - Ep., 10.77 and 78.  
hydraulic-engineer - Ep., 10.41 and 42; 61 and 62.  
recruiting - Ep., 10.29 and 30.  
discipline - Ep., 10.78.  
reports - Ep., 10.86a, 87; cf. 85, 86b.  
recommendations - Ep., 10.26.  
requests - Ep., 10.26, 51, 87.  
petitions - Ep., 10.106 and 107.  
renewal - Ep., 10.35 and 36; 100 and 101.  
anniversary - Ep., 10.52 and 53; 102 and 103.  
birthday - Ep., 10.17a; 88 and 89

18:

men - see above, n.1-3.  
Zarai - VIII 4508; see Chapter IX: Paramilitary Duties, n.59.  
Palmyra - RBRA, 146ff; see Chapter IX: Paramilitary Duties, n.59.  
Derbyshire - I owe this suggestion to Professor E. Birley. He bases this on the fact that some milestones give their distances from a fort (e.g. RIB 2243) and that the lead pigs from this district bear the name Lutud and not that of a cantonal capital.  
ab epistulis - RBRA, 142ff, 148, 151ff.  
Vibius Celer and Julius Julianus - RBRA, 146-149.  
Histris - AE 1919 10. Cf. J.H. Oliver, 'Texts A and B of the Horrothesia Dossier at Istros', Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, VI.143.  
Caesarea - Josephus, B.J., 2.285ff; cf. Chapter IX: Paramilitary Duties, n.35.  
census - P.Lond. 904; this expansion of the name of the prefect was suggested to me by Professor Birley.

19:

AE 1931 38; RBRA, 149-50; L. Harmand, Le patronat sur les collectivites publiques des origines aubas-empire, 401-405.

20:

pay documents - CLA 7IA + B.

discharged - CLA 7III.

missions - CLA 7II.

elsewhere - figure 2, p.212.

21:

CLA 7IVa + b.

22:

CLA 7V.

23:

duties - DPP, 39-43.

rosters - P.Dura 100 and 101.

strength - DPP, 30-31.

figure 15 - this is modelled on DPP, 44, fig.8, but the totals given there are by no means accurate and the list is certainly not exhaustive.

CHAPTER XII

OFF - DUTY

In this thesis so far the official duties that a soldier had to carry out, have been studied. However, the soldiers did get some free time, although the commanding officer had to ensure that the troops did not get too much otium, and it is necessary in studying the peace-time routine of the Roman army to consider briefly some of the ways in which the troops would spend their off-duty hours. Detailed analysis of the legionary duty roster of A.D. 87 shows that of the 320 man-days considered, at least 107 had no duty assigned to them in the document. Presumably this means that apart from attending the morning parade and the daily exercises and any other compulsory duties, they had the day off. Perhaps they were expected to prepare the evening meal for their contubernales who had been munifices for that day. Similarly the two great rosters from Dura reveal that some men did not have assignments; in A.D. 219 727 duties can be read, of which 327 consist of a bar to show that that soldier was available for duty, while in A.D. 222 659 duties can be deciphered, of which 369 consist of the bar; in the former instance this is 45% of the duties, in the latter 56%. Presumably these troops, like these in Egypt, were free, apart from compulsory daily camp duties, unless they were suddenly assigned some new post or task. This chapter will attempt to show some of the ways in which the soldier could spend his spare time, officially or unofficially in the camp or on military property, in civilian districts, or on leave.<sup>1</sup>

A good example of how soldiers would spend their spare time is provided by excavation at Milecastle 50 (Turf Wall). Here a small group

of soldiers spent a short time demolishing the structure in c.A.D. 125. They cooked their meals on a gridiron on a hearth after having collected the fuel, drank and broke the mugs, repaired their boots and their leather tents, swept the floor, wrote reports or letters on wax-tablets, gambled for money, and finally went to sleep on bracken and heather that they had out for bedding.<sup>2</sup>

A popular and energetic way of spending leisure hours was hunting. The legal writers stress that hunting and fishing trips, other than those officially authorised for supplying food for the unit, must not be made in the time when the soldier was supposed to be engaged on military duties. Hunting for pleasure seems to have been a common form of relaxation among the officers, who often travelled a considerable distance for this purpose; they, unlike the other ranks, were probably able to afford to buy 'the clever hunting dogs' for which Britain was justly famous. When Hadrian first entered military service, he received bad reports for his excessive enthusiasm for hunting; doubtless this was one of the pastimes that Agricola, unlike other tribuni laticlavii, did not indulge in.<sup>3</sup>

Outside almost every Roman fort there was a bath house, where a soldier could spend much of his spare time. In addition to the pleasures of the Roman system of baths, he appears to have used it almost as the equivalent of the NAAFI; at Newstead, for example, and indeed at almost every other military bath house, many dice, gaming-counters,

coins, and small altars to fortune reveal how the soldier liked to gamble, and occasionally a board on which they would play draughts or backgammon has been discovered. The large number of oyster shells reveals how they would enjoy their favourite delicacy.<sup>4</sup>

It is clear that the Roman commanders made an attempt at some form of organised entertainment for the troops. Until the time of Nero each governor had a troop of gladiators to provide amusement for the soldiers. Undoubtedly the amphitheatre would be used on occasions with the permission of the legate for gladiatorial and animal displays. Tacitus records an inter-services wrestling competition in A.D. 69 between a legionary and a Gallic auxiliaryman, which was spoilt by the excessively partisan spirit displayed by the supporters on each side. Such inter-unit contests almost certainly continued to be held throughout the Principate; Ammianus records that the Elder Gratian was famous for his skill in wrestling in the military fashion (peritiam militum more luctandi) and on one occasion had won a tug-of-war contest on his own against five soldiers. Whether or not any organised entertainment was provided on all the various festivals mentioned in the feriale Duranum, is not clear. It is known, for example, that on the birthday of Augustus in one year centurions arranged horse-races for the amusement of the army. On the birthday of Geta, Severus gave military games (militares ludos) with various items of silver as prizes; Maximinus requested Severus to permit him, although a civilian, to take part in the wrestling contests and promptly won sixteen bouts in succession against lixae and was enlisted in the army. On the following day after

a long run he defeated seven soldiers one after the other in wrestling bouts, won the top prize of a gold collar, and was promptly promoted to the Guard. In his prime he was stated to have been able to take on sixteen, twenty, or even thirty soldiers in such wrestling bouts, and even as an old man he could stretch them out in their fives, sixes, or sevens. In A.D. 249-250 soldiers are alleged to have taken part in organised wrestling contests in honour of Mars. The language of parts of Arrian's  $\tau\epsilon\chi\nu\eta$   $\tau\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\eta$  and the wording of the epitaph which Soranus composed for himself, strongly suggest that some military exercises took the form of organised sport rather than mere training or display.<sup>5</sup>

On the day after Galba took over as governor of Upper Germany all the legionary troops were at a festival. The army in the East in the middle of the second century spent too much time at the theatre, although the scaenici in some services were concerned with putting on plays and performances on Imperial birthdays. At Dura an optio seems to have been in charge of a group of about sixty actors and actresses from Zeugma. Officers might attend the civic banquets at the more important occasions in each province and the troops be given the day off. A very fragmentary document that is similar to a morning report, perhaps of the reign of Severus Alexander, records of some units that they were feriatae.<sup>6</sup>

Outside almost every permanent fort an extra-mural settlement grew up; those outside a legionary fortress seem to have been called canabae, those outside auxiliary forts vici. In either case the settlement could

become a self-governing community and often grew to a considerable size, as that outside the legionary fortress of Vetera had done by A.D. 69. These settlements satisfied a variety of needs for the soldier in his off-duty hours in the time of the Republic and the Empire, and a place in which he could settle when he was discharged from the army. Appian notes that Scipio found a large number of traders, prostitutes, seers, and fortune-tellers following a Roman army, while Caesar notes in 53 B.C. a large crowd of mercatores were following his men. Arrian refers to a settlement of considerable size composed of veterans and traders outside the fort at Phasis in A.D. 131. Epigraphy reveals examples of the traders who provided wine, beer, vegetables, weapons, and equipment, as well as a host of other items to the troops. Archaeology has revealed details of the vici; the two best examples of those in Britain and Germany, outside the forts at Housesteads and Saalburg, have produced evidence for shops, taverns, and houses, where the troops could buy what they needed, drink, and gamble, and, as Severus Alexander allegedly said, amant potant lavant. Literature reveals further evidence of these buildings: Hadrian tried to limit the places for eating and drinking outside the forts (triclinia . . . . et porticus et cryptas et topia); Fronto says that the army of the East in the middle of the second century spent more time in nearby beer-gardens and theatres than in camp and were frequently drunk or gambling.<sup>7</sup>

Wherever there was an army, there were also women, a few officially but the majority unofficially. Augustus had been most reluctant to

permit even his governors to have their wives with them, and the question was raised in the Senate in A.D. 21. The only soldiers who were permitted to be married while serving were officers. The wife, children, and servants of the commanding officer would live with him in the praetorium, those of the tribuni militum and praefectus castrorum in a legion in the officers' houses. Centurions and decurions were permitted to be married while serving and perhaps their wives lived in the large officer's flat at the end of each barrack-block. NCOs and other ranks were not permitted to marry while serving and a man who was already married, became divorced on enlisting. In A.D. 44 Claudius therefore, while reaffirming that soldiers could not get married while in the army, granted them the rights of married men. One of the reasons given in A.D. 60 for the failure of the veteran colonies at Tarentum and Antium was that the soldiers had been unaccustomed to marry and bring up children; this represents the official point of view.<sup>8</sup>

However, it is quite clear that soldiers did 'marry' unofficially; in A.D. 69 one of the reasons why the army of Syria declared for Vespasian was the rumour that Vitellius was going to transfer them from Syria, where in many cases they had 'married' local women, to the rigours of Germany, where their families would not be able to follow them. In Germany in A.D. 9 a large number of women and children followed Varus's army across the frontier. Instead of 'marrying' a free woman a soldier might often buy a slave woman and live with her; this is well illustrated by a letter from the legionary Claudius Terentianus in Alexandria to his father Tiberianus in the early second century:

"Julius sent me word about a woman; he was buying one for me with my approval. As far back as two years ago I would have taken a woman into my house, but I did not permit myself - nor even now - to take one without your approval and you will not hear otherwise from me on this subject."

The military authorities condoned such actions which were, strictly speaking, illegal; according to the diplomas they gave citizenship to the auxiliary soldier on his discharge, to his 'wife' (with the proviso of one wife per man), and to all the children that they then had, although according to the letter of the law the man was either divorced or a bachelor. This was confirmed by Domitian's edict on military privileges. The large number of legal problems that this system caused reflects on the widespread number of 'marriages' that other ranks contracted: parents of children born during the father's service often drew up attestations of birth signed by witnesses to provide prima facie evidence for establishing the child's civic status when the father obtained his discharge and franchise. Governors were frequently asked for rulings: for example, Lupus, the Prefect of Egypt, was asked between A.D. 114 and 117 if a 'wife' could claim a deposit from a deceased soldier; whether the sons of a Roman citizen serving in an auxiliary unit and whose mother was a Roman citizen could be certified as Roman citizens; whether the inheritance tax could be remitted for the son of an auxiliary soldier who had died in service. In A.D. 119 Hadrian ruled that the children of serving soldiers should be eligible to be named as heirs in the wills of their fathers. Thus when Antonius Silvanus, a trooper of ala I Thracum Mauretana, drew up his will in A.D. 142, he had to refer to Antonia Thermutha as 'mother of my heir' and not as 'my wife'. In the

end Severus made the de facto situation de jure by granting the soldiers the legal right to marry while serving in A.D. 197. <sup>9</sup>

Normally the 'wife' of a serving soldier would live in the settlement outside the fort or in a nearby town. However, soldiers manning small posts in the countryside might often take advantage of the relaxation of discipline and have their 'wives' with them. This is well illustrated in the letters from the auxiliary troops at Wādī Fawākhir; Papius wrote to Demetrous hoping that she and the children were all right; Philocles wrote a letter to Skiphis; another soldier asked his friend to give his regards to Philotera; Rustius Barbarus blandly informed his friend Pompeius of his impending marriage and said that as soon as he was able to, he would ask him to come. However, the wife and children of the soldier Julius Terentianus lived on his farm, as a letter of 16th March, A.D. 99 shows. However tolerant the authorities may have felt, they did impose certain limits; Cornelia, the wife of the legatus C. Calvisius Sabinus, had a notorious affaire with a centurion T. Vinus in A.D. 39 culminating in spending the night in the sacellum; the co-respondent was arrested, put in custody, and later cashiered. At the turn of the century Gallita, the wife of a military tribune, had an affaire with a centurion, who was also cashiered. Petilius Cerealis was twice fortunate in A.D. 70 in escaping a possible court-martial for negligence; he was not on his flagship when it was captured by the Germans in a night raid but with a woman called Claudia Sacrata; the guards claimed that they had been ordered not to use the watchword and challenges in case they disturbed him. Similarly a

night attack on his camp at Trier found him in bed outside it. Comment was also made on the morals - or lack of them over women - of Valens in the previous year. Finally, Severus, as has been said, in A.D. 197 granted the soldiers permission legally to marry while serving. Thus documents from Dura show that on 1st October, A.D. 232 Aurelius Alexander, a soldier of cohors XII Palaestinatorum, and Aurelia Marcellina, a widow, drew up a marriage contract in the winter-quarters of the unit at Qatna, while on 30th April, A.D. 254, Julius Antiochus, serving in a vexillation of legio IV Scythica at Dura, and Aurelia Amamma were divorced.<sup>10</sup>

For soldiers who did not wish to be tied even by these unofficial liaisons there were always prostitutes; it is said that two thousand of them followed the army at Numantia and many the army of Fabius Valens in A.D. 69. Graffiti in brothels and small hotels which served the same function at Pompeii record the visits of soldiers to these establishments. In the civilian town at Carnuntum a large house with an ingenious floor-heating system served as a tavern and brothel for the legionaries of the nearby fortress. A brothel has been identified at the port of Caister by Yarmouth; clearly they must have existed outside the forts also. At Dura an optio seems to have been responsible for billeting a troupe of about forty actresses or prostitutes; they had come from Zeugma and were mostly billeted in a large house only two blocks from the garrison and the building was clearly turned into a brothel, while others stayed elsewhere in the city. Brothels must have

existed in the settlements or towns outside most forts, although the actual evidence for them is slight. Indeed, one of the classroom exercises listed by the Elder Seneca is a debate on the merits of a case in which a prostitute in a brothel killed a soldier in self-defence. The tariff of Coptos set up in A.D. 90 contains a schedule of tolls charged for various categories of people and goods for permits to use the roads. By far the highest toll was made for prostitutes (108 drachmas), which was more than five times as much as the next item, sailors' women and soldiers' women (20 drachmas each). Similarly, the cost of a permit for all women was four drachmas, as opposed to a mere one for a man. Other soldiers preferred seduction: at Aquincum a graffito in the baths records the amatory success of Gratus with the maid of the optio Lupus; the hospita of Epimachus, a soldier in Egypt, bore him a daughter in A.D. 131; on 21st March, A.D. 145 Sempronia Gemella gave birth to twin boys, whose father was a soldier whose name she did not know. A soldier passing through Pompeii on duty was not inclined to attribute his success entirely to his uniform:

"Floronius, beneficiarius and soldier of legio VII, was here and the women didn't recognise him, all but a few, that is, and they succumbed on the spot."

Macrinus is stated to have punished two soldiers who had had intercourse with the maid of their host, although she had a bad reputation.<sup>11</sup>

Each soldier was entitled to a certain amount of leave each year. Vegetius recommends that the troops should get only a little if any, so that they would not mutiny. Elsewhere he states:

"Whenever a soldier receives a furlough, his name and the duration of the leave are noted in the records. In those days leave was not easily given but only for the most reasonable and approved causes."

Here Vegetius may well be using as his source Farruntenus Paternus, who is quoted in the Digest as saying that the commander must remember parcissime commeatum dare. Vegetius's statements that the name of the soldier going on leave and the date must be entered in the records, is confirmed by the duty roster for the first ten days of October in A.D. 87; on the 9th C. Domitius Celer has against his name the entry 'leave by permission of the commanding officer' (b(eneficio) pref(ecti) com(meatus)) and on the following day C for c(ommeatus). Galba had the same ideas about leave as Paternus; as soon as he was appointed governor of Upper Germany, he became strict with requests for leave. Leave could only be granted by the commanding officer; Tacitus records that in the early Principate a legionary could bribe his centurion to have a furlough arranged. However, in a letter dated to 26th March, A.D. 107, Julius Apollinarius wrote to his father Sabinus:

"Immediately the commanding officer begins to give leave, I shall take steps to come to you straightaway."

There are sufficient references in literature to show that a soldier would receive a reasonable amount of leave; from what Tacitus says of Agricola when he was tribunus militum in Britain, officers received more leave than other ranks, as is only to be expected.<sup>12</sup>

It was also only to be expected that some soldiers would not have returned to camp by the time their leave had expired and they would then

be classed as emansores; if they had not returned after a further length of time, they became desertores. The legal writers list valid reasons for a soldier overstaying his leave, such as ill health, compassionate reasons like caring for parents or relations, chasing a runaway slave, being detained by bad travelling conditions or bandits, or any other valid reason. References to troops who had overstayed their leave occur in the military documents at Dura: a morning report of 30th March, c.A.D. 233, records that four soldiers had overstayed their leave and lists their names and centurions (Hemanserunt mil(ites) IIII) and similarly the great roster of A.D. 219 records that one infantryman had overstayed his leave. A document from Egypt, perhaps dating to the reign of Severus Alexander, that is similar to a morning report, records of some troops that they were emansion[. Finally, it should perhaps be noted that in a list of standard questions put to an oracle the seventy-eighth was, 'Am I going to get a furlough?' <sup>13</sup>

## CHAPTER XII: OFF-DUTY

### NOTES

1:

otium - see Chapter III: Training and Exercises, n.33-34.  
analysis - figure 14.  
Dura - figure 15.

2:

CW2, XXXV.226-227.

3:

legal - Dig., 49.16.12.1.  
officers - e.g. RIB 1041 = ILS 3562; RIB 1042; cf. Chapter VIII:  
Food, n.32.  
dogs - Strabo, 4.5.2.  
Hadrian - SHA, Hadr., 2.  
Agricola - Tacitus, Agr., 5.

4:

Curle, Newstead, 102, 338-339; AA4, VIII.219ff.

5:

gladiators - Tacitus, A., 1.22; 13.31.  
A.D. 69 - H., 2.68.  
Ammianus - 30.7.2-3.  
feriale - P.Dura 54.  
Augustus - Dio, 56.25.  
sixteen - SHA, Duo Max., 2; cf. Jordanes, de Rebus Geticis, 15.83ff.  
seven - SHA Duo Max., 3; Jordanes, ibid., says the second contest  
took place three days later, not on the second day.  
sixteen [etc] - SHA, Duo Max., 4.  
fives [etc] - SHA, Duo Max., 6.  
A.D. 249-250 - SHA, Claud., 13.  
Arrian's - e.g. T.T., 34.4-5; 42.4-5.  
Soranus - III 3676 = ILS 2558.

6:

Galba - Suetonius, Galb., 6.  
East - Fronto, ad Verum Imp., 2.1.19.  
scaenici - VI 1063 = ILS 2178; VI 1064 = ILS 2179.  
Dura - Report IX, Part I.203-265.  
civic banquets - Sallust, Jug., 66.  
feriatae - P.Mich. 455a, verso, 10.

7:

settlement - for full details with references see RBRA, 69-86;  
Petrikovits, römische Rheinland, 55ff; FPRB, 9ff.  
called - Germania, - 42.260ff.  
self-governing - e.g. in Britain Housesteads RIB 1616, Chesterholm  
RIB 1700, Old Carlisle RIB 899, Carriden AE 1958 105 = 1962 219.

7 (cont.):

Vetera - Tacitus, H.,4.22.

Appian - Iber.,85. cf.Sallust, Jug.,45; Valerius Maximus, 2.7.1.

Caesar - B.G.,6.37.

Arrian - Peripl.,9.

Epigraphy - RBRA, 81ff; FPRB, 24-27.

Archaeology - RBRA, 69ff provides full references; for details of individual viol cf.RHW, passim; FPRB, 35ff.

Alexander - SHA Alex.,53; cf.Sallust, Cat.,11 exercitus populi Romani amare potare.

Hadrian - SHA, Hadr.,10.

Fronto - ad Verum Imp.,2.1.19; Princ.Hist.,12.

8:

Augustus - Suetonius, Aug.,24.

A.D. 21 - Tacitus, A.,3.33. However, for wives of governors with their husbands cf.Tacitus, A.,2.55 Plancina; A.,4.19 Sosia; A.,6.21 Paxea; A.,15.10; H.,2.59; Pliny, Ep.,3.9; 10.120 and 121; NT, Matt.,27.19; Act.,24.24; cf.Juvenal, Sat.,8.128.

wife, children, and servants - FPRB, 22.

flat - suggested to me by Professor E. Birley.

divorced - FIRA 22.

A.D. 44 - Dio, 60.24.

A.D. 60 - Tacitus, A.,14.27.

9:

A.D. 69 - Tacitus, H.,2.80.

A.D. 9 - Dio, 56.20,22.

Terentianus - P.Mich. 476.

discharge - XVI, passim.

Domitian's - ILS 9059.

attestations - e.g. AE 1937 112.

Lupus - Mitteis, Chrest.,372.

A.D. 119 - BGU 140.

A.D. 142 - Études de Papyrologie, VI.1-20.

A.D. 197 - Herodian, 3.8.5.

10:

Papirius - O.Guéraud 31.

Philocles - O.Guéraud 35.

another - O.Guéraud 12.

Barbarus - O.Guéraud 1.

Terentianus - P.Mich. 464.

Cornelia - Tacitus, H.,1.48; Dio, 59.18; Plutarch, Galba, 12; PIR2.C.354.

Gallita - Pliny, Ep.,6.31.

Sacrata - Tacitus, H.,5.22.

Trier - H.,4.77.

Valens - H.,1.66; 3.41.

Severus - Herodian, 3.8.5.

A.D. 232 - P.Dura 30.

A.D. 254 - P.Dura 32.

11:

Numantia - Livy, Epit.,57; cf. Appian, Iber.,85.

Valens - Tacitus, H.,3.40.

Pompeii - J. Lindsay, The Writing on the Wall, 21, 239ff.

Carnuntum - H. and G. Schreiber, Vanished Cities, pl.Xb. They gave no further details in the text but cite as their authority lectures by R. Egger and E. Swoboda. I have not been able to trace this in the latter's Carnuntum, perhaps not surprisingly.

Caister - A.L.F. Rivet, Town and Country in Roman Britain, 84.

Dura - Report IX, part 1.203-265.

Seneca - Controv.,1.2.

Coptos - IGRR I 1183.

Aquincum - EE II 796.

A.D. 131 - BGU 1690.

A.D. 145 - P.Mich. 169.

Floronius - IV 8767.

Macrinus - SHA, Macr.,11. Cf. SHA, Aurel.,7 for a soldier committing adultery with the wife of his host, if much reliance can be put on this source.

12:

leave - I am at present engaged on a detailed study of leave in the Roman army which I hope to publish shortly.

Vegetius - 3.4.

Elsewhere - 2.19.

Paternus - Dig.,49.16.12.1.

A.D. 87 - CLA 7V.I.9-10.

Galba - Suetonius, Galb.,6.

Tacitus - H.,1.46.

Apollinarius - P.Mich. 466.38-40.

literature - e.g. Suetonius, Tib.,12; Caesar, B.Alex.,44; B.Afr.,77; Tacitus, H.,2.8; A.,15.8; Ammianus, 15.3.10; 31.10.2; Sallust, Jug.,64,73.

Agricola - Tacitus, Agr.,5.

13:

emansores - Dig.,49.16.3.passim; 4.13-15; 5.passim; 10; 13.5; 14.passim.

reasons - Dig.,49.16.4.15; 14.pr.; 16.3.7.

cA.D. 233 - P.Dura 82.11.18-19.

A.D. 219 - P.Dura 100.xxii.8.

Egypt - P.Mich. 455a, verso, 6.

oracle - P.Oxy. 1447.78.

CHAPTER XIII

EPILOGUE

As a short epilogue to this study of the Roman army, it is desirable to comment briefly on the conditions of life in the army in time of peace. This will consider two aspects, the social and financial status of the individual soldier. The social conditions of military life have been studied by several people and the general conclusion is that when the organisation of the army had become settled, life in it was on the whole quite endurable and in many provinces often better than conditions outside military service. Aristides notes that in other civilisations the troops were often regarded as being inferior to the civilians, but that this was not so in the case of the Romans, since all had equality.<sup>1</sup>

Tacitus in his account of the rebellions of the legions in Germany and Pannonia in A.D. 14 paints an extremely black picture of service conditions. It is not my wish to minimise the defects that there may well have been at the time, but one or two points should be considered. Tacitus is eager to blacken the character of Tiberius and extol the virtues of Germanicus, and is often guilty of gross distortion of facts to achieve this purpose; the permanent Roman army of the Principate was still in its infancy and experiencing initial difficulties; Augustus was at his death a very old man and for some time may well have been incapable of making the necessary arrangements and alterations to avoid such conditions; there was also no proper civil service at Rome to supply the necessary co-ordination. On the other hand it should be noted that major rebellions of the Roman army against service life and conditions such as those in A.D. 14 were extremely rare during the period studied

in this thesis. Moreover, for most of this time there was little if any need for conscription, and even then, it was mostly to meet a major crisis, and volunteer recruits were sufficient. Clearly service life could not have been that bad. Tacitus states elsewhere that the evil of vacationes munerum was abolished in A.D. 68 and was not reintroduced. It would not have been hard for any soldier of above average skill or intelligence to become quickly an immunis or to advance to the better paid ranks of sesquiplicarius or duplicarius as a principalis; Apollinarius, for example, found it quite easy to obtain such a promotion. Aristides stresses that a man would rise in the army through his merit alone. This is well illustrated by the career of Terentianus, who started his military service in the Alexandrian fleet, then became dissatisfied with it and desired a transfer to an auxiliary cohort, and finally moved to a legion. A soldier of real ability could easily become an officer and if he were of a suitable calibre, there was a wide range of lucrative posts awaiting him on discharge. Conditions in the army in the third century must have been as good as, if not better than, in civilian life; a woman writing home from Alexandria to her mother said:<sup>2</sup>

"And if Aio wishes to join the army, let him come, for everybody is in the army."

By and large the financial status of the troops was reasonable and ranged from adequate to excellent. The fact that Saturninus needed only the deposita of the legions to finance his rebellion shows that the legionary other ranks could save a substantial amount. Centurions,

especially those of the first cohort, received substantially more. The auxiliaries received less money, but even so a careful man could amass a considerable amount of savings. The best example is Dionusius, who was retiring from an ala in c.A.D. 175; he withdrew 1,459 denarii in deposita, and 5 denarii 14½ obols in seposita, and received 103 denarii for his arms; all this was the equivalent of almost eight years' full pay or not far short of one-third of the total amount of stipendium a trooper would receive in his career. The same document gives the amount of money to the credit of the twenty-three equites still in the turma of Longinus; this averages 484 denarii per man in voluntary savings, 158 in compulsory savings, and 62 in enlistment bonus; thus the average total amount of money to the credit of each trooper was 704 denarii or three and a half years' full pay. Although the papyri for the auxiliary infantrymen show that most of them had little to their credit other than the equivalent of slightly under two years' total pay and that these savings had probably been compulsorily made, it should be remembered that most of these men seem to have been in an exceptional position; they were distributed throughout the countryside and would thus have higher living expenses than their colleagues in camp. Moreover, this total seems to take no account of other money that might be to the man's credit, as, for example, in the case of Ammonianus, a private in cohors II Thracum. Although soldiers in all branches of the service might write home asking for money or clothes or other items, it should be noted that these same soldiers could afford to buy items for themselves and gifts for relatives.<sup>3</sup>

There are several other ways in which the wealth of serving soldiers can be seen. When Antonius Silvanus, an eques of ala I Thracum Mauretana, drew up his will in A.D. 142, he left four bequests totalling nine hundred denarii (the equivalent of four and a half years' full pay for a trooper) and gave instructions that his slave was to be freed. In A.D. 201 C. Julius Diogenes, a soldier of legio II Traiana, could afford 1,496 silver drachmas to purchase land. In the first century a soldier called Numerius Crispus owned a cucumber garden near Philadelphia. Numerianus, a trooper of ala I Asturum stationed at Benwell in the third century, had his freedman at South Shields to look after his trading interests. In A.D. 59 L. Vettius, an eques of the ala Vocontiorum, lent three Jews six hundred silver drachmas.<sup>4</sup>

On discharge from the army the praemia militiae for legionaries and auxiliaries were a rich and well deserved reward for the years of service. All legionaries had sufficient money from their gratuity of 3,000 denarii plus what they had in the savings bank to live in reasonable comfort for the rest of their lives. Terentianus, a newly discharged veteran, planned to rent a house and field for a year to give himself time to look around for somewhere permanent. In many cases the soldier would be able to use the skill and training he had acquired in the army to set himself up in a business, such as the negotiator gladiarius at Mainz. C. Longinus Priscus, a veteran, and a partner renewed the lease for another four years on a goldsmith's shop at Euhemeria in A.D. 128. In the third century Aurelius Sentius, a former duplicarius, arranged to have his

slave undergo a three year apprenticeship in the wool trade. The veteran Gemellus was able to buy and run extensive estates in Egypt, and Demetrius in Syria. In the second half of the second century L. Caecilius Optatus, a former legionary centurion, left a legacy to the municipality of Barcelona of 7,500 denarii, the interest on which was to be used for an annual boxing contest and free distribution of oil in the baths. In addition the veteran enjoyed immunity from certain taxes and other liturgies.<sup>5</sup>

The great Austrian Field-Marshal, Prince de Ligne, in A.D. 1770 called the Epitoma Rei Militaris of Vegetius a golden book and wrote: 'A God, said Vegetius, inspired the legion, but for myself, I find that a God inspired Vegetius.' Aristides, in discussing the organisation of the Roman army, asks what to him was merely a rhetorical question:

"Surely this rises beyond all mortal powers of organisation!"

Vegetius furthermore states of the legion:

"It is perfect in all respects, it needs no outside help, and has been accustomed to win against any enemy force, however great the odds are against it. The greatness of Rome is proof of this, who, by always using the legions as her fighting force, has defeated as many of the enemy as she herself wished to or as circumstances permitted."

Again, Aristides says of the Roman army and its organisation:

"So too concerning your military system one is justified in thinking and stating this fact, that for as long as man cannot move the earth itself from its foundations and leave a vacuum on its departure, for as long as the civilised world itself must remain in its place, then it is impossible for your military bodies to fail you, but from the four corners of the earth all your needs are supplied."

All this is true of the organisation and actions in peace-time of the Roman army, which was, according to Josephus, an embellishment in such circumstances. A succession of bad emperors and a long series of civil wars would eventually weaken or even destroy the Roman military system, but that was not the fault of the system. Some modern scholars, however, do not hold such a high view: 'Les légionnaires souffraient sans doute plus de l'isolement et de l'ennui que de l'ennemi?' At best this is a poor pun, at worst a downright lie. In this thesis an attempt has been made to vindicate the ancient authors and to show that what impressed outsiders such as Josephus, Aristides, and Vegetius so greatly about the Roman military system was in fact what was directly responsible for its success and skill; this was nothing divine or superhuman, but merely what one would expect from the Roman army, reliable and successful methods and routines in time of peace.<sup>6</sup>

## CHAPTER XIII: EPILOGUE

### NOTES

- 1:  
people - e.g. Forni, 28-50; R. MacMullen, Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire, passim, especially chapter IV, V, and VI.  
Aristides - 73.
- 2:  
Tacitus - A., 1.16-49, especially 17-18, 23, 26, 31, 34-35, 44.  
conscription - Forni, 29-31; Hermes, 91.483-489, especially 488;  
Notes du deuxième congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine 226-238.  
vacationes - Tacitus, H., 1.46, 58.  
Apollinarius - P.Mich. 465 and 466.  
Aristides - 85.  
Terentianus - P.Mich. 467, 468, 476.  
lucrative posts - Pflaum, Carrières, passim.  
Aio - BGU 1680.
- 3:  
Saturninus - Suetonius, Dom., 7.  
Centurions - Papers of the British School at Rome, XVIII.71;  
cf. also Suetonius, Calig., 38 and 44 which must have been based in part on this.  
Dionusius - CLA 208 I and II; cf. Chapter V: Administration and Paperwork, n.48.  
Longinus - CLA 208 III; cf. Chapter V: Administration and Paperwork, n.48.  
infantrymen - cf. Chapter V: Administration and Paperwork, n.50-52, 55.  
Ammonianus - cf. Chapter V: Administration and Paperwork, n.54.  
asking - e.g. P.Mich. 476, 481; BGU 814.  
buy - e.g. P.Mich. 465-470, 476, 481; BGU 814.
- 4:  
ways - for other references see R. MacMullen, Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire, 105ff.  
Silvanus - CPL 221.  
Diogenes - BGU 156.  
Numerius - P.Hamb. 99.  
Numerianus - RIB 1064.  
Vettius - P.Hamb. 2.
- 5:  
praemia militiae - G.R. Watson, 'Discharge and Resettlement in the Roman Army: the praemia militiae', in Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der alten Welt: Band II römisches Reich, 147-162.

5 (cont.):

Terentianus - P.Cornell Inv.No. I, 64; TAPA, 90, 139-146.  
negotiator - XIII 6677 = ILS 2472; for others cf. Forni, 45.

Priscus - P.Lond. 906.

Sentius - BGU 1021.

Gemellus - P.Fay. 102, 110ff.

Demetrius - P.Dura 26.

Optatus - II 4514 = ILS 6957.

immunity - ILS 9095; Forni, 48-50; BGU 180.

6:

Prince de Ligne - quoted by T.R. Phillips, Roots of Strategy, 35.

Aristides - 88.

Vegetius - 2.2.

Aristides - 86.

Josephus, B.J., 3.104.

modern scholars - e.g. G. Charles-Picard, Castellum Dimidi, 96.

C O R R I B E N D A   A N D   A D D E N D A

- p.2, 1.25: FOR Pretorian, READ Praetorian.
- p.3, 1.15 and 16: ditto.
- p.16, 1.24 [n.2]: ditto.
- p.18, 1.15 [n.11]: AFTER 124;, ADD Pflaum,.
- p.150, 1.17 [n.97]: AFTER Arch., ADD Acad..
- p.152, 1.14, 15, 17 [n.111]: FOR ARB, READ ABR.
- p.245, last line [n.3]: ADD of IEJ, 15, 110 (further information from Professor Yadin).
- p.312, 1.21: FOR Scaptora, READ Scaptopara.
- p.384, fig.10: under Corbridge add an x in the columns for oysters and mussels and change the totals in bottom line to 18 and 13 respectively (unpublished information from Prof. E. Birley).
- p.391, 1.2: FOR twelve, READ thirteen.
- p.432, 1.13 [n.41]: Dr. K.-H. Knörzner has provided me with references to the interim reports for Neuss (Bonner Jahrb., 162.260-265; 164.202-214). Full report in Archaeophysika, II, forthcoming.
- p.437, 1.7 [n.63]: ADD cf. M.R. Hull, Roman Colchester, 145, 189; G.C. Boon, Roman Silchester, passim.
- p.537, 1.8: AFTER 30,000, ADD cubic.

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