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## *Roman military bookkeeping*

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ROMAN MILITARY BOOKKEEPING

PART II.

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SUMMARY CATALOGUE OF  
ROMAN MILITARY DOCUMENTS.

Style of entries.

- i) Short title - e.g. BGU II 696.
- ii) Date - centuries will be indicated by Roman numerals.
- iii) Nature of text.
- iv) Inventory no(s).
- v) Provenance.
- vi) Select bibliography. (An asterisk will mark works not seen by the present writer.)
- vii) Further comments.

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

Special Abbreviations.

- A/R = V. Arangio-Ruiz, Negotia, Florence, 1943.  
(Vol.III of Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani<sup>2</sup>).
- Calderini = A. Calderini, Papiri latini, Milan, 1945.
- Ecr Lat = Mallon, Marichal and Perrat, L'Écriture latine de la Capitale romaine à la Minuscule, Paris, 1939.
- Girard = P. F. Girard, Textes de Droit romain<sup>5</sup>, Paris, 1923.
- M = R. Marichal, "Paléographie précaroline et Papyrologie II. L'Écriture latine du Ier au VIIe Siècle: les Sources", Scriptorium IV (1950), pp. 116-142.
- Mitteis = Vol. II, Part 2 of L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken,

Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde,  
Leipzig and Berlin, 1912.

Riccobono = S. Riccobono, Leges, Florence, 1941. (vol. I  
of Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani<sup>2</sup>).

Sel Pap = A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, Select Papyri, (Vols.  
I-II), Loeb Library, 1932.

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

PAPYRI.

1. Aegyptus III (1922) p. 97, n. 527. II/III. Latin  
letter of recommendation. (P. Berlin 11649 :  
prov. unknown). Cf. W. Schubart, Ämtliche  
Berichte aus d. kön. Kunstsammlungen, 38 (1917),  
p. 336.\*  
Ecr Lat 22: Calderini 64 : M 56.
2. " IX (1928) pp. 63ff. circa A.D. 116? Pridianum.  
See pp. 174ff. (P. Lond. 2851). M 15.
3. " X (1929) pp. 243ff. = PSI IX 1026, q.v.
4. " XII (1932) pp. 129ff. A.D. 153. Evidence of ill-  
treatment of veterans. Greek. (P. Berlin 13877:  
prov. Philadelphia). Cf. H. Kortenbeutel, ibid.  
Sel Pap II 254: A/R 188.
5. " XXIII,2 (1943) pp. 153ff. II. Soldier's receipt in  
Greek. (P. Giessen bibl. inv. 130). Cf. H.G. Gundel,  
Ibid.

6. Annales XXIX, (1929) p. 58. A.D. 188. Epicrisis of veteran. Greek. Prov.: Karanis. Cf. A.E.R. Boak, ibid.\*; Nesselhauf, CIL XVI, App. n.8. Sel Pap II 315: A/R 7b.
7. Archaeologia 58 (1895) pp. 433ff. A.D. 166. Purchase of boy slave by a naval optio: Latin text and signatures with registration in Greek. (P. Lond. II 229 (descr.): prov. Fayoun). Cf. E.M.Thompson, ibid. with plate; and Introduction, p.322 with facsimile 107. Girard 852: Ecr Lat 25: A/R 132: Calderini 23: M 45.
8. Archives d'Hist. du Droit Orient, I, 1937, pp. 261ff. = P. Dura inv. 101, q.v.
9. BGU I 4. II/III. Veteran's letter to tribune. Greek. (P. Berlin 6827: prov. Fayoum). Cf. Wilcken, ibid. 69. A.D. 120. Chirograph. Greek. (P. Berlin 6977: prov. Fayoum). Cf. P. Viereck, ibid. Mitteis 142.
10. 113. A.D. 130. Epicrisis of veterans. Greek. (P. Berlin 6892). Cf. Wilcken, ibid.; Mommsen, CIL III p. 2007; Grenfell and Hunt, Oxy. Pap. III, p.175; Lesquier, L'armée romaine d'Égypte, p. 293; Nesselhauf, CIL XVI, App. 4. In red ink. Wilcken 458: A/R 7a.
11. 114. = P. Cattai, q.v.

12. 140. A.D. 119. Greek version of a letter of Hadrian concerning the rights of soldiers' children. (P. Berlin 6890). Cf. Wilcken, ibid.; Bruns, Fontes,<sup>7</sup> 196; Hohlwein, L'Égypte romaine, p.471. Mitteis 373; Girard p. 194: Sel Pap II 213; Riccobono 78. Plates in BGU I and Schubart, Papyri Graecae Berolinenses, 1911, 22a.
13. 142. A.D. 159. Greek. Transfer of auxiliary to fleet. (P. Berlin 6820). Cf. Wilcken, ibid.; Mommsen, CIL III p. 2007, Arm. 1; Meyer, Heerwesen, p.123. Wilcken (Grundz., p.538), believes this and 143 to be copies, not originals. Wilcken 455.
14. 143. A.D. 159. Greek. Epicrisis of sailor. (P. Berlin 6903). Cf. Wilcken, ibid. Cf. BGU I 142. Wilcken 454.
15. 161. = BGU II 448, q.v.
16. 180. A.D. 172. Greek. Petition by veteran for exemption from liturgies. Prov. Karanis. Cf. Krebs, ibid.; Hohlwein, L'Égypte romaine, p.540. Wilcken 396: Sel Pap II 285.
17. 265. A.D. 148. Greek. Epicrisis of veterans. (P. Berlin 7365: prov. Fayoum). Cf. Krebs, ibid.; Mommsen, CIL III p.2214; Lesquier, L'armée romaine d'Égypte, p. 294; Nesselhauf, CIL XVI, App.5.

- Wilcken 459: A/R p.17 n.3.
18. 272. A.D. 138. Greek. Chirograph between veterans. (P. Berlin 7092). Cf. Krebs, ibid., and Add. to BGU I. The chirograph is cancelled by a line across.  
Mitteis 143.
19. 300. A.D. 148. Greek. Chirograph between veterans. Cf. Wilcken, ibid.  
Mitteis 345: A/R 159.
20. 326. A.D. 194. Greek version of a veteran's Latin will. Cf. Mommsen, Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie, 1894, pp. 47ff.\* (rep. in Ges.Schr.I, 429ff.); Bruns, Fontes<sup>7</sup>, 119; Hohlwein, L'Égypte romaine, pp. 590ff.; Krebs, BGU I 326.  
Mitteis 316: Girard pp. 805ff.: Sel Pap I 85: A/R 50.
21. 344. II/III. List of names, some military. Greek. (P. Berlin 6846: prov. Fayoum). Cf. Krebs, ibid.
22. II 378. A.D. 147. Petition. Greek. (P. Berlin 7089: prov. Fayoum). Cf. Krebs, ibid.; A.Stein, Die Präfekten von Ägypten, Berne, 1950, p.77.  
Mitteis 60.
23. 423. II. Sailor's letter home. Greek. (P. Berlin 7950: prov. Fayoum). See p. 216.
24. 435. II/III. Greek. Letter. (P. Berlin 6962). Cf. Viereck, ibid.

25. 448. (= I 161). A.D. 150-153). Petition to the prefect by a veteran to have his parent's will opened. Greek. Cf. Krebs, BGU I 161 and II 448; Wilcken and Viereck, Nachträge zu BGU II; Hohlwein, L'Égypte romaine, pp. 476ff. Mitteis 310.
26. 455. I. Greek. Chirograph. (P. Berlin 7823). Cf. Krebs, ibid.
27. 600. ante A.D. 140? Greek. Deed with seven military witnesses. (P. Berlin 7363: prov. Fayoum). Cf. Krebs, ibid.; Deissmann, Nachtr.zu BGU II.
28. 610. A.D. 140. Latin. List of ex-soldiers. (P. Berlin 7428). Cf. Krebs, ibid. M 33.
29. 614. A.D. 217. Greek. Petition. (P. Berlin 7203: prov. Fayoum). Cf. Viereck, ibid. Much corrected in Berichtigungsliste. Wilcken 37.
30. 623. Early III? Greek. Letter. (P. Berlin 7303 and 8241; prov. Fayoum). Cf. Viereck, ibid.
628. verso. I. Edict of Octavian. Latin. (P. Berlin 7815 verso: prov. Fayoum). Cf. Gradenwitz, ibid., and in Bruns, Fontes<sup>7</sup>, p. 239; Roussel, Syria, 1934, p. 48<sup>\*</sup>; Nesselhauf, CIL XVI, App. 10; Ehrenb<sup>6</sup>urg and Jones, Documents illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, Oxford, 1949, no. 302. Wilcken 462: Girard p. 172f: Riccobono 56: Calderini 21. M 17.

31. 696. A.D. 156. Pridianum. See pp. 160ff. M 41.
- 32.III 741. A.D. 143-144. Greek. Pignus. Cf. Wilcken, ibid.  
Mitteis 244: A/R 119.
33. 780. A.D. 154-156. Greek. Epicrisis. (P. Berlin 8973:  
prov. Fayoum). Cf. Krebs, ibid.; P.M. Meyer,  
Griech. Pap. Hamburg, I, p.133, n.3; Nesselhauf,  
CIL XVI, App. 6. In red ink.
34. 807. A.D. 185. Greek. Receipt for military supplies.  
(P. Berlin 9002). Cf. Krebs, ibid.; Hohlwein,  
L'Égypte romaine, pp. 557ff.; Schubart, Papyri  
Graecae Berolinenses, 266.
35. 847. A.D. 182-183. Greek. Epicrisis. Cf. Krebs, ibid.;  
Nesselhauf, CIL XVI, App. 7.  
Wilcken 460.
36. IV 1032. A.D. 173. Greek. Epicrisis. Cf. Mitteis, ibid.  
In red ink.
37. 1033. aet. Traian. Greek. Epicrisis. Cf. Partsch-  
Mitteis, ibid. Corrected in red ink.
38. 1083.I. Matricula. (P. Berlin 13319: prov. Fayoum).  
See pp. 52f. M 21.
39. 1180.5 B.C. Contract in Greek. Cf. Ehrenbürg and  
Jones, Documents illustrating the Reigns of  
Augustus and Tiberius, 262.
40. V 1210. A.D. 150-161. Greek. Gnomon of the Idios Logos.  
(P. Berlin 11650: prov. Theadelphia). See note 538.

41. JRS XXVIII (1938), pp. 41ff. A.D. 63. Report of an audience. Greek. (P. Yale inv. 1528). Cf. C.B. Welles, ibid. An eye-witness account of the events described in P. Fouad I 21. A/R 171 b.
42. P. Aberdeen 21. III/IV. Greek. Account of corn assigned to soldiers. Cf. E.G. Turner, ibid.
43. 61. A.D. 48-49. Latin. Receipt for first payment. Mentioned by Winstedt, OJ I (1907), p. 267; pub. by E.G. Turner, P. Aberd. 61; new ed. by H.A. Sanders, Class. Philol. 36 (1941), pp. 63r.\* For text see note 537. Calderini 62: A/R 146. M 10.
44. 133. A.D. 192-196. Part of same document as P. Berlin 6866. See p. 210. M 52.
45. 149. Late II/early III. Greek. Nature uncertain: possibly the earliest mention on papyrus of the praefectus montis Berenicidis. Cf. E.G. Turner, ibid.
46. 150. II/III. Fragment of matricula? Descr. by E.G. Turner (ibid.) as a "scrap from a Latin document, written on the verso, across the fibres. Recto blank. Interpunctuations between words. Parts of six lines, mentioning (line 1) L. Valerius . L fil. Cru(stumina) . . . . and (line 3) coh. VIII." M 73.

47. 170. A.D. 187. Soldier's receipt for barley.  
Greek. Cf. E.G. Turner ibid.
48. P. Amherst II 107. A.D. 185. Greek. Receipt for barley  
for ala Heracliana. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt,  
ibid. Wilcken 417: Sel Pap II 387.
49. 108. A.D. 185-6. Greek. Receipt of similar form  
to preceding. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, ibid.
50. 109. A.D. 185-6. Greek. Receipt issued by village  
elders to acknowledge receipt from appointed  
collectors of payment from government bank  
for barley supplied to ala. On verso a list  
of villages in a different hand. Cf. Grenfell  
and Hunt, ibid. Wilcken 418.
51. " 173. (descr.). A.D. 185. Greek. Incomplete receipt  
similar to 107. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, ibid.
52. " 174. (descr.). A.D. 185. Greek. Similar to preceding.
53. " 175. (descr.). A.D. 185-6. Greek. Similar to  
preceding.
54. " 176. (descr.). ca. A.D. 185. Greek. Similar to  
preceding.
55. " 177. (descr.). A.D. 185-6. Greek. Perhaps duplicate  
of 175.
56. " 178. (descr.). ca. A.D. 185. Greek. Similar to  
preceding.
57. P. Antinoopolis I 41. Early III. Matricula? See pp. 99f.

58. P. Berlin 6866. A.D. 192-196. Auxiliary pay accounts.  
See pp. 198ff. M 52.
59. " 11649. = Aegyptus III (1922) p. 97, n.527. q.v.
60. " 13877. = Aegyptus XII (1932) pp. 129ff., q.v.
61. P. Cattaoui.II. Greek. Decisions in cases concerning soldiers' marriages. (= BGU I 114 and a further fragment of the same roll now at Alexandria). Cf. Wilcken, BGU 114; Grenfell and Hunt, Arch. f. Pap. III, 57ff.; Nesselhauf, CIL XVI, p. 155.  
Mitteis 372: A/R 19.
62. P. Dura inv. 2. A.D. 224-237. Latin. Feriale Duranum.  
Descr. by E.T. Silk and C.B. Welles,  
"Descriptive List of the Papyri from the Temple of Azzonathkhona", The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report of the Fifth Season of Work, New Haven, 1934, pp. 295ff. Full publication by R.O. Fink, A.S. Hoey, and W.S. Snyder, "The Feriale Duranum", Yale Classical Studies VII (1940), pp. 1-222, with two plates. In rustic capitals. M 296.
63. " 3. recto. aet. Sev. Alex. Latin. Acta diurna.  
see pp. 127ff.
64. " " verso. A.D. 251. Latin. Register of cavalry horses. Descr. by Silk and Welles, op. cit.,

- pp. 296f., and by Rostovtzeff, Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1933), p. 314, and Münchener Beiträge XIX (1934), pp. 370-372. Brief excerpts and descr. by J.F. Gilliam, TAPA LXXII (1941), pp. 157-158. Full publication by J.F. Gilliam "Some Latin Military Papyri from Dura: I, Texts relating to Cavalry Horses", Yale Classical Studies XI (1950), pp. 171ff. M 108.
65. " 4. A.D. 202-207. Latin. Letter from Marius Maximus. Cf. Rostovtzeff, C.R. Acad. Inscr. (1933), pp. 315-323 (with plate), and Münchener Beiträge XIX (1934), pp. 373-378; Silk and Welles, op. cit., pp. 297f. (with plate); Ann. épigr. (1933), 107. Ecr Lat 28. M 90.
66. " 5. A.D. 235. Tribune's decision. Greek. Descr. by Silk and Welles, op. cit., p. 298; cf. Rostovtzeff, Münchener Beiträge XIX (1934), pp. 372f.
67. " 6. A.D. 235. Tribune's decision. Latin. Published with preceding. Apparently a decision made on the same day by the same tribune but referring to a different case. M 100.
68. " 7. III. Fragment of letter in official hand. Latin. Reference to Twentieth Cohort. Descr. by Silk and Welles, op. cit., with plate (XXI, 1). M 87.

69. " 8. A.D. 208. Latin. Official correspondence re horses. Descr. by Silk and Welles, op. cit., p. 299, and Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p. 373. Full pub. by J.F. Gilliam, Yale Classical Studies XI, (1950), pp. 172-187. M 92.
70. " 9. recto. A.D. 239. Latin. Acta diurna. See pp.129ff.
71. " " verso. III. Latin. Matricula? With P. Dura 14 descr. by Silk and Welles, op. cit., p. 299; cf. R.O. Fink, TAPA LXXVIII (1947), pp. 159ff. M 104.
72. " 10. Latin. Letter. Descr. by Silk and Welles, op.cit., p. 299. M 93.
73. " 11. recto. A.D. 218. Matricula. Latin. See pp. 91ff. M 94-5.
74. " " verso. A.D. 232. Matricula. Latin. Descr. by Silk and Welles, op. cit., p. 301, and Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p. 372. M 99.
75. " 12. Early III. Latin. Matricula. See pp. 86ff. M 96.
76. " 13. III. Unspecified. Military document? Cf. Silk and Welles, op. cit., p. 303. M 89.
77. " 14. III. Latin Matricula? Cf. P. Dura 9 verso. Descr. by Silk and Welles, op. cit., p. 299; cf. R.O. Fink, TAPA LXXVIII (1947), pp. 159ff. M 104.
78. " 15. Early III. Latin. Liber epistularum. Descr. by

Silk and Welles, op. cit., p. 302f., who identify the Antonius Seleucus twice mentioned as possibly the Julius Antonius Seleucus who was legate of Moesia under Elagabalus. (cf. now PW X p. 163, n. 72/PIR<sup>2</sup> I, A 100; A. Stein, Legaten von Moesiān, p. 83).  
M 88.

79. " 16. Early III. Latin. matricula. Descr. by Silk and Welles, op. cit., p. 303.
80. " 17. recto. A.D. 233. Latin. Acta diurna. See pp. 132f.
81. " 22. recto. aet. Sev. Alex. Latin. Acta diurna.  
See pp. 133f.
82. " 41. recto. III. Latin. Matricula. See p. 96.
83. " 60a Early III. Latin. "Perhaps a titulus, once attached to a roll such as D.P. 8". (Gilliam).  
Cf. J.F. Gilliam, Yale Classical Studies XI (1950), p. 172 n.5. Text as follows:-  
EPISTULAE (vacat ?)  
EQUORUM E.[  
. [...]. [.]. [  
84. " 63. verso. Early III. Latin. Copy of letter re horses. Cf. J.F. Gilliam, op. cit., pp. 187-189.
85. " " recto. III. "An undated list of names in another hand." (Gilliam, loc. cit.). Unpublished.
86. 101.A.D. 227. Greek text with some Latin signatures and a Latin subscription. Purchase of vineyard.

Cf. C.B. Welles, Archives d'Histoire du Droit oriental, I, 1937, pp. 261ff.\*; and The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work, New Haven, 1939, pp. 433ff., (with plates XLVII; XLVIII,1).

A/R 138. M 98.

87. P. Fay. 38, III ? Greek text with Latin date. Order from a centurion. (P. Lond. III 820 descr.). Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, P. Fay. 38; they read line 10 as m kassiles, which was corrected by Preisigke, Berichtigungsliste I (1922), p. 129, to III K. Apriles. M 75.
88. " 105. ante 176/186. Latin. Pay accounts of an ala. See pp. 225ff. M 47.
89. P. Flor. II 278. A.D. 203. Greek. Liber epistularum missarum. Contains in margins acta in Latin of a familia of gladiators, and on the verso accounts in Greek (A.D. 248?). Cf. Comparetti, "L'Épistolaire d'un commandant de l'armée romaine en Égypte", Mélanges Nicole, I, 1905, pp. 57-83, with plate; Wilcken, Arch. f. Pap., III, pp. 552f.; A. Stein, "Zu Comparettis Militärurkunde", Arch. f. Pap. IV (1908), pp. 165-167; Comparetti, Papiri Fiorentini, II, 1910, no. 278 with plate;

- A. Stein, "Nochmals zu Comparettis Militärurkunde",  
Arch. f. Pap. VI (1920), pp. 214-216. M 76.
90. P. Fouad I 21. A.D. 63. Greek. Minutes of an audience  
before the prefect in a case concerning  
veterans' rights. Cf. J. Scherer, ibid., with  
plate. (Compare the similar document publ. in  
JRS XXVIII (1938), pp. 41ff.) A/R 171a.
91. " 45. A.D. 153. Latin. Loan in form of chirograph.  
Main text in Latin with simplified Greek  
version in second hand, and signatures in  
Greek and Latin with Greek subscription. Cf.  
J. Scherer, ibid., with plate XIV. Calderini 61:  
A/R 121 (new collation): M 40.
92. " 72. III. Greek. List of names, preceded by the  
sign  $\Upsilon$ . (Prov. unknown). Cf. W.G. Waddell,  
ibid., who puts forward three possible  
explanations of this contraction:— 1)  $\dot{\iota}\pi(\pi\epsilon\rho\chi(\kappa))$   
as in P. Giss. 2; P. Hamb. 28. 2)  $\dot{\iota}\pi( \quad )$ ,  
suggested by Hunt, representing  $\dot{\iota}\pi\alpha\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$   
 $\Pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\eta\varsigma$ , the  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\omicron\delta\omicron\nu$  at Oxyrhynchus.  
This would imply that the papyrus came from  
Oxyrhynchus, and gave a list of persons living  
in that quarter. 3) also suggested by Hunt,  
=  $\pi\iota( \quad )$ , perhaps for  $\pi\iota\tau\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ : cf.  
P. Flor. 18 and Kalen, Berliner Leihgabe I 22,  
pp. 207ff.\*

93. P.Gen.lat.1. A.D. 81-96. Military archives. Latin. Contains:  
 i) individual pay accounts. See pp. 186ff.  
 ii) employment of men on special duty. See p. 152f.  
 iii) excerpt from matricula? See p. 119.  
 iv) daily parade-state. See pp. 122f.  
 v) duty-roster. See opp. p. 155.  
 M 12.
94. " 4. aet. Domitian. Latin. Soldier's pay account.  
 See pp. 190ff. M 14.
95. P.Giessen bibl.inv. 130 = Aegyptus XXIII (1943), pp.153-  
 159, q.v.
96. P.Grenfell I 48. A.D. 101. Greek. Receipt by an equus of  
 the ala Gallica for frumentum emptum. Cf.  
 Grenfell and Hunt, ibid. Wilcken 416.
97. " II 51. A.D. 143. Greek. Receipt by a duplicarius of  
 the ala veterana Gallica for four goat-skins.  
 (Prov. Fayoum). Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, ibid.
98. " 108. A.D. 167. Latin. Receptum nautae. (= P.Lond.III  
 730 descr.). Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, ibid., with  
 plate; Wessely, Schriftt. 10 (with plate); E.M.  
 Thompson, Introduction to Greek and Latin  
Palaeography, Oxford, 1912, p. 323, facsimile  
 108. Mitteis 339: Ecr Lat 26 (plate XVIII):  
A/R 154: Calderini 45. M 46.
99. P.Hamb. I 4. A.D. 87. Greek. Oath to remain for trial.  
 Cf. P.M. Meyer, ibid. A/R 168.

100. " 31. A.D. 103. Greek. Epicrisis. (Prov. Fayoum).  
Cf. Meyer, ibid.; Lesquier, op. cit., pp.  
293ff.; Nesselhauf, CIL XVI, App.2. In red ink.
101. " 31a A.D. 126-133. Greek. Epicrisis. (Prov. Fayoum).  
Cf. Meyer, ibid.; Lesquier, loc. cit.;  
Nesselhauf, CIL XVI, App. 3. In red ink.
102. " 39. A.D. 179. Receipt-book of the ala veterana Gallica. (Prov. Fayoum, originally Alexandria).  
See pp. 242ff.
103. P.Lond.II 229 (descr.). = Archaeologia 58 (1895)  
pp. 433ff., q.v.
104. " 482 (descr.). A.D. 130. Receipt for hay supplied  
to the ala veterana Gallica by the conductores faenarii. See p. 246f. M 29.
105. " III 730 = P. Grenfell II 108, q.v.
106. " " 820 (descr.) = P. Fay. 38, q.v.
107. " " 1171 verso. A.D. 42 Greek. Edict forbidding im-  
proper requisitioning. Cf. PSI V 446. Wilcken 439.
108. " IV 1196. (descr.) = P. Fay. 105, q.v. See pp. 225ff.
109. P.Lond. 2723 recto. See P. Mich. VII 447 recto. See  
pp. 112f. M 43.
110. " 2851. aet. Traian. Pridianum. See pp. 174ff. M 15.
111. P.Mich.III 159. A.D. 41-68. Latin. Decision in a case of  
intestacy. (Inv. 1320: prov.Fayoum). Cf. H.A.  
Sanders, TAPA LV (1924), pp. 21-34, with plate,

- and in Michigan Papyri III (1936), no. 159. A/R 64: Calderini 27: M 7.
112. " " 161. II. Latin. Military receipt. (Inv. 4301; prov. unknown). Cf. H.A. Sanders, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome IX (1931), pp. 81-85, with plate 4\*; and Michigan Papyri III, No.161; V. Arangio-Ruiz, Studi Solazzi, p.261. M 59.
113. " " 162. A.D. 189-198. Latin. Military List. (Inv. 3240: prov. unknown). See pp. 82f. M 50.
114. " " 163. post A.D. 183. Matricula? (Inv. 1003: prov. unknown, probably Fayoum. Tebtunis?). See pp. 104ff. M 49.
115. " " 164. post A.D. 242. List of officers with details of careers. Latin. (Inv. 1804: prov. unknown). See pp. 76f.
116. " " 203. aet. Traian. Greek. Letter of a soldier stationed at Pselcis. (Inv. 281). Cf. J.G.Winter, Class. Philol. XXII (1927), pp. 249-254\*; rep. in Preisigke-Bilabel, SB, 7536; revised text by Winter in Michigan Papyri III, no.203.
117. " VII 435. Early II. Latin. Camp records of inheritances. (inv. 510: prov. unknown). Perhaps same document as P. Mich. VII 440. See pp. 232ff.
118. " " 438. A.D. 140. Latin chirograph. (Inv. 6897: prov. Karanis). Cf. H.A. Sanders, ibid.; V. Arangio-

- Ruiz. Studi Solazzi, p. 255; J.F. Gilliam, A.J. Ph. LXXI (1950), p. 433f.
119. " " 440. A.D. 162. Latin. Perhaps same document as P.Mich. VII 435. (Inv. 511: prov. unknown). See pp. 232ff.
120. " " 442. II Latin deed concerning a dowry with witnesses' signatures in Greek. (Inv. 4703: prov. Karanis). Cf. H.A.Sanders, "A soldier's marriage certificate in diploma form", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society LXXXI (1939), pp. 581-590, with facsimiles\*; R.O. Fink, "The Sponsalia of a Classiarius", TAPA LXXII (1942), pp. 109ff.; V. Arangio-Ruiz, Parerga, Naples, 1945, pp. 24-39, with photograph; H.A. Sanders, Michigan Papyri VII, no.442, with plates IX a, b; reviews by H.I. Bell, JRS XXXIX (1949), p.209, and by J.F. Gilliam, A.J. Ph. LXXI (1950), p. 435. A/R 20: M 60.
121. " " 443. II. Latin. Soldier's petition? (Inv. 3297: prov. unknown). Cf. H.A. Sanders, ibid., with plate; E.G. Turner, Classical Review LXII (1950), p. 435. M 50.
122. " " 445. III. Latin. Soldier's chirograph. Cf. H.A. Sanders, ibid., with plate; Arangio-Ruiz,

- Studi Solazzi, p. 261; J.F. Gilliam,  
loc. cit. M 50.
123. " " 447. A.D. 163-172. Latin. Military list. See pp. 111ff. M 43.
124. " " 448. Late II. Latin. Military List? (Inv. 5656). Cf. H.A.Sanders, ibid., with plate XIIa. M 71.
125. " " 450. III? Latin. Acta diurna. (Inv. 2761). Perhaps part of same document as P.Mich VII 455. See pp. 141ff. M 78.
126. " " 454. III. Latin. List of recruits. (Inv. 509). See pp. 106f. M 125.
127. " " 455. III. Latin. Acta diurna. Cf. P. Mich. VII 450. See pp. 142ff. M 126.
128. " VIII465. A.D. 107. Greek. Soldier's letter home. (Inv. 5888: prov. Karanis). Cf. H.C.Youtie and J.G. Winter, ibid.
129. " " 466. A.D. 107. Greek Soldier's letter home. (Inv. 5903: prov. Karanis). By same soldier as preceding. Cf. Youtie and Winter, ibid.
130. " " 467. Early II. (Tiberianus archive). Latin. Sailor's letter home. (Inv. 5391: prov. Karanis). Cf. Youtie and Winter, ibid. See note 468.
131. " " 468. Early II. (Tiberianus archive). Latin. Sailor's letter home. (Inv. 5390: prov. Karanis) Cf. Youtie and Winter, ibid., with plate I. See p. 38f.

132. " " 469. Early II. (Tiberianus archive). Latin.  
Letter. (Inv. 5389). Cf. Youtie and Winter,  
ibid., with plate II.
133. " " 470. Early II. (Tiberianus archive). Latin.  
Letter. (Inv. 5394). Cf. Youtie and Winter,  
ibid.
134. " " 471. Early II (Tiberianus archive). Latin. Letter.  
(Inv. 5393). Cf. Youtie and Winter, ibid.
135. " " 472. Early II. (Tiberianus archive). Latin. Letter.  
(Inv. 5392). Cf. Youtie and Winter, ibid.,  
with plate III.
136. " " 473. Early II. (Tiberianus archive). Greek. Letter.  
(Inv. 5401). Cf. Youtie and Winter, ibid.,  
with plate IV.
137. " " 474. Early II. (Tiberianus archive). Greek. Letter.  
(Inv. 5403). Cf. Youtie and Winter, ibid.
138. " " 475. Early II. (Tiberianus archive). Greek. Letter  
to Tiberianus, veteran. (Inv. 5402). Cf.  
Youtie and Winter, ibid.
139. " " 476. Early II. (Tiberianus archive). Greek.  
Soldier's letter. (Inv. 5397). Cf. Youtie  
and Winter, ibid., with plate VI.
140. " " 477. Early II. (Tiberianus archive). Greek.  
Soldier's letter. (Inv. 5399). Cf. Youtie  
and Winter, ibid.

141. " " 478. Early II. (Tiberianus archive). Greek. Soldier's letter. (Inv. 5400). Cf. Youtie and Winter, ibid.
142. " " 479. Early II (Tiberianus archive). Greek. Letter. (Inv. 5396). Cf. Youtie and Winter, ibid.
143. " " 480. Early II. (Tiberianus archive). Greek. Letter. (Inv. 5398). Cf. Youtie and Winter, ibid.
144. " " 481. Early II. (Tiberianus archive). Letter. (Inv. 5405). Cf. Youtie and Winter, ibid.
145. " " 483. aet. Hadrian. Greek. Letter of a centurion. (Inv. 2798). Cf. Class. Phil. XXII (1927), pp. 247-249\*; Bilabel, SB IV 7355; Youtie and Winter, Michigan Papyri VIII, No. 483.
146. " " 484. II. Greek Letter to a soldier. Written by writer of preceding. (Inv. 6010). Cf. Youtie and Winter, ibid.
147. " " 485. II. Greek. Letter to a signifer. (Inv. 5840 + 5845). Cf. Youtie and Winter, ibid.
148. " " 490. II. Greek. Letter of a recruit to the navy. Similar to BGU II 423. (Inv. 4527). Cf. Class. Phil. XXII (1927), pp. 239-245, with plate;\* Bilabel, Sammelbuch IV 7352; Youtie and Winter, Michigan Papyri VIII, no. 490.
149. " " 491. II. Greek. Letter of a recruit to the navy. A later letter than the preceding. (Inv. 4528).

- Cf. Class. Phil. XXII (1927), pp. 239-245, with plate; Bilabel, Sammelbuch IV 7353; Youtie and Winter, Michigan Papyri VIII, no. 491. Sel Pap I 111.
150. " " 509.II/III. Greek. Brief letter to soldier. (Inv. 5838). Cf. Youtie and Winter, ibid.
151. " " 514.III. Greek. Isidora to Sarapias. The writer's son, a soldier, has died, and she is having difficulty in recovering his deposita. Cf. Youtie and Winter, ibid., with plate VIII.
152. P.Oslo III 122. A.D. 235-242. Latin. Matricula. See pp. 70ff. M 101.
153. P.Oxy. I 32. II. Latin. Letter of recommendation to a tribune. See pp. 39ff. M 38.
154. " " 39.A.D. 52. Greek. Certificate of exemption from military service on medical grounds? See pp.42f.
155. " " 43.A.D. 295. Greek. Accounts of the watchmen of Oxyrhynchus. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, ibid.; Wilhelm Ensslin, "Zu Pap. Oxyrhynchus I 43 recto", Aegyptus XXXII (1952), pp. 163-178.
156. " " 65.III? Greek. Order for arrest. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, ibid. Sel Pap II 232.
157. " IV 735. A.D. 205. Latin nominal roll with Greek receipt. See pp. 247f. M 91.
158. " VII 1022.A.D. 103. Certified copy of a letter of

- the prefect of Egypt concerning recruits.  
See pp. 44f. M 25.
159. " XII 1481. Early II. Greek. Soldier's letter home.  
Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, ibid.
160. " " 1508. II. Greek. Extracts concerning a veteran.  
Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, ibid.
161. " " 1511. ante A.D. 247. Fragment of a liber  
litterarum missarum? See pp. 249f. M 109.
162. " XIV 1637. A.D. 257-9. Greek. Division of property  
by a princeps praetorii. Cf. Grenfell and  
Hunt, ibid. See p. 31.
163. " " 1657. Late III. Greek. List of utensils.  
Military? Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, ibid.
164. " " 1666. III. Greek. Letter concerning a recruit in  
a legion, who wanted to transfer to an ala.  
Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, ibid. Sel Pap I 149.
165. P. Princeton II 57. II/III. Greek. Account of expenditure  
on arms. Cf. E.H. Kase, Jr., ibid.
166. " (Garrett Deposit) Inv. 7532 = TAPA LXXVI (1945),  
pp. 271ff., q.v. See pp. 59ff.
167. P. Ryl. I 79. A.D. 144-150. Latin. Naval nominal roll.  
See pp. 93ff. M 35.
168. " II 85. A.D. 185. Greek. Receipt for military  
supplies. Cf. Johnson, Martin and Hunt, ibid.
169. " " 223. II. Latin. Military account? Cf. Johnson,

- Martin and Hunt, *ibid.*, with plate 23.  
Calderini 55: M 65.
170. " " 273a.(deser.). II. Latin. Receipt for pay? Cf. Johnson, Martin and Hunt, *ibid.*; R.O. Fink, Yale Classical Studies VII (1940), p.70. M 66.
171. " " 274.(descr.). A.D. 185. Greek. Receipt similar to P. Ryl. II 85. Cf. Johnson, Martin and Hunt, *ibid.*
172. " " 275.(descr.). Greek. Fragment of similar receipt. Cf. Johnson, Martin and Hunt, *ibid.*
173. PSI V 446.A.D. 133-137. Greek. Edict of the prefect forbidding improper requisitioning by soldiers. Cf. Vitelli, *ibid.* Sel Pap II 22f.
174. " " 465. A.D. 265. Greek. Acknowledgement to an optio of leg. II Traiana Galliena Fortis for supplies. Cf. Vitelli, *ibid.*
175. " VI 729.A.D. 77. Latin. Purchase of a horse by an eques of the ala Apriana from a centurion of leg. XXII Deiotariana. Cf. Schiaparelli, *ibid.* with plate; Felix Senn, in 6th ed. of Girard, Textes de Droit romain, Paris, 1937, p. 920\*. Ecr Lat 15 (pl. XI): A/R 136: Calderini 60. M 11.
176. " IX 1026.A.D. 150. Latin. Veterans' petition. Cf. Medea Norsa and G. Vitelli, *ibid.*, with pl.I;

- A. Degrassi, Aegyptus X (1929), pp. 242ff.;  
 U. Wilcken, Atti del IV Congr. intern. de Papirologia, 1935, p. 109; Nesselhauf, CIL XVI, App. 13; W. Seston, Revue de Philologie XII, 1938, pp. 370f. M 37.
177. " " 1063.A.D. 117. Greek. Receipts for deposita tironum. See pp. 47ff.
178. "XIII 1307.I. Latin. Acta diurna? See pp. 147f.
179. " " 1308.II? Latin. Naval nominal roll? See pp.101ff.
180. Raccolta Lumbroso p. 265ff. (= P.Lond. inv. 2851 = Aegyptus IX, pp. 63ff.). See pp. 174ff. M 15.
181. " " p. 319ff. A.D. 220. Greek and Latin. Receipts for supplies. Cf. Medea Norsa, "Un papiro greco-latino di Museo del Cairo", Raccolta di scritti on onore di G.Lumbroso, Milan, 1925, pp. 319-324; SB III 7181. A/R 142: Calderini 56: M 97.
182. TAPA LXXVI (1945), pp. 271ff. III. Matricula. (= P. Princeton (Garrett Deposit) Inv. 7532). See pp. 59ff.
183. Wessely, Schriftt. 8. A.D. 98-120? Latin. Casualty-list (?) of soldiers of leg. III Cyrenaica and leg. XXII Deiotariana. See pp. 54ff. M 8.
184. " " 9.A.D. 130-151. Latin. Matricula? See pp. 97ff. M 30.

185. " 11.II/III. Latin. Fragment of account.  
 Military? Cf. Wessely, Schrifttafeln zur  
 älteren lateinischen Palaeographie, Leipzig,  
 1898, no.11, with plate; and "Die ältesten  
 lateinischen und griechischen Papyri Wiens",  
Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde  
XIV, 1914, plate VIII. M 80.
186. " 23.Late III. Pridianum? See pp. 109ff M 133 bis.  
PARCHMENT.
187. Dura Perg.6.Early III. Latin. Acta diurna? See p. 138.  
WAX TABLETS.
188. Annales XXXII (1932) p. 177-179. II Latin. Fragment of  
scriptura exterior. Cf. Gueraud, Annales du  
 service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, XXXII,  
 1932, pp. 177-179, with plate.\* M 261.
189. BGU VII 1690.A.D. 131. Latin. Birth certificate of  
 soldier's daughter. Cf. Viereck and Zucker,  
BGU VII (1926), n. 1690; Schulz, JRS XXXII  
 (1942), p. 79, n. 14; Montevicchi, Aegyptus  
XXVIII (1948), pp. 129ff., no. 6. A/R 5:  
 M 251.
190. " 1691.A.D. 109. Latin. Birth certificate. Cf.  
 Viereck and Zucker, ibid.; Schulz, l.c.  
 no.3; Montevicchi, l.c., no. 3. M 246.
191. " 1693.A.D. 145. Latin. Birth certificate. Cf.

- Viereck and Zucker, ibid.; Schulz, l.c.,  
No. 7; Montevecchi, l.c., no. 9 M 256.
192. " 1694.A.D. 163. Latin. Birth certificate. Cf.  
Viereck and Zucker, ibid.; Schulz, l.c.,  
no. 10; Montevecchi, l.c., no. 14. M 264.
193. " 1695.A.D. 157. Latin. Sailor's will. Cf. Viereck  
and Zucker, ibid. Calderini 59: M 263.
194. " 1696.II. Latin. Will. Cf. Viereck and Zucker, ibid.
195. CIL III p. 959, xxv. A.D. 160. Latin. Purchase of woman  
by legionary. Triptych. Cf. Mommsen, ibid.,  
ib. p. 2215, and Eph. Epigr. II, p. 467;  
Bruns, Fontes<sup>7</sup>, 132. Girard, p. 850f.:  
A/R 89: M 252.
196. " XVI, App. 1. A.D. 122. Latin. Certificate of discharge.  
Cf. Seymour de Ricci, Nouv. Revue hist. de  
Droit, 30, 1906, p. 478\*; Bruns, Fontes<sup>7</sup>, 100.  
Nesselhauf, CIL XVI. App. 1. Wilcken 457:  
ILS 9060: Calderini 58: M 247.
197. " " " 12. A.D. 94. Latin. Edict of Domitian re  
veterans' rights. Cf. Lefebvre, Bull. de la  
Soc. d' Arch. d' Alexandrie III (1910), p. 39\*  
with plate; Schehl, Aegyptus XIII (1933),  
pp. 137ff.; Nesselhauf, CIL XVI, App. 12.  
Wilcken 463: ILS 9059: M 243.
198. Études de Papyrologie VI (1940), pp. 1 ff. A.D. 142,

- Latin. Will of an equus. Polyptych of five tablets. (Cairo 72033). Cf. Gueraud and Jouguet, ibid., with plate. A"R 47: M 254.
199. JRS XXVII (1937), pp. 30-36. A.D. 138. Latin. Birth certificate. Cf. H.I. Bell, ibid., with plate; Schulz, l.c., no. 13; Montevicchi, l.c. no. 4. M 249.
200. " XXXIII (1943), pp. 55ff., no. 8. A.D. 147. Latin. Birth certificate. Cf. Seymour de Ricci, Proc. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol. XXVI (1904), p. 196<sup>a</sup>; Schulz, l.c., no.8; Montevicchi, l.c., no.12. M 259.
201. Mnemosyne XLV.p. 343ff.I? Purchase of a cow? Cf. Vollgraff, Mnemosyne XLV (1917), pp. 341-352, with plate. Girard, p. 848f.: A/R 137. M 239. Prov. near Leuwarden, Holland.
202. P.Mich.VII 167 (= III 167). A.D. 103. Latin. Birth Certificate. (Inv. 2737). Cf. H.A. Sanders, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome IX (1931), pp. 62ff., with plate; Mich.Pap. III, no. 167; Mich. Pap. VII, No.167; Schulz, l.c., no.2; Montevicchi, l.c., no. 2. M 245.
203. " " 168 (= III 168). A.D. 145. Latin. Birth certificate. (Inv. 2752). Cf. H.A.Sanders, Mem. of the American Acad. in Rome IX (1931), pp. 62ff. with plate; Mich. Pap. III 168; Mich.

- Pap. VII 168. with plate; Schulz, l.c., no. 5; Montevecchi, l.c., no. 10. M 257.
204. " "432.A.D. 95. Latin. Certificate of discharge. Cf. H.A. Sanders, ibid., with plate; J.F. Gilliam, A.J.Ph. LXXI, (1950), p. 432f. M 244.
205. " "436.A.D. 138. Latin. Birth certificate. (Inv. 3994; prov. Pselcis). Cf. H.A. Sanders, Aegyptus, XVII (1937), pp. 233-240; Mich. Pap. VII, 436 with plate; Schulz, l.c., no. 15; Montevecchi, l.c., no.7. M 253.
206. " "444.Late II. Latin. Marriage contract? (Inv.2751). Cf. H.A. Sanders, ibid., with plate; J.F. Gilliam, op. cit., p. 435. M 269.
207. " "446.Late II. Soldier's will? (Museum inv. 3219). Cf. H.A. Sanders, ibid., with plate. M 270.
208. " "451.II/III. Contract. (Inv. 6237). Cf. H.A. Sanders, ibid., with plate; J.F. Gilliam, op. cit., p. 436. M 272.
209. SB III 6304. II. Latin in Greek characters, with a section in Latin characters. Purchase of a slave-girl. Cf. Otto Eger, Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung, XLII (1921), pp. 453ff.\*; Bilabel, SB III 6304. A/R 134: Calderini 24.

BRONZE TABLETS.

210. For the majority of diplomata militaria see CIL XVI,  
Dipl. 1-157.
211. CIL XVI, App. 9. B.C. 89. Latin. Republican 'diploma'.  
Cf. E. Lommatzsch, CIL I<sup>2</sup> 709; M. Bang,  
CIL VI 37045; ILS 8888.
212. P.Mich.VII 441. A.D. 157-161. Latin. Military diploma.  
(Museum Inv. 21412: prov. Karanis). Cf.  
H.A. Sanders, ibid., with plate XII d,e;  
H.I. Bell, JRS XXXIX (1950), p.209.  
J.F. Gilliam, A.J.Ph. LXXI (1950), p.435.

OSTRACA.

213. BIFAO XLI (1942) pp. 141-196. I/II. Latin. Soldiers'  
Letters. (Prov. Wadi Fawakhir). Cf. Gueraud,  
Bulletin de l' Institut francais d'Archéologie  
Orientale, Cairo, 41, 1942, pp. 141ff.,  
with plate<sup>3</sup>. M 281.
214. CR XXXIII (1919), pp. 49-53. II. Greek. Receipts for  
rations. See pp. 241f.
215. O.Edfou 196-204 and 209. Late II. Latin. Military  
ostraca. Cf. J. Manteuffel, Fouilles franco-  
polonaises, I, Tel Edfou, Cairo, 1937,  
pp. 174ff., with plate. M 280.
216. O.Fay. 19, 21, 50. III/IV. Greek. Military receipts. Cf.  
Grenfell and Hunt, Fayum Towns, pp. 325ff.

217. O.Wilb.-Brk. 73. A.D. 145. Greek. Receipt for chaff for  
ala. Cf. Claire Preaux, Les Ostraca  
grecs de la Collection Charles-Edwin  
Wilbour au Musée de Brooklyn, 1935,  
 no. 73.
218. Theb.O.III 108, 109, 112. III. Greek. Receipts. Cf.  
 J.G. Milne, Theban Ostraca, Part III,  
Greek Texts, 1913.
219. W. O. 905, 906, 914, 927, 951, 1011, 1012, 1014, 1128-1146,  
 1223, 1258, 1265, 1372, 1436, 1447, 1458,  
 1464, 1475, 1476, 1487. Mainly II.  
 Greek. Also 1266 in Latin. Receipts.  
 Cf. U. Wilcken, Griechische Ostraka aus  
Aegypten und Nubien, II, Leipzig-  
 Berlin, 1899.

INTRODUCTION:

NOTES.

1. CIL XVI, "Diplomata militaria ex constitutionibus imperatorum de civitate et conubio militum veteranorumque expressa", post Theodorum Mommsen edidit Heribertus Nesselhauf 1936.
2. In Ephemeris Epigraphica VII, pp. 456sqq., under the title of "Laterculus cohortis I Lusitanorum". (= Ges. Schr. VIII, pp. 553-566). It has been frequently republished in whole or part, most recently by R.O. Fink, "Mommsen's Pridianum: BGU 696", American Journal of Philology LXIII (Baltimore, 1942), pp. 61-71, who gives a list of the more notable publications. See below, p. 157ff.
3. S.H.A., Alex., 21. For this and other references to ancient sources see my article on "Theta nigrum", in JRS XLII (1952), pp. 56ff.
4. Rufinus, adv. Hieron., 2, 36.
5. C.Th. VII 4,11; 4,13; 4,16; 4,24; C. Just. I 42; VI 21,16; XII 37,5; 37,9; 37,16,2: Dig. XXVIII (de testamento militis).
6. Isid., Etym., I 24.
7. Brevis or a Greek equivalent (variously  $\beta\rho\epsilon\beta\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\beta\rho\epsilon\upsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\beta\rho\epsilon\upsilon\iota\omicron\nu$  and  $\beta\rho\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ ) occurs frequently in fourth-century writers and papyri, and is persistent for the next two centuries, while sporadic instances are found much later. No certain instance is found, however, before Julian 396D (A.D. 362 or 363) in literature, and

IG 12 (9) 907,15 (Chalchis, A.D. 359) is probably the earliest extant example. Matricula has been restored in CIL VI 1585a, an inscription of A.D. 193, but I have shown in my article on "Theta nigrum" (v. note 3) that a more probable restoration is matri[ces]. The next certain instances are in the Codes and in Anon., de rebus bellicis, V 5, i.e. fourth century.

8. BGU II 696, v. note 2.

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

10. So called by Wilcken, Arch. f. Pap. III p.552. Cf. Cicero, actio II in Verrem III 71, 167: (litteras) quas ego Syracusis apud Carpinatium in litterarum adlatarum libris, Romae in litterarum missarum apud magistrum L. Tullium, familiarem tuum, inveni. Called by Comparetti an 'epistolario'. Now P. Flor. II 278.

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

12. But see below, p.138, n. 345.

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

14. Notably in his article "Mommsen's Pridiarum: BGU 696" mentioned above.
15. P. Berlin 6886, which had been translated and studied by Lesquier, "L'Armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien" (Cairo, 1918), pp. 250 ff., after a copy by W. Schubart. The text of part of this document was published by Mallon, Marichal and Perrat in "L'Écriture latine de la Capitale romaine à la Minuscule" (Paris, 1939), and a full edition with extensive commentary, together with P. Fay. 105, by Marichal as "L'Occupation romaine de la Basse Égypte" (Paris, 1945). See below pp. 198ff.
16. Parts of P. Hamb. 39 and P. Flor. II 278. A surprising omission was PSI IX 1063. See below p. 47ff.
17. "The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report of Fifth Season of Work, October 1931 - March 1932", ed. M. I. Rostovtzeff (New Haven, 1934), pp. 295-303, "Descriptive List of Papyri from the Temple of Azzanatkhone", by E. T. Silk and C. B. Welles, contains most of the military documents found at Dura.
18. "Some Latin Military Documents from Dura", Yale Classical Studies, Volume XI, 1950, pp. 171-252. See below pp. 124ff.
19. Notably in his "Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraca in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen",

Aberdeen University Studies, No. 116, 1939. See below pp. 44, n, 147; 120.

20. Especially PSI XIII 1307 and 1308. See below p. 147ff. and p. 101f.

21. His handbook "Papiri Latini, Appunti delle lezioni di papirologia", Milan, 1945, contains a very useful Corpusculum Papyrorum Latinarum but needs considerable revision.

22. "Paléographie précaroline et papyrologie II. L'écriture latine du Ier au VIIIs.: les sources", published in Scriptorium, Tome IV, 1950, Brussels, pp. 116-142. To Marichal's list should be added, besides documents subsequently published, P. Princeton (Garret Deposit) 7532, published by R. O. Fink in Transactions of the American Philological Association LXXVI (1949), pp. 271 sqq.

23. 'Pars prima, Leges', by S. Riccobono, appeared in 1941; 'Pars altera, Auctores', by J. Baviera, in 1940; 'Pars tertia, Negotia', by V. Arangio-Ruiz, in 1943.

24. e.g. CIL VI 32515 ff.

25. CIL XVI records 157.

26. D. Pg. 6, published by F. Cumont in Monuments-Piot XXVI, 1923, p. 40, and also in Fouilles de Doura-Europos, Paris, 1926, p. 314. According to Cumont a pridianum. It is perhaps part of a preliminary draft towards a pridianum. See below p. 138.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORDERLY-ROOM STAFFS.

NOTES.

27. P. Mich. VIII 465, lines 14-17. Repeated in 466, lines 18-24.

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

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

30. Wilhelm En<sup>s</sup>slin (Aegyptus XXXII, 1952, p.171) notes that in P. Oxy. I 43 recto, a document of the time of Diocletian, concerning deliveries of the annona militaris,

the mention of a *Σεουῆρος τεσσαράριος* or *Θεσσαρίος* (col. IV 4. 6) and a *Γούλιος Οὐαλέριος τεσσαράλιος λεγιώναις ἐκ Κλαυδίας* (col. II 214), disproves Domaszewski's statement. A compromise is adopted by Grosse (op. cit. p. 223) who places in the fourth century the disappearance of the <sup>er</sup>tessarius on the grounds of general illiteracy.

31. Edited by J. F. Gilliam in Yale Classical Studies XI (1950), pp. 171-252. See esp. p. 190.

32. Denis Van Berchem, "L'Annone militaire dans l'Empire romain au III<sup>e</sup> Siècle", Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1937, p. 118.

33. Robert Grosse, "Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung", Berlin, 1920.

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

35. See note 3.

36. Including documents on other media, we have the following texts from before the time of Domitian: in Latin, ILS 8888, of 89 B.C., a bronze tablet corresponding in content to the later military diplomata, of which nos. 1-27 in CIL XVI belong to this period; Mnemosyne XLV (1917), pp. 343ff., a wax tablet recording the sale of a cow, with military witnesses, which has been given various dates from A.D. 12 to A.D. 116; BGU II 628 verso, a document in which reference is made to Octavian's edict about veterans' rights, and which is probably not much later than A.D. 40;

P. Mich. III 159, a decision about inheritance in the case of an intestate soldier, dated by Sanders to A.D. 41-68; PSI XIII 1307, a text concerning assignments and activities of legionary soldiers, similar to P. Gen.lat. 1 and the Dura acta diurna, dated by Miss Norsa to the first century on palaeographical grounds, and perhaps of the time of Nero if Minicius Iustus, the princeps of col. ii, 6 may, as Eric Birley suggests, be identified with the 'Minicius Iustus, praefectus castrorum legionis septimae' of Tacitus, Hist., III, 7; PSI VI 729, of A.D. 77, recording the purchase of a horse by an eques from a centurion; BGU IV 1083, a fragment of a first century matricula, the early date of which is shown by the absence of cognomina; Wessely, Schrifttafeln, 8, which may have been a list of casualties of III Cyrenaica and XXII Deiotariana, appears on the basis of the nomenclature to have been drawn up in the reign of Trajan or Hadrian, and therefore admits of a closer dating than the A.D. 43-120 of the editors of L'Écriture latine (Paris, 1939, no. 17).

In Greek we have: BGU IV 1108, a contract of 5 B.C.; P. Lond. III 1171 verso (= Wilcken, Chrest., 439), of A.D. 42, an edict of the Prefect of Egypt forbidding improper requisitioning; P. Oxy. I 39, of A.D. 52, a certificate of exemption on medical grounds from some

service, probably military (in spite of the doubts of Grenfell and Hunt expressed in Oxyrhynchus Papyri XII, p. 152); P. Fouad 21, of A.D. 63, minutes of an audience before the Prefect concerning veterans' rights, and JRS XXVIII (1938), pp. 41ff., of the same date, which is a report of this audience by one of the spokesmen for the veterans; and BGU II 455, a copy of a chirograph, which is probably of Vespasian's time. To this list may be added the Latin ostraca, Ostr. Edfou 196-204 and 209, which are dated by the editor (J. Manteuffel, Fouilles franco-polonaises, I, Tel Edfou, Cairo, 1937, pp. 174f.) to the second half of the first century.

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

belong to this period is P. Aberd. 21, an account of corn assigned to soldiers, which is ascribed by Turner to the third or fourth century. Another is P. Fouad 72, a list of names preceded by the sign  $\Gamma$ , dated by Waddell to the third century. But this may not be a military document at all.

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

37. Cf. the summary by Nesselhauf in CIL XVI, pp. 147ff.

38. First published by Paulovics, La table des privilèges de Brigetio, Budapest, 1936. A convenient text may be found in Riccobono, Leges, pp. 455ff. Cf. also Konrad Kraft, "Die Tafel von Brigetio und das Aufhören der Militärdiplome", Germania, XXVIII (1944-1950), pp. 242ff., and works there cited.

39. H.M.D. Parker, The Roman Legions, Oxford, 1928, p.206: "The number and variety of titles is amazing, and von Domaszewski has drawn up complete lists of the different officials known to us from inscriptions. The increase,

however, must have been gradual, and cannot have reached such a high figure as he represents till the legions became more or less permanently stationed in the same provinces".

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

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

42. librarius et ce[r]a[r]iu[s] is the reading of Premerstein, Klio III (1903), p.34. Nicole and Morel had read librarius et [discens]. For cerarius, cf. ILS 2425: L. Tonneius Martialis cerar(ius) leg(ionis)<sup>1</sup> vivo sibi suisq(ue) fecit; and 2426: d. m. s. L. Tonneio Martiali vet(erano), vixit annis LXXXIII, Tonnei Martialis lib(rarii) leg(ionis)<sup>2</sup> III Aug(ustae) filius et Martialis

nepos fecerunt. Dessau comments: " 1) Cerarius legionis, 2) librarius legionis; idem munus videtur significari. Cerarii legionum praeterea non commemorantur. Henzenus confert, inter scribas coloniae Ostiensis alios dictos esse librarios, alios cerarios". The simplest explanation of the difference in title is that, as suggested above, the term librarius marked a higher rank than cerarius. In that case, Tonneius set up the first dedication before his promotion.

43. Immunis without qualification seems to mean a clerical officer in Ann. epigr. 1905, n. 241: Minervae et Genio imm(unium) sacr(um). Cf. Rangordnung, p.39. But a qualification is more usual: immunis librarius in ILS 2398, 2427 and 3380, immunis caerei leg(ionis) in CIL III 14358.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

Suet., Domitian, 7: geminari legionum castra prohibuit, nec plus quam mille nummos a quoquam ad signa deponi, quod L. Antonius apud duarum legionum hiberna res novas moliens fiduciam cepisse etiam a depositorum summa videbatur.

He continues: "Da es sich nunmehr um die Verrechnung viel geringerer Beträge handelte, wurde die bisher den Signiferi der Unterabteilungen zugewiesene Verwaltung der Gelder vereinfacht, indem man sie bei eigenen Librarii depositorum die wohl dem Legionsstabe angehörten, centralisierte".

This hypothesis, though ingenious, depends absolutely on Premerstein's statement that the librarii served at legionary headquarters. He is rather more explicit in another place (p.24) where he says, "Auch diese beiden Aktenstücke müssen, wie überhaupt alle Schreibsachen der Unterabteilungen, in der Kanzlei des Signifer ausgefertigt worden sein; deren librarii, deren einer auch hier in der Liste der immunes genannt wird, waren bloss den officia der Oberoffiziere und des als princeps bezeichneten Centurio zugewiesen." In a footnote Premerstein makes one slight concession: he allows the signiferi adiutores and discentes. (p.13, n.3): "Unterstützt wurden die signiferi von adiutores (Mommsen zu CIL VIII 18072) und discentes. Auf diese weisen vielleicht die verschiedenen Hände hin, die sich in Stück I und V erkennen lassen"). One suspects that these clerks often described themselves as librarii also.

The existence of accounts at higher than unit level is proved by P. Mich. VII 435, which contains accounts of men from at least three different units, legio III Cyrenaica, cohors I Flavia Cilicum equitata (?), and legio II Traiana. Sanders remarks (Michigan Papyri VII, p.29): "This document gives a hint that the Roman camp records

combined a ledger system for individual soldiers (P. Gen. lat. 1) with a daybook for special receipts and expenditures as in this document, and so perhaps with other daybooks for regular wage payments and for store and other expense charges". The entries concern balances transferred as inheritances after deduction of an inheritance tax, and, possibly, a service charge. Such transfers would most conveniently be effected at a camp record-office, since the transfers may sometimes have involved cross-accounts between different units. Gilliam in Am. Journ. Phil. LXXI (1950), p. 433, suggests that the individual entries are merely copies or extracts of returns made in their own units by the heirs or legatees.

46. op. cit., p. 25, n. 5.

47. op. cit., pp. 36-42.

48. Marcel Durry, Les cohortes prétoriennes, Paris, 1938, p. 104.

49. Robert Marichal, L'Occupation romaine de la Basse Égypte, Le Statut des Auxilia, Paris, 1945, p. 65, n.3.

50. This opinion is not accepted in respect of P. Gen. lat. 1 by A.C. Johnson, Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, vol. II, Roman Egypt, p. 670. But cf. A. von Premerstein, op. cit., p.2, and most recently, P.A. Brunt, "Pay and Superannuation in the Roman Army", Papers of the British School at Rome, XVIII (New Series V), 1950, p.53, n.23. See below pp. 185ff.

51. Both these documents have been recently re-examined by Marichal, op. cit. See also note 15, and below, pp. 198ff.
52. See above, p. 15 and n. 59.
53. P. Gen. lat. 1 verso, part 5. See below, pp. 155f.
54. P. Gen. lat. 1 recto, part 2. See below, pp. 152f.
55. P. Gen. lat. 1 recto, part 3. See below, pp. 119f.
56. Cf. Marichal, op. cit., p. 64, and below, pp. 222ff.
57. op. cit., p. 66: "Il est donc vraisemblable que les comptes du P. Berlin correspondent à une unité organique, en l'espèce une centurie, et non à un groupement provisoire de soldats détachés, volontairement ou non, de toutes les centuries de la cohorte comme celui que nous fait connaître, par exemple, la grande inscription de Coptos. Ils ont donc été établis soit, s'ils formaient un rouleau isolé, dans les bureaux du signifère de la centurie, par lui-même ou par ses adiutores, soit, s'ils faisaient partie d'un rouleau plus étendu contenant aussi les comptes des autres centuries, par les librarii du tabularium principis".
58. See below, p. 22.
59. p. 16.
60. Cf. the following passages from the Historia Augusta, which are doubtless prompted by conditions in the fourth century:- Vita Alex., 52, 3: miles non timendus est si vestitus, armatus, calciatus, et satur, et habens aliquid in zonula. Vita Aurel., 7, 6: stipendium in balteo, non in popina habeat.

61. Cf. CIL III 797, 798, 1379, 14429, VIII 4323.  
Cf. also P. Berlin 6866, line 49. (v. infra, p.200)
62. CIL III 7551: [i]n h(onorem) d. d. [ge]nio n(umeri)  
expl[or]at(orum) Germanic(orum) D[ivi]tiens(ium) Alexa[n]d[r]i-  
[ano]rum A[u]rel [iu]s Vict[o]rinus cornicul(arius) ex u[s]ur[is]  
..... nu]meri Kal. Oct. v.s.l.[1] m.
63. So Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 50. But Picard and Bonnet, Revue de Philologie XI (1937), pp. 112-124, equate the princeps in command of the tabularium with the princeps praetorii, whom they describe as a 'centurion hors rang' (p. 124), and distinguish him from the princeps (prior) of the first cohort. So they write (p.121): "Nous pouvons en conclure qu'un des primipiles de la légion était appelé princeps, et que sa charge était supérieure au commandement de la Ire centurie". This princeps would then combine the functions of technical and strategic adviser to the legatus, and of administrative head of the legion. But to cope with the very heavy amount of routine work which these responsibilities would entail, he would have, according to Picard and Bonnet (p.117), a clerical staff of only two librarii. Domaszewski with more justification describes the princeps praetorii as a staff-officer of the provincial governor. See below, p. 28f.
64. CIL VIII 18072. It appears to be this inscription to which Picard and Bonnet (op.cit., p.116) refer as VIII 180.

65. Vegetius, II, 6: Sed prima cohors reliquas et numero militum et dignitate praecedit. nam genere atque institutione literarum viros selectissimos quaerit. haec enim suscipit aquilam, quod praecipuum signum in Romano est semper exercitu, et totius legionis insigne. haec imagines imperatorum, hoc est, divina et praesentia signa veneratur. habet pedites mille centum quinque: equites loricatos centum triginta duos: et appellatur cohors milliaria.

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

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

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

69. As by Domaszewski, Rang., p. 38, n. 4.: "Dieser adiutor officii rationum löst sein Gelübde als er den höchsten Grad im Officium, die Stelle des cornicularius praefecti erreicht hat". The inscription reads: pro

sal(ute) Aug(ustorum) Mart(i) Conser(vatori) P. Ael(ius) Rufinus [a]diutor off(icii) rat(ionum) vovit, cornic(ularius) prae[f(ecti)] kastr(orum) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit). For a different account of the officium rationum, see A.H.M. Jones, "The Roman Civil Service (Clerical and Sub-Clerical Grades)", JRS XXXIX (1949), p.46.

70. Domaszewski, op. cit., p. 47, n. 3, seems to imply some such relation.

71. op. cit., p.38

72. op. cit., p. 29f.

73. So Seeck in PW s.v. Cf. also Denis Van Berchem, op. cit., pp. 118ff., who prefers the alternative spelling actuarii.

74. Rep. in Mitteis, Chrestomathie, n. 244. New edition with full bibliography in Arangio-Ruiz, Negotia, pp. 383ff.

75. l.c.: "Anfangs wurden sie aus den Soldaten selbst gewählt und zwar meist aus den principales (aus den equites legionis II 2663; aus den optiones VIII 2554). Doch im 4ten Jhdt. waren sie zu reinen Civilbeamten geworden; nur dass sie den Magistri militum unterstanden, (Cod. Theod. VII 4, 24; VIII, 5.10.15; Cod. Just. XII 37, 16) und deren scrinarii über sie die Controle führten (Cod. Theod. VIII 1,15), erinnerte an ihre frühere Stellung". For their unpopularity during the fourth century cf. Aurelius Victor, de Caes., 31: genus hominum, praesertim hac

tempestate, nequam, venale, callidum, seditiosum, habendi cupidum, atque ad patrandas fraudes velandasque quasi ab natura factum. Cf. the succession of regulations against fraud in the Theodosian Code: VII 4,11 (A.D. 364?), VII 4,13 (A.D. 365), VII 4,16 (A.D. 370 or 373), VII 4, 24 (A.D. 398).

76. CIL VI 231 (= ILS 2215), VI 1110, ILS 9074, and the fine series of dedications from Poetovio, published by Michael Abramic in "Poetovio: Führer durch die Denkmäler der römischen Stadt", Oesterreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna, 1925, pp. 179f., 183. These have been republished in Bulletin de l'Académie Royale Serbe, I, 1935, p. 202 (reprinted in L'année épigraphique, 1936, nos. 53-57. I have not seen the Bulletin.) As for the date of these dedications, Artur Betz, Untersuchungen zur Militärgesichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien, Vienna, 1938, p. 49, n. 114, identifies Flavius Aper, the praepositus concerned, with the man killed by Diocletian immediately after his proclamation (Aurelius Victor, de Caes., 39, 13). This was the praetorian prefect often referred to as Arrius Aper, as recently by Besnier, L'Empire de 193 à 325, Histoire Romaine IV, 1), p.277. (But cf. W. Seston, Dioclétien et la Tétrarchie, I, Guerres et Reformes, Paris, 1946, p. 47, n. 3: "Celui-ci n'a pas droit au gentilice d'Arrius que lui donnent certaines sources

(cf. E. Hohl dans son édition de l'Hist. Aug. II, p.241; A. Stein, Prosop. Imp. Rom., I<sup>2</sup>, p. 176, n. 909)". If Betz' identification is accepted, an intermediate stage in the man's career may be seen in CIL III 15156 (Aquincum), where a certain L. Flavius Aper, v(ir) p(erfectissimus) praeses (of Lower Pannonia), is doubtfully identified by Stein (PW VI, p. 2531, n.31) with the praetorian prefect. Cf. PIR<sup>3</sup> III, p.135, n.201

77. Abramic's suggested derivation (op. cit., p.185) from canalicula (= 'Kielfeder'), though plausible, is not supported by the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae or Du. Cange. The word canalicula itself is very rare, and seems to be used only of various kinds of pipes, including a feeding-tube. On the other hand, canna is found in late authors in the sense of 'pen' (Gloss. II 337, 17: κάλαμος μεθ' οὗ γράφομεν and has an adjectival form cannalis. Perhaps we have a military misspelling for \*cannaliclarius. In any case, 'Kielfeder' (= 'quill-pen') is hardly a suitable translation, for both canaliculus and canalicula imply a hollow tube or fistula (cf. Gellius, 17,11,2: duas esse quasi canaliculas quasdam vel fistulas; and Vitruvius, X, 10, 3: canaliculi, qui graece σφύγγις dicitur, longitudo foraminum XVIII) and if used of a pen would more naturally describe a reed than a quill: the latter type, anyway, is not mentioned before Isidore, and though certainly earlier than his day can hardly be third century. If Abramic's

explanation is correct, the nearest parallel seems to be the use of canalis to describe the shallow groove in the ballista fulminalis (Anon., de rebus bellicis, XVIII, 1). Cf. E.A. Thompson, A Roman Reformer and Inventor, Oxford, 1952, p. 63 and note 3.

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

79. See above, p. 25f.

80. Rangordnung, p.8. Cf. also p. 40: "Für das relative Rangverhältnis der Offiziere ist es von Wichtigkeit, dass dem tribunus vigilum dieselbe Zahl von beneficiarii zugeteilt ist" (as to the tribunus laticlavus).

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

can hardly be used as evidence in this connection.

82. Note that CIL VIII 2551 (= ILS 2397), from Lambaesis, Q. Anicius Faustus, the legate, is described as consul designate. (A.D. 198). The actual command of the legion may have devolved upon the laticlavus. As is pointed out by Eric Birley (JRS XL, 1950, p.65), the praetorian governors of Numidia were frequently promoted to the consulship during their governorship. The inscription reads: Imp. Caes. L. Septimio Severo Pio Pertinaci Aug. Arab. Parth. maximo, et M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. Augusti n. filio, <Part. Brit. Ger. maximo>, Augusti n. Antonini <Fel.> filio domini n. Severi et Iuliae Aug. matri Aug.<n.>et castrorum, dedic. Q. Anicio Fausto leg. Auggg. pr. pr. cos. design., cornicularius et b.f. trib. laticlavi mil. leg. III Aug. p. v. ex arca sua fecerunt, quorum nomina subiecta sunt. (Twelve names follow).

83. op. cit., p.41.

84. op. cit., p. 47f., and especially p. 48, n.1.

85. Rangordnung, p. 31. For the most recent study see A.H.M. Jones, op. cit., pp. 38ff., and especially pp. 44f. Cf. also G. Lopuszanski, "La Police romaine et les Chrétiens", L'Antiquité Classique XX (1951), pp. 41f.

86. CIL II 4179 (= ILS 2384): d.m. L. Gargilio Rufo com(mentariensi) ab actis civilib(us) homini optimo et honestissimo. CIL II 4145: d. m. L. Aufidio Felici bf. cos. municipi Gargilius Ruffus (sic) speculator leg, VII G. f.

benemeritò. Hübner's doubts about the identification ("L. Gargilius Rufus commentariensis ab actis ab hoc fortasse diversus est infra in titulo n. 4179") lose force if we compare III 2015 (= ILS 2379) which shows a parallel career: d. m. Tib. Cl. Ianuario spec. leg. XIII G., comm. cos. prov. Delm., stip. XIII, Aebutia Ianuaria fil. piissimo et Visellia Iulia marito.

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

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

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

A pre-Severan date is indicated in the following:

CIL III 5211, 6627, 7394, 7542, 14137, 14349<sup>2</sup>, 14387, V 8660, VII 186, VIII 2746, 17631, 21567, XI 390, 395, XII 2602, XIII 6542, 6543, 6598, 7277, 8203, XIV 3472, and probably III 2013, 2035, 14349<sup>9</sup>, XIII 7709, 11990.

Uncertain are: II 4145, 4179, 6111, III 433, 894, 1106, 1471, 1650 add.p. 1021, 1783, 1907, 2052, 2063, 3306, 3543, 3634, 4311, 4412, 4800, 6760, 7395, 8750, 8752, 9908, 10505, 10842, 12659, 12679, V 6867, 7004, VI 3358, VIII 1875, 9763, 17619, 17626 (= 10718), 17627, 17634, 17635, 18025, 18276, 21056, XIII 1869, 1903, 6429a, 6575, 6721, 6884, 7299, 7556, 8282, 8292, AE 1902 n. 41, 1904 n.128.

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

90. Rangordnung, p. 74. For the evolution of the ius gladii during the Principate, cf. H. G. Pflaum, Les procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain, Paris, 1950, pp. 117ff. 91. Rangordnung, p. 32. Cf. A.H.M. Jones, op. cit., p. 44, and Lopuszanski, op. cit., p. 44, besides Lammert in PW s.v. 'speculatores'. Domaszewski's note on the mention of the σπεκουλάτωρ in Mark VI 27 is in error, since it was presumably upon Herod's staff and not that of the procurator that the speculator responsible for John's

execution was serving. One need not assume, however, with Lopuszanski (l. c., n.1) that the term was used improperly, since it is clear that Herod's army was composed largely of mercenaries, and may have been at least in part organized on the Roman model. Cf. Jean Juster, Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain, Paris, 1914, vol. II, pp. 270f.

92. Rangordnung, pp. 32f. Cf. Jones, l. c., and Lopuszanski, op. cit., p. 8, who writes: "Les fonctions des beneficiarii n'étaient soumises à aucune règle bien précise. Affectés à l'officium du gouverneur à qui ils devaient leur nomination, ils étaient employés, au gré de sa volonté et des besoins du service, à des tâches bien diverses: charges d'administration, service personnel, garde de la prison, commandement d'un petit poste".

93. Rangordnung, pp. 34f. Cf. Fiebiger in PW s.v. A more recent study is by P.K. Baillie-Reynolds, JRS XIII (1923), pp. 169ff.

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

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

96. Rangordnung, p. 37.

97. Cf. A.H.M. Jones, l. c.

98. Rangordnung, pp. 64f. For Dalmatia see now Betz,

op. cit., pp. 61f.

99. Rangordnung, p. 97.

100. op. cit., p. 120, n. 1: "Malheureusement la seule inscription confirmant cette thèse ne contient pas le mot  $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\iota\alpha\varsigma$ , que A. von Domaszewski a restitué sans preuves suffisantes, croyons-nous. Car il existe des listes d'officiers d'état-major des gouverneurs (XIII 5150), où le princeps praetorii ne figure nullement".

101. op. cit., p. 36, n. 1.

102. l. c. Cf. also CIL III 2917: p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) XII Fulmi(natae) trecenario donis don(ato) ab imp(erators) Vespasian(o) et Tito imp(eratore) bell(o) Iud(aico) ab imp(eratore) Traiano bell(o) Dacic(o) princ(ipi) praet(orii); III 5293: ex(ceptor) principis pr[a]e(torii); exercitatori equit(um) speculatorum, princip(i) praetorii .....

On Domaszewski's expansion of the last-named inscription (Rangordnung, p. 100 and n. 1: .. [(centurioni)] leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) ex trec(enario), [p(rimo)p(ilo)] leg(ionis) VI Victr(icis) ) Picard and Bonnet (op. cit., p. 120, n. 2) write: "Les hypothèses de A. von Domaszewski au sujet de cette inscription nous paraissent toutes gratuites, et même irrecevables. Car il est impossible d'admettre que Vettius Valens ait exercé un centurionat ordinaire, après la fonction beaucoup plus importante de trecenarius". On the other hand, Domaszewski had formulated a principle (Rangordnung, P. 100):

"In allen Fällen, wo die Laufbahn vollständig überliefert ist, und die Lesung der Inschrift sicher steht, liegt zwischen *trecenarius* und dem *Primpilat* immer ein Legion-scenturionat, gemäss dem Grundsatz, dass man *princeps legionis* gewesen sein muss, um *primipilus* zu werden. Deshalb ist auch in jenen Inschriften, wo ein *primipilus* sich als *ex trecenario* bezeichnet ... die Stellung eines *Princeps legionis* vorauszusetzen". This is not disproved, though not supported, by the fact that in all the examples he cites (e.g. CIL VI 33033: *centurio leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) ex trecenario*) no description is given of the type of centurionate held. In these cases the position of Picard and Bonnet seems untenable: they can neither accept Domaszewski's explanation, since for them the princeps legionis is the same as the princeps praetorii and superior in rank to the primipilus (op. cit., p.121), nor admit that an ordinary centurionate can be intended.

103. Rangordnung, p. 89.

104. CIL II 4083 and III 10360, used by Domaszewski, hardly attest a separate post of 'Commandant der equites singulares' (Rangordnung, p. 98).

105. Rangordnung, p. 97.

106. l. c.

107. op. cit., pp. 57f.

108. S.H.A., Sev., 5, 2 Hohl: etiam ... sestertia, quod

nemo unquam principum militibus dedit. Compare a later passage in the same life (12,2): Denique militibus tantum stipendiorum quantum nemo principum dedit. Domaszewski supplies bina before sestertia in the first passage, and interprets this as a doubling of pay; Brunt (l.c.) takes the first passage to refer to a donative and the second to an increase of pay. But the similarity of the language suggests that this is a twofold use of the same ultimate source, and that a single act (probably an increase of pay) is intended. Such an increase is confirmed by Herodian

(3, 8, 4): τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἐπέδωκε χρήματα πλείστα, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ συνεχώρησεν ἢ ἢ πρότερον εἶχον· καὶ γὰρ τὸ σιτηρέσιον πρῶτος ἠύξῃσεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ δακτυλίοις χρυσοῖς χρήσασθαι γυναιξί τε συνοικεῖν.

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

109. l. c.

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

111. l. c.

112. l. c.

113. l. c.

114. CIL VI 1110 (Rome): [Corneliae Saloninae sanctissimae Augustae coniugi imp. P. Lic.] Galli [eni Aug. matri P. Lic. Corn. Val]eriani nobil[issimi Cae]saris [centuriones] deputati et supernume [rarii et f]rumentari cum [.....] et Iusto tribb. et Aurelio [..... subprincipe]peregrinorum [n.m. eius dica]tissimi [curante .....]do v. e. ex kan[aliclaro].

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

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

117. Cf. Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 74: "Der praefectus alae hat als Kommandant eines selbstständigen Heerkörpers ein Off<sup>l</sup>cium, das dem des legatus legionis in allen Stücken entspricht".

118. Domaszewski's account of the numeri (Rangordnung), pp. 59-61 is vitiated by unreasonable prejudice. For a (possibly patriotically based) refutation, see Vittinghoff in Historia I (1950), Heft 3, pp. 389-407, "Zur angeblichen Barbarisierung des römischen Heeres durch die Verbände der Numeri". Domaszewski's influence persists in Grosse, op. cit., pp. 25f.: "Es ist ein von vielen Zeichen des erstarkenden Nationalismus im römischen Staate des 3. Jahrhunderts, dass die numeri nun den regulären Truppen angegliedert waren. .... Damit stimmt überein, dass unter Severus Alexander auch der Unterschied der Organisation verschwindet, dass nun die numeri ihr eigenes officium praepositi erhalten. So ist jeder Unterschied zwischen den lateinisch sprechenden Reichstruppen und den aus Analphabeten bestehenden barbarische Irregulären verschwunden". For the numeri in general, see the article by H. T. Rowell in PW s.v.

119. Except when replaced by the equivalent rank of canaliclarius. See above p. 26 and notes. For the normal title, cf., for instance, CIL XIII 7395, from Friedberg: Marti et Victoriae Soemus Severus cornicul(arius)

coh(ortis) I Fl(aviae) Demas(cenorum) (milliariae) eq(uitatae) sag(ittariorum) v.s.l.l.m.

120. See above p. 28 and notes. For the actarius of a numerus cf. CIL XIII 7750 (Niederbieber): in h(onorem) d.d. genio ..... actarius n(umeri) D[i]v[i]tensis Grato et Se[leuc]o cos. v.s.l.l.m. (A.D. 221).

121. Rangordnung, pp. 53f.

122. Apart from the inscriptions cited by Domaszewski (l.c.), cf. the address to the famous letter of Apion (BGU II 423, second century): Ἀπόδος εἰς Χώρτην πρίμαν Ἀπαρηνῶν . . . . λιβλαρίω ἐπὶ Ἀπίωνος ἕστε Ἐπιμάχου πατρὶ αὐτοῦ.

123. Rangordnung, l.c.

124. Cheesman, op. cit., p. 37, cites AE 1892 n. 137: C. Cassio Pal(atina) Blaesiano dec(urioni) coh(ortis) Ligurum principi equitum.

125. Cf. Cheesman, l.c.

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

127. Published by H.C. Youtie and J.G. Winter, Papyri and Ostraca from Karanis, Second Series, (Michigan Papyri Volume VIII), Ann Arbor, 1951, nos. 465-466.

128. As held by A.H.M. Jones (JRS XVIII, 1928, p. 147), followed by R.P. Longden, CAH XI (1936), pp. 237f. The editors, however, seem to favour the view of C.B. Welles

in Gerasa (New Haven, 1938), no. 171 (p.390), who maintains that the inscription published by Jones is to be dated to the winter of 129/130, because that is the date of all the other Hadrian texts in the city.

129. P. Mich. VIII 466, 19-24: ἄλλων..... [ὁ] λης τῆς [ἡμέρας] λίθους κοπ[ό]ντων καὶ [ἄλλα π]οιούντων, ἐγὼ μέχρι σή[μερον] οὐθὲν τούτων ἔπαθον, κτλ.

130. op.cit., p. 15.

131. The Greek is Κλαύδιον / Σε[ουῆ]ρ[ον] τὸν ὑπατικόν (lines 25-26). Was Claudius Severus a consularis already? He was consul suffectus in A.D. 112, cf. Degrassi, I Fasti Consolari dell' Impero Romano, Rome, 1952, p.33. Or is this an early instance of the use of the term in the sermo castrensis to indicate a praetorian legate? For his career see PIR<sup>2</sup> II, 1023.

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

133. P. Mich. VIII 465, 16.

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

135. Rangordnung, p.73.

136. Cf. A.H.M. Jones, JRS XXXIX (1949), p.45.

137. Yet the administrative service remained nominally a militia.

CHAPTER II.

DOCUMENTATION.

NOTES.

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

139. First published by A. S. Hunt and B.P. Grenfell in The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Vol. I, London, 1898, with plate no. viii. Cf. also C. Wessely, Schrifttafeln zur älteren lateinischen Palaeographie, Leipzig, 1898, no.50; A. Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, London, 1927, p. 163; A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, Select Papyri I, (Loeb Classical Library), 1932, no. 122; A. Calderini, Papiri latini, Milan, 1945, no. 63.

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

Priscus Petroni<sup>o</sup> patri suo  
salutem<sup>o</sup>

Apri • duplicári • Cárum • duplicárium

hominem probum • commendó

5 tib[i] qui si qu[i]d egerit auxili

tui rogo in meum honorem

adiuves eum • salvo pudore

tu [o] • . . . . opto bene valeás

salutem dic nostris omnibus

10 salutem tibi dicunt nostri

omnes<sup>o</sup>

vale<sup>o</sup>

For the accentuation compare P. Oxy. XII 1511 and P. Ryl. I 79, pp. 249f and <sup>93</sup>below. The latinity of this letter is remarkable in comparison with P. Oxy. I 32.

140. For the ἐπίκρισις in general cf. P.M. Meyer, Das Heerwesen der Ptolemäer und Römer in Aegypten, Leipzig, 1900, Zweiter Teil, Drittes Kapitel, "Die ἐπίκρισις". pp. 109-126, and also pp. 229ff. (Zusätze und Berichtigungen). Cf. also U. Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 401, and Lesquier, L'armée romaine, p. 155.

141. Vegetius, I, 5: Proceritatem tironum ad incommas-  
scio semper exactam, ita ut senos pedes vel certe quinos  
et denas uncias habentes inter alares equites vel in primis  
legionum cohortibus probarentur. Sed tunc erat amplior

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

For incomma (or encomma) cf. Gloss. Isid.:

incomma mensura militum.

142. First published by Grenfell and Hunt, Oxyrhynchus Papyri I, London, 1898, with corrections in Oxy. Pap. II, p. 319. Republished by Wilcken, Chrestomathie, no. 456. Cf. also Hohlwein, L' Égypte romaine, p. 573; P.M. Meyer, Heerwesen, p.124; Wessely, Epikrisis, pp. 3ff.; Grenfell and Hunt, Oxyrhynchus Papyri XII, p.152.

143. Oxyrhynchus Papyri XII, p. 152.

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

145. See p. II 17below.

146. See p. 243f. below.

147. The first two lines of P. Aberdeen 61 were published by Winstedt, Classical Quarterly I (1907), p. 267. The

document was fully published by E.G. Turner in his Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraca in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, no. 61. It is in Roman cursive without interpunction. The receipt follows the normal Greek pattern (i.e., greeting, verb in the first person, dating by consular years), instead of the Latin formula (verb in the first person, consular dating). New readings and restorations were published by H.A. Sanders in Classical Philology XXVI, 1941, pp. 63ff. (The present writer has not seen this publication). Rep. by V. Arangio-Ruiz, Fontes Iuris Romani Anteustiniani,<sup>2</sup> Vol. III, Negotia, Florence, 1943, no. 146; a copy of this text is given in n. 537 below.

148. First published by Grenfell and Hunt in Oxyrhynchus Papyri VII, London, 1910, no. 1022, with plate i. Rep. by Wilcken, Chrestomathie, no. 453; Hunt and Edgar, Select Papyri II, no. 421; Calderini, Papiri latini, no. 57; used also by Lesquier,

L'armée romaine d'Égypte, p. 115.

149. PW IV, col. 751

150. First published by H. Vitelli and M. Norsa in PSI IX (Florence, 1929), no. 1063. Rep. in part by Arango-Ruiz, Fontes<sup>2</sup> III, (Negotia), no. 126. Cf. also Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 677f.

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

152. First published by P. Viereck in BGU IV, 1912, no. 1083. Rep. by Mallon, Marichal and Perrat in L'Écriture latine, no. 21, with plate; and by Calderini, Papiri latini, no. 50. Cf. also Lesquier op. cit., p. 203, n. 2. Provenance: Fayoum.

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

154. First published by C. Wessely, Schrifttafeln, 1898, no. 8, with plate. Rep. in Die ältesten lateinischen und griechischen Papyri Wiens, Leipzig, 1914, (Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyrusurkunde, vol. XIV). Rep. by Mallon, Marichal and Perrat, L'Écriture latine, no. 17, with photograph. Used by Lesquier, op. cit., p. 136, n.1.

155. See p.163. below.

156. See p. 181 below.

157. Cf. G.R. Watson, "Theta nigrum", JRS XLII (1952), pp. 56ff.

158. Cf. P. Dura inv. 9 recto, published by J.F. Gilliam, "Some Latin Military Papyri from Dura", Yale Classical

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

159. Cf. P.M. Meyer, Jahrb. f. Philol. 1897, p. 587. He maintains this dating in Das Heerwesen der Ptolemäer und Römer in Aegypten, Leipzig, 1900, p. 160, where he reads the date of BGU I 140 as 4th August, A.D. 107. The date was corrected by Wilcken, who in the first publication in 1892 had ascribed the letter to Trajan, and the text emended in Hermes XXXVII (1901), pp. 84ff. The papyrus has been frequently republished, most recently by Riccobono, Fontes<sup>2</sup> I, Leges, p. 428ff.

160. As shown in BGU I, 140.

161. Cf. L.R. Dean, A Study of Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions, Princeton, 1916, p. 121.

162. Cf. Dean, l.c.

163. See p.160 below.

164. See p. 176 below.

165. Cf. Vegetius, I, 26: tirones sunt ..... secundum matriculae ordinem in aciem dirigendi. Vegetius uses the term in three other places (II, 2, p. 36 ed. Lang; II, 5, p. 38; II, 7, p.40: principiorum nomina et dignitates secundum praesentes matriculas indicabo). Cf. Ensslin in PW s.v. 'matricula'.

166. Cf. JRS XLII (1952), p. 57f.
167. TAPA LXXVI, 1945, pp. 271ff., "A Fragment of a Roman Military Papyrus at Princeton", with photograph.
168. Gilliam (Classical Philology XLVIII, No.2, April, 1953, p. 99, n.7) comments, "To judge from the photograph, M seems a very dubious possibility".
169. Gilliam (l.c.): "A parallel for such a use of matricula would be reassuring". Cf. p. 51 above.
170. op. cit., p. 271.
171. op. cit., pp. 276f. Cf. p. 93f. below.
172. op. cit., p. 275.
173. loc. cit.
174. op. cit., p. 275, n.1.
175. Rangordnung, p. 29.
176. See above, p. 30
177. Rangordnung, Nachträge und Berichtigungen, p. 197, S.97.
178. See above, p. 32-34.
179. Cf. Domaszewski's table of the principales of the legion in Rangordnung, p. 48.
180. Cf. Rangordnung, p. 48f.
181. Cf. the somewhat similar marks in BGU II 696, line 14 (p.160 below), and PSI XIII 1307, col. ii, line 22 (p.149 below).
182. p. 70f. below.
183. When 7 means (centuria) the preposition in is sometimes prefixed, as in the two pridiana. Cf. pp. 160ff. and 174f. below.

184. op. cit., p. 273.
185. See p. 76ff. below.
186. op. cit., p. 274.
187. l.c.
188. op. cit., p. 274f. For excerpts from P. Dura inv. 12, see p. 86ff. below.
189. op. cit., p. 275.
190. Rangordnung, pp. 48-49.
191. Unless we accept Domaszewski's statement (Rangordnung, p. 71), based on CIL VIII 2554, that under Septimus Severus all optiones served ad spem ordinis.
192. Cf. Rangordnung, p. 8.
193. Cf. Eric Birley, "The Epigraphy of the Roman Army", Actes du Deuxième Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine, Paris, 1953, p. 233: "First, the promotion of centurions. On that, Domaszewski's interpretation of the garbled account in Vegetius, and of the inscriptions, is the least convincing section of the Rangordnung (pp. 90-97), nor did Mr. Parker achieve any greater success in his book on The Roman Legions; the solution first advanced<sup>d</sup> by Bruncke in 1884, and adopted independently by Wegelben in his Berlin dissertation of 1913, is surely correct, namely that all centurions were equal in rank (though differing in seniority and in their position on parade) until they received promotion into the first cohort, to become members

of the privileged primi ordines". Cf. Hermann Bruncke, Die Rangordnung der Centurionen (Progr. Wolfenbüttel, 1884), and Theodor Wegeleben, Die Rangordnung der römischen Centurionen, Diss. Berlin, 1913. (The present writer has not seen Bruncke's work).

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

195. op. cit., p. 275.

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

197. See above, p. 65. This papyrus was first published by Leiv Amundsen in Symbolae Osloenses X, 1932, pp. 18-30, and later in Papyri Osloenses, fasc. III, Oslo, 1936, no. 122, with plate. Rep. by Calderini, Papiri latini, no. 52.

198. 16 or 24. Cf. Hyginus, mun. castr. 16.

199. For the term brevis cf. S.H.A., Alex., 21: milites suos sic ubique scivit ut in cubiculo haberet breves et numerum et tempora militum <indicantes Casaubon, continentes Kellerbauer>; Vegetius, II, 19: cotidianas .... vigiliis .... vicissim milites faciunt, .... nomina eorum qui vices suas fecerunt brevibus inseruntur. quando quis commeatum acceperit vel quot dierum, adnotatur in brevibus. The word is frequently used in the fourth century and after

in the general sense of 'list', cf. S.H.A., Alex., 28, 3: notarium, qui falsum causae brevem in consilio imperatorio rettulisset; Aurel., 35, 5: brevem nominum conscripsit; legit. quatt. tyr., 15, 7: dabis ei iuxta brevem infra scriptum omnia, quae praecepimus; ibid., 15, 8: brevis munerum fuit. The term is common in the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian. The Greek equivalent in its various spellings, *ἀρέβιον*, *ἀρέουιον*, *ἀρέυιον*, and *ἀρέβειον*, is perhaps even more frequent, especially in the papyri, from the fourth-century onwards. Cf. Seeck in PW III, p. 832, s.v.; Preisigke, Wörterbuch, s.v.; Meinersmann, Die lateinischen Wörter und Namen in den griechischen Papyri, Leipzig, 1927, s.v. Cf. also JRS XLII (1952), pp. 59f., where the conclusion is reached that since the use of the term brevis in Latin in this meaning must have preceded its adoption into Greek, we can be certain that the word was in general currency by the beginning of the fourth century, and probably much earlier. How far it had any specialised technical sense, however, is uncertain. The recorded instances give the impression that it was a general term meaning 'list', and had a wider range than matricula. It is probable that it was the older term. Cf. n. 166.

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

201. Cf. n. 181.

202. Cf. Domaszewski, Rangordnung, pp. 53f.

203. See above, p. 57 , and n. 158.
204. op. cit., p. 276.
205. Cf. the procedure indicated by P. Mich. III 164 (pp. 76ff. below).
206. First published by H.A. Sanders in Classical Studies in Honor of John C. Rolfe, 1931, pp. 265-283, with photograph. Rep. with corrections by Sanders in Michigan Papyri III, no. 164, and Calderini, Papiri latini, no. 53.
207. For the question of legionary commands, cf. now Eric Birley, "Roman Garrisons in Wales", Archaeologia Cambrensis, 1952, pp. 9-19, esp. pp. 17ff., who considers the commands of II Augusta at Caerleon and XX Valeria Victrix at Chester. Each legion appears to have had several auxiliary units under command. Since II Traiana was the only legion stationed in Egypt at this date a division of the province into military commands would not be necessary.
208. The title of the unit named in line 11, ala Gallica Gordiana, would naturally imply that the list was compiled before the death of Gordian III in March, A.D. 244.
209. Cf. Artur Stein, Die Präfekten von Aegypten in römischer Zeit, Bern, 1950, p. 133.
210. Cf. A. Degrassi, I fasti consolari dell' impero romano, Rome, 1952, p. 65. The work of G. Barbieri,

L' albo senatorio da Settimio Severo a Diocleziano,

(to be published), was available to Degrassi. (Published 1952).

211. Cf. Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 63: "Der Beförderung zu Stellen der militia equestris entsprechend wurde der decurio alae auch als praepositus der cohors auxiliaris und eines numerus verwendet. Dagegen der centurio cohortis als praepositus numeri."

212. Line 11.

213. Cf. Domaszewski, Rangordnung, pp. 34, 65f., 73.

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

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

216. see pp. 109ff. below. Cf. Dunlap's note 4 on p.74 of Michigan Papyri VII: "By analogy with the present document (sc. VII 447 recto) I suggest that the names of the appropriate prefects may have preceded the names of the consuls in P. Mich. III 164." In the case of lines 8, 14 and 22 the appropriate prefects would be Mevius

Honoratianus, Tib. Claudius Herennianus, and either Claudius Masculinus or M. Aurelius Zeno Ianuarius, respectively. Cf. Stein, op. cit., pp. 128-134. Possible restorations might then be Mevia]n, Claudi]an and Claudia]n in the lines concerned.

217. See p. 119 below.

218. Cf. Stein, op. cit., p. 78ff.

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

220. P. Mich. III 164, line 2 (p.76 above). Aufidius Victorinus began his service in A.D. 217; he was promoted decurion on April 4th (?), A.D. 242. The text reads II (sic) Nonas Apriles.
221. P. Mich. III 162 (= Inv. 4301), provenance unknown. This papyrus was first published by H.A. Sanders in Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, IX (1931), pp. 81-85, with plate. Rep. with corrections by Sanders in Michigan Papyri III, no. 162. The nomenclature indicates that it is concerned with auxiliaries, cf. p.85f. below.
222. The latest date of attestation in the document is A.D. 189, the earliest is A.D. 173. On the principle of discharge after twenty five years' service in auxiliary units the soldier listed in the first entry should have been discharged in A.D. 198.
223. The first publication of this document was reviewed by Wilcken, Arch. f. Pap. X, p. 277, and by Bell, JEA VII (1931), pp. 268f. Bell suggested that the address was proper to a Greek letter on the verso now lost: Sanders has replied that the address runs through the middle of the whole verso at right angles to the writing on the recto, and that there is no sign of writing on the rest of the verso. (Michigan Papyri III, p. 141). Wilcken suggested that the Greek address was proper to a Greek letter which was originally on the recto and was washed off before the papyrus was used for a military document.



[a]t te missuro [mi]hi et epi[st]u-  
 [la]s duas quas [c]upias acum[in]e  
 [et fo]rtuna a[pu]d [i]llum re[pe]r-  
 20 ta[s t]ibi remisi s[i]g[n]atas.

227. Sanders considers that SB 4016 suggests the masculine form of the name rather than the feminine.

The relevant part is:- τὸ προσκύνημα Πρωτάρχης  
 καὶ Μοσχιάνης καὶ Σαραπίωνος καὶ Ἀπλωναρίου  
 καὶ Ὡριγένου[s] καὶ Κο.[.]κουμ[ο]υ καὶ Ἰεραῦρου.

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

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

229. Cf. Preliminary Report V, p. 301.

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

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

232. J.F. Gilliam, Yale Classical Studies XI (1950), p. 171, states that the Final Report of the papyri and parchments found at Dura is now in preparation.

233. Preliminary Report V, p. 302.

234. op. cit., p. 161.

235. loc. cit.

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

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

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

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

doubt be settled in the Final Report.

240. First published by J. de M. Johnson, V. Martin, and A.S. Hunt in Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, Vol. I, Manchester, 1911, no. 79, with plate. Cf. also R.O. Fink, TAPA LXXVI (1945), pp. 276f., and J.F. Gilliam, "A Roman Naval Roster: P. Rylands 79", Classical Philology XLVIII, No. 2, April 1953, pp. 97-99.

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

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

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

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

245. v. app. crit.

246. This is not expressly stated by Fink, but is implicit in the context. In TAPA LXXVI (1945), p. 276, after deciding that the Princeton and Oslo documents are probably rosters of principales he adds, "Another papyrus similar to the two already discussed is P. Rylands 79 of about A.D. 144-150. . . . . This papyrus is written entirely in capitals; but it too has headings grouping the persons listed according to rank." He then proceeds to suggest ]LIB(RARIORUM) MERCUR[1 as the expansion of line 10.

247. Cf. the roll of decurions, P. Mich. III 164, (pp. 76ff. above).

248. See above, p. 17 and n.42.
249. op. cit., p. 98.
250. op. cit., p. 98. The name occurs more than once as the name of a trireme or quadrireme in the fleets of Misenum and Ravenna. Cf. Miltner in PW, Suppl. V, s.v. 'Seewesen (Namen)', and Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy*, p. 54.
251. Cf. Gilliam, l.c.
252. l.c.
253. Cf. P. Mich. III 164 (pp. 76ff. above).
254. Published 'by way of colophon' by R.O. Fink at the end of his article "A Fragment of a Roman Military Papyrus at Princeton", TAPA LXXVI (1945), pp. 271-278.
255. The military papyri found at Dura - all in the Temple of Azzanatkhona - belong to the archives of this cohort and possibly the II Ulpia, which is also mentioned in graffiti on the temple walls. Cf. Preliminary Report V, p. 216. The papyri so far published relate to the Cohors XX Palmyrenorum.
256. The expansions would be Maxim[o et Apro cos,  
Maxim[o et Aeliano cos, Maxim[o et Albino cos,\*  
Maxim[o et Lupo cos,\* Maxim[o et Paterno cos,  
Maxim[o Il et Urbano cos, Maxim[ino et Africano cos,  
Maxim[o et Volusiano II cos,\* Maxim[o II et Glabrione cos.
- The cases marked with an asterisk represent an inversion of the normal order and may be considered less probable.

Fink writes (l.c.): "The date is most probably A.D. 223, 234, 236, or 256; but other possibilities exist".

257. First published by Wessely, Schriftt., 9, with plate; rep. in Stud. Pal. XIV (pl. viii). Rep. with photograph by Mallon, Marichal and Perrat, L'Ecriture latine, no. 20. Cf. also Calderini, Papiri latini, no. 51.

258. Cf. Degrassi, op. cit., p. 40. The inscription is IGRR 1 698.

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

260. C.H. Roberts, The Antinoopolis Papyri, Part I, London, 1950, no. 41.

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

262. Published by Medea Norsa in Papiri Greci e Latini (Pubblicazioni della Societa Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto), vol. XIII, Florence, 1949, no. 130.

263. J.F. Gilliam, "Notes on PSI 1307 and 1308", Classical Philology XLVII (1952), pp. 29-31.

264. op. cit., p. 108.

265. op. cit., p. 30. It seems to be part of a nominal roll of a ship's company.
266. op. cit., p. 31.
267. loc. cit.
268. Cf. J.F. Gilliam, "Milites Caligati", TAPA, LXVII (1946), pp. 183-191. Towards the end of this paper (p. 189) Gilliam writes: "Caligati seem to have been found in every part of the army: among legionaries, praetorians, auxiliaries and vigiles". The evidence of this document would seem to add the navy to this list.
269. Cf. C.G. Starr, The Roman Imperial Navy, Ithaca, 1941, pp. 51, 56.
270. The Thes. L. L. lists a plural form Ascitae, which is defined as a gens Arabum. The citation is from Pliny, N.H., 6, 176: Ascitae appellati quoniam bubulos utres binos insternentes ponte piraticam exercent. Cf. Müller in P.W. s.v. If ascita is connected with the Greek ἀσκόσ rather than the Latin ascia, it may mean a craftsman whose duty it was to care for the leather equipment in the ship.
271. Cf. Vegetius, II, 25: habet (sc. legio) quoque dolabras, secures, ascias, serras, quibus materies ac pali dedolantur atque serrantur.
272. It is doubtful whether we have any other specimens of naval matriculae.
273. Cf. line 15 sesq(ui)pl(ici)arius in coh(ort)is<sup>e</sup> [.

274. P. Mich. III 163 (= Inv. 1003). Provenance unknown, but perhaps Fayoum. First published by H.A. Sanders, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, IX, 1931, pp. 81-85, with facsimile. Rep. with some corrections in Michigan Papyri III, no. 163.

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

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

277. P. Mich. VII 454 (= Inv. 509). Provenance not recorded. First published by H.A. Sanders in Michigan Papyri VII, Ann Arbor, 1947, pp. 90 ff. with plate (XIV, a,b). Cf. also J.F. Gilliam, A.J.Ph., LXXI, (1950) p.437.

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

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

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

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

282. The reading is very doubtful (cf. Sanders, p.93) and the name of the numerus cannot be identified with certainty. It does not seem, however, to be contained in the published lists.

283. First published by Wessely in Schrifttafeln zur älteren lateinischen Palaeographie, Leipzig, 1898, no.23, with plate (no. XV).
284. See above, p. 106f.
285. P. Mich. VII 447 (= P. Mich. inv. 4648 recto + P. Lond. inv. 2723 recto). The British Museum fragment was described by Milne, Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum, pp. 153f., no. 184, and published without commentary by Mallon, Marichal and Perrat, L' Ecriture latine, Paris, 1939, no. 40 (plate XXVIII). Both documents published as one whole by J.E. Dunlap in Michigan Papyri VII, no. 447, with plate IIb. See also J.F. Gilliam, A.J.Ph., LXXI (1950), p.435.
286. See above, p. 80.
287. Michigan Papyri VII, p. 74.
288. The British Museum fragment was first published, with facsimile, by H.J.M. Milne, Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum, London, 1927, pp. 153-155 and plate XI. This was republished, together with the Michigan fragment, by J.E. Dunlap in Michigan Papyri VII, no. 429, with plate IIa.
289. Cf. Dunlap, op. cit., p.3, who cites K. Barwick, Remmius Palaemon und die römische Ars Grammatica, Leipzig 1922, p. 145. (The present writer has not seen this work).
290. line 7.

291. op. cit., p. 79.

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

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

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

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

296. op. cit., p.78.

297. l. c.

298. Cf. his note (op. cit., p. 79).

299. l.c.: "If no letters have been lost at this point and the character is to be interpreted independently, it may possibly be regarded as a compendium formed of the letter i and the crossbar of t, representing the word item, and standing in the place of the name of a soldier's father, as  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$  is used in Greek papyri when the father's name was identical with that of his son."
300. op. cit., pp. 75f.
301. op. cit., p. 435.
302. Michigan fragment, col.ii, line 7 and British Museum fragment, col. ii, line 9.
303. See pp. 54f. above.
304. See pp. 70f. above.
305. B.M. Fragment, col. i and col. ii to line 6 would refer to one unit; col. ii, 7 to possibly col. ii, 6 of the Michigan fragment would refer to a second unit; the remainder of the Michigan fragment would refer to a third unit.
306. See above, p. 18, for the catalogue of immunes contained in Dig., 50, 6, 7.
307. Rangordnung, p. 39. See also above, pp. 17f.
308. Five separate documents are included in this one papyrus. Besides the document considered in this connection, we have recto, part 1 - individual pay accounts (pp. 186ff. below); part 2 - employment of soldiers on

special duty (pp. 152f. below); verso, part 4 - part of the acta diurna (pp. 122f. below); part 5, the duty roster of a century (opp. p. 155 below).

The papyrus was first published by Nicole and Morel, Archives militaires du Ier siècle, Geneva, 1900. Reviews and discussions by Mommsen, "Aegyptische Legionäre", Hermes XXXV (1900), pp. 442-452 (= Ges. Schr. VI 118-127): Hugo Bluemner, "Aus den Akten eines römischen Militärarchivs", Neue Jahrbücher V, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 433ff.: R. Cagnat, "J. Nicole et Ch. Morel. Archives militaires du Ier siècle", Journal des Savants, 1900, pp. 375-382: E. Espérandieu, "Observations sur le papyrus latin de Genève no. 1", Comptes Rendus XII (1900), pp. 442-458: A. von Premerstein, "Die Buchführung einer ägyptischen Legionsabteilung", Klio III, 1903, pp. 1-46. Used by J. Lesquier, L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien, Cairo, 1918, pp. 249ff.: H.M.D. Parker, The Roman Legions, Oxford, 1928, pp. 217f.: A.C. Johnson Roman Egypt (An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, vol. II), 1936, pp. 673-675: P.A. Brunt, "Pay and Superannuation in the Roman Army", Papers of the British School at Rome, XVIII (New Series V), 1950, pp. 60f.: R. Egger, Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1951, no. 18, p. 224. The original publication included a full-size photograph.

309. First published by E.G. Turner in Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraka in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, 1939, no. 150 (descr.).
310. P. Gen. lat. 1, verso, part 5. For publications, etc., see note 308 above.
311. See pp. 21f. above.
312. P. Gen. lat. 1, verso, part 4. For publications, etc., see note 308 above. See also pp. 122f. below.
313. This is the reading of Morel. We may disregard H.M.D. Parker's comment (op. cit., p. 227), "another had the more popular duty of bringing in the wine (exit vino)".
314. de re mil., II, 19.
315. Published by J.F. Gilliam, "Some Latin Military Papyri from Dura. II. The Acta Diurna, Yale Classical Studies XI, 1950, pp. 209-252. Short extracts had previously been published by E.T. Silk, Dura Report V, pp. 296ff., and by M. I. Rostovtzeff, Münchener Beiträge XIX, 1934, pp. 367ff. A photograph of P. Dura 3 recto appeared in The Illustrated London News of August 12th, 1932, p. 240. See pp. 124ff. below.
316. See pp. 140ff. below.
317. PSI XIII 1307. Cf. pp. 147ff. below.
318. See n. 308.
319. See n. 315.

320. Cf. Münchener Beiträge XIX, 1934, p. 367. Gilliam, op. cit., p. 221, n. 27, recalls Dio LXXIX, 2, 1; τὰ ἐπισημειώματα τὰ παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις γεγόμενα, cf. 2, 3 and LXXIX, 16, 4. His attention was called by R.O. Fink to the daily strength report mentioned in Appian, B.C., V. 46.
321. See pp. 138f. below.
322. pp. 44ff. above.
323. Gilliam (op. cit., p. 252) remarks that Gaius here is almost certainly not being used as a praenomen, and cites Dean, op. cit., p. 194. Dean has two examples of Gaius as a cognomen; one is CIL VIII 2636, the other being CIL III 1674: (Naissus): Aur(elius) Gaius mil leg VII strator consularia. Neither example is dated. Gilliam refers also to Wuthnow, Die semitischen Menschnamen, (p.39), a work which the present writer has not yet seen.
324. The variations in language between the documents are inconsiderable.
325. Cf. Gilliam, op. cit., pp. 228f.
326. Gilliam states (l.c., n. 76) that there is nothing to indicate who might obtain the rating of duplicarius or sesquuplicarius. But Domaszewski's hypothesis (Rangordnung, pp. 71f.) seems reasonable. He ascribes to his 'taktischen Chargen' the rate of pay and a half, to his 'Beneficiar-chargen' double pay. The former ranks can be equated with

the sesquiplarii, the latter with the duplicarii.

Domaszewski's highest rate among the principales, treble pay, which he allotted to the 'zum Centurionate qualifizierte Chargen, die cornicularii des Statthalters und der hauptstädtischen Praefecti, sowie die optiones ad spem ordinis, endlich der aquilifer', would not of course be applicable to the auxilia.

327. See p. 96f. above.

328. See pp. 70f. above.

329. The Oslo document and those from Dura are all probably of the second quarter of the third century.

330. See pp. 172ff. below.

331. P. Dura 3 recto, line 3; P. Dura 17 recto, line 10; P. Dura 9 recto, line 7; P. Dura 9 recto, line 13.

332. e.g. P. Dura 9 recto, line 1: quod imp(eratum) fuerit facemus (sic) et ad omniam (sic) tessera[m]parati erimus.

333. op. cit., p. 231.

334. op. cit., p. 242.

335. Mentioned by Gilliam (l.c.).

336. Cf. Bernhard Meinersmann, Die lateinischen Wörter und Namen in den griechischen Papyri, Leipzig, 1927, s.v.

ἕξ πούκερος.

337. Perhaps the word should be divided as ad missa.

Cf. Gilliam, op. cit., p. 232, who cites Commodianus,

Carm. apolog., 77 (middle third century): stat miles ad missa. The context makes it clear that here missa means "orders". The editors print missam, but missa is the MSS. reading.

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

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

340. See p. 88 above.

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

342. Cf. Gilliam op. cit., pp. 241 and 243.

343. l.c.

344. op. cit., p. 245.

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

XXVI (fig. 7).

Cumont, following a suggestion made by Hunt, expanded lines 9-10 as

r]el(iquos) numerare  
 ..... stip[end(ia)

Alternatively, for line 9 he suggested sem]el etc. These suggestions do not, however, suit the general style of the document, for r]el(iquos) numerare and stip]end(ia) would be more appropriate to a pay account, such as P. Berlin inv. 6866 (cf. pp. 186ff. below), whereas facti equites (line 7) and missi hemer.... (line 8) are items proper to a pridianum, such as BGU II 696 or P. Lond. 2851 (cf. pp. 174 ff. below). missi-reversi items occur also in the acta diurna, as in P. Dura 3 recto, but greater detail is required in documents of this class, which are concerned with day-to-day events, and the abbreviated detail of this mutilated fragment seems more proper to a pridianum, as was suggested by Cumont. The presence of the marginal annotation Z, however, and the general appearance of the document, would suggest, however, that it is not a fragment of a pridianum proper, but of preliminary draft for one.

346. See pp. 44ff. above.

347. col. i, 3iff. See p. 161 below.

348. As noticed by Gilliam (op. cit., p. 252).

349. l.c.

350. See above p. 46.
351. P. Mich. VII 450 (= Inv. 2761) was published by Sanders in Michigan Papyri VII with plate XI a, b. P. Mich. VII 455 (= Inv. 2758) was published in the same volume with plate XIV a, b. Both were reviewed by J.F. Gilliam in A. J. Ph. LXXI, 1950, pp. 436f.
352. l.c.
353. 276i and 2758.
354. op. cit., p. 437.
355. op. cit., p. 436.
356. See above, p. 437f.
357. See above, p. 437, and Gilliam, Yale Classical Studies XI (1950), pp. 232ff. for the formula of the pronuntiatio in the Dura acta.
358. A.J.Ph. LXXI, 1950, p. 437.
359. PSI XIII 1307, first published by Medea Norsa in Publicazioni della Societa italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto: Papiri greci e latini, Vol. XIII, Florence, 1949.
360. Cf. J.F. Gilliam, "Notes on PSI 1307 and 1308", Classical Philology XLVI (1952), pp. 29f.
361. It should be noted that because of Miss Norsa's illness the fascicule was seen through the press by another.
362. ILS 2483. (= CIL III 6627).
363. CIL III 6600.

364. For Minicius Iustus, see the article by Groag in PW s.v.
365. See p. 160 below.
366. See p. 155 below.
367. ILS 2355 (A.D. 216).
368. See opp. p. 155 below.
369. The standard work on this subject is still A. von Domaszewski's Die Fahnen im römischen Heere (Abhandlungen des archäologischen-epigraphischen Seminars der Universität Wien, Heft 5, 1885.)
370. All sections of these archives are to be dated within the reign of Domitian.
371. Cf. P. Gen. lat. 1 recto, part 2, lines 2, 8, 27: P. Gen. lat. 1 verso, part 5, line 30. See pp. 152f. and opp. p. 155.
372. For publications see n. 308 above.
373. Copies of such records would ultimately reach the ab epistulis, who may be considered the Roman equivalent of our Adjutant-General and Military Secretary. Cf. Eric Birley, "The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Army", Durham University Journal, December, 1949, p. 13.
- 373a. H.M.D. Parker, The Roman Legions, Oxford, 1928, p.227.
374. This document (P. Berlin 6870 recto) was first published by Mommsen, Ephemeris Epigraphica VII (1892), pp. 456-467, as "Later<sup>u</sup>culus cohortis I Lusitanorum". It

was twice rep. by <sup>or for</sup> him, as BGU II 696 (the most convenient title), and in Ges. Schr. VIII, pp. 553-566. Photographs: BGU II; Wessely, Schriftt. 6; Palaeographical Society Facsimiles, Series II, vol. II, no. 165; L'Écriture latine, no. 24; H. Delitsch, Geschichte der abendländischen Schreibschriftformen, Leipzig, 1928, pl. I (part only). Rep. in Select Papyri II, no. 401 (part only); Calderini, Papiri latini, no. 49.; R.O. Fink, "Mommsen's Pridianum: BGU 696", A.J.Ph. LXIII, Baltimore, 1942, pp. 61-71. Cf. also J.F. Gilliam, "Paganus in BGU 696", A.J.Ph. LXXIII, 1952, pp. 75-78....

375. P. Lond. inv. 2851, first published by A.S. Hunt, "A Register of a Cohort in Moesia", Raccolta di Scritti in onore di Giacomo Lumbroso, Milan, 1925. Cf. G.Cantacuzène, "Un papyrus latin relatif a la défense du Bas-Danube", Aegyptus IX, 1928, pp. 63-96. Facsimile by New Palaeographical Society, Series II, vol. II, plate 186. See pp. 174ff. below.

376. Cf. Eph. Ep., p. 457: "Eius matriculae tanquam supplementum est index quem tenemus, scilicet proficiscens a statu cohortis qui fuit k. Ian. a. 156, sed respiciens item ad eum qui fuit k. Sept. anni praecedentis, recenset milites qui accesserunt ad mensem Maium usque anni illius; dies enim postremus qui nominatur est " .. nonas Maies".  
 Quadrimestre tempus, quod ita significatur, pendet omnino

a stipendio militari a Caesaris inde tempore ter in anno numerato, scilicet k. Ian., et k. Mai., et k. Sept".

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

378. l.c.

379. See pp. 186ff. below.

380. See n. 374.

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

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

383. op. cit., p. 70.

384. col. i, 19.

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

386. op. cit., p. 71.

387. It would be more in keeping with standard procedure,

as shown in the diplomata militaria, for the reports to be consolidated at command level. Thus Dipl. 69 (A.D. 122) records discharges from no fewer than 13 alae and 37 cohorts, perhaps<sup>x</sup> the entire non-legionary force in Britain at that date. <sup>x</sup> substitute almost.

388. CIL X 7953 (= ILS 6766).

389. op. cit., p. 64.

390. l.c.

391. As admitted by Fink himself (l.c.): "Doubt is thrown on the restoration proposed here by the accusative ianuarias, in line 15; but in view of the scribe's mistakes elsewhere it is easy to believe that he either omitted PR before KAL or wrote ianuarias instead of ianuariis".

392. op. cit., p.65. See below, pp.174ff.

393. See above, pp. 127ff. . These documents were unpublished at the time of Fink's article but he had access to them. Cf. his notes 19 and 20.

394. F(ilius), i, 6; FACTUS, i, 20; PRAEF, i, 21; FACTI, ii, 32; PRAEFECT, ii, 14.

395. For the use of a marginal Z perhaps for a similar purpose, see above, p.138 and n. 345. The mark X is found doubled in PSI XIII 1307 (col. ii, line 22). See above, p. 149.

396. op. cit., p. 65.

397. See opp. p. 155.

398. A. von Premerstein, "Die Buchführung einer ägyptischer Legionsabteilung", Klio III (1903), p. 41.
399. J.F. Gilliam, "Paganus in BGU 696", A.J.Ph. LXXIII, 1952, pp. 75-78.
400. Cf. Gilliam, op. cit., p. 77. He cites O. Hirschfeld, "Die Sicherheitspolizei im römischen Kaiserreich", Kleine Schriften, Berlin, 1913, pp. 576-612, and P.K. Baillie-Reynolds, JRS XIII, 1923, pp. 180-187. To these we may now add G. Lopuszanski, "La Politique romaine et les Chrétiens", L'Antiquité Classique XX, 1951, pp. 41f.
401. op. cit., p. 77, n. 10.
402. Cf. Eric Birley, "The Origins of Legionary Centurions", Laureae Aquincenses, II, Budapest, 1941, (= Dissertationes Pannonicae, II, no. 11), pp. 47-62.
403. op. cit., p. 78.
404. BGU II 447, lines 20f.
405. A. Stein, Die Präfekten von Ägypten in römischer Zeit, Berne, 1950, p. 209, n. 267.
406. Dipl. 56 (A.D. 107).
407. Cf. Cichorius in PW s.v. 'ala'. The cohort is attested by Dipl. 33 to have been in Judaea in A.D. 86.
408. Fink (p. 64, n.5) cites: i, 2, AUGUS`TI'; 26, 27, CHORFIS; ii, 25, mae`vi`us; regularly eodem instead of isdem cos.
409. Cf. ILS III, ii, p. 819.

410. Rangordnung, p. 57.

411. Cf. Arrius Menander in Dig., XXXX, 12, 29:

exauctoratus, id est militia remotus castris reicietur;

and the same writer in Dig., XXXXVIII, 16, 6, 6: si quis commilitonem vulneravit, si quidem lapide, militia reicitur, si gladio, capital admittit.

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

413. op. cit., p. 67.

414. lines 8-9.

415. lines 33 and 36.

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

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

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

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

420. op. cit., p. 266.

421. This receipt-book of the ala veterana Gallica,

stationed at Alexandria, of A.D. 179, was found in the Fayoum. See below, p. 242ff.

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

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

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

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

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

427. Cf. G.R. Watson, "Theta Nigrum", JRS XLII, 1952, pp. 56-62, and pp. 54f. above.

428. op. cit., p. 268.

429. For publications see n. 308 above.

430. This papyrus was first published by J. Nicole, "Compte d'un soldat romain", Arch. f. Pap. II (1902), pp. 63-69. Cf. A. von Premerstein, "Die Buchführung einer Ägyptischen Legionsabteilung", Klio III (1903), p. 4 n. 3 and pp. 9-10; J. Lesquier, L'armée romaine d'Égypte, 1918, pp. 506f.; A.C. Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 676f.
431. See below pp. 202f.
432. P. Berlin 6866A was used by Lesquier, op. cit., pp. 250f., and published by Mallon, Marichal and Perrat, L'Écriture latine, 1939, no. 27, with photograph. This papyrus from the Fayoum was fully edited, together with seven other fragments of the same roll, P. Berlin 6866B, by Robert Marichal, L' Occupation romaine de la Basse Égypte: Le Statut des Auxilia, Paris, 1945, with plates 1 and 2. Cf. E.G. Turner, JEA, 1947, p. 92 who recognised that P. Aberdeen 133 was another fragment from the same roll. Cf. also A. Piganiol, Revue des Études latines, 1948, p. 430f.; Eric Birley, JRS XXXIX, 1949, p. 211.
433. P. Fay. 105 (= P. Lond. IV 1196 (descr.)) was published by B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, Fayum Towns and their Papyri, London, 1900, no. 105. Rep. by A. Calderini, Papiri latini, Milan, 1945, no. 54. A revised publication was made by R. Marichal, op. cit., pp. 42ff.,

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

434. P. Mich. VII 435 and 440 (Inv. 510 and 511) both published by H.A. Sanders in Michigan Papyri VII (plates V and VIIb) were recognized by J.F. Gilliam, A.J. Ph. LXXI, 1950, pp. 433 and 435 to be parts of the same document. Cf. V. Arangio-Ruiz, Studi Solazzi, p. 257.

See pp. 232ff. below.

435. See below, pp. 241ff.

436. op. cit., p. 6.

438. Unless we assume a commission of three drachmae.

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

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

441. op. cit., p. 671: "The accounts show also that the soldier withdrew none of his stipend for spending money. The entire balance was left on deposit in the military treasury. This may explain the exactions made by soldiers

when they were sent outside the camp on special service. Not infrequently in private and official accounts payments in the nature of gratuities were made to soldiers (P. Princeton 13; nos. 351-2)".

442. Johnson, op. cit., p. 432: "The denarius, like the stater, was used as a term of account to represent the tetradrachm. It was used in military accounts from the reign of Hadrian, and here we find it with the same premium as the billon in private reckoning (PSI 1063; P. Fay. 105; W.O. 1128, 1265)". Cf. also p. 433, n. 55: "It is clear that the tetradrachm was regarded as having 24 obols in no. 332 where 15 Jews paid a total of 125 dr. The premium of the billon tetradrachm at the beginning of Vespasian's reign is unknown. But the value of the Roman aureus (25 denarii) may be reckoned as 112 dr. 3 ob., 116 dr. 4 ob., 120 dr. 5 ob., or 125 dr. in bronze according as we reckon the value of the billon tetradrachm in private circulation as 26, 27, 28, or 29 obols respectively". In connection with P., Gen. Lat. 4 Johnson has a note (p. 677): "Sums are reckoned in the 7 ob. dr." The 'exchange-rate' theory would, however, require the use of the  $7\frac{1}{4}$  ob. drachma: 300 dr. of 6 ob. each are equivalent to 64 tetradrachms 8 obols, if the billon tetradrachm is valued at 28 ob., or to 62 tetradrachms 2 ob., if the value of the tetradrachm is 29 ob. Similarly, 248 dr. are equivalent

to 1798 ob., if we accept the  $7\frac{1}{4}$  ob. standard, and 297 dr. (see P. Gen. lat. 4 ) are equivalent to 1782 ob. on the 6 ob. standard.

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

444. op. cit., p. 59.

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

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

and workmen probably received the same (nos. 117-8)".

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

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

449. Suetonius, Dom., 7, 3: addidit et quartum stipendium militi, aureos ternos.

Dio, lxxvii, 3, 5: *καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπηύξησε τὴν μισθοφορὰν, τάχα διὰ τὴν νίκην· πέντε γὰρ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα δραχμῶν ἑκάστου λαμβάνοντος ἑκατὸν ἐκέλευσε δίδοσθαι.*

450. loc. cit.

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

452. Klio, lli, p. 9.

453. See n. 442 above.

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

455. Johnson makes liberal use of a farm account

(P. Lond. 131 V, A.D. 78/79) in his calculations of the cost of living in Egypt (pp. 301ff.) In this account a labourer on the estate of Epimachus is employed at an average wage of 4 ob. per day, which, assuming steady employment, would mean an annual income of ca. 210 dr. a year, of which ca. 60 dr. would be due in taxation. It is not clear whether food had to be provided from these wages or not: if it had, Johnson finds that a reasonable expenditure on food and opsonion would hardly be possible from his residual income. Be that as it may, the legionary soldier's annual income was on this reckoning over three times this labourer's gross annual income, from which a considerable amount was deducted in taxes, to which the soldier was not liable. If therefore the labourer's wage was at all a viable one, the soldier must have been comparatively well-to-do.

456. See above, p. 207.

457. This is the natural interpretation of Suetonius' statement (Dom., 7, 3), "addidit et quartum stipendium militi, aureos ternos". We have no evidence to indicate any change in the rates of military pay between the reigns of Domitian and Hadrian, nor is any such change suggested. If we do not accept Suetonius' word, therefore, we are asserting his ignorance of contemporary practice, and this is quite unjustified in this connection. The evidence of Suetonius is accepted by Domaszewski in "Der

Truppen sold der Kaiserzeit", Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher, X, 1900, pp. 218-241. Brunt (op. cit., p. 54) attacks Domaszewski's view, supporting his case on Dio and this very papyrus, which, he declares (n.29), "shows three equal instalments each of 297 silver drachmae". He does not support this statement by explanation.

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

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

460. loc. cit.

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

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

463. loc. cit.

464. Dio, lxvii, 3, 5 (= Zon., xi, 19).

465. The kernel of Domaszewski's argument was that

legionary pay originally consisted of a single annual stipendium of 75 drachmae a year, and that the annual stipendia were increased by Caesar to two, by Augustus to three, by Domitian to four, and by Commodus to five. Though the dates of the increases are unsupported, except in the case of the one made by Domitian, and may be incorrect, the main thesis is not inconsistent with Varro's statement (quoted by Nonius Marcellus, p. 853 L), 'stipendium appellabatur quod aes militi semenstre aut annuum dabatur'. It seems improper to conclude from this, as Brunt does (p. 52), that by Varro's day the later method of payments in three instalments was already in use. He continues, "Perhaps it had been introduced by Marius; the proletarians, who were first regularly recruited by him, to serve for a series of campaigns, were probably unwilling to wait for a whole year or even six months before receiving in lump sums what was due to them". They may well have been reluctant to wait for their pay, but to assume that they pressed for, and received, their pay in four-monthly instalments is to read rather a lot into the use of an imperfect tense by a fourth-century writer.

466. op. cit., p. 23.

467. cf. Marichal, op. cit., p. 67f., and Lesquier op. cit., p. 394f.

468. Compare the stoppage of 103 denarii for arms in P. Fay. 105, 28. (p. 227 below). Cf. the legionaries' complaint in Tacitus, Ann., i. 17: enimvero militiam ipsam gravem, infructuosam: denis in diem assibus animam aestimari: hinc vestem arma tentoria, hinc saevitiam centurionum et vacationes munerum redimi. Brunt. (op. cit., p. 61), writes, "The expense of arms must have fallen most heavily in the first year of service and probably left the soldier a debtor to the bank in his unit". A letter from Terentianus, a recruit in the Alexandrian fleet, to his father Tiberianus, is illuminating in this connection. (P. Mich. VIII 467, early 11 cent. A.D.): (lines 17-23) oro et rogo | te, pater, nem [i] nem habeo enim karum nisi secundum deos te, ut mit- | ta [s m] i [h] i pe [r V] alerium gladiu [m pu] gnatorium et l [oric ?] am et d [o] la- | bram et copla [m] et lonchas duas quam optimas et byrrum casta- | linum et tunicam bra [c] ilem cum bracis meis ut habeam quoniam | extri [v] i tuni [ca] m antequam me pr [o] barem in militiam, braciae autem | novae postae sunt.

469. P. Aberd. 133 was first mentioned by E.B. Winstedt, OJ I (1907), p. 267: "Another pronounced cursive is clearly a deed ... but it and the other Latin fragments are too fragmentary to be worth producing. One of them consists of practically nothing but the name Heliopol(is or -itanus)". E.G. Turner published this scrap in his

Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, 1939, p. 86.

He doubtfully ascribed it to the third century, and described it as a scrap in "literary" cursive, containing parts of three lines in Latin. He gave the reading of line 2: .os· heliopol [itanus. After the publication of the Berlin papyrus by Marichal in 1945 he recognized that this fragment belonged to the same roll, and was able to give the readings of lines 1 and 2. Cf. E.G. Turner in JEA, XXXIII, (1947), p. 92. Turner adds that this is one further example to be added to the list in Aberdeen Papyri p. v of pieces divided between Aberdeen and Berlin, and that, negatively, P. Aberdeen 133 is to be struck out of the catalogue of Latin literary papyri compiled by Paul Collart, Revue de Phil. XV (1941) pp. 112ff.

470. op. cit., p. 24f.

471. op. cit., p. 23.

472. op. cit., p. 80.

473. See p. 197 above.

474. Brunt, op. cit., p. 56, following Passerini, Athenaeum, xxiv, p. 155 (a work which the present writer has not seen), argues that when Herodian (iii,8,4) states that Severus was the first to increase army pay, he may be excused for being unaware of the increase under Domitian, but could hardly have overlooked an increase

under Commodus. See n. 108 above.

475. Cf. Brunt, op. cit., p. 65.

476. To Suetonius, Dom., 7, 3, 'addidit et quartum stipendium militi, aureos ternos' add BGU II 423,

*ἔλαβα βικτικὸν παρὰ Καίσαρος / χρυσῶς τρεῖς.*

Cf. p. 216 below. All the stipendia of which we have certain knowledge could have been paid in aurei.

477. Cf. Domaszewski's "Übersicht der Soldsteigerung" on p. 241 of his article, "Der Truppensold der Kaiserzeit", Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher, X, (1900), pp. 218-241.

478. op. cit.

479. loc. cit.

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

481. loc. cit.

482. The Batavian demand for an increase in the number of equites on the establishment ('augeri equitum numerum') implies that the equites were of higher rank and better paid. Domaszewski, (Rangordnung, p. 58), includes the equites among the immunes of the cohort. The relationship between alares and cohortales is shown in Hadrian's allocutio (ILS 2487): difficile est cohortales equites etiam per se placere, difficilium post alarem exercitationem non displicere.

483. Cf. Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 54. But he must surely be overestimating the importance of these officers when he writes (p. 72): "Demnach erhält der duplicarius alae und duplicarius cohortis den doppelte Sold des gregarius der Legion und ebenso der sesquuplicarius alae den anderthalbfachen". He is completely ignoring the differences between the various arms.

484. op. cit., p. 36.

485. See p. 193f. above.

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

487. But see below p. 219.

488. This famous letter was first published by Viereck in BGU II. (Cf. also the addenda to BGU II by Deissmann, Viereck and Wilcken). It has been frequently republished.

- notably by Deissmann, Licht vom Osten<sup>2</sup>, p. 120ff.; Wilcken, Chrest., 480; Milligan, Selections from the Greek Papyri, 36; Helbing, Auswahl aus griechischen Papyri, Berlin, 1912, p. 100ff.; Hunt and Edgar, Select Papyri I, 112. Photograph in Schubart, Papyri Graecae Berolinenses, 1911, 28.
489. See p. 195 above.
490. For the location of these detachments see Marichal. op. cit., pp. 66ff.
491. II, 20.
492. Cf. Dankfrid Schenk, Die Quellen der Epitoma Rei Militaris (Klio, Beiheft XXII, 1930).
493. op. cit., p. 65.
494. loc. cit.
495. op. cit., p. 66: "The rates of pay for cavalrymen both in the cohorts and alae must have exceeded those applicable to foot-soldiers in auxilia, but cannot be reconstructed".
496. op. cit., p. 65.
497. In an erratum (op. cit., p. 89) Marichal withdraws his suggestion (p.60) that Pantarchus was a 'soldat-colon'. He states that Alföldi proved in "Epigraphica, III", Archaeologiai Ertesitö, 1940, pp. 195-235 ( a work which the present writer has not seen) that the passage in S.H.A., Alex., 58 is anachronistic: "il n'y a pas de soldats-colons avant la deuxième moitié du IIIe siècle". If the

conductor was, however, simply charged with requisitioning or the recovery of monies due to the army, he would have perhaps still greater opportunities for making his fortune, legally or otherwise.

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

499. H.B. Van Hoesen, Roman Cursive Writing, Princeton 1915, p. 79. Cf. Marichal, op. cit., p.39.

500. Cf. Marichal, op. cit., p. 77.

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

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

503. op. cit., p. 74f. Cf. L'Écriture latine, nos. 7-8.

504. For publications see above, n.433.

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

506. op. cit., p. 48.

507. op. cit., p. 47.

508. Cf. Marichal, l.c. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, Fayum Towns, p. 254 and A. Calderini, Papiri latini, p. 124.

509. Cf. Marichal, l.c.

510. l.c.

511. Cf. Marichal, l.c.

512. Cf. Marichal, op. cit., p. 48, and Lesquier, op. cit., p. 80 and 389.

513. See p. 242ff. below.

514. l.c.

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

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

517. II, 20.

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

519. See above, p. 216.

520. op. cit., p. 57.

521. col. ii, 26.

522. P. Mich. VII 435 (= Inv. 510: provenance unknown) and P. Mich. VII 440 (= Inv. 511: provenance unknown) were

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

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

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

525. op. cit., p. 29.

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

527. op. cit., p. 36.

528. See p. 127 above.

529. See p. 138 above.

530. op. cit., p. 28.

531. l.c.

532. Sanders' explanation of instar (op. cit., p. 34),

"The indeclinable noun i]nstar is read with certainty and here means "of the value of" .." seems to ascribe an unnecessarily unusual meaning to the noun. He is forced by this interpretation to continue, "Therefore a statement of the amount, probably in drachmas, must follow, yet hardly a letter is legible". The simpler explanation, that instar means 'in the form of', enables us to differentiate the formulas accepisse hereditatis instar and accepisse legato.

533. See n. 522 above.

534. See n. 207 above.

535. Sanders suggests (op. cit., p. 34) that the use of a common camp day-book would enable the officers of the fiscus to check the amount of inheritance taxes due. It is doubtful how much weight this point would carry with the military administration.

536. See p. 156.

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

[Val]erius Albanus P. Ma<sub>o</sub>onio sal(utem).

[Acce]pi a te pensionem primam

[per] personam P. V [...]ri I [...]

[dr(achmas) Au]g(ustas) et Ptol(emaicas)ducentas  
quad-

5 [ragi]nta duas bessem, f(acit) t(otam) s(ummam) CCXLII [.] .  
 [Anno] IX Ti. Claudi Caesaris Aug(usti)  
 [Ger]manici im[peratoris]  
 ....] K[al] e[n]das [.....]

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

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

34. Τοῖς ἐν στρατείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ στρατείᾳ  
 οἷσι συνεχώρηται διατίθεσθα[ι] | καὶ κατὰ  
 Ῥωμαϊκὰς καὶ Ἑλληνικὰς διαθήκας καὶ χρῆσθαι  
 οἷς βού/-λωνται ὀνόμασι, ἕκαστον δὲ τῷ  
 εὐροφύλῳ καταλείπειν καὶ οἷς ἔξ[ε]στιν.

539. See p. 47ff.

540. Cf. U. Wilcken, Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien, II, Leipzig and Berlin, 1899, nos. 1128-1146.

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

Dakkeh, Nubia", Classical Review XXXIII (1919), pp. 49-53.

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

Νέφερης Νεφέρωτος  
 ὀπιῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου κει-  
 βαριάτορι χαίρειν. ἔλαβον  
 παρὰ σοῦ οἴνου τρικέραμον  
 5 ἔν χ' τριῶν βρολῶν εἴκοσι  
 L ιγ // Φαμενῶθ κ.

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

543. Cf. P.M. Meyer, Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Vol. I, Leipzig and Berlin, 1911-24, no. 39, with plates XI/XII and XIII. Extracts from the text have been published by A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, Select Papyri, Vol. II, 369.

544. The surviving numbers are Z, H, Θ, I, IA, ΙΓ, ΙΔ, ΙΕ.

545. Cf. P. Hamb. I 40-53.

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

547. op. cit., p. 176.

548. P. Mich. III 161, first published by H.A. Sanders in Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, IX (1931), pp. 81-85,

and later in Michigan Papyri III, Ann Arbor, 1936, no. 141.  
Inv. 4301. Provenance unknown.

549. This papyrus was described by F.G. Kenyon, Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vol. II, 1898, no. 482. Pub. by A. von Premerstein, Klio III, p. 32, no.4; J. Lesquier, L'armée romaine d'Égypte, p. 503; Mallon, Marichal and Perrat, L'Écriture latine de la Capitale romaine à la Minuscule, Paris, 1939, no.18, with plate.

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

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

552. P. Oxy. XII 1418.

553. Cf. P. Flor. II 278.

554. See pp. 44ff.

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

556. ILS 8846 attests an ἀρχιταβλάριος Αἰγύπτου.

557. This wax tablet of A.D. 122 was first published by Seymour de Ricci, Nouv. revue hist. de droit, XXX (1906), p. 478. (The present writer has not seen this publication).. It has been frequently republished, notably by Bruns, Fontes<sup>7</sup>, 100; Wilcken, Chrestomathie, 457; Dessau, ILS 9060; Nesselhauf, CIL XVI, App. 1; Calderini, Papiri latini, 58. Nesselhauf's text is:-

M. (scr. M' ?) Acilio Avaviola (scr. Aviola) et Pansa  
cos.  
pridie nonas Ianuarias

T. Haterius Nepos praef(ectus) Aeg(ypti)

L. Valerio Nostro equiti

5 alae Vocontiorum turma

Gaviana emerito home-

stam missionem dedit

(in marg. m<sup>2</sup>....RLEGI·O·S·S·EHM·DEDI PRID NON.

infer.)

(Cairo inv. 29811: prov. Fayoum). The abbreviated subscription has been variously interpreted, e.g. 1) pe]rlegi o(mnia) s(upra) e(t) h(onestam) m(issionem) dedi, S. de Ricci; 2) L. V]alerio s(upra) s(cripto) e(merito) h(onestam) m(issionem) dedi,

Wilcken.

558. See pp. 38ff.

559. See pp. 41ff.

560. See pp. 44ff.

561. See pp. 47ff.

562. e.g. BGU IV 1083 (p.52).

563. P. Oslo III 122 (pp. 70f.).

564. P. Mich. III 164 (pp. 76ff.).

565. P. Gen. lat. 1, verso, part 5 (opp. p. 155).

566. P. Gen. lat. 1, verso, part 4 (p. 122f.).

567. pp. 124ff.

568. BGU II 696 (pp. 157ff.) and P. Lond. 2851 (pp. 171ff.).

569. Cf. J. F. Gilliam, "Some Latin Military Papyri from Dura. I. Texts relating to cavalry horses", Yale Classical Studies, XI, 1950, pp. 171ff.
570. pp. 185ff.
571. pp. 241ff.
572. II, 20. See p. 19f.
573. See p. 244.
574. See p. 12 and n. 27.
575. See n. 557.
576. It is as ex-sailors that the members of I and II Adiutrix qualified for their diplomata of A.D. 68 and 70. (CIL XVI, Dipl. 7-11).
577. CIL XVI. P. Mich. VII 441 may now be added.
578. As is shown by the Geneva archives. On the recto of P. Gen. lat. 1 we have no less than three documents, and two more on the verso. See n. 308.
579. e.g. P. Mich. III 164.
580. P. Mich. VIII 467-481. A short account of this archive is given by H.C. Youtie and J.G. Winter, Michigan Papyri VIII, Ann Arbor, 1951, pp. 16-18.