

## XX.—A Fragment of a Roman Military Papyrus at Princeton

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Princeton Garrett Deposit 7532,<sup>1</sup> which may be dated approximately A.D. 221–236, appears to belong with a small group of papyri which were *matriculae* (rosters) of *principales* (officers below the rank of centurion or decurion). Among the others, the most important is P. Oslo. 122. The Princeton papyrus comes most probably from the archives of the *leg. II Traiana* and consists in part of a list of *cornicularii* (chief clerks) and the centuries to which they were attached. Its readings make possible some improvements in the texts of the other papyri of this type.

This papyrus, Garrett Deposit 7532, came to Princeton as a gift of Mr. Robert Garrett, who had acquired it by purchase. The fragment measures 9.4 cm. at its greatest width by 14.5 cm. at its greatest height. It is complete at the bottom and perhaps, but not probably, on the left side and the lower part of the right. The verso contains portions of an account in Greek. The recto, with which this note is concerned, is occupied by twenty lines of a Latin text which is obviously from a military record of some sort. The hand is cursive except for a heading in rustic capitals in line 16.

The transcription, which is still capable of improvement in spite of numerous corrections and additions which I have made, now runs:

- ✓ s(upra)s(crypt- ) ualerius iș. ș. i. a. n. u. l. s
- ✓ ii pīl(- ) pos(terior- ) iunius martial[
- ✓ iii pr(incip- ) pr(ior- ) aṛelius çaeçilīa[nus
- ✓ vi pr(incip- ) pos(terior- ) aṛelius maḷliō[
- 5 [[ ✓ v pr(incip- ) poș(terior- ) heḷuiūș p[ertin]ax . [ ]
- ✓ viii pīl(- ) poș(terior- ) flauius ulpiā[nus
- ✓ ii pr(incip- ) pr(ior- ) ūibius preșen[s
- ✓ ii pr(incip- ) pos(terior- ) fușçianius demō[

<sup>1</sup> This document was first called to my attention by Mr. Walter Allen in the spring of 1937; and together we worked out a reasonably satisfactory transcription. Later Mr. Allen, with the approval of Professor Allan C. Johnson, turned over his interest in the papyrus to me; but the dislocations of the war years have prevented an earlier publication. My thanks are also due to Professor Johnson for checking various data regarding the papyrus and for generous help in getting the photograph which accompanies this note.

- 10    ✓ vi pr(incip- ) pos(terior- ) iulius alexander[ . [  
       ✓ v pr(incip- ) pos(terior- ) me. ašius firminus[  
       ✓ viiii h(astat- ) pos(terior- ) aurelius maximus[ . [  
       ✓ x pr(incip- ) pos(terior- ) aššorius maxīmus šačer[dote cos  
       ✓ ii pr(incip- ) pr(ior- ) aurelius demostenes gra[ō cos  
       ✓ s(upra)s(cript- ) aurelius theocles g[r]a[ō] co[š]  
 15    ✓ i pr(incip- ) pr(ior- ) aurelius titus [c]o[š] s(upra)s(cripto)[  
       CORNICVLARIO RVM M[  
       ✓ x h(astat- ) pr(ior- ) uibius faustinus presente ço[s  
       ]ds ✓ i h(astat- ) pr(ior- ) flauius seuerianus sab(ino) co[š]  
       ✓ ii h(astat- ) pr(ior- ) aurelius apollinaris sab(ino) co[š]  
 20    ✓ iii pr(incip- ) pr(ior- ) ulpius quirinus šabino c[o]š[

1: A mark above *iš* is the foot of an *l*, the only surviving trace of the preceding line. See the accompanying plate (III).

4: For the double *l* in *mallio*[ cf. *apollinaris* in line 19.

10: The *nomen* might just possibly be *neratius*.

12: Date, A.D. 219. *Assorius* might be *artorius* or *astorius*.

13: Date, A.D. 221.

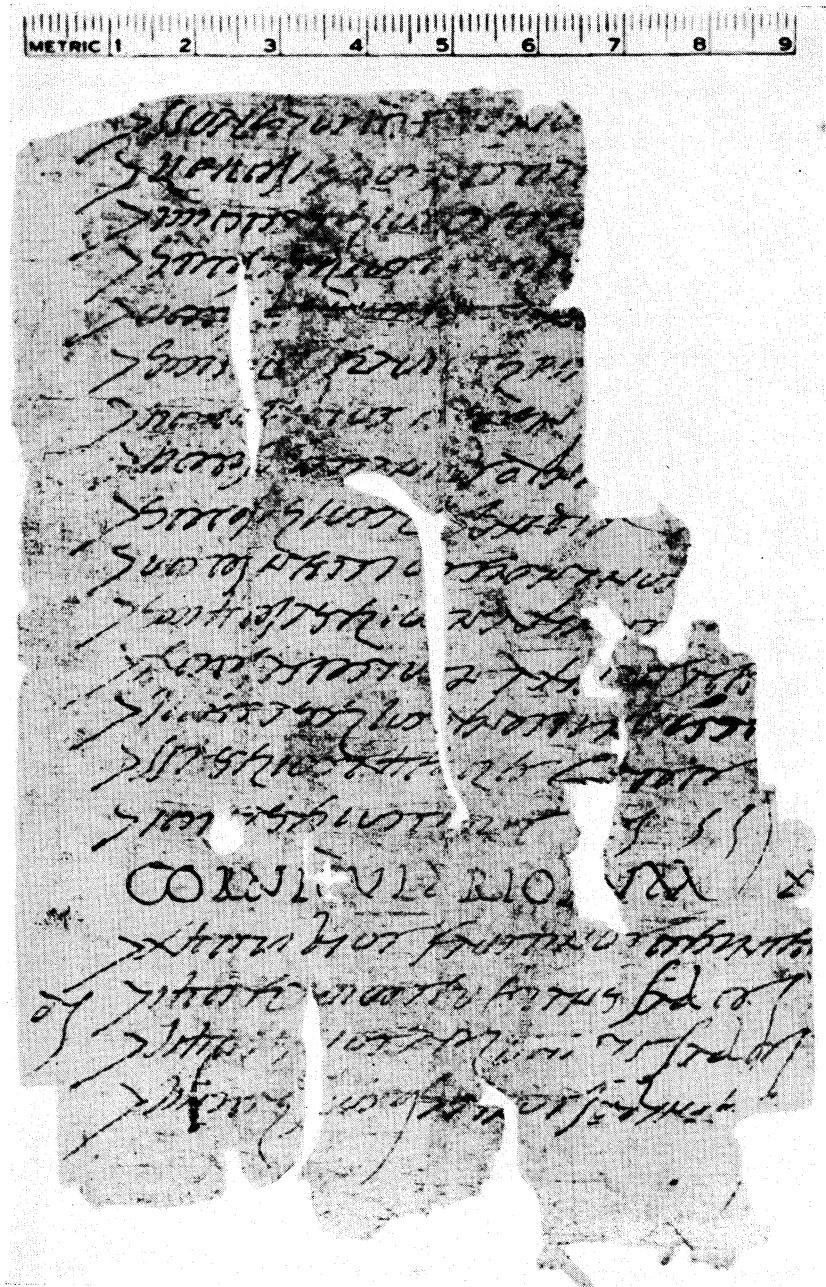
16: The letter at the right edge looks superficially like *X*; but it could be *M* or *A*.

17: Date, A.D. 217.

18: Date, A.D. 216.

In the foregoing list certain facts are evident at once. The dates in lines 12, 13–15, 17 and 18–20 should indicate, according to the convention of all military papyri, the years in which the individuals named first enlisted. Consequently, while lines 13–15 indicate that the papyrus was written in or after A.D. 221, the *terminus ante quem* must be fixed about twenty years after the earliest date in the papyrus, or about A.D. 236, because legionary troops were normally discharged after twenty years of service. That the persons listed actually were legionary personnel is shown by the designations *ii pilus posterior*, *iiii princeps prior*, *x hastatus prior*, and the like, which precede each name. These are the titles of centurions, based on the number of the cohort to which each centurion belonged and the position of his century within the cohort.<sup>2</sup> Since auxiliary units were subdivided only into centuries or *turmae* (cavalry squadrons), the division into cohorts indicated in the Princeton papyrus also shows that the men named belonged to a

<sup>2</sup> In descending order of rank these titles are: *pilus prior*, *princeps prior*, *hastatus prior*, *pilus posterior*, *princeps posterior*, and *hastatus posterior*.



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legion. Finally, *corniculariorum* in line 16 proves that other ranks than the centurionate are also somehow involved.

This brief statement, however, summarizes all that can be said with certainty. The remainder of this note will accordingly be devoted to discussion of the problems presented.

First of all, it seems evident that dates followed all the names; but it is impossible to say whether or not anything followed *cos* in each line. Similarly, no principle of order can be demonstrated in this surviving portion of the list. The numerals *vi*, *v*, and *viii* appear in that order in lines 4-6, and again in 9-11; and *i*, *ii*, *iii* in lines 18-20 are preceded by *x* in 17. Both in lines 3-5 and in 7-9 a *princeps prior* is followed by two *principes posteriores*; but again no discernible sequence is found among the other titles. Lines 12-15 appear to be in chronological order; but the date in 17 is later than those in 18-20. This last feature is particularly striking, because in most military papyri the chronological order is rigidly adhered to.

Above all, the exact meaning of the formula at the beginning of each line, and the closely related question of the purpose of the list as a whole, are obscure. Since the symbol  $\nabla$  often means *centurio*, an entry like  $\nabla$  *x h pr uibius faustinus* (line 17) could be expanded (*centurio*) (*decimus*) *h(astatus) pr(ior)*, *Vibius Faustinus* and would mean that Vibius Faustinus was the third and last centurion in the front rank of the tenth cohort.<sup>3</sup> In that case, the list would be a roster of centurions; and the four names in lines 17-20, since they follow the heading *corniculariorum* in 16, would apparently have to be regarded as those of centurions who had been *cornicularii*, that is, heads of the clerical staffs of military units. On such a view the list must be some sort of record of promotions;<sup>4</sup> and the upper part of it must contain the names of *optiones* or other *principales* who have likewise been promoted.

This interpretation, however, though not impossible, can hardly

<sup>3</sup> This expansion of the numeral is justified by many inscriptions in which the ordinal is spelled out, e.g. *CIL* 6.31158: C. Iulius Certus leg. XIII gem. primus hastatus posterior; Dessau *ILS* 2361: sexto pilo priore leg. II particae.

<sup>4</sup> Numerous inscriptions show that *cornicularii* were quite regularly promoted to the centurionate, e.g. *CIL* 3.3846; *CIL* 6.414; *CIL* 11.20 and 6055; *CIL* 13.6803; and Dessau *ILS* 2652. In *L'année épigraphique* for 1937, no. 101, a *cornicularius* is first made an *optio ad spem ordinis* and then a centurion. See also A. v. Domaszewski, "Die Rangordnung des röm. Heeres," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 117 (1908) 8, 12, 17, 20-21, 29, 30-31, 41, 67, and 102-03.

be accepted. The one papyrus known to me which is unquestionably a list of promotions, P. Mich. 164,<sup>5</sup> employs an entirely different formula for its entries, all of which follow the pattern of lines 3–5: (3) AV]FIDIVS VICTORINVS (4) p]raesente et extrica[to] c[o]s factus dec(urio) ex eq(uite) leg(ionis) [---] (5) a bas[i]l[e]o] praef-(ecto) aeg(ypti) iiii nonas apriles attico et praet[extato] cos. Moreover, in the Princeton papyrus both line 7 and line 13 begin with *ii pr pr*, both 4 and 9 with *vi pr pos*, and both 5 and 10 with *v pr pos*, while in lines 1 and 14 the whole phrase between the symbol and the name is replaced by *s(upra)s(cript) —*, presumably indicating that the designation was identical with that in the preceding line. In line 14 this would add still another instance of *ii pr pr*. Since obviously only one centurion could be *princeps prior* in the second cohort of a given legion at any one time, acceptance of the present text as a list of various *principales* who had been promoted to the centurionate would involve supposing that the men named in lines 7, 13, and 14 were assigned to identical posts in three different legions. This is of course possible, for the legion in each case could have been named after the consulship; but the designation of the legion would certainly fit in more naturally immediately after the mention of the individual's rank and before his name.

For all these reasons the symbol √ should preferably be expanded as *centuria*; and the line cited above should be read as (*centuria*) (*decimi*) *h(astati) pr(ioris)*, *Vibius Faustinus*.<sup>6</sup> That is to say, the papyrus should be understood as a list of *principales* indicating their assignment to various centuries within the legion. The entry just mentioned would then mean that Vibius Faustinus was a *cornicularius* who was attached to the century of the *decimus hastatus prior*, who is not named. That *principales* whose duties had no connection with any particular century were nevertheless assigned to one for administrative purposes was of course already

<sup>5</sup> *Michigan Papyri*, Vol. III: *Miscellaneous Papyri* (University of Michigan, Humanistic Series, 40, Ann Arbor, 1936). First published under the number P. Mich. inv. 1804 by H. A. Sanders in *Classical Studies in Honor of John C. Rolfe* (Philadelphia, 1931).

<sup>6</sup> For (*centuria*) without a preposition cf. the use of *ala* and *turma* in P. Mich. 159 (*Michigan Papyri*, Vol. III) 2–3: M. Trebius Heraclides eques Ala Apriana, turma Acamantis, M. Apronium et M. Manlius equites Ala Vocontiorum turma Domestici. The same usage is probable in other papyri, as in P. Oslo. 122 (p. 276 below); but the use of the symbols √ and ⊕ obscures the case-forms. In Mommsen's *pridianum*, on the other hand, in √ and in *turma* are found throughout. See R. O. Fink, "Mommsen's *Pridianum*: B.G.U. 696," *AJPh* 63 (1942) 61–71.

known from inscriptions, e.g. *CIL* 6.1057 and 1058. In Dura Papyrus 12, an unpublished roster of the *coh. XX Palmyrenorum*, the *cornicularius* is assigned in similar fashion to one of the cavalry *turmae*. According to this hypothesis, then, the men listed in lines 1–15 must have been *principales* of a rank just above or just below that of *cornicularius*, perhaps *optiones*. The presence of several *principales* of the same rank in the same century, as in lines 7, 13, and 14, can also be illustrated from the inscriptions and DP 12. In the latter, for example, the centurions and decurions have as their lieutenants two *duplicarii*, or two *duplicarii* and a *sesquipliciarius*, more frequently than one *duplicarius* and a *sesquipliciarius*.

The number of *cornicularii* in the Princeton papyrus also deserves a word. Four names actually are preserved under this heading; and if the remains of letters at the end of line 16 are a numeral (X, XV, or XX ?), there must have been at least six more. The genitive case of *corniculariorum*, however, requires a noun rather than a numeral to follow; and according to Domaszewski a legion had just four *cornicularii*.<sup>7</sup> It seems probable, therefore, if the papyrus was written in Egypt and did not come originally from some other province, that the four names in the Princeton list are those of the four *cornicularii* of the *leg. II Traiana*, the only legion stationed in Egypt at this time. The traces at the end of line 16 may then tentatively be restored as M[ATRICVLA, though other readings are possible. See the discussion of P. Rylands 79, p. 277 below.

Of the letters *ds* before √ at the beginning of line 18 very little can be said. They may be the end of an extremely long entry in the preceding column; or they may represent an abbreviation, such as *d(e)s(ideratus)* or *d(e)s(eruit)*. The reading at least appears reasonably certain.

Since papyri which resemble the present one sufficiently to provide comparative material are few, it will be useful to conclude with a review of those known to me, especially since the Princeton papyrus already makes possible improvements in the readings of some of them.

<sup>7</sup> *Rangordnung*, 48–49, 29–31, 38, 40, and 73. One of the *cornicularii* of the legion Domaszewski gives to the service of the *legatus Aug. pro praetore*. Such an official did not of course exist in Egypt; but the *cornicularius* was doubtless needed to perform the same tasks for the prefect of Egypt.

Closest to the Princeton papyrus in date and form is P. Oslo. 122, of A.D. 238–242.<sup>8</sup> Like the Princeton papyrus, it is in cursive except for one heading in rustic capitals. The entries are in pairs of lines, the first containing the symbol  $\mp$  (= *turma*) followed by the name of the decurion in the genitive and a consulship, the second containing a name in the nominative followed in the first five instances by an abbreviation which Amundsen reads as *cdot*. The entries are not in chronological order of the consulships. In line 11, Amundsen reads SES]QVILICIAR' X[ and expands to SES]QVI<P>LICIAR(II); but an abbreviation which saves no more than the writing of two *i*'s seems rather pointless, while the Princeton papyrus shows that in all probability the expansion should be SES]QVI<P>LICIAR(IORVM). The *X* at the end of the line then becomes suspect. It is almost certainly the beginning of the same word or symbol as at the end of line 16 of the Princeton papyrus, whatever it may be; but it is probably not a numeral. The letters after the names in the first five entries appear to me to be *pnt* rather than *cdot*. For the form of the *n* one may compare the first *n* in *ammoniani*, line 12; the last *n* in the same word, line 20; and the *n* in *sarapion*, line 17. A possible expansion, on the assumption that these lists may at times have something to do with promotions, is *p(romotus) n(ominante) t(ribuno)*. Cf. Script. Hist. Aug., *vit. Alex.* 21, 8: *de provehendis etiam sibi Alexander adnotabat . . . diebus etiam pariter adnotatis et quis quo esset insinuante promotus*. In any event, although it has been argued above that these papyri are probably rosters of *principales* and not records of promotions, it is still possible that these letters following the names in the Oslo papyrus are notes added as aids in revising the list.

Another papyrus similar to the two already discussed is P. Rylands 79 of about A.D. 144–150.<sup>9</sup> As in the Oslo papyrus, the entries are in groups of lines, with a date in one line followed by a name in the next. In lines 7–9 the date is followed by two names. This papyrus is written entirely in capitals; but it too has headings grouping the persons listed according to rank. Line 10 reads ]LIB MERCVR[; and the editors suggest LIB(ERTVS ?) as an expan-

<sup>8</sup> *Papyri Osloenses* III (Oslo, 1936) no. 122 and plate 10. See also Leiv Amundsen, "A Latin Papyrus in the Oslo Collection," *Symbolae Osloenses*, Fasc. x (1931) 16–30, and U. Wilcken, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 10 (1932) 238 and 279.

<sup>9</sup> *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, Vol. II (Manchester, 1916).

sion. This of course is impossible in view of the military connotations of the language and form; so that, unless this is simply another name — which seems unlikely — LIB(RARIORVM) would appear to be the correct reading. MERCVR[I naturally follows from P. Lat. Gen. 1, recto, part 2, lines 5 and 23: exit ad frumentum Mercuri, which has been explained by v. Premerstein as an assignment to duty at one of the public granaries at Alexandria.<sup>10</sup> M[ercuri is also just possible as a restoration of line 16 of the Princeton papyrus and line 11 in the Oslo papyrus; but the probabilities favor some general word like *matricula*.

Two other papyri resemble P. Rylands 79 in that they are both lists of names written in capitals throughout. They are Wessely, *Schrifttafeln* 9<sup>11</sup> and P. Mich. 162.<sup>12</sup> Both are also arranged in groups of lines, with a consulship in one line and one or more names in the succeeding lines; and both add a place-name after each soldier's name. Neither papyrus, however, contains any indication of the rank of the persons listed; so that it is not certain that they belong in this group. It should also be noted that in *Schrifttafeln* 9, as in P. Oslo 122 and the Princeton papyrus, the chronological order of the consulships is not observed.

DP 11a, verso, and 11b, verso,<sup>13</sup> the former a list of names in groups of four or five by centuries, the latter a similar list by *turmae* with the addition of the title *dupl(icarius)* before the first name in two of the groups, are doubtless lists of *principales*; but the brevity of the entries (for example, they contain no dates) and their being written in cursive throughout suggest that they are memoranda which were not intended for the same purposes as the texts already listed. The one Dura papyrus, in fact, which appears to belong with this group is a tiny scrap, DP 41, recto, which may be reproduced here in its entirety, by way of colophon. The traces in line 7 may be the remains of capital letters. The date is most probably A.D. 223, 234, 236, or 256; but other possibilities exist.

<sup>10</sup> For the text of the Geneva papyrus see J. Nicole and Ch. Morel, *Archives Militaires du 1<sup>er</sup> Siècle* (Genève, 1900). Premerstein's discussion of it appeared as "Die Buchführung einer ägyptischen Legionsabteilung," *Klio* 3 (1903) 1-46. See page 15 for *Mercuri*.

<sup>11</sup> C. Wessely, *Schrifttafeln z. älteren lat. Palaeographie* (Leipzig, 1898). Also in his *Studien z. Palaeographie und Papyruskunde* 14, plate 8, right, below.

<sup>12</sup> *Michigan Papyri*, Vol. III (see note 5 above).

<sup>13</sup> E. T. Silk and C. B. Welles, "Descriptive List of Papyri from the Temple of Azzanathkona," *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Fifth Season, 1931-1932* (New Haven, 1934) 300-301.



- .[...]. . . . [  
     iulius   prōculus  
 [a]urel(ius) t̥h[e]maɾʃa[  
                   maxim  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{o ?} \\ \text{ino ?} \end{array} \right\}$  cos  
 5 [a]urel(ius) quin. [  
     ḐVḐLĪCĪA [R (I O R V M ?)  
                   ] . . . [