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Latin Military Papyri of Dura-Europos (P.Dura 55-145). A New Edition of the Texts, with Introduction and Notes

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Then came the most frustrating day I had ever experienced as an archaeologist. I had just written that all we needed to make the season a complete success were some parchments and papyri, when, close to the surface and just south of the room with the inscribed steps, almost on the edge of the ravine, we found papyri, masses of papyri, papyri on which letters were strong and clear, but in which not a single whole word remained. The letters were preserved as print in the dust – printed, as it were, on the dust, and to the dust they quickly returned. The documents had been tied into bundles; while the letters of ink remained intact, the papyri on which they were written had long ago dissolved into dust.

Hopkins (1979: 99)

to my parents,  
Maddalena and Roberto

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (Grant agreement no. 636983); ERC-PLATINUM project, University of Naples 'Federico II' – Principal Investigator: Maria Chiara Scappaticcio.

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## INTRODUCTION.

This book contains a new edition, with translation in English and an updated commentary, of all the Latin documentary texts on papyrus and parchment preserved in the Beinecke Library at Yale University (New Haven, CT) under the name of *P.Dura* and connected to the Roman cohort stationed in the town of Dura-Europos in the first half of the third century AD (*P.Dura* 55 to 145).<sup>1</sup> The collection of texts here gathered is augmented with an appendix on *P.Dura* 54 – the famous *Feriale Duranum* – and with the texts of some small Latin fragments from the same context – the archive of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* – which I have published for the first time in the *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* in 2019<sup>2</sup> and which I re-publish here.<sup>3</sup> The main aim of this book is to provide an updated text and state of the art concerning these papyri, in a book easily accessible and available for consultation, for any scholar who might be interested in these documents.

Dura's Latin papyri – as will be clear from the following chapters – can be a potential object of research or interest for several branches of scholarship in Classics. They present a number of papyrological and archival problems: fragmentation of the manuscripts, potential reunion or alignment of scraps, different order and numbering of the pieces, alternation between papyrus and parchment, and the very fact that they come from outside Egypt, thus breaking the otherwise very uniform record of provenance represented by papyri, parchment, *ostraka* and tablets from the ancient world. They are a priceless source for palaeographers investigating the history of Latin writing, inasmuch as they represent a real archive containing documents produced roughly in the same *milieu* during 50 uninterrupted years, at different stages of writing and formal elaboration, and aimed at different readerships and usages, by scribes who were presumably competent in more than one (written) language – namely, Latin and Greek – and might disclose new perspectives regarding influences between the two scripts and their evolution. Historians of the ancient world, notably of the Roman Empire and Roman army, are allowed a glance inside the everyday life of a Roman camp built within a Hellenized town of Semitic origin with a flourishing Jewish community, where several cultures coexisted under the rule of Rome, and were necessarily touched, if not influenced, by the typical output of a Roman military unit: circulation of money, soldiers and veterans as business entrepreneurs and interfering with civil life and law practice, intake of veterans within the civil community after their discharge, and perhaps also some written – and rarely spoken – Latin. Written samples of nine languages (Greek, Palmyrenean, Hatrean, Syriac, Parthian and Pehlevi, Hebrew, Safaitic and Latin), mainly on stone, plaster and wood, but also on papyrus and parchment, will call for the attention of linguists and historians of languages in the East; those interested in Latin language will particularly look at the Latin texts, in search of glimpses from spoken language and substandard varieties.

Before this volume was published, all those interested in Dura's Latin papyri could peruse them in three ways. First, they could turn to the first editions by J. F. Gilliam, R. O. Fink and C. B. Welles, between 1940 and 1958;<sup>4</sup> then there were re-editions, with a few alterations, by Fink alone in 1971;<sup>5</sup> then another re-edition in 1975–1977 by R. Marichal.<sup>6</sup> A fourth edition by P. Cugusi in 1992 only covers letters (*P.Dura* 55 to 81),<sup>7</sup> and departs little from that of Marichal. Those editions, all renowned and masterly examples of Classical scholarship, can be nevertheless improved by a further, more accessible and updated one. The editions done on the spot in Yale – where the papyri are still preserved – were done without the digital microscope the Beinecke Library now employs for reading particularly problematic papyri, and are now more than half a century old; Marichal's monumental study is also more than forty years old and is collected in the volumes of the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, large and cumbersome books which are not easy to consult and not very widespread in libraries. The present book offers an updated edition produced

<sup>1</sup> One of the texts, *P.Dura* 128, is actually bilingual (Latin-Greek).

<sup>2</sup> In Iovine (2019a).

<sup>3</sup> In chapter 5.8.

<sup>4</sup> To quote some of the most relevant: Hoey, Fink, and Snyder (1940); Gilliam (1950); Gilliam (1957b); Welles, Fink, and Gilliam (1959).

<sup>5</sup> The *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, i.e. Fink (1971).

<sup>6</sup> In volumes VI to IX of the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* (*ChLA* VI 309 to IX 395).

<sup>7</sup> In the *Corpus Epistularum Latinarum papyris ostracis tabulis servatarum* (i.e. the *CEL*).

through direct inspection of the items with a microscope – several improvements on the texts have been made – and takes into account all the bibliography from 1977 onwards concerning the city of Dura and the Roman cohort stationed there; it collects all the Latin Dura papyri and parchments in a portable volume devoted to this topic only, instead of a collection of larger books with wider aims (all the Dura papyri and parchments in Welles, Gilliam and Fink's edition; all the Latin papyri and parchment in the *Chartae*).

The choice of producing a re-edition of the Latin *P. Dura*, which roughly match the papyri referring to the cohort of the Palmyrenes – excepting a small bunch of them in Greek – is explained by the context in which this book was first thought of, and then written. This book was born within project PLATINUM (ERC-StG no 636983), where I served 2015–20, and which was committed to the publication, re-publication and investigation of Latin texts on papyrus and *ostrakon* from the Roman East, Roman and Vandal Africa, and Italy up to the eighth century AD. As a post-doctoral researcher in the team, I was charged by the principal investigator, Prof Maria Chiara Scappaticcio (University of Naples 'Federico II') with producing re-editions of the Durene Latin papyri for our future *corpus* of Latin texts on papyrus, to be published by Cambridge University Press. Since our re-editions for the *corpus* contain but a small and serviceable amount of data for each analyzed manuscript, Prof Scappaticcio suggested that I published the full extent of my research in the form of a monograph.

This research has been funded not only by project PLATINUM, but also from the Neapolitan institution COINOR (Centro di Servizio di Ateneo per il Coordinamento di Progetti Speciali e l'Innovazione Organizzativa), which launches every year a funding program for several research projects under the common denomination of STAR (Sostegno Territoriale all'Attività di Ricerca). I successfully applied for funding in September 2016 for a research project on Dura's Latin papyri ('I papiri di *Dura Europos*'), which consisted in a six-month stay in New Haven as a Visiting Scholar at Yale University (1 April – 27 September 2017), and allowed me personally to inspect and produce editions and re-editions of all the relevant manuscripts. It is my pleasure to remember, from my happy time in New Haven, the kindness, enthusiasm and courtesy of all the staff at the Beinecke, including particularly Mark Custer, Ellen Doon and Adrienne Sharpe.

I started drafting the book in October 2017; it was submitted to CUP in March 2019. In 2018, I presented an overview of some of the most relevant textual and papyrological problems from the data set at my disposal in the form of a paper (*Extreme survivors. Papyrological and textual problems in the Latin papyri from Dura Europos*) at the panel *Archaeology from a Distance: Dura-Europos in the New Millennium*, during the 119<sup>th</sup> meeting of the *Archaeological Institute of America (AIA)* in Boston (4 to 7 January 2018). Here I had the pleasure of meeting some of the most influential scholars on Dura-Europos,<sup>8</sup> was warmly welcomed by them in their panel and enjoyed a long visit (8–9 January), sponsored by Lisa Brody (Yale University), to the archaeological collection of the Yale University Art Gallery (Department of Ancient Art), where she is curator, including sections not open to the public where priceless objects were still under restoration. My gratitude to all the 'Dura nerds' I wish publicly to acknowledge. Needless to say, there would have been no book without the constant help and support of my principal investigator, Prof Maria Chiara Scappaticcio, and of my colleagues in project PLATINUM – Andrea Bernini, Lucia Consuelo Colella, Valeria Fontanella, Dario Internullo, Fernanda Maffei, Marco Miglionico, Michele Pedone, Alessia Pezzella, Valeria Piano, Ornella Salati and Antonio Stornaiuolo. Eleanor Dickey deserves a mention for her help, scruple and insight. Finally, my gratitude goes to Paul Ellis, who checked my English for the whole book.

The book is organized in chapters, following the traditional distribution of topics expected in a papyrological edition:

1. a historical introduction, presenting all the most recent bibliography and research on the town and the Roman conquest, the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*, the final demise of Dura, and an overview on the discovery and the location of the Dura papyri;
2. an overview of the documentary typologies to be found in the archive, with notes, updated bibliography, and comparisons with similar documents from other corners of the Empire;

<sup>8</sup> I refer to Jennifer Baird, Joe Bonni, Lisa Brody, Gaëlle Coqueugniot, Lucinda Dirven (whom I could not meet in person), Simon James, Sanne Klaver, Matthew McCarthy and Karen Stern.

3. a prosopography of the soldiers of the cohort, taking advantage of the new readings I have taken from the manuscripts. Next to each name, details of its conservation (complete or partial), rank and/or duty, and location (papyrus, line, date) are given;

4. a palaeographical description of the scripts within the archive, grouped according to their features and purposes, with a focus on the first appearances of shapes of letters which will be common in later stages of Roman documentary writing (the ‘new Roman cursive’);

5. the edition of all the papyri, with introduction, critical text, translation and line-by-line commentary. The manuscripts are grouped chronologically and not according to typology, from sub-chapters 5.1 to 5.8, 5.7. including the papyri of uncertain date, and 5.8. the unpublished items I inspected at the Beinecke Library;

6. an appendix with a bibliographical résumé and a re-edition of the *Feriale Duranum* (*P.Dura* 54), whose link with the military documents is still uncertain, and which has therefore been included only in a later stage of composition of the book;

7. another appendix on the few Greek *P.Dura* from the cohort – which will not be published here.

Given that all the texts are available in online repositories where queries for single words or sequences of letters are possible, I have not produced an *Index verborum*.

All the images employed in this book are open-access; most of them are taken by the online repositories of the Yale University Art Gallery.<sup>9</sup> My gratitude to Lisa Brody for having introduced me to this bottomless pit of joy.

Berkeley, 15.09.2022  
Giulio Iovine

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<sup>9</sup> The collection can be perused at <https://library.artstor.org/#/collection/87730479;colId=87730479;size=72>

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

All papyri, *ostraka*, parchments and tablets mentioned in this book are referred to according to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets*.<sup>10</sup> Journal titles' abbreviations are those featured on the *Année Philologique*. Greek authors and works are abbreviated according to the *Greek-English Lexicon* by Henry G. Liddell and Robert Scott revised by Sir Henry S. Jones, Oxford 1968 (*LSJ*).<sup>11</sup> Latin ones are abbreviated according to the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (*ThLL*).<sup>11</sup> A few further abbreviations are listed below:

*CEL*: Cugusi, P. *Corpus Epistularum Latinarum Papyris Tabulis Ostracis servatarum* (*CEL*). I. *Textus*; – II. *Commentarius*, Firenze (1992); III. *Addenda, Corrigenda, Indices rerum, Indices verborum omnium*, Firenze (2002).

*ChLA*: A. Bruckner, R. Marichal *et al.*, *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* I–, Dietikon–Zürich (1954–). Volumes VI and VII were printed in 1975; volume VIII in 1976; volume IX in 1977.

*FIRA*: V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Fontes iuris Romani antejustiniani in usum scholarum. III. Negotia*, Firenze (1969).

*PLP*: R. Seider, *Paläographie der Lateinischen Papyri. I. Urkunden*, Stuttgart (1972); *II. Literarische Papyri*, Stuttgart (1978).

<sup>10</sup> Online at <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>.

<sup>11</sup> Now online at <https://thesaurus.badw.de/tll-digital/tll-open-access.html> (the main work) and <https://thesaurus.badw.de/tll-digital/index.html> (where the abbreviations employed in the main work are listed and solved).



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## 1. DURA-EUROPOS AND THE ROMAN GARRISON.

The aim of this introductory chapter is to provide the reader who approaches Dura's Latin papyri with some essential data on their context, and with updated bibliography. Research on all archaeological and historical topics concerning Dura has been thorough and abundant – the latest product of which being the monumental and seminal book by S. James<sup>12</sup> – and it is not the claim of this chapter to supersede it. Instead, together with the following three, it will attempt to provide a framework large enough for the reader to contextualize the papyri, without getting lost in all the manifold aspects of the life in this unique town; and always bearing in mind, with J. Baird, that splitting the city's history into phases (Semitic, Seleucid, Parthian, Roman) is done primarily for the purpose of clarity, and is a largely artificial representation of the cultural and historical richness of Dura-Europos.<sup>13</sup>

[FIG. 1.1]

[FIG. 1.2]

### 1.1. The city

Probably in the wake of a major foundation programme promoted by Seleucus I after the battle of Ipsos (301 BC), in the following decade some Graeco-Macedonian settlers led by an otherwise unknown Nikanor (Νικάνωρ) built a φρουρίον 'small fortress' on the right bank of the Euphrates, about 50-60 km south-east from the mouth of the Khabour river.<sup>14</sup> The new settlement, called Εὐρωπός like Seleucus' native town, was not built directly on the bank, but on a rocky cliff protected to the north and the south by *wadis*, and on the western side by the desert. Its first inhabitants were veterans from the Seleucid army, originally coming from the town of the same name, Εὐρωπός, in Macedonia.<sup>15</sup> As the site lay directly in the way of any army which meant to invade the fertile plains of Osroene from Mesopotamia, and in a very favourable position as regards commercial routes to and from Palmyra, the settlers' (or their leaders') choice appears a sensible one.<sup>16</sup> They probably did not get there first. A tablet in the cuneiform alphabet and Akkadian language, dated back to the eighteenth-seventeenth century BC, and containing a deed,<sup>17</sup> informs us that a settlement called *Da-wa-ra* existed in the closest vicinity of the new town, perhaps on the very bank of the river or at any rate not too far from it. The original name did not vanish, and in any circumstance where the Greek name could be dropped, the town was referred to as Δούρα/Dura, the phonetic evolution of *Da-wa-ra*. The two names, Dura and Europos, co-existed in antiquity, probably alternatively one to another, rather than in the unified (and conventionally hyphenated, i.e. Dura-Europos) way employed in modern times, after excavations revealed the existence of the city.

Our information on the earliest centuries of the city is scanty. Apart from the already quoted Isidorus of Charax, Polybius mentions the city in passing while discussing Molon's revolt.<sup>18</sup> We know from Polybius himself and from papyrological evidence, that it lay in the district of Parapotamia.<sup>19</sup> The settlement grew slowly but steadily from the original φρουρίον to

<sup>12</sup> James (2019). For a detailed history of Dura, see pp. 49–55.

<sup>13</sup> Baird (2014: 40) '[...] the phasing of the town into Hellenistic, Parthian, and Roman Dura is in some senses an artificial construct [...] there are no clear archaeological or historical horizons for these periods at the site itself'.

<sup>14</sup> Isid.Char. *BNJ* 781 F 2,31-36 Δούρα Νικάνωρος πόλις, κτίσμα Μακεδόνων, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἑλλήνων Εὐρωπός καλεῖται ('Dura, town of Nikanor, a foundation of the Macedonians; it is called *Europos* by the Greeks'). The site is close to the modern Syrian village of Al-Salhiyah. See also Kosmin (2011: 98–102); Leriche (2011: 26).

<sup>15</sup> See again Leriche (2011: 26).

<sup>16</sup> See Edwell (2007: 97–101) on the small military importance of the town in the Seleucid era – it was not a border town then, but deep within the kingdom – as opposed to its strategic potential, due to its very position.

<sup>17</sup> See Stephens (1937). The tablet was found during the excavations in the site of Dura-Europos, 'imbedded in an unbaked mud brick, which formed part of the wall of the temple of Atargatis' (*ibidem*: 183).

<sup>18</sup> Plb. 5 48,16 πολλὴν δὲ ποιησάμενος ἐπιμέλειαν ἐνταῦθα τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ παρακαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος ὥρμησε πρὸς τὰς ἐξῆς πράξεις, καὶ τὴν μὲν Παραποταμίαν μέχρι πόλεως Εὐρώπου κατέσχε, τὴν δὲ Μεσοποταμίαν ἕως Δούρων ('here having paid the utmost attention to the army, and having summoned the crowds, he set out on what he had to do next: he seized Parapotamia as far as the town of Europos and Mesopotamia up to Dura'). Being a Greek historian, Polybius uses the Greek name; this Δούρα he mentions probably refers to another town.

<sup>19</sup> See the passage quoted above, and Kosmin (2011: 103) 'as early as the reign of Antiochus III, Europos was located in the administrative district called Parapotamia (along the river)', quoting a Durene parchment from the Parthian period, *P.Dura* 18 *recto*, *scriptura interior*, ll. 1-2 ἐν Εὐρωπῶι τῇ | ἐν τῇ Παραποταμίᾳ, *scriptura exterior*, l. 14 ἐν [Εὐρωπῶι τ]ῇ ἐν Π[α]ρ[α]ποταμίᾳ (AD

a populated town, and new buildings rose.<sup>20</sup> Papyrological and archaeological evidence suggests that the population was a mixture of Semitic and Graceo-Macedonian elements; that there was a Graceo-Macedonian portion of the population, the descendants of the original settlers who called themselves Εὐρωπαῖοι in official contexts – veteran soldiers from the Seleucid army – who received pieces of land (κλήροι) and became the foremost landowners;<sup>21</sup> and that the relationship – cultural as well political – between the Hellenized portion of Dura-Europos and the Semitic one is far from being completely understood. It is probably impossible to establish the precise extent of Greek influence in Durene architecture, political and cultural life; from the material point of view, the city was far from a typical Hellenised settlement,<sup>22</sup> and as to religious communities and spoken languages, it was a melting pot.<sup>23</sup> [Fig. 1.3.] Greek was undoubtedly the main language used for writing official and personal documents,<sup>24</sup> as it was in other Hellenistic kingdoms such as Egypt; but, like in Egypt, original languages never died out and continued to be written and spoken, only perhaps on a less official footing. [Fig. 1.4] [Fig. 1.5.] The very existence of a clear-cut division between Graeco-Macedonians and the Semitic element, first hypothesized by Welles,<sup>25</sup> has been recently called in question by Pollard, who argued in favour of more complex identities, shifting between an emphasis on the Macedonian or on the Durene part whenever the need was felt to do so.<sup>26</sup> One may suspect, however, that only a small number of inhabitants called the town Εὐρωπός. Isidorus of Charax (first century BC - first century AD), who in writing an itinerary would have needed exactness, identifies the town as Δοῦρα, stating that the Greek name is used ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. In fact, the Greek name is called forth very seldom and in official

87, TM 17216). ‘Polybius, Posidonius, and Strabo treat Parapotamia as an official geographical unit of the Seleucid kingdom, distinct from Mesopotamia to its east. It seems to have occupied the same approximate area as the Bronze Age kingdom Khana. At the time of Molon’s revolt (222–220 BCE, see below), it was under the command of its own strategos, Diodes’ (*ibidem*). Parapotamia appears also in *P.Dura* 55 (see commentary *ad loc.*). Probably because of alterations in the organisation of the provinces, in *P.Dura* 22, l. 2 ἐν Εὐρωπῶι τῇ πρὸς Ἀραβίᾳ (AD 133, TM 17219) and 25, *scriptura exterior*, l. 17 ἐν Εὐρωπῶι τῇ πρὸς Ἀραβίᾳ (AD 180, TM 17222) Dura is defined as close to a district called Ἀραβία: πρὸς, at any rate, reveals proximity rather than inclusion.

<sup>20</sup> ‘Au lieu d’une création urbaine *ex nihilo* par le génie d’un oikiste à la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av.n.è., nous avons maintenant un processus progressif selon lequel un poste fortifié destiné à consolider la domination séleucide dans la région devient progressivement le noyau d’une agglomération locale, puis, après un siècle et demi d’existence, cette colonie est l’objet d’une refondation urbaine’ (‘Instead of the creation of a city out of thin air by the genius of a founder at the end of the fourth century BC, we now have a steady process according to which a fortified outpost destined to consolidating the Seleucid power in the region progressively becomes the core for a local gathering; then, after one century and a half of existence, this colony is rebuilt as a city’) (Leriche 2012: 37). Leriche had already written about the Hellenistic features of the town in Leriche (2003).

<sup>21</sup> See Dirven (1999: 3–4); Edwell (2007: 113); Kosmin (2011: 98–101); Leriche (2011: 37).

<sup>22</sup> ‘The early settlement of Europos emerges as an entity ambiguously situated between a simple fortress and a full πόλις ... In terms of sociopolitical phenomena, it lacked a developed epigraphic habit, representative civic government, sophisticated bureaucracy, and its own mint (bar one short episode)’ (Kosmin 2011: 102). S. James notes how ‘this nascent Europos expanded onto the adjacent plateau where a Hippodamian street-grid defined a much-larger city ... although it would always remain very modest by comparison with Palmyra or Hatra, let alone Seleucia on the Tigris or Ctesiphon’ (2019: 50). Further on, he notes that ‘most Durene material culture, portable as well as architectural, developed along indigenous Syrian and Mesopotamian lines’ (*ibidem*: 51). See also Welles (1959), particularly pp. 23–8; Millar (1993: 437–45, on Greek towns in the Near East and how far they were hellenised; 445–52 on how much Dura was Hellenised); Pollard (2007: 91 – Durene material culture is ‘formed largely by influences from eastern Syria and Mesopotamia, with rather limited Greek input’); Kaizer (2015: 94–9). For further archaeological and architectural description of the city, see Sommer (2005: 271–94), and of course, James (2019).

<sup>23</sup> Languages attested in Dura (on inscriptions, *ostraka*, parchments and papyri) are Greek, Aramaic dialects (Palmyrenean, Hatrean, Syriac), Parthian and Pehlevi, Hebrew, Safaitic, and Latin (see Kilpatrick 1964; Kaizer 2009; Kaizer 2015: 94). For religious communities, see Downey (2007), particularly p. 114.

<sup>24</sup> See again Millar (1993: 445–9) on Greek language and public offices in Parthian Dura.

<sup>25</sup> Welles (1951).

<sup>26</sup> Pollard (2007: 89–100); particularly pp. 98–9 (‘some individuals whom we see as Greco-Macedonians in some contexts are merely presenting a facet of their identity appropriate to that context, and they might appear very ‘non-Greek’ in other contexts. Perhaps this more complex attitude to identity makes better sense in the complex cultural environment in which they lived’) and 100, on the conclusions suggested by the custom of ‘double names’ (the same individual using a Greek name in certain contexts and a Semitic one in others) in Dura (‘some individuals who in certain contexts would appear as Greek were at the very least culturally ambivalent, and even perhaps employing Greco-Macedonian names not as markers of cultural identity but as context specific indicators of other aspects of identity, perhaps social or political. There is also the unprovable possibility that these instances of double naming represent just the ‘tip of the iceberg’ and that some individuals whom Welles regarded as members of the ‘Greco-Macedonian aristocracy’ might appear as ‘Semites’ or ‘Syrians’ if we saw them in other contexts’). Andrade (2013: 211–41) has tried to establish the different predicament of the ‘Greek’ community within Seleucid, Parthian and Roman Dura, mostly obtaining a mixed picture where one cannot draw a strict line between ethnicities, but witnesses constantly changing balances. See also Kaizer (2015).

contexts:<sup>27</sup> elsewhere, and in Latin military papyri – whose scribes could not be bothered with using rare or ambiguous names – the town retains his Semitic-sounding name ‘Dura’.

As time went by, the Seleucid kingdom grew less and less able to retain its possessions. Despite a new programme of fortifications towards the end of the second century BC, around that time the city fell into the hands of the Parthian kingdom.<sup>28</sup> By this time, it was a prosperous settlement, where farming, grazing with livestock and commerce were successfully practised; there is no evidence that the new rulers altered these circumstances, and the city retained Seleucid-originated magistrates (the στρατηγός καὶ ἐπιστάτης ‘commander and governor’, to quote only the foremost ‘amongst the Europaioi’<sup>29</sup>) and laws.<sup>30</sup> A community of Palmyrenes probably settled in Dura during the Parthian period; it has been suggested that it might have been the original core of the squadron of Palmyrene archers which contributed to public order in late Parthian Dura, but this is uncertain.<sup>31</sup>

## 1.2. The Roman period and the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*

The political tension between the two main superpowers in the Near East before the Arabs took over, i.e. the Roman and the Parthian – later Sasanian – Empires, created the utmost pressure on the northern and middle Euphrates, which for many years constituted a border between the two rival states. From Trajan onwards, i.e. from the early second century AD, Romans were apparently able to shift this pressure southward, on the middle Euphrates, stretching their influence on Osroene. In fact, Edwell has argued that it is impossible to exclude Roman influence on Dura itself before its actual conquest by Roman troops; it must have been alternately under the influence of Rome and the Parthians for at least two centuries after the Parthian takeover (first century BC–first century AD)<sup>32</sup>. Be it as it may, we know for certain that during Trajan’s campaign in Mesopotamia (AD 114–6), Dura was taken and then abandoned by Roman troops; they stayed long enough to build a triumphal arch.<sup>33</sup> The subsequent period has been described by Sommer as a ‘Machtvakuum’ (‘power vacuum’<sup>34</sup>) – more likely, the return of (nominal) Arsacid rule;<sup>35</sup> then came an earthquake in AD 160, and the final Roman conquest, probably during the Parthian campaign of Lucius Verus and Avidius Cassius, in AD 165.<sup>36</sup> Reasons for keeping the city were twofold; its economic importance (particularly inasmuch as there was a flourishing trade with Palmyra<sup>37</sup>) had never waned, and now there was a strategic relevance which the town suddenly acquired for becoming one of the remotest eastern outposts of Roman Empire. In fact, while Roman sovereignty – both after Verus’ campaign, when the border of Syria remained on the Euphrates, and after the annexation of Osroene under the Severan emperors, when the Khabour river constituted a new border – was probably limited to the towns of the river, rather than stretching into the interior of Mesopotamia, those very towns, located on fertile ground in the middle of steppe and deserts, were strategically pivotal in the event of an invasion from either side.

The Roman period of Dura was to last till AD 256/257. It is normally divided into three phases. A first stage is defined by Sommer as one of ‘indirekte Herrschaft’ (‘indirect sovereignty’,

<sup>27</sup> See e.g. the parchments quoted above (*P.Dura* 18, *P.Dura* 22) and, very late in the city’s lifespan, *P.Dura* 32 *recto*, *scriptura exterior*, l. 4 ἐν κολωνείᾳ Εὐρωπ[αίων] (AD 254, TM 17229); in this case, both the Hellenised element and the Roman concession of colonial status are emphasized (see below).

<sup>28</sup> Sommer (2005: 294–305); Kosmin (2011: 104–5). The once conventionally accepted date, on account of countermarks on coins, was BC 113: remarks have been recently done in this respect by J. Gaslain (2012: 262–6). A more complex situation is described in James (2019: 50).

<sup>29</sup> Leriche (2011: 26); James (2019: 50).

<sup>30</sup> See again (Millar 1993: 445–9); Dirven (1999: 4–11), particularly pp. 6–7; and a quick mention in Sommer (2018: 58).

<sup>31</sup> See Dirven (1999) for a complete assessment; Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 24); Sommer (2004: 850–2); Edwell (2007: 101–12); Sommer (2018: 126–30).

<sup>32</sup> Edwell (2013: 194–6; 201–4).

<sup>33</sup> See Baird (2012: 310) with attached bibliography; Andrade (2013: 211); Kaizer (2015: 91–2); James (2019: 51).

<sup>34</sup> Sommer (2005: 311).

<sup>35</sup> James (2019: 52).

<sup>36</sup> Edwell (2007: 116). This dating has been recently discussed and improved: see Luther (2004: 330–4 – Rome would have taken official possession of the town with the Severan emperors, Dura being in the preceding decades still under Palmyrene rule); Kaizer (2017).

<sup>37</sup> A full assessment in Ruffing (2007).

AD 165 onwards): Rome controls the town through Palmyra, of which Dura is a protectorate.<sup>38</sup> A detachment of Palmyrene archers, already attested in the city, is now the fully operating legal force. This stage ends between AD 193–9 when Severan campaigns against the Parthians and the increasing *Machtpolitik* between the two superpowers forced Rome to the direct annexation of the riverside towns southwards from the Khabour, including Dura. And so begins the second stage. After the first wave of Parthian wars, around AD 208, the garrison in Dura and the Roman camp within the town are increased and more clearly defined, thus commencing the third and last stage, till the final siege in AD 256/257, when the Sasanian army led by Shapur I, during his long and devastating campaign in Roman East, takes and destroys Dura.<sup>39</sup> Recent studies by S. James have altered the abovementioned picture, suggesting that Roman units, and therefore direct Roman military presence and government, as well as the garrisoning of more than one third of the town, were already commencing a few years after the occupation in AD 165, and only increased at the beginning of the third century AD: there is no evidence for a Palmyrene protectorate.<sup>40</sup>

The overall effect of Roman direct sovereignty – and of the Roman army – on Dura is the object of a long and ongoing debate.<sup>41</sup> [Fig. 1.6] For the purpose of the present book, one can concentrate on the introduction of military units, both stationed in Dura in their entirety or through *uexillationes* ('detachments'), and in the important construction (begun immediately after the Roman conquest in the 160s<sup>42</sup>) of a new military base within the town, which was to provide lodgings not only to soldiers, but to their enlarged families – wives, concubines, sons and daughters, servants, trainees, attendants<sup>43</sup> – and several other activities – from a brothel to an amphitheatre to the typical Roman baths. A detailed outline of this garrison, who occupied more than a third of the town in its north section, is available in chapters 5–8 of James (2019): I here content myself with relating bits from this immense source of knowledge. Romans confiscated the northern section of the town, built a camp out of it, and erected a wall in order to divide the camp from the rest of the city.<sup>44</sup> The garrison underwent significant qualitative improvements (*principia* 'headquarters' were built<sup>45</sup>, as well as other buildings) between c. 208–17, also in the wake of aggressive Imperial projects against the Parthians.<sup>46</sup> The temples which happened to be inside the confiscated section (e.g. the Temple of Bel<sup>47</sup> and of Artemis Azzanathkona<sup>48</sup>) kept being used, at least by the soldiers. [Fig. 1.7] The great palace overlooking the river Euphrates, built in the Roman period and, since several graffiti were found there, hence called 'Palace of the *Dux Ripae*', has been more correctly labelled by Baird 'Roman Palace', and is perhaps the most considerable architectural development in Roman Dura.<sup>49</sup> Further important buildings which were erected in Roman times were the Mithraeum, the synagogue, and a Christian building.<sup>50</sup> For more information on how the base worked, see James (2010: 275–85). [Fig. 1.8]

Being a relevant outpost, Dura was also frequently visited by detachments (*uexillationes*) from other Roman units. A full list, gathered from all the available sources (papyri, inscriptions and the like) is in James (2019: 242–3). One can here mention legions (the *XVI Flavia Firma*, the *III Scythica* and the like<sup>51</sup>) but also cohorts (*III Augusta Thracum*<sup>52</sup>). Some soldiers, both from

<sup>38</sup> See also the aforementioned Luther (2004: 334).

<sup>39</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 24); Sommer (2005: 311–2).

<sup>40</sup> James (2019: 52–4).

<sup>41</sup> See the detailed commentary in James (2019: 286–313).

<sup>42</sup> James (2019: 239).

<sup>43</sup> James (2019: 250–55) has diffusely argued for this 'extended military community'.

<sup>44</sup> Dabrowa (1981: 65–8); Pollard (1996: 212–4); Edwell (2007: 119).

<sup>45</sup> Details in James (2019: 78–90); particularly p. 85 ('A Roman headquarters comprised a number of functions, accommodating the standards and imperial *imagines*, administrative offices and archives, spaces for the giving of daily orders and passwords, and places for formal events like courts-martial and other ceremonies, not least cult offered to the standards and the emperors').

<sup>46</sup> James (2019: 249–50; and especially 268–9).

<sup>47</sup> Where the picture of Iulius Terentius performing a religious ceremony was painted; see Cumont (1923); Kaizer (2006) and attached bibliography; Downey (2007: 111–4); James (2019: 63–6); see also *P.Dura* 89 and the commentary *ad loc.*

<sup>48</sup> See Downey (1988); Arnaud (1992–3); a mention in Millar (2001: 449–50); a full survey in James (2019: 70–8).

<sup>49</sup> Baird (2014: 149–50); James (2019: 66–70).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Kilpatrick (1964: 216; 222–3); Millar (2001: 470–1); Sommer (2004: 846–50); (2005: 329–54); Edwell (2007: 125–8); Berger (2011); Rajak (2011); McClendon (2011); Deleeuw (2011).

<sup>51</sup> See another list in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 23–6); Kennedy (1987: 62–5); Edwell (2007: 139–43).

<sup>52</sup> See *P.Dura* 26, l. 6 [c]πείρ(ης) γ' Σεβ(ακτῆς) Θρακῶν (AD 227, TM 17223). The document is a deed of sale.



the cohort and from the detachments, might have been lodged outside the camp in the billeted civilian houses,<sup>53</sup> but this most likely happened at the end of Roman Dura, when a great quantity of Durene civilians had probably already abandoned the town (see below).

Among the units attested in Dura, one is of particular interest to us: an auxiliary cohort, the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*. Despite the fact that the earliest testimony is *P.Dura* 56 letter B, dated back to AD 207, the cohort might have been created much earlier: perhaps around AD c. 176 as a *cohors quingenaria*, and then upgraded to *milliaria* between 189 and 191.<sup>54</sup> It kept, however, several formal characteristics of a *quingenaria*:<sup>55</sup> despite its high manpower (its strength fluctuating between 924 in *P.Dura* 82 and 781 in *P.Dura* 89<sup>56</sup>) it only had 6<sup>57</sup> centurions and 5 decurions, instead of the expected 10 centurions and 8 decurions; and attached to the infantry troops, it had dromedary troops, apparently unconnected to the cavalrymen. ‘Whether or not it ever included cataphracts, *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* was then apparently very unusual in its combination of large size, anomalous organization, and complex composition’.<sup>58</sup> The oldest attested date of enlistment for soldiers is (according to the great roster *P.Dura* 100) in AD 192.<sup>59</sup> The ethnic specification *Palmyrenorum* heavily suggests that the basis for this new unit were the Palmyrene archers who were already stationed in town. This creation is yet another instance of an attested custom of the Roman army, that of recruiting, once coming into possession of a new territory, auxiliary units on a local ethnic basis, in order more rapidly to foster loyalty in new provinces; cohorts of Batavians, Mauretanians, Tungrians and the like are only the most renowned instances.<sup>60</sup> At least before AD 212 this specific branch of service in Roman army led in most cases to Roman citizenship.<sup>61</sup> Reasons for the figure (*XX, uicesima*) are still unclear; Kennedy has provided a careful hypothesis.<sup>62</sup> The longest service period attested in the cohort is (not too surprisingly, as we would expect 25) 27 years: in *P.Dura* 100 col. XXI l. 8, Abdas son of Themarsas was recruited under the seventh consulship of Commodus (therefore, he served AD 192–219). Ranks and hierarchy in the cohort have been listed and discussed in Fink (1947: 166–7); (1953: 210–5); Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 31–3). A full overview of the cohort is provided in James (2019: 245–7).

<sup>53</sup> Dabrowa (1981: 65–8); see Baird (2014: 115–48) for a full survey on housing soldiers in Dura.

<sup>54</sup> James (2019: 250).

<sup>55</sup>

<sup>56</sup> See the commentary *ad loc.* for this unusually reduced figure; and Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 32).

<sup>57</sup> In *P.Dura* 82 one sees the rather unexpected number of 9 centurions; Fink concludes that three of those nine were supernumeraries (1971: 184).

<sup>58</sup> James (2019: 247). Fink believes that this piece of information (10 centurions and 8 decurions – or rather, 8 *turmae* of cavalrymen, therefore 8 decurions – for *cohortes equitatae milliariae*), given in *HYG. mun. castr.* 26–8, must not be taken as unavoidable and always observed by any unit in Roman army; peripheral units could (and did) undergo variations from official prescriptions. See Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 28–30); Haynes (2013: 82 ‘while this might be explained by the contingent’s irregular origins, it is probably best to take it as just another indication of the degree to which ‘exceptional’ patterns of organization were more usual than contemporary scholars tend to accept’). Davies has later argued that the ‘missing’ centuries and *turmae* were probably in a sort of permanent detachment from Dura (1967: 111). Kennedy, on the other hand, prefers to construe the cohort as a real *equitata quingenaria*, originally endowed with 6 centuries and 4 *turmae*, then artificially enlarged in about AD 170, when Avidius Cassius’ rebellion forced Marcus Aurelius to enhance recruitment in the region (1994: 96–8). That the cohort underwent a rise in enrolment is also true, according to Gilliam, in AD 214–6, in the context of Caracalla’s campaign against the Parthians, then in preparation; Gilliam has also pointed out that in the Palmyrene cohort, the *equus* was in fact none other than a promoted and better paid *pedes*, usually after ten years of service; there was, he maintains, no such thing as separate career branches in Roman army, but cavalrymen and infantry were different steps of the same career. This would explain why after AD 205 so few cavalrymen are actually enrolled, and why they end up being the oldest members of the cohort (1965: 75–6).

<sup>59</sup> See Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 26–7); Chaumont (1987: 430); Sommer (2005: 311–2). Scholars generally believed the cohort to be the effect of direct annexation, i.e. to have been organised after the AD 190s. Kennedy apparently prefers an earlier dating, i.e. the very year in which Romans took possession of the city (1994: 96–8); so thinks Haynes (2013: 81 ‘it seems most probable that it was created in the AD 160s out of an irregular formation of Palmyrene archers, providing an example of a staggered incorporation into the Roman military system’).

<sup>60</sup> See Haynes (2013: 103–35) for a full survey.

<sup>61</sup> If not to the children of the auxiliaries, certainly to the auxiliaries themselves, after their *honesta missio* (Haynes 2013, particularly pp. 83–4 on the problem of granting citizenship to the children of the auxiliaries). In fact, from the second century AD onwards, while in legions citizenship was a strict requirement, auxiliaries might and might not be citizens, the distinction between *citizens* and *peregrini* finally falling down after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (Haynes 2013: 100–1).

<sup>62</sup> ‘I am inclined to favour this final possibility that the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* was so numbered because, at the time of its formation, there were already 19 cohorts in Syria’ (1983: 216); not *cohortes Palmyrenorum*, but just *cohortes*.

While Dura kept civilian government and magistrates who still recalled Seleucid ranks (e.g. the στρατηγός, now *strategus Durae*<sup>63</sup>), the presence of a Roman auxiliary cohort inevitably altered the balance of power in the microcosm of local administration. The nature of the dealings between the cohort and the Durene civilians is encompassed by the larger problem of the relationship between soldiers and civilians in the Roman Empire as a whole; Pollard has repeatedly argued in favour of Roman army as a ‘total institution’ whose members lived separately from, and somehow to the detriment of, civilian communities, while others prefer a more nuanced perspective.<sup>64</sup> Whereas Welles had argued for a final economical demise of the town, and for the annihilation of the Graeco-Macedonian *élite* during the Roman period, in favour of the Semitic element,<sup>65</sup> also this view has been challenged.<sup>66</sup> A full re-assessment is provided by the already quoted James (2019: 286–313).

One can be certain of a few facts. The tribune of the cohort could intervene in civilian legal matters,<sup>67</sup> and had probably authority over other Roman functionaries in the vicinity, such as procurators of any sort, or the mysterious *praepositus praetenturae*.<sup>68</sup> Given the number of places to which the cohort sent detachments, it is possible that it was the centre of a small riparian district.<sup>69</sup> Almost certainly auxiliaries closely monitored the gates and any business conducted inside it.<sup>70</sup> A single inscription attests the existence, in the late decades of Roman Dura, of a δοῦξ ῥείτης, probably the Greek rendition of *dux ripae*; but the origin, scope, and consequence of such a shady figure are still poorly understood.<sup>71</sup> Other typical features of the Roman army which we can be sure about are the great intake of money – the salaries of the soldiers, at least partially invested in local activities and businesses – and the presence of veterans, either from the Palmyrene cohort or from detachments, who often became landowners and businessmen in the countryside of Dura. Greek papyri from civilian settings among those found in Dura attest land-owning veterans, veterans marrying and divorcing Durene women, and subscribing to deeds and business documents.<sup>72</sup> We do not know exactly when, but at an unspecified moment Dura obtained the status of *colonia*.<sup>73</sup>

### 1.3. The fall of Dura, the excavations and the papyri

While residing in Dura, at least between AD 193 and 224, the Palmyrene cohort carried out its main duty of a garrison against the Parthians, and probably witnessed (and took part in) two campaigns against them (AD 197–8 and 216–7). But the third decade of the century saw the beginning of a new dynasty of rulers in Iran. Whereas after Carrhae (53 BC) the Parthian Empire, though not to be underestimated, was never able to strike a decisive blow to Romans or prevent

<sup>63</sup> Kaizer (2005: 82–3).

<sup>64</sup> Pollard (1996, particularly 212–5; 219–20); also Pollard (2003), where his theses are more clearly discussed and stated; then Baird (2014: 152–4) and the whole chapter IV (pp. 155–208). For a different perspective, see Stoll (2001).

<sup>65</sup> This is the main and only point of Welles (1951). Further arguments in Dabrowa (1981: 68–74); the scholar accepts only partially Welles’ view, maintaining that the Graeco-Macedonian aristocracy did not just die out, but successfully emigrated.

<sup>66</sup> In Pollard (2007: 82–100) Welles’ theory is recapitulated and criticized, and new evidence is discussed. His conclusions are less radical (‘one cannot deny that change did take place, given the increased magnitude and importance of the Roman military presence at that time. The acquisition of Roman colonial status is undeniable, and changes in civic institutions quite possible. Likewise Roman authorities may have actively removed individuals from power ... However, it is likely that the changes of title and name that did occur relate to shifts in presentation of self and community, with a diminished emphasis on lineage and Greco-Macedonian origins on the part of some, rather than the wholesale removal of people envisaged by Welles and Dabrowa’, p. 100).

<sup>67</sup> Or any high authority in Roman army. See *P.Dura* 125 and 128, with commentary *ad loc*; also Merola (2012).

<sup>68</sup> See *P.Dura* 64 and the commentary *ad loc*.

<sup>69</sup> See Edwell (2007: 64–98) for the whole system of Roman fortifications on the middle Euphrates.

<sup>70</sup> See a summary in Edwell (2007: 148 ‘the Roman military presence at Dura, and at many smaller sites in its vicinity, was partly designed to provide a level of security and defence at a local level. It was undoubtedly also designed to provide intelligence on enemy movements and to play a role in major conflicts when they took place; however, these functions were probably secondary in importance. During the long intervals between conflicts what were Dura’s soldiers doing? For the most part, the soldiers of the Dura garrison monitored traffic on the Euphrates, assisted in the enforcement of tax collection, intervened in times of public disorder, enforced legal decisions and contributed strongly to the establishment of Roman authority on a significant section of agricultural land on either side of the Euphrates and Khabur rivers. The fact that many of the soldiers were Palmyrenes would have served to demonstrate on the landscape the new order of Roman power in the region’).

<sup>71</sup> Edwell (2007: 128–35).

<sup>72</sup> Sommer (2004: 852–5); (2005: 315–29); (2007, particularly pp. 89–91); Baird (2007: 423); (2011: 172); Dabrowa (2012); Haynes (2013: 180 – in fact, quoting Baird 2007).

<sup>73</sup> Millar (2001: 468–9).

them from sacking its cities, the Sasanians managed to do so twice: first under Shapur I (AD 251–60) and a second time under Khosrow II (AD 602–28). The first event is what most concerns us, as during this war the final demise of Dura took place. The details, and the correct succession of events, of the great campaign of Shapur I against the Romans, which started after Decius' death and ended with Odaenathus' victory over Shapur's army, are not yet completely clear and therefore open to interpretation; sources, both historical and archaeological, have been nevertheless employed in producing a consistent picture of those years.

Shapur's own account of his war against Rome – the so-called *Res gestae diui Saporis*, *SKZ* – numbers Dura among cities taken ἐν ἀγωγιῇ μιᾷ after his victory in Barbalissus and the successful pillaging of Coele Syria and Osroene, and before Emperor Valerian's coming to Antioch, i.e. before about AD 254. This account is, of course, a product of Sasanian propaganda and it may be assumed that it somehow simplifies and alters the actual sequence of events<sup>74</sup>. On the other hand, from an archaeological point of view, the last decade of Dura (250–60) provides interesting evidence. Baird's inquiries on the site reveal that in the last years of Dura, most inhabitants had probably abandoned the settlement, and their houses had been employed to lodge soldiers and their families. The growing threat of the Sasanians might have encouraged the flight of the civilians.<sup>75</sup> There is evidence for a short-lived Persian occupation of the town, according to some graffiti, paintings and papyri (*P.Dura* 153–5) in Pehlevi, around AD 253;<sup>76</sup> at any rate, Dura was again in Roman hands from AD 254<sup>77</sup> till the final siege, which probably took place in AD 256/257. Evidence for this dating lies in several coins, produced by the Antiochene mint – which was fully operational till AD 257 – and found together with nineteen Roman corpses in an underground gallery below one of the defensive towers along the wall of Dura. Incidentally, the events related to the death of those Roman soldiers have been carefully investigated by James, and proposed to be the earliest archaeological instance of chemical warfare.<sup>78</sup>

When considering all the evidence mentioned above, Rosovtzeff faced an inconsistency between Shapur's account (Dura taken once, after Barbalissus but before Valerian's defeat at Edessa) and Durene evidence (Dura taken in AD 256/257, and proofs of an earlier short-lived Sasanian presence). He solved the problem by thus construing the events:<sup>79</sup>

- AD 251–3: Shapur, after some years of diplomatic troubles concerning Armenia, seizes the moment and launches a full attack against Rome in the critical year of Decius' death and the invasion of the Goths in the Balkans. He very quickly marches with his army through upper Mesopotamia.

- While doing so, he sends parts of his army to occupy some outposts on the Euphrates, in order to protect his back from the Palmyrenes; among these outposts is Dura, which is briefly occupied in a non-violent way in AD 253. Most of the inhabitants have already carefully cleared their houses and fled, probably to Palmyra; they will never have the opportunity to return.<sup>80</sup>

- Shapur crushes the Roman army at Barbalissus in AD 253. Somehow the occupation of Dura ends and the Romans get back in control.

- Probably as a consequence of the ongoing turmoil, civilians keep departing from the town.<sup>81</sup> Meanwhile, in c. 254–5, Romans begin an extensive programme of reinforcing the

<sup>74</sup> This source is described and commented upon in Rostovtzeff (1943).

<sup>75</sup> Baird (2012), particularly p. 310: 'there is no longer any reason to think of Dura as a quickly abandoned city; indeed, there is a good chance much of the population had already left, voluntarily or otherwise, by the time of the final siege. ... Perhaps a portion of the population did not wait in the city to see who would win'; (2014: 144–5): 'Indeed, beyond billeting, it may be the case that the military presence in the houses of Dura is actually evidence of a military phase to the city's occupation; it is possible that by the 250s CE, after an initial Sasanian incursion (or in anticipation of one), that a portion of the civil population able to flee had done so, and the remaining inhabitants were the members of the military, their families and servants, and military dependents ... By the time Dura fell to the Sasanians, and possibly for a considerable number of years before that, the military was present throughout the site; not just in the camp, in the principia and other military buildings, the bathhouses, or in the streets, on the city walls and stationed at its gates, but living in the houses which had once been, but perhaps were no longer, private houses of Dura's inhabitants'.

<sup>76</sup> More specifically, around AD 253; see Baird 2012, 312–314 with bibliography attached.

<sup>77</sup> Or so it seems from *P.Dura* 32 (TM 17229), a deed of divorce dated back to that year (*scriptura exterior, recto*, ll. 3–4 ἐπὶ ὑπ[ά]τωρ τ[ῶ]ν κυρ[ί]ων ἡμῶν Αὐτο[κρά]το[ρ]ω[ν] Οὐ[βα]λερια[ν]οῦ β' καὶ Γαλλιανοῦ Σεβα[σ]τῶ[ν, πρὸ] | δύο Καλανδῶν [Μ]αιεύων).

<sup>78</sup> More on the final chronology of Dura in James (1985); MacDonald (1986); James (2011).

<sup>79</sup> For the whole reconstruction, see Rostovtzeff (1943); Millar (2001: 159–73). Further perspectives in Bellucci (2014–5).

<sup>80</sup> James (2019: 37).

<sup>81</sup> See again Baird (2012: 315; 323).

fortifications,<sup>82</sup> and Shapur wreaks havoc in Coele Syria and Cilicia. In AD 254, Valerian arrives in Antiochia.

- While Valerian reorganizes (AD 254-256), Shapur retreats to consolidate his former conquests, and launches a second siege of Dura, an episode of which – the asphyxiation of Roman soldiers and the subsequent fire set by the Sasanians in the tunnel under Tower 19 – reveals its overall intensity.<sup>83</sup> The invading army manages to take Dura and the city, perhaps very briefly occupied by Sasanians,<sup>84</sup> is then abandoned for good. Ruins were still visible when Julian invaded again the Sasanian Empire, a century later.<sup>85</sup>

This hypothesis, focused on the Sasanians taking Dura twice (shortly in AD 253; for good in AD 256/257), has been discussed by James<sup>86</sup> and criticized by MacDonald;<sup>87</sup> whereas there was no doubt that the final siege occurred in AD 256/257, the first, short-lived occupation remained uncertain. Baird and James, however, have re-assessed the extant evidence and concluded that such a short-lived occupation, in fact, took place in AD 253.<sup>88</sup>

The story of how this destroyed city came back to life from 1920 onwards, after the accidental discovery of archaeological material in the site where Dura had risen, is given in great detail in Hopkins (1979). The main institutions responsible for the excavations have been Yale University, the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, and from 1986, under the leadership of P. Leriche (CNRS, Paris), the Mission Franco-Syrienne d'Europos-Doura (MFSED). Further details on the history of the excavations, and commentaries on the most recent campaigns and the further destruction of the site in 2012 during the Syrian civil war, are given in James (2019: 26–31; 317–8). [Fig. 1.9] [Fig. 1.10] The series of the *Excavations at Dura Europos* has brought to a worldwide audience all sorts of priceless findings from the ancient town; more are still to be restored and presented to the public, while being preserved in the endless vaults of the Yale University Art Gallery and the Beinecke Library. The finding one wants especially to remember here, is the one which provides the foundation to this book: the parchments and papyri – the Latin ones, in particular, but there was an abundance of Greek, Jewish and Pehlevi too – found mostly within the Roman base area (but for a small number of them found in Wall Street: see the commentary on the individual items).

In the northern section of the garrison, close to the northern wall, lay the aforementioned temple of Artemis Azzanathkona. In 1931/1932, during the fifth archaeological campaign,<sup>89</sup> a great quantity of fragmentary papyri and parchments was found in room W13, a portion of the temple which bordered on the northern wall. While reinforcing the wall with ramparts in order to face the incoming Sasanian army, Romans vacated the room, and threw in the fill every available object, including cut documents which they did not feel the need of keeping; other papyri and parchments were found nearby, 'along the fortification between the Main Gate and Tower 3 at Block E7'.<sup>90</sup> Most of them were protected from the worst effects of time and wear by the very fact that they had been covered with mud and raw materials in order to build the rampart itself.

<sup>82</sup> 'After the inferred first Persian withdrawal and return of the city to Roman hands, Dura underwent a massive programme to strengthen its fortifications, with the intention of holding out against anticipated renewed Sasanian attack. These changes were concentrated along the vulnerable so-called desert wall, which looked out across a flat, dry plain (steppe rather than desert, often lush in springtime) ... In ca. 254–255, the Roman defenders massively reinforced the vulnerable western wall against rams, artillery, and undermining when they built a steep mudbrick glacis to its front and a huge rampart to its rear, preparations that shaped the subsequent mine warfare. The rampart was constructed in phases, reflecting successive changes of plan' (James 2011: 72; 2019: 36–7).

<sup>83</sup> See again James (2011).

<sup>84</sup> See Baird (2012: 320–2); James (2019: 36–7), the state-of-the-art account on the final demise of Dura.

<sup>85</sup> See Amm. XXIII 5,8 *ubi cum pro ingenita pietate consecrato principi parentasset pergeretque ad Duram desertum oppidum, procul militarem cuneum conspicatus stetit immobilis, eique dubitanti quid ferrent offertur ab eis immanissimi corporis leo* ('after he had made a propitiatory offering to the deified prince out of his natural piety, and was on his way to the abandoned city of Dura, he noticed at a distance a troop of soldiers and remained motionless; and by those soldiers was offered to him, who wondered what they were bringing, a lion of gigantic bodily size'); XXIV 1,5 *emenso itaque itinere bidui prope ciuitatem uenimus Duram desertam, marginibus amnis inpositam* ('then after a two-days travel we arrived to the abandoned town of Dura, located on the banks of the river').

<sup>86</sup> James (1985); he does not rule Rostovtzeff's theory out, but suggests caution.

<sup>87</sup> MacDonald (1984); he entirely rejects Rostovtzeff's theory.

<sup>88</sup> See Grenet (1988), particularly pp. 140–1 (where he confirms Rostovtzeff's theory) and 143–6; and the aforementioned Baird (2012: 312–4).

<sup>89</sup> Hopkins (1979: 75–105).

<sup>90</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 3).

[Fig. 1.11] Hopkins describes in detail the process of the discovery, and comments upon the surprisingly good conservation state of some of them, including *P.Dura* 54, the so-called *Feriale Duranum*, and *P.Dura* 60, both of which he was able to read immediately after them being removed from the dig.<sup>91</sup> Most of the papyri and parchments found in room W13 (which constitute the greatest majority of papyri and parchments found in Dura-Europos) were in the Latin language, and referred to the aforementioned *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*, proofs of whose existence are to be found only in the manuscripts themselves, and in the inscriptions excavated in the city. These Latin papyri and parchments are the main object of this monograph, which is to represent the third<sup>92</sup> – and as far as letters are concerned, the fourth<sup>93</sup> – comprehensive (re-)edition of the Latin Durene military manuscript evidence.

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<sup>91</sup> Hopkins (1979: 99–102).

<sup>92</sup> The first great edition of the *P.Dura* is contained in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); several documents had been published after the papyri came to Yale in the Forties and Fifties – *P.Dura* 54 in Fink, Hoey and Snyder (1940); *P.Dura* 56, 82, 97 *et alii* in Gilliam (1950), etc. – but that of Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959) was for most of them the *editio princeps*. Fink re-published all documents in his *Roman Military Records on Papyrus* in 1971; a few years later (1975–7) Marichal did the same with all the Latin documents for volumes VI, VII, VIII and IX of the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*.

<sup>93</sup> The letters (*P.Dura* 55 to 81) have been published once again by Cugusi in his *Corpus Epistularum Latinarum* (CEL: 1991–2001).

## 2. DOCUMENTARY TYPOLOGIES IN THE DURENE COLLECTION.

Probably because of the scarcity of manuscripts which could be dated with any certainty, all previous editors of Dura papyri have grouped them not chronologically, but according to their documentary typology. J.F. Gilliam, R.O. Fink and C.B. Welles have conceived a somehow tripartite division in their *editio princeps* (1959): almost as a prelude, the *Feriale Duranum* (*P.Dura* 54), which is the most unusual document of the whole set; then a first sub-group of letters (*P.Dura* 55–81, almost all under Gilliam's editorial care); the central section containing morning reports, rosters and guard rosters (*P.Dura* 82–113, mainly worked on by Fink); and the final group, containing smaller lists, legal documents, and uncertain typologies (*P.Dura* 114–45, where Welles and Fink mostly operated). In his *Roman Military Records*, in which he gathers not only papyri from Dura but the greatest part of the extant Roman military evidence on papyrus and ostrakon, Fink preserves this division; so does Marichal. Probably because of the very little quantity of precisely dated documents in the Latin Durene collection – and the uniformity in provenance and topic which characterizes its documents – this organisation has up to now been reckoned as the most prudent way to present the documents, and is certainly the most friendly for scholars when one considers the possible ways of making this material accessible to readers.

This way I will keep within this chapter, in order to present the peculiarities of each of the typologies of Latin text on papyrus and parchment found in the archive of the cohort; such peculiarities will be put in context within the larger frame of documentary culture in the Roman army.<sup>94</sup> Before entering the main discussion, some preliminary observations ought to be made.

First of all – as mentioned above – the greatest majority of documents from the archive of the Palmyrene cohort have been written on papyrus sheets or rolls; a small group has been written on parchment.<sup>95</sup> Details on the history of both writing materials in the East, and particularly in Egypt, as well as in the ancient world, are beyond the purpose of this book.<sup>96</sup> One must only remark that parchment had been the chief writing material in Judaea and Mesopotamia for centuries before the Roman occupation; and that Romans themselves prompted a larger use of the papyrus, especially within the military bureaux in Dura.<sup>97</sup> The very few parchment documents all belong to ephemeral, somehow informal documents – lists of soldiers or guard rosters, mainly – and refer to a very late stage of the Roman presence in the town (the 230–50s). One might argue that within the bureau of the cohort, papyrus was the typical writing material, and parchment only seldom employed. It cannot be ruled out, however, that there were more parchment documents than meet the eye today, and that they had been taken away before the final siege, thus creating the impression of their scarcity within the military bureau.

Further on. We know that all official documents produced for the necessities of any Roman military unit have in all likelihood been written and stored in specific places within the camp: the *officium* (where the documents were produced) or the *tabularium* (where the documents were simply stored, i.e. an archive).<sup>98</sup> The *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* must have had such rooms as well. As the greatest majority of documents found in room W13 concerned the cohort of the Palmyrenes, room W13 itself was at first believed to have hosted a crucial section of the cohort's *praetorium* (the headquarters), located in the Temple of Artemis Azzanathkona: its office, be that the *officium* or the *tabularium*. [Fig. 2.1]

Subsequent opinions differed. Fink observes how this *officium*, if it actually was an *officium*, was 'a secondary one at best'.<sup>99</sup> Marichal, more specifically, thinks not of a central or important archive, but of a deposit for already used papyri, whose condition were good enough to make them re-usable; apart from the letters, which are more or less orderly preserved, all other

<sup>94</sup> See also Phang (2007: 286–338); Speidel (2007: 173–94); Le Bohec (2010: 192–207); and Stauner (2004: 205–13) for brief overviews of functions and employment of documents in Roman military bureaucracy.

<sup>95</sup> Namely, *P.Dura* 94; 109; 110; 111; 112; 119.

<sup>96</sup> But see Turner (1968: 1–16).

<sup>97</sup> See Ryder (1991: 25–6); Nocchi Macedo (2018: 334–5).

<sup>98</sup> On the difference between *officium* and *tabularium*, and for further research on both, see Le Bohec (2008); Albana (2011).

<sup>99</sup> 'The place where the archives of the Cohors Vicesima were found guarantees that they are neither the complete nor the current files. When room W13 of the Temple of Azzanathkona was vacated to permit the building of the earthen embankment against the walls, the papyri which were left behind were, of course, those which were regarded as valueless. While a few were recent, some were nearly fifty years old ... The *officium* in W13 was a secondary one at best; some of the record of the Cohors Vicesima may have never been deposited there' (Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959: 36); see also M. Albana's remark in Albana (2011: 74, fn. 77).

documents (the morning reports/*acta diurna*, the rosters etc.) had been re-written on the *verso*.<sup>100</sup> Only Reeves has objected to these conclusions – room W13 would, according to her, be nothing but an improvised place to throw junk in the fill, and the papyri found there probably came from more than one archive in town, not necessarily related to the military – and her arguments, despite not decisive, certainly call for caution.<sup>101</sup> James, on the other hand, also on the account of previous studies, suggests that the temple represented, in fact, part of the headquarters for the Roman forces in Dura before the *principia* or *praetorium* were built at the beginning of the third century AD; and then, after they were built, ‘while many record-keeping and other HQ functions of the auxiliary contingent(s) remained located in the Temple of Azzanathklona, more public and ceremonial aspects were centralized in the *principia*’ (2019: 85).

Whatever room W13 represented in the original architectural accommodation of the cohort’s camp, what remains from the *officium* of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* – as far as documents, not archaeological remains, are concerned – is certainly a small section of the original content, which we expect to have been much larger and more diverse. In the hasty preparations for the siege, the clerks (or whoever was there at the moment) arguably removed the most useful documents – if there were any – or at any rate the most recent ones from the archives, and left there the oldest and/or less relevant.<sup>102</sup> (Fink’s abovementioned observations are perhaps still valid inasmuch as they claim that the most relevant documents were most likely taken away by the Romans before the final siege.) As a result, one does not find among the Dura papyri some typical instances of Roman official military documents. To quote only the most glaringly absent typologies, we do not have:

- *pridiana*, or yearly reports of all that happened within a military unit in a given lapse of time (namely, one year): losses, accessions, troop movements, and the like.<sup>103</sup> From the Durene collection we only have *acta diurna*, which are in fact reports, but on a smaller (daily) basis.

- register of payments. Roman soldiers were paid in three instalments through the year, and deductions were made from their salary to provide them with weapons, armour and other objects; these transactions were regularly registered in documents;<sup>104</sup>

- receipts for goods sold or given to the soldiers by private contractors. These were mostly on *ostrakon* and rarely on papyrus; they document the frequent dealings of legionaries and auxiliaries with those who provided them with food, forage and water;<sup>105</sup>

- acknowledgments of debts or business documents among soldiers.<sup>106</sup> These were documents sometimes drafted in Latin with Greek subscriptions, and often in epistolary form: they documented loans or purchases from one soldier to another, specifying when and how the money had to be paid or returned, and in what form (valuable objects could be offered as pawn). They were mainly intended for private use, although employing Latin for some of them might have served the purpose of making them more relevant, or strengthen their legal value.

On the other hand, some of the documents found in the Durene collection happen to be unique among the extant ones, because only an *officium* could have stored them: e.g. the great rosters (*P.Dura* 100, 101), the legal documents (e.g. *P.Dura* 125), and the *Feriale Duranum* (*P.Dura* 54), a list of Roman festivities.

## 2.1. Letters (*P.Dura* 55-80).

<sup>100</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 8).

<sup>101</sup> Reeves (2004: 79–88).

<sup>102</sup> The best represented chronological fork in Dura papyri stretches between AD 210 and 230. Earlier documents had perhaps already been dismissed when the siege took place; later ones (AD 230–50), probably referring to the current situation of the cohort, are quite less than the others, probably because the most relevant were taken away, or at any rate not employed to fortify the wall.

<sup>103</sup> See e.g. *BGU* II 696 (AD 156, TM 69913), and other documents similar to *pridiana*, in fact reports used to compile *pridiana* themselves: *ChLA* XI 501 (AD 48–52, TM 69987); *ChLA* III 219 (AD 105, TM 69875). Cf. Stauner (2004: 95–112) and Phang (2007: 293–5).

<sup>104</sup> See e.g. *ChLA* I 9 (= P.Gen. Lat. inv. 6; AD 83–4, TM 69868); P.Harris inv. 183e *recto* (first century AD, TM 110834); *ChLA* X 446 (third century AD, TM 69944); Cf. Fink (1971: 241–2); Stauner (2004: 66–72) for an overview of the typology.

<sup>105</sup> See *O.Berenike* III 291; 333 (first century AD), mostly receipts for water; and generally speaking, the whole *corpus* of *ostraka* from Berenike and Quseir al-Qadim (Bagnall 1986; Bagnall, Helms, and Verhoogt 2005; Ast and Bagnall 2016); or *ChLA* III 203 (AD 130, TM 78865), a receipt for hay.

<sup>106</sup> Lists and editions of such documents in *FIRA* III 391–400; Platschek (2013: 249–53); Iovine (2017a). One of the most relevant and best preserved items in this group is *P.Fouad* 45 (AD 153, TM 20991).

Despite the fact that so many private letters in Latin among soldiers are found in other Roman bases and forts, in Bu Njem<sup>107</sup> as well as in Vindolanda,<sup>108</sup> in the fortresses of the Eastern desert in Egypt,<sup>109</sup> or anywhere else in that province,<sup>110</sup> only one has been resurrected from Dura: a Greek personal letter from a soldier in Antiochia to a centurion.<sup>111</sup> This can be thus partially explained:

(1) Most of the Latin (and Greek, for all that matter) private letters to and from Roman soldiers are on *ostrakon*, not on papyrus. This is a direct consequence, or rather a further argument, in favour of H. Cuvigny's '*ostrakon-culture*'<sup>112</sup> and Bagnall's considerations over the same topic: the little relevance, in terms of the collective life of the unit, of private letters discouraged the use of papyrus and prompted the writers to use more ephemeral (and cheaper) means.<sup>113</sup> A number of *ostraka* did come out of Durene excavations, but as far as I know none of them was related to the Roman garrison:<sup>114</sup> they are written in the Parthian language.

(2) *Ostraka* with private letters were normally dismissed in quite a short lapse of time; one finds them most often in places where dump was thrown away.<sup>115</sup> The same holds for letters on papyrus; what we find is most often what was discarded, not what was meant to be preserved. This is not the case with the Dura military papyri. As what we have from the Palmyrene cohort is probably only what was preserved in the *officium*, it is natural enough that one gets official correspondence, the only correspondence that in all likelihood was kept there.

And this is exactly what we get from the corpus of Durene papyri: official letters, sent to (and in a very few cases, from) the tribune of the cohort from the highest authority in the province of Syria, or from top-ranking government officers (*praepositi*, *procuratores* etc.) who, busy as they were in vital errands at the border of the Empire, disposed as they pleased of the men in the cohort.<sup>116</sup> According to their typology, these letters can be roughly divided into four subgroups.

**2.1.1. *Epistulae probatoriae* (*P.Dura* 56, 58), or 'probation letters'.** The papyri are two, but the preserved letters are in fact at least four: three for *P.Dura* 56 (*a*, *b*, *c*, and perhaps more in the smaller fragments); one (a copy) in *P.Dura* 58. These letters, normally issued by the highest authorities in the province, were sent to commanding officers of military units in the province itself; and ordered them to include in the unit one or more recruits (*tirones*) or one or more horses (*equi*) intended for already serving soldiers.<sup>117</sup> The adjective *probatoria* comes from the typical terminology of such letters, where the authority declares he has 'approved' (the Latin verb employed is *probare*) the recruit(s) or the horse(s). The request normally came from the would-be soldier, who wanted to enter the Roman army;<sup>118</sup> or from the serving soldier, who

<sup>107</sup> Most of these letters on *ostraka* are halfway between private and official correspondence: legionaries write to their *praepositus* to announce the expedition (the sentence *transmisi ad te domine* 'I submitted to you, lord' is very often attested) of goods of several kinds: *O.Bu Njem* 76 (AD 259, TM 73226), 77 (AD 259, TM 73227), 78 (AD 259, TM 73228), 79 (AD 259, TM 73229). Other letters concern the request of *tesserae* 'watchwords' (*O.Bu Njem* 95, AD 253-259, TM 73245), or the arrival of a *barbarus refuga* (*O.Bu Njem* 101, AD 253-259, TM 73251).

<sup>108</sup> See *T.Vindol.* II 248 (AD 97-103, TM 114892), 250 (AD 97-103, TM 114893), 255 (AD 97-103, TM 114498), III 611 (AD 92-115, TM 130244), 645 (AD 92-115, TM 130268). Once again, these are letters of several kinds: recommendation and salutation, money and business, requests for sometimes unfathomable objects (*palliola* 'little cloaks', *saga*, *sagaciae*, *tunicae* 'tunics' [?]).

<sup>109</sup> See e.g. *O.Claud.* I 2 (second century AD, TM 29811); I 131 (*ca.* AD 107, TM 24143); I 135 (*ca.* AD 107, 24147). The letters are from one soldier to another and they all dwell on objects and goods received or given (*hydreuma* 'well', *zeucteriae* 'ropes', *tunicae* 'tunics', *palliola* 'small cloaks'...).

<sup>110</sup> See e.g. Rustius Barbarus' letters to Pompeius in *SB* VI 9017 (first-second century AD, TM 78884).

<sup>111</sup> *P.Dura* 46 (third century AD, TM 30498). Both the sender and addressee do not appear as soldiers in the Palmyrene cohort; the letter cannot be considered as part of the private correspondence within the fort. I have not mentioned *P.Dura* 45 (second-third century AD, TM 27078) as this is most likely an official letter; its deplorable condition prevents from any safe conjecture concerning its content.

<sup>112</sup> Cuvigny (2006: 265-7).

<sup>113</sup> Bagnall (2011: 132-3).

<sup>114</sup> See Bagnall (2011: 125).

<sup>115</sup> *Ibidem*, 133.

<sup>116</sup> Further discussion in Fink (1971: 348-52); *ChLA* (VI: 10); Stauner (2004: 35-42, concerning only *epistulae probatoriae*).

<sup>117</sup> See D. XII 35,17 pr.; 59,10, etc. Gilliam has described the process of enlistment in the Roman army (Gilliam 1957a). See also Maspero (1912: 53-4) for an overview on recruitment in Byzantine Egypt.

<sup>118</sup> See *ChLA* XLII 1211 *M(arco) Rutilio Lup[o] praef(ecto) Aegypti | ab C(aio) Valerio S[a]turninio tirone. | Rogo, domine, [dig]num me | iudices ut pr[o]be[s] militem | in cohorte, u[t po]ssim beneficio tuo sub sig[is] Imp(eratoris) | domini n(ostri) mili[tar]e, genioque | tuo gratias ag[am]* (AD 113-7, TM 70013). Editions in Speidel and Seider (1988); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 149; and T. Dorandi in *ChLA* XLII 1212. This is the draft of a letter sent by a recruit (*tiro*) to the prefect of Egypt, requesting *probatio*; the likely outcome of which



desired a new horse.<sup>119</sup> Instances on papyrus are not abundant: one can quote *P.Oxy.* VII 1022 (AD 103);<sup>120</sup> *P.Dura* 89, col. I (AD 239);<sup>121</sup> the very late *P.Ryl.* IV 609 (AD 505)<sup>122</sup> and *P.Vindob.* inv. L 169 (sixth century AD), almost a twin manuscript to the Rylands papyrus.<sup>123</sup> The three letters contained in *P.Dura* 56 are most likely originals, and preserve a typical mark of provincial chanceries: the marginal dating formula with *dat(a)* + day, month and location. Copies, such as *P.Dura* 58 (and perhaps the letter copied in *P.Dura* 89), have the *data* formula, but at the bottom of the manuscript, having the scribe probably not kept the original position.<sup>124</sup> Although they probably were brought to the addressee directly by the soldier after the *probatio* ‘approval’, or by the prefect’s envoy who led the horses to their destination, the letters – when originals – have on the *verso* the name of the addressee in dative case and enlarged, quasi-capital letters (although clearly cursive in origin and development); and the sender’s name (*a/ab* + ablative) in a much more informal cursive writing. This layout of the *verso* appears on several others original letters in the Durene corpus.<sup>125</sup>

As these letters were crucial to the soldier’s career, inasmuch as they proved his enrolment was legal and stated the day and year of enlistment (which in turn allowed clerks to calculate the day and year of his retirement), they were carefully kept in the unit’s archives. The four *probatoriae* we find in the Durene archive are *equorum*; the only *probatoria tironum* we find is included in the *acta diurna* on *P.Dura* 89, and is a copy, whose original is not extant. These letters (at least the original ones) were glued together forming large rolls in the form of *τόμοι συγκολλήσιμοι* (‘rolls of sheets glued together’) by the Palmyrene cohort’s clerks: they have put the formula *accepta* ‘received’ + day, month and consular year immediately after (or in the middle of) the *praescriptum* ‘header’ of *P.Dura* 56a, b and c.<sup>126</sup> The writing, which shall be discussed in 4., is remarkably ornamental, as expected from a chancery. The text appears to be a standard, and suggests the existence of stock documents for such occasions: the sender orders the tribune of the cohort to include in the *acta* (registers), ‘according to the customs’ (*ut mos est*), one or more horses which he accurately describes and whose price he states in figures. He then gives the date and year in which the inclusion in the *acta* shall be done: the years of service of the horse, and presumably of the soldier in *probatoriae tironum*, were to be calculated from that day. The result of the *relatio in acta* can be seen in the aforementioned *P.Dura* 89 col. I ll. 14–5. Clerks in the *officium* likely kept the *probatoriae* in separate folders, in order to facilitate research and check; a glimpse on this practice is given in *P.Dura* 130a, probably a small *εἰληβος* ‘label’ (attached to a roll?) where the syntagm *epistulae equorum* ‘letters of the horses’ can be clearly read.<sup>127</sup>

**2.1.2. Letters from high authorities, on various businesses** (*P.Dura* 60, 61, 63, 64, 66); most of these papyri contain fragments from more than one letter, but their deplorable state

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would have been a *probatoria* for Saturninus, allowing him to enter the cohort of his choice (whether an auxiliary or legionary one, nobody knows).

<sup>119</sup> This can be gathered from a letter in *P.Dura* 66, namely letter *pp*, where the writer states that the cavalryman Iulius Priscus desires a horse to be approved for himself (ll. 11–2 *per* [Iul Prisc] *Priscum equitem qui desidera*[t] [- - -] [ . . . ] *equum sibi probandum*). See Davies (1969: 452).

<sup>120</sup> TM 78569; see ll. 4–9 *tirones sexs probatos a me in | coh(orte) cui praees · in nume|ros referri iube ex XI | Kalendas Martias nomi|na eorum et icon[i]smos | huic epistulae subieci*.

<sup>121</sup> The papyrus contains *acta diurna*: the copy of a *probatoria tironum* was accommodated in col. I ll. 14–5 [- - -] *tirones probati ab* [ . . . . . ] *nio u(iro) c(larissimo) co(n)s(ulari) n(ostro) n(umero) II: [ . . . . . ] abbasari (centuria) Aurel(ius) Germanus ex VI Idus Maias d(omino) n(ostro) Gord[ian]o Aug(usto) co(n)s(ule) | [- - -] ex [ . . . . . ] [tirones] duos quorum nomi|na . . . . . ]s item staturas subici praecepi ar . . . s agitar[ae] expertos probatos . . . in c[o]h(ortem) XX Palm(yrenorum) Gordianam c(ui) pr(aees)*. Part of the cohort’s daily routine was, understandably, to enlist more recruits.

<sup>122</sup> TM 17309. Flavius Constantinus Theofanes, the *comes Thebaici limitis*, officially asks a tribune of the army in Hermoupolis to enlist in his *numerus* one Heracleon, son of Constantinius. The highest military authority in Late Antique Upper Egypt, keeps himself busy (in the bureaucratic fiction) over the enlistment of a single recruit, in a very long and pompously worded letter.

<sup>123</sup> No TM number so far. A preliminary edition in Iovine (2019c: 641–2). Full edition and commentary are forthcoming.

<sup>124</sup> See Iovine (2019b: 163–206), for a full survey and discussion.

<sup>125</sup> On this aspect I will dwell further in 4. This layout was not limited to Durene letters, but was probably typical of Roman official letters both on papyrus (see e.g. *P.Hib.* II 276 *verso*, AD 157, TM 21149) and other writing material (see e.g. the *verso* of *T.Vindol.* II 210, AD 92–7, TM 114465; II 211, AD 92–7, TM 114466). Whenever in the *verso* of any of official letters in the Durene set there is no indication of the cohort after the name of the tribune, this is probably due to the fact that these letters travelled in large packets, and the reference to the precise *numerus* of destination was outside it, and was not preserved (Fink 1971: 349).

<sup>126</sup> For this formula, see Iovine (2019b: 206–16).

<sup>127</sup> See Gilliam (1950: 172 fn. 5).

of conservation normally offers significant material from no more than one or two letters per catalogue number. *P.Dura* 60*b* and 64*a, b* are similarly laid out, as they are directed to the tribune of the cohort from a higher rank (the provincial governor Marius Maximus, the *praepositus praetenturae*<sup>128</sup> Antonius Rufinus) and contain not only orders from the superior in question, but a letter from the provincial governor (again Marius Maximus,<sup>129</sup> and Aurelius Seleucus) attached by the sender to his own letter. Formulae such as *quid scripserim / scribere dignatus sit* ‘what I have written / he deigned to write’, *ut notum haberetis / ut sciatis* ‘for your information’, *adplicui / subieci* ‘I attached’ normally appear in this case.<sup>130</sup> Ordinary proceedings of a Roman military unit seem to be envisaged here: lodgings and entertainment for a foreign ambassador, food supply for cavalymen and muleteers, and a strange request of satisfaction – perhaps a legal controversy among two soldiers (in *P.Dura* 64*b*). Food provisions might be the subject of the fragmentary letters contained in *P.Dura* 61, where *frumentatio* ‘foraging’ is repeatedly mentioned; requests for personnel are featured in both the extant letters of *P.Dura* 63, perhaps in view of disciplinary actions. As it almost invariably happens that the single papyrus preserves more than one letter on apparently similar topics, it is highly likely that our papyri are the remnants of actual *libri epistularum* ‘rolls of letters’, or smaller collection of letters, put together by clerks in the *officium* in order to make the archive easier to consult. A strong instance of this tendency, and at the same time a particular case among Dura papyri and Latin papyri in general, is *P.Dura* 66. With its more than two hundred fragments, about 50 – very badly preserved – letters and more than 90 hands, it is the largest Latin *liber epistularum* extant from the ancient world. It covers the second semester of AD 216, and mostly concerns a detachment of soldiers, cavalymen and troops on camel, probably in preparation for Caracalla’s campaign against the Parthian Empire. Once again, typical features of these letters (not always, but generally attested) are the sender and the addressee’s name on the *verso*; the greeting formula, functioning as a subscription and by the very hand of the sender, *opto te / uos ... bene ualere* (‘I wish you fare well’, apparently the equivalent of the Greek ἔπρωο / ἔπρωοθε ‘fare you well’<sup>131</sup>); and the formula *accepta* + date, often located in the *praescriptum*, sometimes in the lower portion of the left or right margin, which testifies the inclusion in the *liber*.

**2.1.3.** Letters with lists attached (*P.Dura* 62, 66*d, l*, 67, 68, 69, 80). Lists of men, as will be seen, are among the most representative features of Roman military bureaucracy. Lists attached to letters cannot be compared with the great rosters, or any sort of list described below: they are generally shorter, containing only a small number of soldiers specifically requested for a mission or a detachment. Normally the letter explains why the sender needs, or is sending back, the detachment of soldiers; the sender attaches below the list itself. *P.Dura* 62, 66*d, l*, 68, 69 and 80 are too fragmentary for us to extract relevant information. In *P.Dura* 66*d* the letter can be at least partially read: the sender is sending back to the cohort 28 men he had previously gathered to perform some duties on the command of a *procurator Augusti*, Aurelius Theodotus. *P.Dura* 67 preserves the longest list of men in this subgroup (ten columns, more than 120 names); unfortunately, the letter to which the list is attached is barely legible.

**2.1.4.** Letters of uncertain nature (*P.Dura* 57, 59, 65, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79). Due to the various accidents of conservation, so little of their text is preserved, that as far as we know they could belong to any of the aforementioned categories. *P.Dura* 59 certainly comes from the provincial chancery, and has the *accepta*-formula in the middle of the *praescriptum*, so one can easily think of an official letter; but the absence of the *data*-formula in the left margins prevents one from safely construing the papyrus as a *probatoria*, and the content is unfathomable. *Accepta*-formulae, which suggest the existence of a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος, are also in *P.Dura* 65 (whose ornamental writing suggests a letter from the prefect’s chancery) and *P.Dura* 70. *P.Dura* 71 and 73 feature too a very ornamental sort of script which suggests a top-ranking origin; the

<sup>128</sup> For a possible translation of this rank and some further remark, see the commentary *ad loc.*

<sup>129</sup> Maximus forwards to the commanding officers of the troops on the Euphrates a letter he himself has written, and sent to a *procurator Augustorum* ‘procurator of the *Augusti*’. See the commentary *ad loc.*

<sup>130</sup> See e.g. *P.Oxy.* VII 1022, l. 9 (AD 108, TM 78569); *P.Oxy.* VIII 1114 col. II. 14 (AD 237, TM 21736).

<sup>131</sup> See e.g. *P.Mich.* VIII 470 (early second century AD, TM 27083); *SB XXII* 15377 (second century AD, TM 78966); *CEL* I 159 (late second century AD, TM 69866); *O.Bu Njem* 88 (AD 253–9, TM 73238), etc. This formula is among the oldest and most typically Roman salutations: P. Parsons has given a detailed account of it in literature and papyri fragments in *P.Rain. Cent.*, pp. 488–9, followed by P. Cugusi in *CEL* (II: 60–64).

same may be said of *P.Dura* 74. In *P.Dura* 78, only the closing greeting formula *opto uos ...* survives. In *P.Dura* 79 *verso* one can see the typical layout of the *verso* of official correspondence: the name of the addressee in the dative case and enlarged letters, and the sender's name in a much more informal cursive writing. *P.Dura* 57, 72, and 75–7 are too damaged to yield any further clue.

Further discussion on official correspondence, with reference to the Durene material, has been recently published in Salati (2020: 171–86).

## 2.2. *Acta diurna* (*P.Dura* 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 140).

This documentary typology, which is best attested here among the Durene *corpus*, goes unnamed in the ancient sources. A plausible modern name, as noted in Fink (1971: 179), would probably be ‘morning reports’, which describes the overall content of the papyri here mentioned. While commenting upon the newly discovered *P.Dura* 82, Rostovtzeff<sup>132</sup> called this document and its nexts of kin *acta diurna* or *cotidiana*, on account of a passage of Vegetius which apparently relates to their function: *totius enim legionis ratio, sive obsequiorum siue militarium munerum siue pecuniae, cotidie adscribitur actis* ‘accounts on the whole legion, either on the military discipline or military duties or on its money, are noted down every day in the records’ (II 11). Fink has pointed out the interestingly similar term βιβλίον ἐφήμερον ‘daily register’ in App. *BC* V 5,46.<sup>133</sup> The surviving morning reports among Dura papyri offer a number of entries, marked by the day and the month and very freely laid out in wide columns and irregular paragraphs, in which everyday activities, number and ranks of the soldiers involved are reported. We do not see the individual voice of the soldiers or their personal predicament, but a series of standardized actions with, presumably, a strong ritualistic and propagandistic value. The most complete ones (offering one or more fully preserved entries) are *P.Dura* 82 and 89; the remaining ones are in much worse condition, sometimes (e.g. *P.Dura* 84 and 140) so fragmentary as to raise doubts on their typology. Similarities in structure and purpose can be remarked with Egyptian papyri *PSI* XIII 1307 *recto*<sup>134</sup> and *P.Mich.* VII 450+455;<sup>135</sup> further overviews will be found in Fink (1971: 179–82); Marichal (*ChLA* VII: 28–9); Stauner (2004: 74–90);<sup>136</sup> and Salati (2020: 10–50).

Every entry in the *acta* contains a highly standardized quantity of information (through quite a rigid format) concerning the cohort and its personnel. The entries are characterised by the day and month, the year not being mentioned; this is probably due to the fact that such documents referred to the current year, and were subsequently discarded, perhaps after providing a yearly summary.<sup>137</sup> The scribes draw up the document along the fibres in a very quick and informal cursive; they somehow align the text to a notional vertical line to the left, but completely disregard any alignment to the right: they keep writing each line referring to a particular topic until they have finished it, generally avoiding splitting them. Single entries are separated by large blank spaces, which are typical of this documentary typology. Their content is organised as follows:

1. Each entry covers a single day: it begins with a dating formula (day + month) and the total number (*numerus purus*) of the soldiers in the cohort, here called *milites caligati*.<sup>138</sup> This section survives in *P.Dura* 82, 85 fr. *c+b*, 89. The sentence usually begins with *n p mil cal = numerus purus militum caligatorum* –

<sup>132</sup> Rostovtzeff (1934: 367).

<sup>133</sup> The full passage is in 5,46,1-6: καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς χιλιάρχους τὸ σύνθημα τῷ στρατῷ ληγομένους παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος. Οἱ δὲ ἔφερον αὐτῷ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ, καθὰ καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐστὶ τὸν αἰτοῦντα τὸ σύνθημα χιλιάρχον ἐπιδιδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ βιβλίον ἐφήμερον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ παρόντος ‘Lucius sent the tribunes to receive by Caesar the watchword for the army. They, on the other hand, brought to him the army roll, as is the custom also nowadays that the tribune who asks for the watchword delivers to the supreme commander the daily register of the current number of the troops’. Although the passage refers to an ἔθος operating when Appian wrote, i.e. more than fifty years before the composition of *P.Dura* 82 (in the mid-second century AD), it is still worthy of attention. In Appian's description, it is the tribune (χιλιάρχος) who receives the watchword (σύνθημα) instead of giving it, and delivers the daily report (βιβλίον ἐφήμερον) with the ἀριθμός ‘number’ of soldiers in an individual unit. The idea of a ‘daily register’, i.e. added up every day with the number of the soldiers, describes very well the extant *acta diurna*.

<sup>134</sup> c. AD 65, TM 25148.

<sup>135</sup> c. AD 225–50, TM 42957.

<sup>136</sup> For the Durene documents, see more precisely pp. 74–81.

<sup>137</sup> *ChLA* (VII: 29).

<sup>138</sup> Gilliam has repeatedly argued for *milites caligati* to signify not *pedites*, but simply ‘enlisted men’. See Gilliam (1946); (1950: 224); and in Welles, Fink, and Gilliam (1959: 271).

or, as Fink alternatively proposed,<sup>139</sup> *numero puro milites caligati* – and ends with a genitive, normally written in the following line: *cohortis XX Palmyrenorum* + the cohort's imperial *cognomen* (depending on the current Emperor, this might be *Seueriana Alexandriana*, *Gordiana* etc.<sup>140</sup>). Between the *numerus purus* and the genitive, completely filling the first line, is inserted a figure, representing the total number; then come the quantities of the centurions (*ordinati*) and of the superior pay grades, *duplicarii* 'paid double' and *sesquiplicarii* 'time-and-a-half paid' among the infantry (the name *pedites* 'infantrymen' being implied); eventually, the same data is given for the camel-troopers (*dromadarii*) and the cavalrymen (*equites*), this time explicitly mentioned.<sup>141</sup> No *ordinati* are given for the camel-troopers, who in the great rosters are normally grouped with the centuries, and therefore have no centurions of their own; as far as the cavalrymen are concerned, instead of *ordinati* one finds *decuriones* 'decurions'.

2. The total strength is followed by a standard formula. The tribune of the cohort (more generally, the commanding officer) gives the *signum*, i.e. the watchword. This word is taken *ex sanctis Septizoniis* 'from the sacred planetary orbits' in *P.Dura* 82 (Mercury, Jupiter, Venus), 89 (Jupiter) and probably in *P.Dura* 83 (again Jupiter)<sup>142</sup>; in *P.Dura* 89 col. I l. 13, on the contrary, the name of a personified quality (*Securitas*) is featured.
3. After the *signum*, another section offers a list of men (not in columns) employed for particular errands. The men, as always, are identified by their name and their century or *turma* 'squadron'. They can be described as sent away (*missi*) or returned (*reuersi*); their missions include, e.g., requisitioning barley (*P.Dura* 82 col. II l. 4 *ad hordeum comparandum*), escorting the *hordiatores* who would do that (l. 5 *in prosecutionem hordiatorum*), etc. In *P.Dura* 89 col. I ll. 14–5 an *epistula probatoria* is copied, marking the enlisting of two recruits. In fact, this section appears to be concerned with the movements of individual soldiers, i.e. their material location, whether inside or outside the camp.
4. The *pronuntiatio*, i.e. the declaration of the daily orders through the standard formula *decurio ... admissa pronuntiauit* 'the decurion ... proclaimed the orders';<sup>143</sup> and the oath, pronounced by the soldiers and duly reported, *quod imperatum fuerit faciemus et ad omnem tesseram parati erimus* 'we will do what is commanded and we will be ready to every order'.<sup>144</sup>
5. Eventually, a list of soldiers (not in columns) who guarded the imperial standards, through the formula *excubant ad signa domini nostri* ... '[Names] watch the standards of our lord'.<sup>145</sup> This section is the only one surviving in *P.Dura* 88. This time the individual men are not followed by the name of their century or *turma*, but by some sort of professional qualification within the cohort: *bucinator* 'trumpeter', *ordinatus*, *signifer* 'ensign-bearer', *sacerdos* 'priest' and so on. Whenever two soldiers have the same name, the scribe puts a figure after the second one (*II*); if there are more than one, he simply adds to the figure (*III*, *IV* and so on).

<sup>139</sup> Fink (1971: 184).

<sup>140</sup> A full survey of such *cognomina* in Bersanetti (1940); (1943); the matter is further mentioned in Gilliam (1967: 57); and referred to in Thomas and Davies (1977: 57).

<sup>141</sup> Issues such as the number of men in other Roman army units, the presence of *dromadarii* or *equites* among the cohort, and the nature of *sesquiplicarii* and *duplicarii* – here probably representing only pay grades, not official army ranks – are thoroughly discussed by Gilliam (1950: 227–8); Welles, Fink, and Gilliam (1959: 272).

<sup>142</sup> The *signa* appear to be names of planets rather than gods, given the following addition *ex sanctis Septizoniis*; the *Septizonium* featured here probably refers to planetary orbits, rather than to an actual building, and may in fact help distinguishing the name of the planet from that of the deity (Gilliam 1950: 229–30; Marichal in *ChLA* VII: 31; see also *OLD* 1714 s.v. *septizonium*).

<sup>143</sup> See e.g. *P.Mich.* 450 + 455 recto fr. b, l. 1 *admittenda pronuntiauit*; the same in l. 14.

<sup>144</sup> See Veg. II 5 *iurant autem milites omnia se strenue facturos, quae praeceperit imperator* 'the soldiers swear that they will promptly perform whatever the commander has ordered'; for *tessera*, see again Veg. II 7 *tessera autem dicitur praeceptum ducis* 'tessera is the name for the order of the commander'.

<sup>145</sup> See *P.Mich.* 450 + 455 recto fr. b 3 *pa]rati excubar[e* 'ready to watch'; and Fink, Hoey and Snyder (1940: 115–8).

### 2.3. Rosters (*P.Dura* 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 105).

The ultimate documentary typology in Roman army, rosters – in Latin, sometimes *numeri*,<sup>146</sup> more often *matriculae*<sup>147</sup> – were lists containing all the names of the soldiers serving in an individual unit. For practical purposes, the names were grouped in columns under their own sub-units (centuries, *turmae*) and, within them, according to the date of enlistment of the soldiers; a complex series of verbal and non-verbal markers was employed to signal the current status of each soldier and useful data about him, including: rank, specific duty or task, availability, non-availability, inside-outside the camp, on an errand, exempted from active service, sick, dead. Further, detailed analysis by Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 37–46); again Fink (1971: 9–18); Marichal in *ChLA* (VIII: 3–12); Stauner (2004: 21–26); Salati (2020: 65–89).

**2.3.1. Proper rosters**, due to the completeness of the data they yield, and at the same time those best preserved among the group: *P.Dura* 100 (AD 219) and 101 (AD 222). They contain 44 and 45 columns of originally 36 to 40 lines each. As *P.Dura* 101 has been written on the *verso* of *P.Dura* 100, therefore directly replacing it after only three operating years for *P.Dura* 100 itself, one might suppose that despite their length, these rosters had to be re-written at regular intervals, not longer than a few years. The beginning of both rolls is not extant, so we do not know how the documents were opened and/or described; one may suspect, however, the presence of some sort of a title, and/or of a dating formula, in view of the comparison with *P.Dura* 117, a list of soldiers whose first column is entirely occupied by a consular dating formula. Throughout the document, the infantrymen are listed by centuries (six centurions can be detected in the papyri); then come the cavalrymen, by *turmae* (five decurions are extant); eventually, the camel-troopers, who had no squadron of their own, and are listed according to their centuries. The order of the centurions and of the decurions most likely followed rules of seniority and rank; as it encompasses not only the rosters, but also the *acta diurna* and most of the minor lists of soldiers in the Durene corpus, it has been thoroughly discussed by Fink, Marichal and Davies.<sup>148</sup> The rosters, to conclude, can be divided into twelve sub-sections: six centuries, five *turmae*, and the sub-section of camel-troopers. Sub-sections for centuries and *turmae* thus begin:

[blank space<sup>149</sup>]

✓ or T<sup>150</sup> + the centurion's name in genitive<sup>151</sup>    date of his enlistment  
ord or dec + the centurion's full name

The follow the names of his lieutenants (*duplicarii*, *sesquiplicarii*) and of any top-ranking officer in the unit; then, finally, the names of all the soldiers in the unit, grouped under the consular date of their enlistment, and in chronological ascending order (from the earliest enlisted to the latest ones, placing importance on seniority). The date of enlistment is always slightly indented to the right, and refers to the names below it: it must be remarked, that the vast majority of such dating formulae only feature one consul instead of two, who can be either the first or the

<sup>146</sup> Normally *numerus*, in a military context, means 'unit', 'group': see *OLD* 1203 s.v. *numerus* 8–10. But see Gilliam (1957) on the ambiguity of such a term as *numerus*.

<sup>147</sup> This meaning seems clear from passages in Vegetius (II 2; 5; 7), the Theodosian Code (*CTh.* VII 12,2), *ChLA* XLIII 1248 col. III l. 4 *nomin[a] m[at]riculis [insert]a* 'names inserted in the rosters' (AD 401, TM 12866) and *P.Ryl.* IV 609, l. 7 *nomen ... matriculis eiusdem numeri inseri facito* 'take care that his name is inserted in the rosters of the very same unit' (AD 505, TM 17309). See *ThLL* VIII 474 s.v. *matricula* 1b (*index hominum, militum*). Also the word *brevis* is attested, perhaps intended to shorter lists: but this is rather a complex problem. See Fink (1971: 2–3) for some discussion on words *matricula* and *brevis*; Albana (2011: 76); on the distinction between *numerus* and *matricula*, Phang (2007: 288).

<sup>148</sup> See Welles, Fink, and Gilliam (1959: 28–30); *ChLA* (IX: 13–5); Davies (1976).

<sup>149</sup> Sub-sections are always separated by vast blank spaces; it often happens that the scribe, instead of resuming writing at the bottom of the column after a blank space, switches column altogether and begins the next sub-section (devoted to the next century or *turma*) at the top of the next column.

<sup>150</sup> These are the symbols for *centuria* and *turma*; *turma* is occasionally noted T<sup>a</sup> elsewhere in Dura papyri, but not in the rosters. The presence of an *ord(inatus)* 'centurion' or of a *dec(urio)* 'decurion' depends, of course, upon these symbols.

<sup>151</sup> Sometimes one finds the adjective: not *Malchi*, but *Malchiana*: not *Seleuci*, but *Seleuciana*, etc. As Fink has convincingly argued, this meant that the century or *turma* was only nominally under the said centurions or decurions; they had very recently died, and their units were waiting for a replacement (1953: 213–4).

second in the couple. In some cases, this may be due to the *damnatio memoriae* of one of the two consuls;<sup>152</sup> but the main reasons must have been shortage of time and need for space and conciseness. The last sub-section, listing camel-troopers, is only slightly different:

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Then follow the names of the other camel-troopers, each grouped, once again, according to his century, and within them, to the date of his enlistment. The order of the centurions is the same as that followed in the preceding sub-sections.

Nature and history of individual names, and naming rules and customs – not only in the rosters, but more generally within the cohort – will be discussed in 3. Within the two major rosters considered here every name, as mentioned above, is provided with one or more markers, almost always in the left margin, which provides the reader with an immediate knowledge of the status and rank of the soldier. A full list of such symbols and signals would be too long for the purpose of this chapter:<sup>153</sup> all individual peculiarities will be discussed in the commentaries devoted to the relevant papyri. Non-verbal markers include:

- horizontal and oblique bars. The horizontal lines, preceding the name in the left margin, probably stated that the soldier was available for any mission or errand, for at the moment he was involved in nothing in particular.<sup>154</sup> It often happens that these lines are drawn over, slightly below, or slightly above a notation. It is impossible to always ascertain whether the bar or the notation came first, and consequently, to clarify when this indicates that the soldier had returned from the errand and was available for anything else; or when the soldier *was* available, but had been subsequently involved in an errand. It can be remarked, however, that the position of the bar being very irregular as regards the notations, it cannot be argued that the bar ‘erases’ somehow the notation when it is drawn over it, instead or above or below.<sup>155</sup> These practices, at any rate, can be understood as normal updating of the rosters: in some cases the notation made the bar obsolete, and in some other cases the opposite happened. With these horizontal bars, oblique bars often combine to form an angle, which directly touches the first letter of the soldier’s name; inside the angle, a rank is normally inscribed, like *sig(nifer)*, *uex(illarius)*, etc.; the meaning must have been the same, the only difference being in the superior rank of the soldier with the horizontal + angular bar.

- large, black dots, also attested in *P.Fay.* 105<sup>156</sup> and *ChLA* XLIV 1315<sup>157</sup>, appear either with or without the horizontal and oblique bars, always at their left. They are often joined by smaller dots further at the left, probably to be interpreted as later additions; they never appear without the large ones. In some cases no less than four black dots (two small ones and then two large ones) appear. Those dots provided a check-mark, whose nature is however uncertain. They might be connected with rank: superior officers like the *cornicularius* often find themselves endowed with four dots, and two dots appear for *duplicarius*, *sesquuplicarius*, *decurio* and other *principales* (at least in *P.Dura* 100 and 102: no dots of any sort are attested in 101).<sup>158</sup> Marichal has convincingly argued for a connection between the dots (*puncta* in Latin) and the use of *repungent* – *repungent(ur)*, according to him – in the Bu Njem *ostraka*: soldiers in rosters would have been ‘dotted’ when, after a routine check, they were found once again available for errands; but the scribes could not draw another horizontal bar, as there was already one, and resorted to dots. As far as the smaller dots are concerned, Marichal is uncertain whether they might be the

<sup>152</sup> Fink has pointed out that sometimes, if only one consul is mentioned, it may mean that the other must not be mentioned: *Sacerdos* and *Comazon* always feature alone because their second consulship had been with Elagabalus, who underwent *damnatio memoriae* after his death (Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959: 38–9).

<sup>153</sup> Some brief guidelines in Stauner (2004: 24–5).

<sup>154</sup> Fink (1971: 11); *ChLA* (VIII: 3).

<sup>155</sup> See the very apt remarks of Marichal in *ChLA* (VIII: 5).

<sup>156</sup> = *ChLA* III 208, AD 175 (?), TM 10770.

<sup>157</sup> = P.Vindob. inv. L 99, first-second century AD, TM 70102.

<sup>158</sup> Fink (1971: 12); *ChLA* (VIII: 4).

results of repeated checks, or employed to tell apart soldiers with the same name.<sup>159</sup> The absence of dots in *P.Dura* 101 might be the consequence of a very short life, therefore with a little number of checks and updating, for that roster.

Somehow halfway between a non-verbal and a verbal marker is the *theta nigrum*, a  $\theta$  employed to mark the dead soldiers, attested only in *P.Dura* 102, and to be discussed in the commentary *ad locum*.

Verbal markers, almost always heavily abbreviated, include:

- ranks, status, and/or pay-grades: *ordinatus*, *decurio* and their usual lieutenants, i.e. *duplicarius* and *sesquiplicarius*; other very frequent notations are *explorator* ‘scout’; *singularis*, a man selected for escorts or as a bodyguard; *singularis consularis*, the same rank in the governor’s office; *signifer*, ‘ensign-bearer’; *uexillarius*, the bearer of *uexilla*, another kind of standard.<sup>160</sup>

- duties and errands both inside and outside the town: e.g. *ad dominum nostrum*, probably an escort for a visiting Emperor (most likely Elagabalus in AD 218); *ad hordeum*, for those sent to collect barley; *ad penum comparandum*, for those who provided food; *in prosecutionem hordiatorum*, for those who escorted the *hordiatores*, sent to fetch barley; and the very frequent *officio*, signalling that the man was serving as clerk in the *officium cohortis*.

- toponyms, where detachments could be sent: mostly Appadana and Becchufayn, small towns on the Euphrates remarkable for the huge amount of soldiers from the Palmyrene cohorts who were stationed there according to the rosters; and other toponyms, sometimes very precise (Birtha), sometimes more vague (Parthia).

- a lot of barely comprehensible or uncertain annotations, due to unattested abbreviations or very informal writing; some (only in *P.Dura* 100) located further to the left, in the intercolumnar space. These annotations, and all the rich material mentioned above, will be further discussed in the commentaries attached to the individual papyri.

**2.3.2.** More partial or incomplete rosters provide a little less information, or – due to the deplorable state of conservation – prevent any safe conjecture on their original condition. *P.Dura* 104 and 105 appear to fit in the typology, but are partially preserved, and though very likely to have been rosters like *P.Dura* 100 and 101, there is no certainty in this respect; Fink believes them to have been portions of (or partial) rosters, rather than complete ones.<sup>161</sup> *P.Dura* 99 is perhaps the most problematic of this section, being so fragmentary that its belonging to the group seems to lie on a palaeographical basis only. *P.Dura* 98 and 102 are both defective in some way if compared to the major rosters. *P.Dura* 98 features no *duplicarii* or *sesquiplicarii*, or at any rate no superior officers after the centurion’s name, and no marginal annotations of any sort, either verbal or non-verbal. *P.Dura* 102 does not even offer the centurion’s name, but only the century’s; no *duplicarii* or *sesquiplicarii*, and the camel-troopers, instead of being gathered at the end of the roster, are grouped each at the bottom of his own century. Marginal annotations, on the other hand, are richly employed.

#### **2.4. Guard rosters (*P.Dura* 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113).**

This sub-group of documents also contains lists of soldiers; but they are not organised in columns, nor do they contain enlistment dates. Instead, they appear to be written without a precise layout, name after name, identified – as in morning reports – only by their century; and sometimes, the noun of a particular location within the fortified town of Dura – mainly its gates (*portae*), but also noteworthy spots inside (the centre of the camp, or *groma*) and outside the camp, like the storehouses (*horrea*). These guard rosters contain lists of soldiers destined to watch relevant places in town. In *P.Dura* 107 one can probably witness a relic of their original organisation, which might have been daily-based: the second section of this guard roster begins with a dating formula (day and month). The scribes were likely the same ones who drew up the rosters; as they were quickly to be discarded and not intended to go outside the *officium*, the writing is even more

<sup>159</sup> *ChLA* (VIII: 5).

<sup>160</sup> On the possible sequence of promotion *singularis* → *officium* → *uexillarius*, see Welles, Fink, and Gilliam (1959: 33) and Breeze (1974: 278–86) – who is, however, sceptical on the whole: ‘the documents of Dura ... are of little help in examining the career structure’ of the auxiliaries (p. 280).

<sup>161</sup> Fink (1971: 10).

informal than that of the former documents.<sup>162</sup> In fact, they are often written on the *verso* of morning reports: *P.Dura* 106 is the *verso* of *P.Dura* 83; *P.Dura* 107 of *P.Dura* 89; *P.Dura* 108 of *P.Dura* 84; *P.Dura* 113 of *P.Dura* 85, as if the two documentary typologies were produced and handled by the same set of scribes, or the same section of the office. Notably, the very few parchments found within the archive of the Palmyrene cohort are mostly located here: *P.Dura* 109, 110, 111 and 112, all written only on the flesh side, and all datable to the 240–50s, the last years of Roman occupation. Further discussion in *ChLA* (IX: 35–6); Stauner (2004: 29–30); and most recently, Salati (2020: 65–89).

## **2.5. Lists (*P.Dura* 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 103, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124).**

On this typology see the most recent account in Salati (2020: 90–136).

**2.5.1.** Very little is known of the necessities and uses of the lists of soldiers which abound not only in the Durene archive, but more generally in Roman military documents. These lists were probably created for immediate employment, and retained the original feature of the rosters – the columnar lay-out – as they were likely conceived as fragments and portions of those very rosters. Some of them preserve annotations such as the century/*turma* and the centurion/decurion's name, or the date of enlistment, or the date of the list itself (*P.Dura* 115, 116, 117, 122); others offer no additional information to the bare names but (sometimes) the ranks, and often are very fragmentary (*P.Dura* 96, 114, 118, 119, 120, 124). *P.Dura* 103, though in a reduced state, appears to contain only names of cavalrymen; it is impossible to ascertain, however, whether the original list also contained only cavalrymen.

**2.5.2.** Among this sub-group a small number of special lists are worth being singled out. *P.Dura* 94 and 95 are not simple lists: they contain a bundle of information of different kinds, including summaries of strength and movements of troops (*P.Dura* 95), as well as annotations of how many men were stationed in a determinate place, how many were honourably discharged, and promoted to cavalrymen (*P.Dura* 94).<sup>163</sup> No regularity can be detected in their lay-out, but they cannot be simply classified as morning reports, rosters or guard rosters; and they do seem to have answered to more than one purpose. *P.Dura* 92 is a short list of cavalrymen with a dating formula at the top of the document, as if to monitor the amount of cavalrymen in a precise moment for a determined, unfathomable purpose. *P.Dura* 93 belongs to a typology attested elsewhere in Roman military documents, i.e. the list of *principales*: the names it contains were of *duplicarii* and of some other top rank.<sup>164</sup> *P.Dura* 97 is a list of cavalrymen and of the horses each of which was assigned, carefully described and with the dating formula of the animal's probation; so that the list seems to be more about the horses in possession of the cohort, than about soldiers. *P.Dura* 121 contains only names of soldiers recently recruited or transferred from other units; as both proceedings probably required it, *epistulae probatoriae* are mentioned in the document before the recruit or soldier they were brought with.

**2.5.3.** A small quantity of very informally written (and badly preserved) papyri feature figures and dating formulae, i.e. they probably are accounts, quickly produced for ephemeral purposes (*P.Dura* 90, 91).

## **2.6. Legal texts (*P.Dura* 125, 128).**

**2.6.1.** It is a truth now widely acknowledged that top-ranking Roman soldiers, such as centurions or tribunes, functioned as judges and engaged in settling legal disputes among civilians of the district in which they happened to serve. They could do it in many ways; their role has been extensively discussed.<sup>165</sup> This may also be the case for *P.Dura* 125, where the highest authority within the Palmyrene cohort, i.e. the tribune Laronius Secundianus, pronounces a verdict which closes the legal proceedings originally recorded in the papyrus. The only other person mentioned, Abedsalmanes, is given no further specification in the extant text: he might

<sup>162</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 36).

<sup>163</sup> Fink (1971: 233) believes this document to have been a *pridianum*.

<sup>164</sup> See Stauner (2004: 56–9) for a complete overview. Parallels, which elucidate the nature of the document, are *P.Ryl.* II 79 (AD 144–51, TM 19488), *P.Princ.* inv. 7532 *recto* (AD 235–42, TM 69910), *P.Oslo* III 122 (AD 238–42, TM 21553).

<sup>165</sup> See Daris (1964); (1988); Pollard (2003: 85–104); Whitehorne (2004); Merola (2012: 81–136), particularly pp. 100–14.



have been a civilian – and if so, *P.Dura* 125 could be placed in the list of papyri where a Roman soldier personally meddles in a dispute among civilians; or he might have been a soldier, and if so, the papyrus is historically less relevant, disputes among soldiers being normally and naturally settled by their superior officers.

**2.6.2.** Quite an early instance of a documentary typology which encountered a dramatic increase and success in the following century,<sup>166</sup> *P.Dura* 128 contains a bilingual record of proceedings.<sup>167</sup> The Greek text is provided with a Latin frame, diminutive in extent, from which only the name of the magistrate is evident: a Pacatianus, styled *uir egregius*, which might be the Licinius Pacatianus who features as a former *dux* in *P.Dura* 97. One cannot be certain whether Pacatianus was regularly entitled to chair trials, like prefects and *praesides* ‘governors’ in provincial *conuentus* ‘assizes’, or if he was yet another instance of a military man who gave judgments in civilian controversies.

## **2.7. Labels (*P.Dura* 130, 131).**

Under the name *P.Dura* 130 are collected four small scraps of papyrus (*a* to *d*), three of which (*b*, *c*, *d*) might as well be grouped together with the single piece of leather which constitutes *P.Dura* 131. *P.Dura* 130*a* is a small label (the words *epistulae equorum*, plus some scattered letters, can be safely read) which might have been put outside the pigeonhole containing the *liber epistularum* which collected together the *probatoriae equorum*; alternatively, it might have been attached to the roll itself, like a *κύλινδρος* (‘label’, in fact).<sup>168</sup> *P.Dura* 130*b* and *c* each contain only one name of a soldier of the cohort; so does *P.Dura* 131, the only difference being in the material (leather) and in the indication of his unit (the *turma* of Zebidas son of Iarhaeus). These small pieces might have served as labels for the individual soldiers’ equipment, preventing exchanges or mistakes.

## **2.8. Uncertain documents (*P.Dura* 81, 84, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 139, 142, 143, 145).**

A number of manuscripts from the Durene military collection remain somehow uncertain as regards their typology, mostly because of their extremely fragmentary condition. Issues concerning the individual papyrus will be discussed in the related commentary; here, a quick overview will be provided. *P.Dura* 81 is perhaps the best preserved, and yet the most puzzling of all: it has been described as the draft of an official letter,<sup>169</sup> and it certainly is written in a very informal script; it apparently contains data on detachments and their destination (ll. 1-2 ] *sentēs quorum n[o]mina* [...] *A]lexandria cum nauib[u]s* [...] and on top-ranking officers in the army (*tribuni, uiri clarissimi, praepositi, ordinati*), but nothing that can establish its typology. *P.Dura* 84, 134, 136, 138, 139 are all very badly preserved, and they might be parts of morning reports or military lists. *P.Dura* 133 contains a few scattered words and portions of an Imperial title; *P.Dura* 135 only a few letters in old Roman cursive, and then, separated from the main text, the name of the cohort with the Imperial *cognomen Gordiana*, in a Roman cursive which strives to imitate capital letters. Both the aforementioned texts are too badly preserved to offer any conclusive proof on their nature. In *P.Dura* 142 and 143 only partially preserved consular dating formulae can be seen; a figure only in *P.Dura* 145.

<sup>166</sup> Parallels, mainly from Egypt, range between the fourth and sixth centuries AD. Here are some: *P.Berl.Zill.* 4 (AD 350, TM 17284), *ChLA* V 292 (AD 352–4, TM 69893), *P.Berol.* inv. 2745 (fifth century AD, TM 35728), *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67131 (*ante* AD 566–7, TM 18878).

<sup>167</sup> More on this in the commentary *ad loc.* A study on this particular typology by B. Palme and A. Dolganov has been announced; one ought to refer also to Coles (1966) and Adams (2003), particularly chapter 3.VI.1.

<sup>168</sup> See the above considerations in 2.1.1. A detailed account on how these labels could be attached to papyri rolls (mainly concerning literary texts) is in Caroli (2007: 28–52).

<sup>169</sup> By Gilliam in Welles, Fink, and Gilliam (1959: 269); also as the portion of a *pridianum* (Davies 1967: 21).

### 3. WHO'S WHO IN THE XX PALMYRENORUM.

One of the most striking outcomes of the Dura Latin papyri, is the quantity of personal names they yield. As remarked in the preceding chapter, most of what we get from the archive of the cohort are lists of soldiers, either in the form of rosters, or other typologies of more ephemeral less important lists. When a scholar faces a huge amount of personal names from a single source, or from a very compact cluster of sources, a prosopography is usually in order, which will help orient the reader and be of use to future scholars connecting this particular cluster of evidence with those they will be assessing or re-assessing in the future. A complete prosopography of all soldiers in the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort, already necessary for any work on the Durene papyrological *corpus*, is all the more crucial as the reassessed manuscripts have yielded more names, prompting therefore an updating of the extant lists of names in Fink's *Records*<sup>170</sup> and Marichal's *Chartae*.<sup>171</sup> This is the intended outcome of this chapter. After a first introductory paragraph (3.1.) on the naming conventions one will be dealing with in perusing the papyri, updated prosopographical tables will be given for the superior officers (tribunes [3.2.1], centurions [3.2.2], decurions [3.2.3.]) and for the common soldiers, in accordance with the different degrees of conservation of the names in the manuscripts: complete or almost complete ones (3.3.1), names where only the *gentilicium* 'Aurelius' survives entirely (3.3.2) and names where only a few letters, or a patronymic survives (3.3.3).

#### 3.1. Naming the auxiliaries.

The different ways of referring to the individual soldiers within the archive of the cohort – or rather, of naming them – are, on the one hand, a direct consequence of the ethnic origin of the soldiers themselves, a mixture of Semitic and Greek ancestry with its own well-established rules of address and names; and on the other, the tendency attested within Roman soldiers to change their name, or to have it changed, in order to signify their changed status (particularly when acquiring Roman citizenship), or to answer specific purposes, e.g. letting their comrades and superiors better to pronounce an indigenous name which could have been particularly problematic for Greek or Latin-speaking officers.<sup>172</sup>

It is evident from the Durene papyri, as well as from inscriptions in Dura and elsewhere in Parapotamia, that the original Semitic (more or less Hellenised) layer of population inhabiting Dura and its country neighbourhood bore two names: one's own name and the patronymic, i.e. one's own father's name in the genitive case. The names are mostly Semitic, Greek or (rarely) Iranian in origin, regardless of the ethnicity or the ethnic origin of the individuals who bore them (which in most cases, we cannot trace back).<sup>173</sup> The numerical relation between Semitic and Greek-originated names has been calculated and analysed by M. Sommer among Durene Greek papyri and parchments and the Euphrates papyri, showing a dramatic difference between the countryside (χώρα) of Dura – almost all Semitic names – and the towns – where Greek names are the vast majority.<sup>174</sup>

Roman soldiers from Eastern provinces, on the other hand, at least around the first centuries of Imperial presence, acquired from the contemporary Roman naming tradition the custom – particularly applied to non-Italians becoming Roman citizens – of normally having two

<sup>170</sup> Fink (1971: 445–500) – of course including the names from all the papyri in the volume, the Dura papyri being only a fraction of them.

<sup>171</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 85–95).

<sup>172</sup> For provincials changing their name when obtaining Roman citizenship, a good instance is provided in Keenan (1973: 41): *BGU* II 655, ll. 5–8 Αὐρήλιος Ζώκιμος | πρὸς μὲν τῆς θίας (*sic!*) δωρεὰς καὶ λούμενος Ζώκιμος Λεονίδου (AD 215, TM 9293). As for other reasons for doing so: 'in addition to swearing the oath, the adoption of a Latin or Greek name, a very personal thing, was sometimes demanded by his superiors if they found a man's native name too difficult to pronounce. We have both explicit and implicit evidence for this practice, which is not the same as changing one's name on receipt of citizenship' (Haynes 2013: 302). Grassi tentatively supposes that Latin names in the Durene region might have been chosen because of phonetic or semantic closeness to Semitic names (2012: 4).

<sup>173</sup> For a list of those names and their meaning and inflective rules, see C. B. Welles in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 58–65); more recently (and extensively, as it also includes inscriptions), Grassi (2012). In the latter contribution, one will also find detailed etymological explanations (or attempts at explanations) for all the Semitic names (pp. 107–270). It is remarkable that some of these names also appear in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* IV 735: AD 205, TM 20435), probably referring to a *cohors equitata* of Syrian or Mesopotamian origin (a *numerus*?). Single names are addressed in the main table (3.3.1). As for the (rarer) Iranian names, such as those ending in *-bazus*, *-anes* or *-dates* (e.g. Orobazus, Mazarbanes or Meheridates), see Huyse (1988) on the Durene evidence.

<sup>174</sup> Sommer (2005: 320–4).

names in the nominative case, as a relic of the republican *tria nomina*: a *gentilicium* and a *cognomen*.<sup>175</sup> Dura papyri referring to the Palmyrene cohort testify this twofold arrangement in the names of the soldiers:

(A) Semitic, Iranian or Greek name + patronymic (father's name in the genitive case): e.g. **Iarhaboles Themarsa**. Semitic names display a great variety and are mostly connected with deities; Greek names are normally Macedonian in origin and recall historically significant individuals (Cέλευκος, Δημήτριος, Ἀλέξανδρος).<sup>176</sup> Army clerks seem to adopt a double policy in inflecting the Semitic names. More Semitic-sounding names behave as they probably would have behaved in their original context: i.e. names in *-as* or *-es* lose the *-s* in the genitive case (e.g. Themarsa-s, Iarhabole-s), and names in *-anes* lose *-es* (e.g. Obean-es, Salman-es). On the other hand, names ending in *-us* are treated in a more 'Latin' way with a genitive in *-i* (e.g. Abgari, Iarhaei, Uabalathi).

(B) Roman *nomen* + personal Semitic, Iranian or Greek name, all in the nominative case, as would normally happen to a newly-nominated Roman citizen in, say, Egypt: e.g. **Aurelius Iarhaboles**.<sup>177</sup> On the history of this binary nomenclature in the tradition of 'new Romans', much has been said in Salway (1994: 133–40; 144–5). The most favoured, almost overwhelmingly attested *nomen* is 'Aurelius', as a consequence of the Antonine constitution; 'Iulius', and more rarely, 'Aelius' and 'Ulpus',<sup>178</sup> are also attested. It sometimes happens, that the second name is not Semitic or Iranian but Roman or Greek: e.g. **Aurelius Alexandrus**, **Aelius Marinus**. Double *gentilicia* are sometimes attested; according to Gilliam, they are the result of individual acts of devotion from the soldiers, and they were a short-lived innovation.<sup>179</sup>

It is worth mentioning that in both cases (A and B), a handful of names appear to be transliterations of Semitic names in Latin script (i.e. Bassus, Marinus, Mocimus).<sup>180</sup>

In a pre-Antonine constitution environment (before AD 212), one might easily attribute type-A names to soldiers serving in the cohort, but still not being awarded with Roman citizenship; and type-B names to those soldiers who already were Roman citizens.<sup>181</sup> C. B. Welles has signalled some typical inflecting mistakes endemic to this system: in type-A names one sometimes finds a nominative instead of the genitive (Abgarus Themes, Mombogeus Barnebus), probably due to the influence of the Roman system; in type-B names, a genitive instead of a nominative (Antonius Alexandri, Aurelius Zabde, Cassius Sacona), or – if it is not simply the effect of weak final *-s* or scribal mistake – two genitives (Ierabole Obean, Gadde Bore).<sup>182</sup> Of course misspellings and phonetics mistakes – or just variations – are more than common: e.g. Iarhaeus can be found as Iareus, Iereus, Iarheus; Iarhaboles can also be Ieraboles; etc. Given that for many soldiers one is able to see the enlistment date, Marichal has calculated that in the decades between 192 and 214 (where the main enlistment dates are signalled in the rosters), type-A decreases and type-B increases in an almost mirror-like way, probably because after AD 212 soldiers were more likely to bear a Roman-sounding name.<sup>183</sup>

The evidence provided by the two great rosters among Dura papyri (*P.Dura* 100, 101), dated between AD 219 and 222, seems to suggest that in those years something remarkable, still not fully clarified, was heavily influencing the aforementioned system. In *P.Dura* 100 (AD 219)

<sup>175</sup> See Salway (1994) for an overview of switches in Roman naming tradition. As Salway points out, the general tendency after the demise of the Republic was to regard *nomen* and *cognomen* – the *cognomen* in particular – as the crucial portions of the name, and increasingly to disregard the *praenomen*.

<sup>176</sup> Grassi (2012: 3–5).

<sup>177</sup> See the abovementioned Keenan (1973: 41).

<sup>178</sup> Welles points out that, as 'Aurelius' normally signifies – or is meant to signify – devotion to, or mention of, Emperor Caracalla, *nomina* such as 'Aelius', 'Iulius' or 'Ulpus' are probably all to be tracked down to citizenships given by Trajan, Hadrian etc. (Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959: 60–61).

<sup>179</sup> See Gilliam (1965: 89–90). He refers to instances such as Aurelius Aelius + name, or Aurelius Iulius + name; these, however, seem but the effect of *P.Dura* 100 being flooded with 'Aurelius' in AD 219. Other double *gentilicia*, which do not refer to Caracalla, are borne by Claudius Iulius Marinus and Claudius Iulius Secundus (both in *P.Dura* 101 col. XXXI); there may also be a Claudius Iulius Menander in *P.Dura* 82.

<sup>180</sup> See Grassi (2012: 271–2).

<sup>181</sup> Citizens serving in auxiliary cohorts, rather than in legions, are attested since the second century AD: see Haynes (2013: 92: 'auxiliaries were not required to have citizenship, though as we will see a growing number did so by the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century') and attached bibliography at the end of the chapter.

<sup>182</sup> See again Welles, Fink, and Gilliam (1959: 60–1); *ChLA* (IX: 8).

<sup>183</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 8–9).

the *nomen* 'Aurelius' is put by the clerks before all names which did not already contain it, i.e. both type-A (which end up being three: e.g. Aurelius Iarhaboles Themarsa) and those few type-B where the *nomen* is not Aurelius (e.g. Aurelius Aelius Marinus). This intruding 'Aurelius' can be seen also in *P.Dura* 66e and l (AD 216); and is apparently employed in the later *P.Dura* 129,<sup>184</sup> a business document in the Greek language where two soldiers from the cohort, the decurion Ulpius Demetrius (Οὐλπίος Δημήτριος) and a cavalryman Ἀλέξανδρος Ὀροβάζου (perhaps *Alexandrus Orobazi* in a roster?), style themselves as Αὐρήλιοι right before mentioning their names. On the other hand, both *P.Dura* 98, a partial roster probably written slightly before *P.Dura* 100 (AD 218–9), and *P.Dura* 101, the great roster subsequent to 100 (AD 222), show no sign of the intruding 'Aurelius': names which received the *nomen* in 100 have lost it in 101, and Aurelius Iarhaboles Udathi in *P.Dura* 100, col. VIII l. 13 becomes again Iarhaboles Udathi in *P.Dura* 101, col. XIII l. 25. The only Aurelii are those who already were so before *P.Dura* 100. No further addition of 'Aurelius' can be seen after AD 222 till the very last Latin military papyri in Dura (around AD 256).

Two explanations for the phenomenon have been produced by scholarship. R. O. Fink believes, in short, in a clerical mistake caused by the remoteness of Dura from the centre of the Empire, and by the unavoidable legal problems in assessing who, among the inhabitants of the Empire itself, could or could not be given citizenship as the Antonine Constitution dictated. Before AD 212, he argues, some soldiers in the cohort were citizens (type-B names) and some were not or not yet (type-A names). After AD 212, according to the constitution, every soldier in the 20<sup>th</sup> cohort of the Palmyrenes is a citizen, and the clerks in the *officium* are forced to signal this change by adding Aurelius to all those who were not 'Aurelii' already. This would have happened thoroughly in *P.Dura* 100 (the great roster, where all names had to appear) and less carefully in minor lists and attachments to letters (*P.Dura* 66, 98). Subsequent developments within imperial bureaucracy would have revealed that, in fact, *not* all of the soldiers in the cohort could have citizenship; and in drawing up the second of the great rosters in AD 222 (*P.Dura* 101), the clerks, probably on orders from their superiors, would have finally stopped inserting 'Aurelius' wherever they could.<sup>185</sup> On the other hand, and perhaps more convincingly, J. F. Gilliam explains the phenomenon through clerical simplification in the paperwork. The soldiers in the cohort would all have become Roman citizens, receiving therefore an additional 'Aurelius' if they were not 'Aurelii' already (*P.Dura* 100); less than three years later, when the clerks in the *officium* were drafting the subsequent great roster (*P.Dura* 101), 'Aurelius' had become so common throughout documents in all the Empire, that it marked no real distinction any longer, and was accordingly dropped out.<sup>186</sup> A remark by Marichal somehow aligns with Gilliam's inasmuch as he believes that 'Romanising' the soldiers' names, i.e. replacing the type-A names with type-B ones when their bearers entered the cohort, would have caused the creation of too many homonyms; for instance, there would have been no way to tell Ogelus Malchi apart from Ogelus Themarsa, had both of them been referred to as Aurelius Ogelus.<sup>187</sup> Both these explanations, which seem equally valid and equally impossible to prove or rule out, imply at any rate that the great rosters *P.Dura* 100 and 101 had an official character which forced the clerks to be precise and complete in identifying the soldiers, whereas in partial rosters and list of soldiers the presence of the 'intruding' *nomen* 'Aurelius' was more a matter of coincidence and extemporaneous necessity, rather than a strict rule.

### 3.2. Tribunes, centurions, decurions.

Superior officers in the Palmyrene cohort – the *tribunus*, its commanding officers; the six centurions, commanding sub-units of infantry, and the five decurions, for the sub-units of cavalrymen – were quite naturally replaced when retired or dead in action; in almost 50 years of documentation (AD 207–250 c.) one finds several names. In the following three tables, I have collected together the names of tribunes, centurions and decurions and I list them below in three

<sup>184</sup> AD 225, TM 17235.

<sup>185</sup> In Welles, Fink, and Gilliam (1959: 37–8).

<sup>186</sup> Gilliam (1965: 85–6).

<sup>187</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 8–9). One must further remark that even without this 'Romanisation', there already are a great deal of homonyms in the cohort.

different tables, according to the chronological order of the papyri they are featured in, and in the order in which they appear on them.

It is normally assumed by the two scholars who produced the foremost contributions in this respect, Fink<sup>188</sup> and Davies,<sup>189</sup> that there was such a thing as a seniority order among centurions and decurions, and that according to seniority they were listed in rosters; this order would have naturally undergone several alterations as long as new officers were promoted and others discharged or dismissed. First Fink, then Davies, have provided seniority lists for centurions and decurions according to the data offered by the papyri. The task of establishing the exact succession of events in the hierarchical order of superior officers in the cohort heavily – and quite obviously – depends on the reliability and precision of the dating of the relevant documents. Whereas some of them (*P.Dura* 66, 100, 115 etc.) can be dated with some safety, others (*P.Dura* 102, 67, 82) cannot; while discussing Fink's list of seniority, Davies finds himself forced to propose new datings for several Durene papyri, not all of which have been endorsed in this book. In the tables below I have not attempted to establish a new list of seniority for centurions and decurions, contenting myself in annotating their names as they appear, and the apparent order in which they are listed. Whenever the soldier's name is lost in the lacuna, but there are reasonable suspects on his identity, I have put his name in square brackets.

### 3.2.1 The tribunes.

|                                                           |                                                                                                                                                              |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>P.Dura</i> 56 (AD 207–8)                               | Ulpus Valentinus                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>Prelim. Rep.</i> VII/VIII, p. 90 n° 849                | Archelaus <sup>190</sup> (?)                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 79 (AD 210–30)                              | Antonius                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 63 (AD 211)                                 | Agathonius                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>Prelim. Rep.</i> III, p. 40 n° D 143                   | Νεῖκαρχος <sup>191</sup> (???)                                                                                                                               |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 66 (AD 216)                                 | Postumius Aurelianus                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 71 (AD 218 c.)                              | [ - - ]elius                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 58 (AD 220–35)                              | Aurelius Intenianus                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 64 (AD 221)                                 | [ - - ]etius Iustillus                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 82 (AD 223–32)                              | Iulius Rufianus                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 125 (AD 235)                                | Laronius Secundianus                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 89 (AD 239)<br><i>P.Dura</i> 107 (AD 240–1) | Aelius Auitus, <i>centurio legionarius</i> and <i>praepositus</i> , perhaps acting tribune replacing Iulius Terentius, who died before AD 239 <sup>192</sup> |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 59 (AD 241)                                 | Aurel(ius) [ - - ], <i>praepositus</i>                                                                                                                       |
| <i>Prelim. Rep.</i> VI, pp. 35–36, n° 613                 | Κρηκ[ε]γτιανός (reconstructed name) <sup>193</sup>                                                                                                           |
| <i>Prelim. Rep.</i> I, pp. 90–91, n° H. 3                 | Κρειβώνιος Μουκιανός <sup>194</sup>                                                                                                                          |

<sup>188</sup> In Welles, Fink, and Gilliam (1959: 28–30).

<sup>189</sup> I.e. Davies (1976).

<sup>190</sup> The name appears in an inscription in the Mithraeum of Dura – *Archelao | trib(uno) felic(ite)r* – and allegedly refers to the earliest stage of the building, before renovation occurred in AD 210 c. This means that, if Archelaus was ever a tribune, he held that rank not later than the first decade of the third century AD (see *Prelim. Rep.* VII/VIII pp. 89–90; and 64–70 for the early Mithraeum).

<sup>191</sup> The name appears in a fragmentary inscription, on a piece of white stone found far from the town, in the desert. Origin of the stone and possible dating are equally impossible to detect. As far as the text is concerned, one can only gather that a Νεῖκαρχος sacrifices or offers something to the god Ἱαρεῖβωλος: this Νεῖκαρχος might be a tribune (χειλίαρχος) of a cohort (στέρη), but his office and the name of his unit are equally uncertain. Marichal probably placed him in the table of the tribunes because the earliest editors suppose the inscription to have been drawn up in the time of Caracalla (*Prelim. Rep.* III pp. 40–2).

<sup>192</sup> Welles (1941), particularly pp. 93–7; Gilliam (1950: 250–1); the same in Welles, Fink, and Gilliam (1959: 283 n. 6); and Fink (1971: 194).

<sup>193</sup> The name is found on the south wall in room 20 from the House in block E4. The scribe identifies the name as χειλίαρχος, but the name itself is quite difficult to read. I give the reported version on the *Preliminary Reports*. The inscription bears no dating mark and is left undated in the description; Marichal probably located the name at the bottom of his list of tribunes because it was the likeliest place to put it.

<sup>194</sup> The name is found in a gypsum stone ‘just beside the entrance to the tower of the Palmyrene Temple immediately beside an uninscribed altar’ (p. 91); it was dedicated to the θεός Ἱαρεῖβωλος by Scribonius Mucianus, who styles himself as χειλίαρχος. Again, no dating is provided and the name is left at the bottom of the table.

3.2.2. The centurions.

|                                                  |                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>P.Dura</i> 63a (AD 211)                       | Official letter              | Seleucus                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 66 (AD 216)                        | <i>Liber epistularum</i>     | Seleucus<br>Marcus = Iulius Marcus                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 98 (AD 218–9)                      | Partial roster               | Marcus = Iulius Marcus<br>Antoninus = Domitius Antoninus<br>Seleucus (dead or removed)<br>Malchus (dead or removed)                                                                                                                             |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 100 (AD 219)                       | Roster                       | Coll. I-X: Septimius Danymus, Iulius Marcus <sup>195</sup><br>Coll. XI-XVI: Domitius Antoninus<br>Coll. XVI-XX: Castricius<br>Coll. XXI-XXVI: Iulius Marianus<br>Coll. XXVI-XXXI: Malchus (dead or removed)                                     |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 120 (AD 222)                       | List                         | Antoninus = Domitius Antoninus                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 101 (AD 222)                       | Roster                       | Coll. I-V: [Malchus]<br>Coll. V-XI: Septimius Danymus<br>Coll. XI-XVI: Iulius Marcus<br>Coll. XVI-XXIII: Iulius Marianus<br>Coll. XXIII-XXVI: [Antoninus <i>Prior</i> ?]<br>Coll. XXVII-XXX: [Antoninus <i>Posterior</i> = Domitius Antoninus?] |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 102 (AD 222–8)                     | Partial roster               | Coll. I-III: [Danymus?]<br>Coll. III-V: Marcus<br>Coll. V-VII: Marianus<br>Coll. VII-IX: [Antoninus <i>Prior</i> ?]<br>Coll. X: [Antoninus <i>Posterior</i> ?]                                                                                  |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 67 (AD 222–5)                      | Letter with list of soldiers | Danymus <sup>196</sup><br>Marcus<br>Marianus<br>Antoninus <i>Prior</i><br>Antoninus <i>Posterior</i><br>Pudens                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 136 (AD 219–33 c. <sup>197</sup> ) | List                         | Marianus                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 82 (AD 223–32)                     | <i>Acta diurna</i>           | Marianus, Pudens, Antoninus <i>Prior</i> , Antoninus ( <i>Posterior</i> ), Gaianus, Nigrinus <sup>198</sup>                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 115 (AD 232)                       | List                         | Marianus<br>Antoninus <i>Prior</i><br>Antoninus <i>Posterior</i><br>Pudens<br>Gaianus                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 83 (AD 233)                        | <i>Acta diurna</i>           | Pudens                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 106 (AD 233–41)                    | Guard roster                 | Heliodorus, Germanus                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 116 (AD 236 c.)                    | List of soldiers             | Nigrinus, Germanus (= Aurelius Germanus), Antoninus <i>Prior</i> , Rufianus                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 117 (AD 236)                       | List of soldiers             | Antoninus <i>Prior</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 89 (AD 239)                        | <i>Acta diurna</i>           | Aurelius Germanus <i>ordinatus princeps</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 121 (AD 239–41)                    | List of soldiers             | Germanus, Heliodorus                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 113 (AD 230–40)                    | Guard roster                 | Naso, Themarsas                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 108 (AD 230–40 c.)                 | List of soldiers             | Germanus                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 107 (AD 240–1)                     | Guard roster                 | Priscus, Achaeus, Felix, Heliodorus, Germanus, Naso                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 109 (AD 242–56)                    | Guard roster                 | Bargas, Germanus                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |

<sup>195</sup> Since the first portion of the roster is highly fragmentary, it is not easy to determine when Danymus' century ends and that of Marcus begins; or which men are from Danymus', and which from Marcus'.

<sup>196</sup> The names repeatedly appear in this order throughout the list of soldiers, laid out in 10 columns.

<sup>197</sup> It must be remarked that the dating of this papyrus relies on the presence of a Marianus who might be a centurion; and not the other way round. The presence and placement of *P.Dura* 136 in this list must be therefore but guesswork.

<sup>198</sup> The document does not elucidate the seniority order. One only gathers that Nigrinus is twice the last when centurions are mentioned, i.e. he might have been the junior member of the six.

|                               |                  |                                                                             |
|-------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>P.Dura</i> 110 (AD 242–56) | Guard roster     | Marinus, Bargas, Germanus                                                   |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 112 (AD 242–56) | Guard roster?    | Bargas, Mocimus, Achaeus, Naso                                              |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 122 (AD 242–56) | List of soldiers | Germanus<br>Mocimus<br>Achaeus<br>Felix                                     |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 95 (AD 250–1)   | Strength report? | Bargas, Marinus <i>prior</i> , Marinus <i>posterior</i> , Germanus, Achaeus |

### 3.2.3. The decurions.

|                                           |                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>P.Dura</i> 100 (AD 219)                | Roster                                  | Coll. XXXI-XXXIII: Zebidas Iarhaei<br>Coll. XXXIII-XXXV: Themarsas Tiberini <sup>199</sup><br>Coll. XXXVI-XXXVIII: Ulpus Demetrius<br>Coll. XXXVIII-XLI: Lucius Octavius<br>Coll. XLI-XLIII: Ulpus Antoninus |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 101 (AD 222)                | Roster                                  | Coll. XXXII-XXXIV: [Zebidas Iarhaei?]<br>Coll. XXXIV-XXXVI: Themarsas Tiberini<br>Coll. XXXVI-XXXVIII: Ulpus Demetrius<br>Coll. XXXVIII-XL: Lucius Octavius<br>Coll. XLI-XLIV: Ulpus Antoninus               |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 67 (AD 222–5)               | Letter with list of soldiers            | Zebidas Iarhaei<br>Themarsas Tiberini<br>Lucius Octavius<br>Ulpus Antoninus                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 82 (AD 223–32)              | <i>Acta diurna</i>                      | Paulinus ( <i>admissa pronuntiauit</i> )<br>Themarsas Tiberini<br>Ulpus Antoninus                                                                                                                            |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 129 (AD 225) <sup>200</sup> | Receipt of money for purchase of barley | Οὐλπιος Δημήτριος (= Ulpus Demetrius)<br>Αὐρηλιανός                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 115 (AD 232)                | List of soldiers                        | Themarsas Tiberini<br>Ulpus Antoninus<br>Cocceius<br>Nifraotes<br>Paulinus                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 116 (AD 236)                |                                         | Antiochus<br>Romullus                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 68 (AD 232–8)               | Letter with list of soldiers            | Paulinus                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 107 (AD 240–1)              | Guard roster                            | Romullus, Antiochus, Cocceius (dead or transferred?), Apollonius, Paulinus                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 95 (AD 250–51)              | Strength report?                        | Romullus                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 105 (AD 251–6)              | Roster                                  | Romullus                                                                                                                                                                                                     |

## 3.3. The common soldiers (and more)<sup>201</sup>

### 3.3.1. Recognizable names, either fully or partially preserved.

In the first table I have collected all recognizable names of soldiers, be they complete (type-A or type-B fully preserved), lacking one of the two members (e.g. Barsimsus [- -], [- -] Valerius), or incomplete, but to be attributed to only a few extant names (Antioch-, for instance, could be only Antiochus or Antiochianus; Bass- can be Bassus or, less likely,

<sup>199</sup> For some reason, when indicating the century of Themarsas son of Tiberinus, scribes in the Dura papyri use the genitive *Tiberini* instead of the expected genitive of the centurion's name, *Themarsa*. So it is always the *turma Tiberini* which is spoken of or mentioned.

<sup>200</sup> The papyrus is in Greek and is featured in chapter 7.

<sup>201</sup> Also provincial governors, *procuratores* and generally speaking top-ranking officers from the army mentioned in the Durene papyri will be included in this section of the prosopography.

Bassianus). I have also included, for the sake of completeness, names of Roman soldiers from other Dura papyri (namely, in Greek and not in Latin), i.e. *P.Dura* 26 or 32, even if some of them were certainly not enlisted in the cohort.

Every name is followed by annotations on where it can be found in the Durene papyri; the dating of the individual papyrus I have annotated only once, when it first appears in the table. Whenever a name appears more than once but I am not sure whether they refer or not to the same person, I have given them separated rows, and added a progressive number in Roman figures (I, II, III...). Eventually, all available data on that name is provided: to which unit the soldier belonged, when he enlisted in the cohort (the equivalent modern dating I have put only once after the relevant consular dating formula), what was his rank, whether he was given an additional 'Aurelius' in *P.Dura* 100 or elsewhere, etc. The horizontal long stroke, which simply marks that the soldier is available for duty in *P.Dura* 100, 101 and 102, is so common as to induce me not to signal it (except when it is associated with other notations); on the other hand, more specific markers such as the black dot or the oblique dash, I have noted.

Where the names are certain, I have omitted the square brackets in the text (e.g. Abgar[u]s appears as 'Abgarus'); whenever the name is entirely or partially supplemented and its presence is less than certain, but still very likely, I have maintained the brackets, in order to warn the reader (e.g. Abidlahas Ma[ximi]). Single names where at least one letter of the first or second name survives are put after complete names in the table, and in alphabetical order: [- - -] . elius Heliodorus comes before [- - -] . l[ . . . . . He]l[i]odorus. Names where only one name, or a few uncertain traces of other names, survive, are put in the last position: the name Amaeus [- - -], where only the first element survives, is inserted in the table below all other Amaei where something more is available. When more than one single name is extant (e.g. two Amaei from two different papyri), the chronological order of the papyri is observed. Orthographical mistakes, such as Themasa for Themarsa, are ignored. Orthographical variations, such as 'Iarhaboles' being spelt 'Ierabole' or 'Iaraboles' or 'Iarabole', are reported in the second column: the variant actually appearing in the table is the one of the earliest papyrus (e.g. with Ierabole in *P.Dura* 98, Iarhaboles in *P.Dura* 100 and Iarabole in *P.Dura* 101, the entry will be represented by Ierabole).

#### [table 3.3.1]

##### 3.3.2. Isolated Aurelii.

The second table contains all the instances of names where only 'Aurelius' has survived; and, after that, all the instances of 'Aurelius' followed by dramatically incomplete and fragmentary names, or uncertain traces. Given the overwhelming majority of *Aurelii* within the Palmyrene cohort, I have decided to isolate them from other fragmentary names, instead of including them in the first table, together with the *Aelii*, *Iulii* and the like whose second name does not survive. The 'Aurelii' without anything else are grouped at the beginning of the table, in chronological order; the 'Aurelii' where at least one letter survived from the second name are listed afterwards and in alphabetical order. Cases where the 'Aurelius' might be an addition (mainly in *P.Dura* 100), are noted.

#### [table 3.3.2]

##### 3.3.3. Isolated genitives or badly preserved names.

The third table contains all fragmentary or incomplete names which do not feature any 'Aurelius' but that are added in *P.Dura* 100, including those type-A names where one can only read the patronymic (e.g. [- - -] Zebida). They are grouped in alphabetical order. Whenever the name is augmented with an 'Aurelius', as often happens e.g. in *P.Dura* 100, this is noted in the third column.

#### [table 3.3.3]



#### 4. SCRIPTS AND SCRIBES IN THE COHORT.

A palaeographical survey of the Latin *P. Dura* has been, of course, already attempted. After the initial considerations by C. B. Welles,<sup>202</sup> R. Marichal has completed a full study of Latin hands on Durene documents, a study summarized in *ChLA* (IX: 16–9); further developments on his considerations have been recently made by D. Internullo.<sup>203</sup> The aim of this chapter is to offer an updated summary of such considerations, and at the same time to provide an overview of palaeographical features in Durene Latin<sup>204</sup> papyri and parchments, from different scripts to sections of the documents determined by the scripts employed to fill them, to peculiar hands and handwritings, to sets of abbreviations and signs. When conducive to conveying the message, comparisons will be provided, not just with coeval writings on Latin papyri in Roman Egypt – which remains the most generous source of Latin documents on papyrus during the early Empire – but also with other sets of documents that share with the Durene collection something more substantial than the mere fact of having been written roughly in the same years.

The archive of the Palmyrene cohort can be defined as an official military archive, i.e. a collection of documents almost all produced and stored in the cohort's office, or – if coming from outside Dura – in other military or provincial bureaus. Despite the fact that ultimately all Dura papyri were in fact discarded in the desperate attempt to reinforce the defensive rampart on the wall, it can be surmised that most of the documents thrown away in AD 256 were thrown away at that precise moment, and had been till then preserved in the cohort's office. The importance of an archive,<sup>205</sup> whether a private, public, civil or military one, from the palaeographical point of view, is evident. A locally and chronologically very well-defined collection of documents, written by a definite or detectable number of hands in a traceable chronological fork, allows several considerations of the state of writing conventions, the degree of literacy, and the existing scripts in a given place at a given time. What survives from the archive of the *XX Palmyrenorum* is in this respect a garden of delights for palaeographers. It offers papyri written by a number of different hands, most of whom probably learnt Latin writing while serving in the army;<sup>206</sup> and in different degrees of formality, depending on their destination.

**Fig. 4.1**

**Fig. 4.2**

**Fig. 4.3**

**Table 4.1** – A selection of bone and bronze pens from Roman Dura

The scribes of the cohort could probably master both Greek and Latin and were certainly required to produce a great deal of documents of different typologies; J. Austin has recently argued that they were also required, now and then, to produce the *ordinatio* of formal inscriptions, i.e. to write or paint on stone the capital letters which would have been later carved there, completing the inscription.<sup>207</sup> One can wonder whether we have at our disposal a similar group of documents, which may function as a comparison for the Durene collection.

Collections of Latin items – be they tablets or *ostraka* – ranging from I to VI AD have been found in former provinces of Roman Empire, but they mostly consist of non-military documents – or were written long before or after the Durene items.<sup>208</sup> The Roman fortresses in the Eastern Desert of Egypt – at *Mons Claudianus*, Krokodilô, Maximianon, and the like – have yielded manifold pieces in Greek and a small quantity of Latin *ostraka*, mainly personal or official letters between soldiers, and only rarely duty rosters, receipts or other typologies.<sup>209</sup> In fact, only

<sup>202</sup> In Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 53–7, i.e. ‘VI. The Palaeography of the Greek and Latin Documents’).

<sup>203</sup> Namely, Internullo (2009).

<sup>204</sup> The Greek papyri from Dura are discussed from a paleographical point of view in Crisci (1996: 129–54; see particularly pp. 144–8).

<sup>205</sup> I use the word ‘archive’, as opposed to ‘dossier’, according to the distinction elucidated in Vandorpe (2009; see in part. 218–9; 245–6). In this respect, see also Jördens (2001: 256–64, particularly).

<sup>206</sup> See Internullo (2009: 14–18); Albana (2010); Austin (2010: 97–112); and attached bibliography.

<sup>207</sup> See Austin 2016.

<sup>208</sup> I refer to renowned collections such as the Albertini tablets (*T. Alb.* = Courtois, Leschi, Perrat, and Saumagne 1952), *las pizarras Visigodas* (Velázquez Soriano 2004), the Dacian tablets (*CIL* III pp. 913–58, from AD 139–67) or the graffiti from La Graufesenque (Marichal 1988). Notice also the newly discovered tablets from early Roman London (Tomlin 2016). All these collections, ranging from the II to the VI AD, contain mostly business documents – loans, receipts, purchases, business letters and the like.

<sup>209</sup> I refer to the rich collections of the *O. Claud.*, *O. Did.*, *O. Krok.*, and *O. Max.*

two sizeable groups of Latin items from a specific military *bureau* – or at any rate, environment – have been uncovered in the previous century:

- the Vindolanda tablets (*T. Vindol.*). More than 800 wooden tablets found between 1973 and 2003<sup>210</sup> from excavations in the Roman fort of Vindolanda (Hexham), close to Hadrian's Wall. The tablets were not stored in a real archive, but were found in what was the rubbish dump, and were thrown away in a longer period of time covering roughly AD 80 to 125. They include a number of military documents<sup>211</sup> and private and official letters from soldiers of several ranks.<sup>212</sup>

- the Bu Njem *ostraka* (*O. Bu Njem*). 146 potsherds from – once again – the rubbish dump of a Roman outpost in Gholaiia (Libya), deep in the Sahara desert south of Tripolitania, mainly dated between AD 253 and 258, when the outpost was abandoned. Documents salvaged include personal<sup>213</sup> and official<sup>214</sup> letters, as well as military documents.<sup>215</sup>

The comparison holds only partially. Neither of these collections can be described as a real archive. Both are, according to Vandorpe's careful distinction, dossiers, put together by chance and afterwards, by scholarship. All the same, by looking at these documents one can have a glance at a number of writing tendencies and developments restricted to a particular date. The Bu Njem set is in fact the most potentially productive parallel for the Durene collection, particularly as regards the evolution of Latin script. The hands which worked on the Vindolanda tablets, at the onset of the second century AD, are well within the boundaries of the so called 'old' Roman cursive, or cursive majuscule, that is first visible to us on documents from the late first century BC and can be found on Latin papyri, *ostraka* and tablets from the Mediterranean regions, till the beginning of Diocletianic era – sometimes even later.<sup>216</sup> Bu Njem *ostraka*, as well as Durene papyri, are instead located in the first half of the third century AD, a topsy-turvy moment in Roman history which also witnessed the emergence of minuscule scripts within Latin scribal practices. This revolution, coming from the highest chanceries of the Empire, and which promoted uncials and semiuncials over the old Roman capital in literary texts, can be also seen as leading to the replacement of old Roman cursive with the 'new' Roman cursive, or cursive minuscule, in documents,<sup>217</sup> thus marking the beginning of Late Antiquity. This will be more diffusely dealt with in the final paragraph of this chapter. Suffice it to say, that the chronological proximity of the two collections (AD 208 to 251; AD 253–9), their geographical distance (Upper Mesopotamia and the interior of Libya), and the marked difference between the scribal material (*ostraka* vs. papyri and parchment) call for a close comparison between the hands of the two sets of documents. In fact, R. Marichal, who worked extensively on both the Dura papyri and the Bu Njem *ostraka*, pointed out several possible comparisons between letterforms found in Gholaiia and in the cohort's *officium*: details can be found in *O. Bu Njem* (1992: 18–39), where he tracks down all the possible forms for every letter of the Latin alphabet found among the Bu Njem *ostraka* and remarks on a number of similarities with corresponding forms in the Durene documents.

A final warning. I have slightly altered the normally accepted tripartition in the palaeographical analysis of scripts in the Durene papyri (chancery and epistolary writings;

<sup>210</sup> The excavation and publication of these tablets is far from being a completed business. After the volumes of *T. Vindol.* I, II and III, two further volumes (*T. Vindol.* IV) have been published in the journal *Britannia* in 2010 (part 1) and 2011 (part 2).

<sup>211</sup> Such as *T. Vindol.* II 154 (AD 85–92, TM 114419); 156 (AD 95–103, TM 114420), IV 857, morning reports; or II 178 (AD 97–103, TM 114437) and 181 (AD 104–20, TM 114440), list of payments; or IV 862, a tablet concerning a *fabrica legionis*.

<sup>212</sup> See e.g. *T. Vindol.* I 21 (= II 248, AD 97–103, TM 114892); II 343 (AD 104–20, TM 114571); III 670 (AD 92–115, TM 130303).

<sup>213</sup> See e.g. *O. Bu Njem* 99 (AD 253–9, TM 73249), where the purchase of a donkey is discussed.

<sup>214</sup> Such as *O. Bu Njem* 76 (AD 259, TM 73226); 95 (AD 253–9, 73245), from a lower to a higher rank in the army.

<sup>215</sup> See e.g. *O. Bu Njem* 2 (AD 253–9, TM 73152), a morning report; 68 (AD 253–9, TM 73218), another report; 118 (AD 253–9, TM 73268), a list of soldiers.

<sup>216</sup> *P. Oxy.* IV 737 (BC 31–8, TM 69905), or *ChLA* X 428 (= P. Berol. inv. 13956, late I BC, TM 69927), are among the first occurrences on papyrus of this Roman cursive, which is for now only intruding in some letterforms, in a script which is still described as a capital writing. See Austin (online). This cursive vanishes after Diocletian's reforms, excepting for some provincial offices which were apparently slower than expected to abide by the new rules (see the testament published in Rothenhöfer and Blänsdorf 2016, dated to AD 340 but still written in ancient Roman cursive). For some historical overview, Petrucci (1992: 45–50); Cavallo (2008: 143–50); Cherubini and Pratesi (2010: 47–54).

<sup>217</sup> Details on this pivotal change in Latin palaeography are in Petrucci (1992: 58–60; Cavallo (2008: 162–7); Cherubini and Pratesi (2010: 63–73). On Roman 'new' cursive, or cursive minuscule, see Petrucci (1992: 61–3); Cavallo (2008: 175–84); Cherubini and Pratesi (2010: 75–85).

bureaucratic writings; personal hands and subscriptions).<sup>218</sup> Rather than creating a sub-chapter devoted to personal hands ('scritture usuali'), since these are mostly found in particular sections of the letters, I have chosen to describe them in the wider context of the letterform, and in comparison to the epistolary handwriting one finds in those very letters.

#### 4.1. A multi-layered document: epistolary writings and beyond

Letters within the archive of Dura-Europos, as previously specified, are all official letters, concerning crucial aspects of the cohort's life. No personal letter survives from the Latin papyri of the Palmyrene cohort. Now these letters share with other official letters from other corners of the Empire a basic requirement – they need to be perused and understood by all sorts of potential readers, not just the addressee – and, consequently, a basic feature: they all are written in a neat and orderly old Roman cursive, far from excessively deforming ligatures and graphical innovations. Of course the degree of neatness and formality featured in these letters would depend on the relevance of the provincial office where the letters were produced. In Dura, this means a difference between the local *officium* of the cohort – whose neat and orderly ancient cursive can be labelled as an epistolary script – and top-ranking *officia* – such as that of the provincial governor of Syria, but also those of *procuratores*, *praepositi praetenturae*, etc. – which employed, both for letters and for other official documents (unattested in Dura), a chancery writing, similar to the epistolary one found in Durene letters, but far more elegant and artificial. This difference between the two scripts is represented by the two sub-paragraphs below. Finally, whereas the whole content of the letter is drawn up either in chancery or simply in epistolary writing, at least three further typologies of contents, more or less organic to the main text, can be found on the manuscript which hosts the letter:

- on the *verso*, one can sometimes witness (1) for the indication of the addressee (normally a name in dative case) an artificial and highly ornamental majuscule, whose forms are those of the old Roman cursive, which the scribe has modified as if imitating a capital script;<sup>219</sup> and (2) for the indication of the sender (normally *a/ab* + ablative) a quick and personal handwriting, probably the actual sender's.

- in the bottom margin, the sender may or may not leave a personal note, i.e. a closing greeting formula (*opto te /uos ... bene ualere*), probably always written by the sender himself, and functioning as a subscription. It exhibits therefore a very personal handwriting.

- the upper margin, the intercolumnium – if the letters include a list –, the bottom margin, and the blank space in the middle of the *praescriptum* can all host clerical annotations. The main type is the accepta + dating formula, to mark when a letter was included in a *liber epistularum*.<sup>220</sup> Other annotations are less attested and relevant and will be discussed below if necessary. The script, as above, is always careless and informal.

##### 4.1.1. Letters from top-ranking offices: chancery writings<sup>221</sup>

This script can be defined as the final stage of ancient Roman cursive. All the forms of this script, which starts to appear between first century BC and first century AD in Roman documents, are brought to their fullest development, before being discarded from wider usage and reserved for Imperial documents only, becoming the so-called *litterae caelestes*.<sup>222</sup> As remarked above, there are very few ligatures (mainly *um* and *us* with *u* small and located in the upper portion of the writing line); words are written in *scriptio continua*; medial dots, or *interpuncta*, have almost vanished<sup>223</sup> and are erratically used to mark abbreviations, which are moderately employed (usually the most widespread and obvious ones: e.g. *Aurel, coh, Kal, leg, proc*). Another marker for abbreviations, mainly for the letter *n*, is the small oblique stroke pointing upwards, similar to a Greek acute accent and placed above the letter: *numero* and *nostro* are often thus abbreviated. The script is markedly slanting to the right. Typical letterforms are *c* in two strokes, the second

<sup>218</sup> Cf. *ChLA* (IX: 16–9); Internullo (2009).

<sup>219</sup> See Internullo (2009: 62–5).

<sup>220</sup> Details of this custom in Roman bureaucracy, as well as a list of witnesses which also includes the *Dura* papyri, is in Iovine (2019c: pp.).

<sup>221</sup> *P.Dura* 56; 57; 59; 61a col. I; 64a col. I, fr. e col. I; 66d, t, y; 71; 73; 74 (Internullo 2009: 35 fn. 174).

<sup>222</sup> See *CEL* (II: 295).

<sup>223</sup> *Interpuncta* start becoming very rare after the II AD. See Ammirati (2015: 32–3) for some considerations on the *interpunctum*.

pointing upwards; *d* with its upper stroke pointing upwards and to the right;<sup>224</sup> *e* which is almost always the ‘forked’-type;<sup>225</sup> *g* oval in shape; *h* in a single stroke and with its middle hump almost completely flattened; eventually, *l*, which is no longer endowed with its long oblique stroke pointing downwards (as it is in the scripts in the Durene archive), but is drawn in a more serpentine shape.<sup>226</sup>

**Table 4.2** – Letters in Roman chancery writing

|                                     |                                     |                                            |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| <b>Fig. 4.4</b>                     | <b>Fig. 4.5</b>                     | <b>Fig. 4.6</b>                            |
| <i>c</i> ( <i>P.Dura</i> 56a, l. 3) | <i>d</i> ( <i>P.Dura</i> 59, l. 4)  | <i>e</i> ( <i>P.Dura</i> 74, fr. a l. 4)   |
| <b>Fig. 4.7</b>                     | <b>Fig. 4.8</b>                     | <b>Fig. 4.9</b>                            |
| <i>g</i> ( <i>P.Dura</i> 56b, l. 3) | <i>h</i> ( <i>P.Dura</i> 66y, l. 2) | <i>l</i> ( <i>P.Dura</i> 64a, col. I l. 3) |

An important difference between this chancery writing and other kinds of writing typical of letters is the context of production. The higher the emanating office is on the social ladder, the likelier this particular writing is to be employed. Let us examine the provenance of the listed manuscripts. Among these letters, *P.Dura* 56 and 59 certainly come from provincial chancery; the two documents are located at the extremes of the chronological fork of Latin Durene papyri (AD 208, 241), and one can appreciate the evolution – or rather, the stiffening and exasperation of the palaeographical features of this script: the magnitude of the letters, already relevant in 56, is rather larger in 59; letters become quite narrower, longer, and slope more to the right: circular forms, such as in *d*, *b*, *q*, are reduced in 59 to tight elliptical forms. In fact, Marichal suggests a comparison with later Imperial rescripts (early V AD).<sup>227</sup> *P.Dura* 71, whose script appears to share these features, might come from the same provincial *milieu*.<sup>228</sup>

**Table 4.3** – A comparison with *P.Dura* 71

|                  |                              |
|------------------|------------------------------|
| <b>Fig. 4.10</b> | <i>P.Dura</i> 56a, ll. 3 – 4 |
| <b>Fig. 4.11</b> | <i>P.Dura</i> 59, l. 6       |
| <b>Fig. 4.12</b> | <i>P.Dura</i> 71, l. 1       |

As far as other papyri in this sub-group are concerned, *P.Dura* 64 comes from the office of a *praepositus praetenturae*; together with 56 and 59, it forms the small sub-group in which we get to know both the identity and the rank of the sender. Eventually, the letters in *P.Dura* 66 which are written in chancery cursive all are directed *to* the tribune (not sent from him) from most likely top-ranking officers, or at any rate higher than him in the chain of command. Nothing is known about other documents in this subgroup; for the sake of completeness, one may note that in *P.Dura* 74 a consistent attempt is made to produce a tall, slender and elegant cursive script, with no ligatures, which attempts at imitating capital writing (this is particularly clear in letters such as *m* and *n*); and that whereas Gilliam believed this script of *P.Dura* 74 to be too careless in execution to come from a real chancery, Marichal convincingly argued the opposite.<sup>229</sup> In sum, one may conclude that chancery writing in Durene documents always comes from outside the *officium* of the cohort, and belongs to distinguished bureaucratic centres. As a consequence, the script those centres employ are fossilized and stiffened forms of old Roman cursive.<sup>230</sup>

As far as peculiar writings go, this sub-group includes all the three types described above:

<sup>224</sup> The early samples of *d* in old Roman cursive would have had the upper stroke pointing to the left. See Cherubini and Pratesi (2010: 53).

<sup>225</sup> See Casamassima and Staraz (1977: 34–7).

<sup>226</sup> Cf. Marichal in *ChLA* (IX: 16).

<sup>227</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 16); Internullo (2009: 40, fn. 191).

<sup>228</sup> Cf. Cugusi’s opinion in *CEL* (II: 280).

<sup>229</sup> See Welles, Fink, and Gilliam (1959: 266); and *ChLA* (VII: 16).

<sup>230</sup> These are the conclusions of Internullo (2009: 43–4).

- the twofold graphical appearance of the *verso*. This is well represented by the *verso* of *P.Dura* 56a. The scribe employs the customary forms of ancient cursive to draw the addressee's name, but he straightens them up instead of having them slanting to the right, and enlarges them, so that an overall 'capital-like' effect is obtained without actually employing forms of Roman 'rustic' capital.<sup>231</sup> Instead, the hand of Marius Maximus is perhaps to be seen in ll. 2–3. The sequence of letters is so carelessly drawn up that in most cases it remains partially undeciphered.

**Table 4.4** – A comparison with *P.Dura* 71

|                                                                                                                           |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Fig. 4.13</b>                                                                                                          |
| <p style="text-align: center;"><i>ULPIO VALENTINO TRIB· COH</i><br/> <i>a</i><br/> <i>Mario Maximo leg Augg pr pr</i></p> |

- the closing greeting formula. One can see a good example of it in *P.Dura* 64b col. I, after ll. 9–10:

**Table 4.5** – The closing greeting formula in *P.Dura* 64b

|                                                                                                                           |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Fig. 4.14</b>                                                                                                          |
| <p style="text-align: center;"><i>opto te, domine fili, [feli]ciss[i]m[um]</i><br/> <i>multis annis bene uale[r]e</i></p> |

The quick pace of the writing, full of ligatures which modify the succession of strokes and somehow even out different letters, is here clearly to be seen.<sup>232</sup>

- the clerical annotation *accepta* + dating formula is visible in *P.Dura* 56a, 59, 64, 66d, *t*, *y*. A sample of the best preserved is given in the table below. These personal hands in 56 and 64 are, however, slightly neater – and the letters more carefully executed – than one would expect from a subscription; it is worth noting that in 56 and 59 the scribe has written the number of the day as an adjective, rather than employing a figure (*septimum decimum*, *sextum*). Also, in 59 the scribe drawing the dating formula seems to employ more 'modern' forms (referring to the cursive minuscule, or 'new' Roman cursive; see below), particularly visible in *p* and *m* in *pomp[eiانو]*.<sup>233</sup>

**Table 4.6** – The closing greeting formula in *P.Dura* 64b

|                                          |                                                                                                  |
|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>P.Dura</i> 56a,<br>between<br>ll. 1–2 | <b>Fig. 4.15</b>                                                                                 |
|                                          | <i>acc septimum decimum [K]al A[p]ril [d n Imp A]ntonino Aug I[II et [Geta Caesare II]] cos]</i> |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 59,<br>between<br>ll. 1–2  | <b>Fig. 4.16</b>                                                                                 |
|                                          | <i>accep sextum [- - - Imp Gordiano II]<br/>et Cl Pomp[eiانو] cos</i>                            |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 64b,<br>between<br>ll. 1–2 | <b>Fig. 4.17</b>                                                                                 |

<sup>231</sup> This might have had the purpose of making the addressee immediately visible after the letter was folded and, presumably, passed from man to man. See Internullo (2009: 64).

<sup>232</sup> See also Internullo (2009: 53–4) – not directly referring to this subscription.

<sup>233</sup> Cf. Internullo (2009: 58–9); see in particular the analysis on the *accepta* formula in 59.

|  |                                                                 |
|--|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
|  | <i>acc</i> [ ± 15 ] <i>br</i><br><i>Gra</i> [to et Seleuco cos] |
|--|-----------------------------------------------------------------|

#### 4.1.2. Letters produced by local scribes: epistolary writings<sup>234</sup>

This script can be considered a less elaborated and more relaxed realization of the chancery writing; it was mainly employed for official letters coming from peripheral, non-central military bureaus. As a result, it still exhibits double versions of the same letter – a typical case is *e*, which can be found both in its ‘forked’ shape and in the more primitive one<sup>235</sup> – or forms which still retain an older appearance: *d* can still be seen with its upper stroke pointing to the left, and *l* can also be found with its lower stroke pointing downwards and remarkably long. Ligatures are more frequent, but still not as pervasive and deforming as we shall see for more bureaucratic scripts; abbreviations are also not abundant, and roughly the same set found in chancery script. Medial dots are very seldom employed to mark abbreviations, or a small number of words; short oblique strokes, pointing upwards, are used for abbreviations beginning with *n* – *n(ostro)*, *n(umero)*. The script is sloping to the right, but less markedly than chancery script.

**Table 4.7** – Samples of epistolary writing

|                  |                                                                                                                                                         |
|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Fig. 4.18</b> | <i>P.Dura</i> 55a fr. b, ll. 1–4.<br>Notice the double shape of <i>e</i>                                                                                |
| <b>Fig. 4.19</b> | <i>P.Dura</i> 67 col. II, ll. 9–14.<br>Notice the <i>e</i> in <i>eq</i> and <i>d</i> in <i>dum</i> , still with its oblique stroke pointing to the left |
| <b>Fig. 4.20</b> | <i>P.Dura</i> 76 fr. b, ll. 1–2                                                                                                                         |

Comparisons can be provided with the Bu Njem *ostraka* containing official letters, and with other official letters from Egypt. Marichal duly notes the similarity of *c*, *e*, *g*, *l*, *n* in the Libyan material and in Durene papyri, and the presence of ‘forked’ *e* and ‘short’ *l* – without the lower stroke protruding downwards in epistolary scripts from Bu Njem. This is best exemplified by e.g. *O.Bu Njem* 79.<sup>236</sup> As for the Egyptian letters, one thinks e.g. of *ChLA* X 445<sup>237</sup> and *ChLA* XI 483.<sup>238</sup> Precise dating and origin of these documents are unknown; nevertheless, they probably came from important bureaus, as their script, though not actually a chancery one, is certainly quite neat and elaborated. Similarities include: *c* in two strokes, both oval and forked *e*, elongated and elliptical *g* and *o*, *n* in two strokes, the latter of which goes decidedly upwards. Overall, these shared features are evident and suggest a very uniform training for scribes in the Roman army.

**Table 4.8** – Comparisons for epistolary writing

|                     |                  |
|---------------------|------------------|
| <i>O.Bu Njem</i> 79 | <b>Fig. 4.21</b> |
| <i>ChLA</i> X 445   | <b>Fig. 4.22</b> |
| <i>ChLA</i> XI 483  | <b>Fig. 4.23</b> |

I agree with Internullo<sup>239</sup> in considering *P.Dura* 63 the product of a more local chancery, i.e. not written in chancery writing, but in a less elaborated epistolary script. The papyrus is in

<sup>234</sup> *P.Dura* 55; 61a col. II; 62; 63; 65; 66a, f, g, h, j, k, n, o, r, v, bb, hh, jj, mm, qq, rr, vv, yy, zz, aaa, bbb; 67; 68; 69; 75; 76; 77; 79 fr. e (Internullo 2009: 41). See also pp. 41–3.

<sup>235</sup> That was in fact typical of old Roman cursive in less than strictly formal context: a full account in Casamassima and Staraz (1977, particularly pp. 34–7), where they specifically comment upon the two shapes of *e* found in the *Dura* papyri.

<sup>236</sup> 21 January AD 259, TM 73229.

<sup>237</sup> P.Berol. inv. 14099, third century AD, TM 69943.

<sup>238</sup> P.Berol. inv. 25081, third century AD, TM 69975.

<sup>239</sup> ‘A questo gruppo, nonostante nella raccolta rientri nei papiri in corsiva cancelleresca, mi sembra opportuno aggiungere il P. Dura 63 = *ChLA* n° 318, poiché la sua scrittura si avvicina maggiormente alla corsiva epistolare per il modulo e il grado di corsività’ (‘although the papyri in the collection are in chancery cursive, it seems appropriate to add P. Dura 63 = *ChLA* No. 318 to this group [*scil.* the epistolary writings], since its writing is closer to epistolary cursive in form and degree of cursiveness’, 2009: 41 fn. 193). *Contra* Marichal in *ChLA* (VI: 32).

fact a copy of two letters sent first to a Saturninus, and then forwarded to the commanding officer of the cohort; the copy was probably produced in the chancery of Iulius Pomponianus, who might have been a prominent official in the region, but there was no need, apparently, to employ a particularly refined style. Another peculiar item in this subgroup is *P.Dura* 125. Despite its being a sentence, and not a letter, this document has been drawn up in a very orderly script, a fact that suggests how this epistolary writing could be used beyond mere letterwriting, and might have been employed whenever a document had to be perused by more than one reader, and potentially for a long time. Notice in particular the alternation between elliptical and forked *e*; *d* and *l* still in their ‘original’ shape; *n* in two strokes; and *p* which has lost its first-second century AD shape – where the top oblique stroke points downwards – to regain its small circle at the top, in a manner which foretells the future form of the letter in new Roman cursive (see also the *p* in *Pomp[eiano]* shown above in *P.Dura* 59):

**FIG. 4.24** – *P.Dura* 125, ll. 1–7

As far as personal hands go, all the three abovementioned sections are to be found in this subgroup of manuscripts:

- *verso*: the same structure seen in the former subgroup can be observed here. One of the best preserved instances is in the *verso* of *P.Dura* 66a. Once again, the forms of the letters are taken from Roman cursive majuscule, but they are straightened and enlarged in an attempt at giving them an air of capital script. On the other hand, the sender’s name (Postumius Aurelianus) is written, presumably by Postumius himself, below the addressees’ names. Notice the extreme carelessness of his hand, especially in the sequence *trib coh*, and the remarkable ligature *tri*:

**Table 4.9** – A comparison with *P.Dura* 66a *verso*

| <b>Fig. 4.25</b>                                                                                                                                                                                            |  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| <p style="text-align: center;">] O N [ . ] . . RIANO PF· ET AURELIO REGULO PP· [ Antoninia[nae</p> <p style="text-align: center;">a</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Postumio Aur[el]iano    trib coh</p> |  |

- subscriptions. Like the one seen in *P.Dura* 64, they can be written in a very informal way; those who write them normally avoid ligatures probably because of sheer inexperience in writing. Instances are in *P.Dura* 66a, where a contrast is very evident between the epistolary hand and the subscription; and in *P.Dura* 66l, where the subscription seems oddly conflated with an *accepta*+dating formula.

**Table 4.10** – A comparison with *P.Dura* 66a *verso*

| <b>Fig. 4.26</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <p><i>P.Dura</i> 66a, ll. 5–12</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ad uos p[e]r Aurel[                    ±11                    ] . . . m sta[tor]em</p> <p style="text-align: center;">‘Aurel Muc[i]anum [y M[a]ria[ni]]’</p> <p style="text-align: center;">coh eiusdem quem dim[ . . . . . ] quintum Nonas Iul</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Sabino II et Anullino cos [ . . . . . ] rla[ . ] am p [ . . . ] es scri-</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-batis. <b>Opto uos, domini,</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">10                    <b>felicissimos mul-</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">                         <b>-tis [ann]is bene</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">                         <b>[ua]l[ere.]</b></p> |                                    |
| <b>Fig. 4.27</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | <i>P.Dura</i> 66l col. I, ll. 15–8 |

|  |                                                                     |
|--|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
|  | acc d]ecimum<br>opto te, d]omine<br>feliciss]i[m]um<br>bene ualer]e |
|--|---------------------------------------------------------------------|

Particular attention should be given to the subscription in the aforementioned *P.Dura* 125. Here one can see not just a simple greeting or *accepta*-formula, but a full sentence probably written by Laronius Secundianus himself.<sup>240</sup> The tribune has some skill in writing or is at any rate accustomed to doing so – he displays effort in drawing up readable letters and uses many ligatures; he may even have been influenced by Greek scripts, as he had also probably mastered Greek.<sup>241</sup>

**Fig. 4.28** – *P.Dura* 125

Notice in particular ligatures *ui*, *um*, *kal*, *maias*, *atae*, which reveal the tribune was able to write quickly and competently.

- clerical annotations are present as well in the sub-group. Here is one of the best preserved in *P.Dura* 63 col. II, ll. 1–2 (*acc Kal Iul Gentiano et Bass[o co]s*):

**Fig. 4.29** – *P.Dura* 125

An instance of a very quick and untidy personal hand is a short annotation in *P.Dura* 73 fr. c. A possible interpretation – *obtul(i)* – is in Iovine (2021: 183–5).

#### 4.2. ‘Bureaucratic’ scripts<sup>242</sup>

Under this wide label are gathered all Durene Latin papyri and parchment which were produced in the cohort’s *officium* but were *not* written in an epistolary cursive. As Marichal points out, the label can be inaccurate inasmuch as, aside from personal scripts, *all* writing in Roman Empire is bureaucratic; nor calling them, as Austin does,<sup>243</sup> ‘clerical’ hands seems to solve the problem – also the epistolary scripts are from clerks of the *officium*. Nevertheless, it is useful to tell apart ‘bureaucratic’ scripts among Durene Latin documents from epistolary writings, as this distinction mirrors another fundamental distinction between the two sets of documents these scripts are employed for. Epistolary – and chancery – writing were used on documents which must be read by a great deal of personnel within Roman army and administration: such documents were produced in an *officium* to be then sent away and read in other *officia*, more or less distant from the emanating bureau. Legibility was crucial in this case. On the contrary, life – and life expectancy – of a document in bureaucratic script is normally confined to the producing *officium*, as such documents refer to the internal business and predicament of the cohort itself (*acta diurna*, rosters, guard rosters, lists of personnel), and must be read and consulted by a restricted number of individuals: the clerks in the *officium* itself, who produced the documents, and those high-ranking officers – *tribuni*, *procuratores* and the like – who came to the cohort

<sup>240</sup> At least he thus declares: ll. 8–13 *Seuero et Quintiano co(n)s(ulibus) | duode[c]imum Kal(endas) Maias | Laronius Secundian[u]s | trib(unus) [coh(ortis) X] Palmyreno[rum] | Alex[an]drianae s[enten]tiae q[uod] m[e] datae sub[scripsi]*.

<sup>241</sup> Cavallo (2008: 164–7); Internullo (2009: 55–6). Laronius declares in a Greek sentence the same thing he did in *P.Dura* 125, only this time in the Greek language: [Cεο]νήρου καὶ Κυντιανοῦ ὑπάτων πρὸ δεκαδύο [Καλανδῶν | Μα]ίων Λαρόνιος Σεκουνδιανὸς χίλιάρχος πει[ρή]ς εἰκοστῆς | Παλ]μυρηνῶν Ἀλεξανδριανῆς τῇ ἀποφάσει ὅτι ἐμοῦ δεδο[μέ]νη ὑπέγραψα (*P.Dura* 126, ll. 11–4; AD 235, TM 44860).

<sup>242</sup> *P.Dura* 58; 60; 66c, d col. II, e, l, ff, pp, ss, ww, xx; 67; 68; 69; 70; 81–145 (from this list one should, of course, rule out the Greek papyri, which are grouped in chapter 1.)

<sup>243</sup> Austin (2010); see pp. 219–43 for a detailed palaeographical analysis of these hands.



every now and then to assume command or inspect.<sup>244</sup> Legibility was not the main point, as those who created the document were always nearby to explain its passages, and as most of the soldiers were arguably illiterate, there was no need to make a document easier for them to read. Nor was the writing material to be of any value: the parchments (far easier to acquire than papyrus and probably less expensive) we find in the Durene group are all written in bureaucratic script and employed for lists or guard rosters.<sup>245</sup>

As a consequence, in these documents one finds little effort at standardization: every hand personally interprets the loose rules of old Roman cursive, and the results can lie anywhere in the grey area between a really personal script, which would have been too informal even for a document intended for internal use, and a more ‘impersonal’ and official writing, such as the abovementioned epistolary scripts. Contrary to what would happen in formal writings, within this grey area scripts can evolve and change, slowly replacing old forms with new ones which may or may not become standards in the next generation of scribes.<sup>246</sup> Despite the intrinsic variability of these hands, one can pinpoint some shared features:

- the phenomenon of different shapes of the same letter in the same document, described by E. Casamassima and E. Staraz,<sup>247</sup> is here at its height. Some instances: *d* is found mainly in its original shape and in a single stroke, similar to contemporary Greek *alpha* – and, more rarely, with its upper stroke pointing to the right; *e* is mainly elliptical in shape, but it can also be found in its forked form; *g* is mostly reminiscent of its earliest forms in ancient cursive, and almost never elliptical in shape as in chancery cursive; *h*, though drawn in a single stroke, has its central hump often marked and seldom flattened; *n* can appear both in two strokes and in a form close to Greek *pi*.

**Table 4.11** – Samples of letters from bureaucratic script

|                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                           |                                                            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Fig. 4.30 Fig. 4.31</b><br><i>d</i> in <i>P.Dura</i> 98 (roster) <sup>248</sup> and 88 ( <i>acta diurna</i> ): both types | <b>Fig. 4.32 Fig. 4.33</b><br><i>e</i> in <i>P.Dura</i> 82 ( <i>acta diurna</i> ): both types             | <b>Fig. 4.34</b><br><i>g</i> in <i>P.Dura</i> 101 (roster) |
| <b>Fig. 4.35</b><br><i>h</i> in <i>P.Dura</i> 89 ( <i>acta diurna</i> )                                                      | <b>Fig. 4.36 Fig. 4.37</b><br><i>n</i> in <i>P.Dura</i> 98 (partial roster) and 89 ( <i>acta diurna</i> ) |                                                            |

- ligatures – in this case, as always in old Roman cursive, *superius et sine virgula* ‘from above and without commas’ – are widespread and tend to alter the normal succession of strokes during the composition of the letters, toward a general levelling of shapes. As a result, some letters begin to be almost identical to each other, especially when in ligature: *a*, *c*, *r*, *p*, *t* are particularly likely to undergo this process.<sup>249</sup>

- abbreviations are, in Marichal’s own words, ‘nombreuses, arbitraires et capricieuses’ ‘several, arbitrary and capricious’.<sup>250</sup> In addition to the customary ones – *Aurel*, *coh*, *cos*, *Iul*, *mil*, *praep*, *proc*, *trib* etc. – almost all names can be subject to this treatment – *Appa*, *Appad*, *Appada* for Appadana, *ci* for *circitor*, *disc* for *discens*, *off*, *offic* for *officio*, etc. – and in most cases the same word can be abbreviated in more than one way, sometimes within the same document. Some abbreviations are attested in more than one document, and others are attested in only one document, as if they were the result of that particular scribe’s deadlines and necessities; consequently, with a number of abbreviations we do not have parallels, therefore no certainty on

<sup>244</sup> It is clear from the prosopographical prospect in chapter 3. that tribunes were replaced on a regular basis in the cohort and that they came from outside the cohort by transfer, i.e. that they were not chosen from among cohort’s *principales* (*singulares*, *duplicarii*, *sesquiplicarii* etc.) and raised to the rank of *tribunus*.

<sup>245</sup> Internullo (2009: 45).

<sup>246</sup> In the following paragraph we shall see how many instances of new Roman cursive can be observed in Durene documents.

<sup>247</sup> In Casamassima and Staraz (1977), particularly pp. 61–7.

<sup>248</sup> Given the extent of the featured documents and the abundance of the letters, I prefer here not to give the exact details about the location of the chosen letters.

<sup>249</sup> Internullo (2009: 46).

<sup>250</sup> *ChLA* (VII: 43).

how to solve them. Some very widespread groups of letters representing often-employed words – *Aurel*, *Kal*, or *sesq* particularly in *P.Dura* 82 – are written very quickly and in a simplified way. Here are some instances among the best preserved papyri:

**Table 4.12** – Samples of bureaucratic writing

|                                                                              |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Fig. 4.38</b>                                                             |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 60, fr. a letter <i>B</i> ll. 5–8 (copy of an official letter) |
| <b>Fig. 4.39</b>                                                             |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 82, col. I ll. 6–7 ( <i>acta diurna</i> )                      |
| <b>Fig. 4.40</b>                                                             |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 89, col. I ll. 1–4 ( <i>acta diurna</i> )                      |
| <b>Fig. 4.41</b>                                                             |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 98, fr. a coll. I–II ll. 11–8 (roster)                         |
| <b>Fig. 4.42</b>                                                             |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 100, col. XXXVI ll. 11–6 (roster)                              |
| <b>Fig. 4.43</b>                                                             |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 107, fr. a col. I ll. 17–23 (guard roster)                     |

As in the preceding sub-groups, *interpuncta* are very seldom used, mostly to mark abbreviations; short oblique strokes are employed for *n*'s, and in *P.Dura* 60, also for *d(ominus)* – whatever the inflection. One normally assumes these scribes could operate at several degrees of formality; that they mastered their craft enough, to be able intentionally to write quickly and with many abbreviations, when no particular care was needed. However, the case might have been that trainee scribes in the *officium* were also producing documents, though less able to do it than fully trained colleagues. In this respect, *P.Dura* 122 – a list of soldiers – is interesting. The scribe who wrote *P.Dura* 122 seems uncertain on the right form of *e*, *m* and on the right way to connect *e* to *o* in *eodem* (l. 12); produces an odd ligature *xi* (l. 9); misplaces the second stroke of *c* (l. 12); and mistakenly prolongs the last stroke of *l* in *Aurel* (l. 7) so that it occupies space in the line below. Some of these anomalies are to be seen in the image below (ll. 10–4).

**Fig. 4.44** – *P.Dura* 122

Once again, comparisons are possible with third century AD papyri in bureaucratic script referring to the Roman army, i.e. produced in military *officia*, and coming from Bu Njem or from the province of Egypt. The parallels represented by Egyptian papyri – here, *P.Mich.* III 163,<sup>251</sup> *ChLA* X 458 *recto*,<sup>252</sup> *ChLA* X 441,<sup>253</sup> *P.Oslo* III 122,<sup>254</sup> all lists of soldiers – are in fact much closer. Overall, bureaucratic cursives in Bu Njem are more orderly and neatly written than those in Dura: one can clearly see it in *O.Bu Njem* 22, a morning report.<sup>255</sup>

**Table 4.13** – Bureaucratic writings outside Dura

|                                           |                  |
|-------------------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>O.Bu Njem</i> 22                       | <b>Fig. 4.45</b> |
| <i>P.Mich.</i> III 163, ll. 6–18          | <b>Fig. 4.46</b> |
| <i>ChLA</i> X 458 <i>recto</i> , ll. 4–15 | <b>Fig. 4.47</b> |
| <i>ChLA</i> X 441                         | <b>Fig. 4.48</b> |

<sup>251</sup> AD 222–39, TM 78514.

<sup>252</sup> = P.Berol. inv. 14111; AD 212–30, TM 69955.

<sup>253</sup> Third century AD, TM 69939.

<sup>254</sup> AD 238–42, TM 21553.

<sup>255</sup> AD 253–9, TM 73172.

*P.Oslo* III 122,  
ll. 12–20

**Fig. 4.49**

A final remark ought to be made on the presence of Roman so-called ‘rustic’ capital in documents otherwise dominated by bureaucratic script: in these cases, the capital is employed as distinctive script, for headings. This can be easily seen in *P.Dura* 93, where it opens the subsection of the list of personnel devoted to *duplicarii*, and in *P.Dura* 117, where it opens the whole list with the consular dating formula.<sup>256</sup>

**Table 4.14 – Roman capital in Dura**

|                                               |
|-----------------------------------------------|
| <b>Fig. 4.50</b>                              |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 93, l. 6                        |
| <b>Fig. 4.51</b>                              |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 117, col. I ll. 1–2             |
| Imp d n [M]axim[i]no Aug<br>[et Afri]cano cos |

### 4.3. An early onset of Roman ‘new cursive’?

A crucial and well-known watershed in Roman documentary scripts lies at the beginning of the fourth century AD, and consists in the switch, in the wake of Diocletian’s reforms and inside all the bureaus of the Empire, from the so-called ancient Roman cursive (the cursive majuscule), employed for more than three centuries before, to the cursive minuscule, or new Roman cursive, which becomes the bureaucratic writing of all provincial administration during the Late Empire and afterwards – until Heraclian reforms in the East, and in the West as far as the eighth-ninth century AD. It has been a long-standing problem in palaeographic studies, to assess when and from what this cursive minuscule evolved, before being imposed on provincial offices as the only valid bureaucratic script – the ancient cursive becoming an ornamental fossil and employed by Imperial chancery as *litterae caelestes*.<sup>257</sup> Because of its width and depth, and for the sake of completeness in exposing all the most relevant details in Durene scripts, this debate can be here only quickly summarized.

J. Mallon and R. Marichal have emphasized the apparently decisive difference between some letters in new cursive and some in the ancient one (the ‘diacritical letters’: namely, *a b e n p*), determining that there was no direct evolution between the two sets of characters; instead, those who superintended the reforms of bureaus at the dawn of Late Antiquity would have raised to the rank of official script of Roman bureaucracy a set of minuscule forms which were slowly penetrating the private and personal scripts during the third century AD; or rather, transferred to their documentary scripts a less elaborated version of the most recent minuscule *bookhands* – the uncial and the semiuncial. On the other hand, Italian palaeographers – G. Cavallo, P. Cherubini, A. Petrucci, A. Pratesi – as well as J.-O. Tjäder prefer to interpret the cursive minuscule as either (a) naturally evolving from the majuscule (Tjäder), in the wider frame not of two distinct cursives, but one single script which naturally evolved from an ancient to a modern stage; or (b) as the result of a number of graphic innovations slowly penetrating the more private and every-day scripts, and hence intruding into the bureaucratic majuscule.<sup>258</sup> This constant introduction of minuscule forms would be mostly discernible in Durene documents, less so in Egyptian ones: Cavallo mentions e.g. *P.Mich.* III 156,<sup>259</sup> *P.Oxy.* XX 2269,<sup>260</sup> *P.Grenf.* II 110<sup>261</sup>. In the wake of

<sup>256</sup> Of course, the *Feriale Duranum* (*P.Dura* 54) ought to be mentioned as the principal manuscript in Roman capital among the Durene group: see Austin (2010: 190) and the appendix to this volume. See also, for Roman ‘rustic’ capital, Fioretti (2014).

<sup>257</sup> See Cherubini and Pratesi (2010: 131–40).

<sup>258</sup> Tjäder (1955: 86–95); Casamassima and Staraz (1977: 27–55) on the evolution of parallel forms for the same letters in the ancient Roman cursive; again Tjäder (1982: 6–8); Cavallo (2008: 158–68, emphasizing the role played by Dura papyri as witnesses of the insurgence of minuscule forms in the majuscule cursive); Cherubini and Pratesi (2010: 74–85 and attached bibliography).

<sup>259</sup> Second century AD, TM 63550

<sup>260</sup> AD 269, TM 17204.

<sup>261</sup> AD 293, TM 69873.

this scholarly path, J. Austin believes the new Roman cursive to be the result of a thorough reorganisation of the ancient one, which had come to an extreme – and almost unreadable – degree of simplification; and that in the Durene documents several ancestors of the new forms can be detected.<sup>262</sup> The whole debate above has been differently approached by E. Casamassima and E. Staraz in their seminal study,<sup>263</sup> where they hypothesized the existence, within the scripts mastered by Roman scribes between first and third century AD, of two distinct writings: an official, later chancery-like one, i.e. the canon of the old Roman cursive, destined to become *litterae caelestes* after Diocletian's reforms; and a more relaxed script ('scrittura usuale'), with less rigid boundaries and shapes, and where the new shapes which would have become the core of new Roman cursive were already in the making in the second century AD. This less official script would then become the official one in provincial and military bureaus, i.e. the new Roman cursive, after the end of the third century AD, as the main feature of a new generations of clerks and scribes.<sup>264</sup>

Papyri and parchments from the military archive from Dura-Europos are, indeed, home to several instances of what will become, in the next century, new Roman cursive. As such, they represent invaluable evidence for the history of Latin writing, and they have been amply discussed in this respect in the abovementioned study of Casamassima and Staraz.<sup>265</sup> The forms of this budding new cursive manifest themselves mainly in documents where the scribe did not need any particular formality of layout or writing.<sup>266</sup> What follows is a collection of those instances.

**Table 4.15** – Early instances of new Roman cursive in Durene papyri

*P.Dura 60* fr. a letter B, ll. 6–8 (c. AD 207–8). The document is a copy of an official letter from the governor of Syria Marius Maximus to several commanding officers on the Euphrates. It probably was originally drawn up in chancery script. Nothing in the document suggests anything but customary bureaucratic script, were it not for a small detail – two *a*'s in a seemingly minuscule form:

**Fig. 4.52**

*P.Dura 66hh*, ll. 8–9 (AD 216). A small marginal note, partially preserved, of an official letter, probably representing a dating formula (*Feb]ruar[ias?*). The ligature *ar* is very close to what will become the same ligature in new Roman cursive. The note is in a personal script and suggests that when writing quickly and without any attempt at regularity, scribes could use new forms, or let themselves be influenced by Greek ones, as this *a* looks much like an *alpha* – but the problem of influences between Greek and Latin scripts in Eastern provinces is still open<sup>267</sup>.

**Fig. 4.53**

*P.Dura 66ii*, ll. 3–4 (AD 216). A letter in the same *liber epistularum* containing the preceding and the following document in this list. On this papyrus one can notice *p* written with a circular section at the top of it, cf. Internullo (2009: 59–60). This sort of *p*, markedly different from the natural result of *p* in ancient Roman cursive – there would be no circular stroke, but only a descending one – co-exists, however, with the other type – not just in

<sup>262</sup> 'I think the change from ORC to NRC was at least partly a deliberate reorganisation of writing that took place shortly after the period of the Dura papyri. But no changes in letters can be completely without earlier precedents – since otherwise how would one know how to read them? The roots of several of the new letter-forms can be seen in the consistent cursive execution of the professional scribal soldiers at Dura-Europos' (Austin 2010: 252).

<sup>263</sup> Namely, Casamassima and Staraz (1977).

<sup>264</sup> Casamassima and Staraz (1977: 61–73).

<sup>265</sup> Casamassima and Staraz (1977: 27–55).

<sup>266</sup> 'In conclusione, possiamo notare che le scritture più 'libere' (o meno rigorose) di Dura sono quelle maggiormente soggette a mutamento e proprio in queste alla metà del secolo possiamo notare che chi scrive corsivo ha in mente forme nuove, che non sono più quelle dell'alfabeto capitale 'semplificato' dal *ductus*, cioè in sostanza della maiuscola corsiva' ('In conclusion, we can see that Dura's 'freer' (or less rigorous) scripts are the ones most subject to change, and it is precisely in these that we can see that those who wrote in cursive script in the middle of the century have new forms in mind, which are no longer those of the capital alphabet 'simplified' by the *ductus*, i.e. essentially of the cursive capital letters', Internullo 2009: 62).

<sup>267</sup> See e.g. Norsa (1946) and the reply in Marichal (1950).

the Durene papyri, but also in other Latin papyri manuscripts. Instances can be found in *PSI* X 1026 (AD 150)<sup>268</sup> and *ChLA* X 410 *recto* (AD 192–6)<sup>269</sup>, both connected with the Roman army.

**Fig. 4.54**

**Fig. 4.55**

*ChLA* X 410  
*recto*, ll. 32–3

**Fig. 4.56**

*PSI* X 1026,  
*scriptura*  
*exterior*, ll. 13–5

*P.Dura* 66zz, l. 1 (AD 216). The closing greeting formula of an official letter, almost entirely lost (*te fr̄aster ff̄e]licis[simum] | bene ualere*). In the verb *ualere*, a ligature *al* is visible, where *a* shows a remarkable minuscule shape – contrarywise to *l*, which is still fully within the old cursive canon.

**Fig. 4.57**

*P.Dura* 143, l. 1 (after AD 221). A document of uncertain nature. In l. 1, the *a* of *Kal* is drawn in a way very similar to that of new Roman cursive; it can be compared with personal subscriptions in the letters of *P.Dura* 66 seen above.

**Fig. 4.58**

*P.Dura* 80, fr. *c* (AD 230–50). Fragments from an official letter with a list of soldiers attached. Portions of the list are still visible; there the scribe was less careful in drawing letters and used substandard forms. Marichal notes how *a*, *m*, *r* belong to the new cursive, whereas *b* is still a hybrid form, more connected with the more ancient *b* ‘*panse à gauche*’.<sup>270</sup>

**Fig. 4.59**

*P.Dura* 81, ll. 3–7 (AD 240–50). A document of uncertain nature, perhaps a draft. Letters such as *a*, *m*, *n*, *r* already belong to new cursive; *d* can be both upright and with its upper stroke pointing left; some *n*’s are in their typical early fourth century AD form, i.e. a capital-like shape which co-existed with the more ‘rounded’ form for the first half of the fourth century. Other letters, such as *f* or *l*, are still not fully developed and bear a more ‘ancient’ appearance.

**Fig. 4.60**

*P.Dura* 119, ll. 4–7 (AD 240–56). Fragmentary list of soldiers, on parchment; very badly preserved. The hand is very close to new Roman cursive: notably, ‘new’ *a*, *n* and *p* are already fully developed.

**Fig. 4.61**

*P.Dura* 95, fr. *b* col. II ll. 1–5 (AD 250–1). Another uncertain document, perhaps a report on strength and assignments of several auxiliaries in the cohort. At this stage even roster-like documents, normally written in regular ancient cursive (*P.Dura* 100, 101, 102), begin to show intrusions from new forms. The hand, ‘irritating’ according to Gilliam<sup>271</sup> because of its remarkable carelessness, shows an *a* fully coherent with new cursive standards; so are *b* (but for a few instances where it is drawn *panse-à-gauche*, fr. *a* col. II l. 17; fr. *b* col. II l. 9),<sup>272</sup> *p* and *r*.

<sup>268</sup> TM 17460.

<sup>269</sup> TM 63048.

<sup>270</sup> *ChLA* (VII: 24).

<sup>271</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 290).

<sup>272</sup> Evolution of letter *b*, with reference to Dura papyri, is amply discussed in Casamassima and Staraz (1977: 27–33).

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Fig. 4.62</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 96 (c. AD 250–1). Small fragments (from left to right: <i>a</i> , <i>b</i> ) from a list of soldiers. Minusculer forms are now evident for <i>a</i> , <i>m</i> , <i>n</i> , and <i>b</i> is no longer ‘ <i>panse-à-gauche</i> ’.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>Fig. 4.63 Fig. 4.64</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 97, ll. 13–6 (AD 251). A list of men and their horses or mares. The ancient cursive employed is remarkably careless and several fluctuations occur. Letters such as <i>b</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>m</i> , <i>r</i> are irregularly drawn; <i>m</i> , for instance, is sometimes slender and curvilinear, in other more similar to a capital <i>m</i> in four strokes; <i>b</i> sometimes has and sometimes has not its belly to the left, switching from ancient-cursive to a new-cursive <i>b</i> .     |
| <b>Fig. 4.65</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>P.Dura</i> 105, fr. <i>b</i> coll. I–II ll. 19–23 (AD 251–6). Roster. The hand here is notably informal and clumsy, mixing capital and cursive writing in the same word (see fr. <i>a</i> col. I l. 6). It is very similar to hands normally found in rosters and <i>acta diurna</i> ( <i>P.Dura</i> 82, 83, 100, 101). However, the advanced stage of this old Roman cursive is testified by letters <i>a</i> , <i>l</i> , <i>p</i> and <i>r</i> , which are now almost completely coherent with new cursive. |
| <b>Fig. 4.66</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |

The results of this survey, which basically confirms Internullo’s and Casamassima and Staraz’ conclusions on the very same set of documents, can be thus summarized. Apparently, the first letter that starts showing a different shape from the ancient cursive canon is *a*. It does so very rarely in the first thirty years of third century AD (*P.Dura* 60; 66; 143), so that one is inclined to think of isolated occurrences, perhaps influenced by Greek *alpha*. Notably, these ‘erratic’ *a*’s are already fully coherent with a new cursive paradigm, so that – at least in this case – one is less inclined to think of a gradual evolution from ancient cursive *a* to new cursive *a*, and more of the sudden replacement of one model with another. On the other hand, documents closer to the mid-third century (*P.Dura* 80; 81; 119; 95; 96; 97; and 105) show that a small number of letters are now often drafted in accordance with a new canon: mainly *a*, *m*, *n*, and later *b*, *g*, *l*, *r*, *p*. These intrusions are always found in bureaucratic scripts, and are anything but steady or consistent. Each document seems to feature only a subgroup of the ‘new’ letters, probably those letters the scribe did not take pains to draft in the regular way, but realized in a more natural and quicker one. For instance, *b* is realized ‘*panse-a-droit*’ only a few times and in *P.Dura* 95–7; *P.Dura* 97, on the other hand, shows no ‘new’ *a*, which is attested everywhere else in this list; a ‘new’ *g* is found only in *P.Dura* 97, and a ‘new’ *p* only in 119, 95 and 105. One is under the impression that, as Casamassima and Staraz remark, the ‘irregular’ shapes in these papyri represent a more immediate and familiar writing-style within the body of scribal systems known to scribes; their origin – whether through imitation of non-Latin scripts, or natural evolution of some worn-out forms – is not always to be certainly reconstructed, but they crawl to the surface whenever there is no real necessity for a strict adherence to rules in drafting a document, and in each document the scribe chooses which letters and in which words he will draw in a substandard fashion. Since Durene evidence stops in AD 256, and new Roman cursive is officially imposed on provincial chanceries at the end of the same century, it is impossible for us to tell the relation between these two events by Durene documents only. However, evidence from other provinces somehow confirms the scenario discussed above. Latin documents from Egypt stick to the ancient cursive till the very end of the third century AD only with certain documentary typologies, intended for higher purposes;<sup>273</sup> and when one looks at military document destined for internal use, early and unregulated instances of ‘new’ Roman cursive pops up: the main witness is *P.Mich.* III 164 (AD

<sup>273</sup> To quote quite a (comparatively) wide-spread typology, see e.g. the requests for *agnitio bonorum possessionis* that heirs to people who died intestate presented for the attention of the prefect of Egypt: *P.Daris* inv. 200 + *P.Ryl.* IV 610 = *SB* XVIII 13610 (AD 223, TM 13851); *P.Bagnall* 3 (AD 239, TM 70139); *SB* I 1010 (AD 249, TM 23051); *P.Oxy.* IX 1201 (AD 258, TM 21587); *P.Thomas* 20 (AD 269, TM 78797). All these documents were drafted, presumably in the *chora*, by law practitioners in a fine and elegant ancient Roman cursive, to the very end of the third century AD.

242–4), a list of soldiers from several Egyptian units (see image below).<sup>274</sup> The palaeographical analysis of R. Marichal on the Bu Njem *ostraka* leads to the same conclusions; if possible, the presence of letters written in accordance with a ‘new’ canon (mainly *a*, *b*, *n* and *p*) is even less attested there than in Durene or Egyptian documents.<sup>275</sup>

**Table 4.16** – The double standard in Roman cursives

|                                                                                                                                                  |                  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>P.Mich.</i> III 164, ll. 5–12 (AD 242–4). Forms of the new Roman cursive heavily intrude in the script.                                       | <b>Fig. 4.67</b> |
| <i>P.Thomas</i> 20, col. I ll. 1–8 (AD 269–70), see fn. 72. The canon of the old Roman cursive is fully operational and there are no exceptions. | <b>Fig. 4.68</b> |

The reconstruction offered by J.-O. Tjäder in the introduction to his monumental *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*<sup>276</sup> – early appearance of the new forms in the 240’s, the forms constituting a minority within a frame dominated by ancient cursive, then after the 250s they rapidly spread and in the 290s the final takeover takes place – is also further strengthened by the evidence here presented.

<sup>274</sup> TM 69888.

<sup>275</sup> R. Marichal notices letters closer to new Roman cursive models, e.g. *a* in *O.Bu Njem* 37, l. 4 (AD 253–9, TM 73187), *b* in *O.Bu Njem* 79, l. 8 (AD 259, TM 73229); *n* in *O.Bu Njem* 34, ll. 2, 9 (AD 253–9, TM 73184); 37, ll. 8–9; 66 (AD 253–9, TM 73216); and *p* in *O.Bu Njem* 11, l. 1 (AD 253–9, TM 73161); 34, ll. 1; 6; 37, l. 7; 64, l. 4 (AD 253–9, TM 73214); 81, l. 3 (AD 259, TM 73231); 87, l. 7 (AD 253–9, TM 73237); 88, l. 7 (AD 253–9, TM 73238); 89, l. 1 (AD 259, TM 73239).

<sup>276</sup> See Tjäder (1955: 86–95).

## 5. THE PAPYRI

The present section offer a re-edition, with translation and commentary, of all the Latin papyri and parchments from Dura-Europos which referred to *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*.<sup>277</sup> For the presentation of each text, I have selected a specific way which is reminiscent of that in which the texts are laid out in the *corpus* of Latin texts on papyrus (*CLTP*) promoted by project PLATINUM, which naturally hosts all the Durene Latin texts as well. I have, however, restored some of the most ‘papyrological’ features of my re-editions, which were discarded in the *corpus* in line with its purpose as a container of Latin texts, either documentary or literary, with a lesser emphasis on the material support (papyrus, *ostrakon*, parchment and the like). These re-editions, to conclude, are thus laid out:

- in the header, the official designation of the item (e.g. *P.Dura* 56), its dating, a quick summary of the editors,<sup>278</sup> including the TM number, and the measurements of the fragment(s);<sup>279</sup>
- an introduction describes the document (mainly regards its state of conservation, and the order and numbering of the fragments constituting the document) and provides a general overview of the content of the manuscript and its main problems;
- then comes the text. Following Fink’s footsteps,<sup>280</sup> I respect the original layout of the text as much as possible, which also means, not solving the abbreviations in the text.<sup>281</sup> Ancient punctuation is preserved; a little amount of modern punctuation (mostly full stops) is sometimes employed when it can be reader-friendly. The differences in writing and placement of later insertions (reception formulae, greeting formulae and the like),<sup>282</sup> and the different magnitudes of different sequences of words (e.g. in letters, the main text vs. the address on the *verso*)<sup>283</sup> I have taken pains – if meaningful or helpful to the reader – to render visible in the texts themselves; in other cases I have employed the usual Leiden criteria for texts from papyri (namely, the insertions are represented by ‘*abc*’). The absence of upper or lower margins are noted in the usual way when presenting papyri, i.e. by three short horizontal strokes (hyphens) above or below the text;
- a critical apparatus provides information on possible readings when the words are uncertain or incomplete, and on the readings of previous editors. Some explanation of its structure is here to be provided. Construction, language and style of these apparatuses I have taken from the customary critical apparatuses historically employed in editions of classical texts. Readings are separated from one another by cola (:). I have ignored differences in underdots as too unsubstantial and potentially crowding the apparatuses: Aurelius (Gilliam) and Aurelius (Fink) are noted as Aurelius Gilliam Fink, normally reproducing the underdots of the earliest editor. As a rule of thumb, my reading is in the text, and what I ruled out is the apparatus: therefore, if Gilliam Fink and Marichal are the editors of e.g. *P.Dura* 60, and all of them are in the apparatus at l. 5, this means that in l. 5 I have put my own text. Conversely, if you see only two of the three editors, the third editor’s reading is what I have put in the text. When the same scholar has produced more than an edition, I have used numbers: Gilliam<sup>1</sup>, Gilliam<sup>2</sup>, Gilliam<sup>1,2</sup> if there is a Gilliam<sup>3</sup> whose reading is different from that of the previous editions, and the like. When all the editions of the same scholar agree, numbers are dropped and I only write Gilliam. The agreement of all the editors in one reading, which is different from what I put in the text, is rendered by *edd.* in the apparatus. The notation *om(isit)* or *omm* = *omiserunt* signals that the editor(s) has/have nothing on that line; the notations *uidi(t)* and *recognoui(t)*, that something was spotted only by some editors (or just one);
- an English translation is given, when the text seems preserved enough, and large enough, to provide some real usefulness if translated;
- a line-by-line commentary, when necessary, focuses on the more specific issues of the document.

<sup>277</sup> I have removed from this list *P.Dura* 54, the so-called *Feriale Duranum*, because its nature of military document has been recently called in question. See the *Appendix*.

<sup>278</sup> The editors are quoted with customary bibliographical abbreviations: e.g., Gilliam (1957b), or Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959).

<sup>279</sup> First height, then length.

<sup>280</sup> I.e. Fink (1971).

<sup>281</sup> They are solved in the line-by-line commentary below, or in the introduction to the text.

<sup>282</sup> See above 4.1.1. and 2.

<sup>283</sup> See *ibidem*.



A papyrological apparatus, taking into account all the traces which I believed meaningful enough to be worth describing, is in the re-edition of these very same papyri in the *CLTP*. Whenever a relevant word or sequence can be gathered from the readings but is not certain, I note it down in the critical apparatus with *fortasse*. Given the large quantity of manuscripts here dealt with, I was not able to supply every edition with an image. All images are, however, in the public domain and accessible via the search engine of the Beinecke Library's website: <https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Search>.

Whereas in preceding editions the documents have been organized by typology,<sup>284</sup> in this re-edition they are offered in chronological sequence, in order to provide the reader with a prospect of the typologies and state of conservation of the Durene military documents in the wider historical frame of the presence of the 20<sup>th</sup> cohort of the Palmyrenes in Dura. This operation has been revealed to be particularly tricky, inasmuch as most of the Durene military papyri are not dated manuscripts, and sometimes only vaguely datable. This difficulty has been thus answered. The present chapter has been divided into eight sections. The first six each refer to a decade of Roman occupation of Dura-Europos: from the first – AD 200 to 210 – to the last – 250 to 260. They are further split between a sub-section containing, in chronological order, the dated – or datable with sufficient certainty because of internal clues (presence of centurions, references to contemporary characters and politics, etc.) – papyri from that decade; and a sub-section containing the datable papyri roughly attributed to that decade on a palaeographical basis, where no real certainty is possible. The seventh section contains all the papyri and parchments where dating is even less safe, and the likely chronological fork is wider than 10 years (here I have ordered them by their progressive number, as it seemed to me there was no point in a chronological order). The eighth is devoted to the few unpublished pieces from the Durene archives which I published in the *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*<sup>285</sup> and re-publish here, with the little commentary available for such tiny scraps. These too are not in chronological order, as I was not able to find any dated manuscript. Further details on the archive from which they come, and on the order and numbers I gave them, are in Iovine (2019a: 95–6; and 115–6). The table below reproduces the order of the papyri and parchments in the present volume:

**Table 5.1** – Prospect of the papyri presented in chapter 5

|               | <b>Dated or datable within a precise chronological fork</b>                                                                                                                               | <b>Less precise dating, on a palaeographical basis</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>200–10</b> | <i>P.Dura</i> 56 – AD c. 207–8<br><i>P.Dura</i> 60 – AD c. 208                                                                                                                            | <i>P.Dura</i> 57 – AD c. 200–10                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b>210–20</b> | <i>P.Dura</i> 63 – AD c. 211<br><i>P.Dura</i> 70 – AD 213<br><i>P.Dura</i> 66 – AD 216<br><i>P.Dura</i> 98 – AD 218–19<br><i>P.Dura</i> 55A – AD 218–20<br><i>P.Dura</i> 100 – AD 219     | <i>P.Dura</i> 62 <i>recto</i> – AD c. 210–20<br><i>P.Dura</i> 73 – AD c. 210–20<br><i>P.Dura</i> 75 – AD c. 210–20<br><i>P.Dura</i> 76 – AD c. 210–20<br><i>P.Dura</i> 99 – AD c. 210–35<br><i>P.Dura</i> 61 – AD c. 216<br><i>P.Dura</i> 71 – AD c. 219<br><i>P.Dura</i> 131 – AD c. 219–25 |
| <b>220–30</b> | <i>P.Dura</i> 136 – AD c. 219–33<br><i>P.Dura</i> 134 – AD c. 220–2<br><i>P.Dura</i> 64 – AD 221<br><i>P.Dura</i> 65 – AD 221<br><i>P.Dura</i> 120 – AD 222<br><i>P.Dura</i> 101 – AD 222 | <i>P.Dura</i> 90 – AD c. 220–35<br><i>P.Dura</i> 91 – AD c. 220–35<br><i>P.Dura</i> 92 – AD c. 220–35                                                                                                                                                                                        |

<sup>284</sup> See chapter 2.

<sup>285</sup> Iovine (2019a).

|                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                                   | <i>P.Dura</i> 102 – AD 222–8<br><i>P.Dura</i> 67 – AD 222–5<br><i>P.Dura</i> 58 – AD c. 222–35<br><i>P.Dura</i> 82 – AD 223–33                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <b>230–40</b>                                                                     | <i>P.Dura</i> 115 – AD 232<br><i>P.Dura</i> 68 – AD c. 232–5<br><i>P.Dura</i> 83 – AD 233<br><i>P.Dura</i> 106 – AD c. 233–41<br><i>P.Dura</i> 125 – AD 235<br><i>P.Dura</i> 69 – AD 235–8<br><i>P.Dura</i> 72 – AD 235–8<br><i>P.Dura</i> 116 – AD 236<br><i>P.Dura</i> 117 – AD 236<br><i>P.Dura</i> 135 – AD 238–41<br><i>P.Dura</i> 89 – AD 239<br><i>P.Dura</i> 121 – after AD c. 239–41                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | <i>P.Dura</i> 140 – after AD c. 225–35<br><i>P.Dura</i> 62 <i>verso</i> – AD c. 230–50<br><i>P.Dura</i> 84 – AD c. 230–40<br><i>P.Dura</i> 85 – AD c. 230–40<br><i>P.Dura</i> 87 – AD c. 230–40<br><i>P.Dura</i> 88 – AD c. 230–40<br><i>P.Dura</i> 108 – AD c. 230–40<br><i>P.Dura</i> 113 – AD c. 230–40 |
| <b>240–50</b>                                                                     | <i>P.Dura</i> 104 – AD 238–47<br><i>P.Dura</i> 107 – AD 240–1<br><i>P.Dura</i> 59 – AD 241<br><i>P.Dura</i> 109 – AD c. 242–56<br><i>P.Dura</i> 110 – AD c. 242–56<br><i>P.Dura</i> 112 – AD c. 242–56<br><i>P.Dura</i> 122 – AD c. 242–56                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <i>P.Dura</i> 81 – AD c. 240–50<br><i>P.Dura</i> 86 – AD c. 240–50<br><i>P.Dura</i> 94 – AD c. 240–50<br><i>P.Dura</i> 111 – AD c. 240–50<br><i>P.Dura</i> 119 – AD c. 240–50<br><i>P.Dura</i> 128 – AD c. 240–50                                                                                          |
| <b>250–60</b>                                                                     | <i>P.Dura</i> 95 – AD 250–1<br><i>P.Dura</i> 97 – AD 251<br><i>P.Dura</i> 105 – AD c. 251–6                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <i>P.Dura</i> 96 – AD c. 250–6                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <b>Uncertain<br/>dating or<br/>chronological<br/>fork wider<br/>than 10 years</b> | <i>P.Dura</i> 74 – AD c. 211–51<br><i>P.Dura</i> 77 – AD c. 210–30<br><i>P.Dura</i> 78 – AD c. 210–30<br><i>P.Dura</i> 79 – AD c. 210–30<br><i>P.Dura</i> 80 – AD c. 230–50<br><i>P.Dura</i> 93 – AD c. 207 or 36<br><i>P.Dura</i> 103 – AD c. 205–24<br><i>P.Dura</i> 114 – AD c. 207–20<br><i>P.Dura</i> 118 – AD c. 220–50<br><i>P.Dura</i> 124 – AD c. 220–40<br><i>P.Dura</i> 130 – AD c. 215–45 (?)<br><i>P.Dura</i> 133 – AD c. 211–17 or 235–8<br><i>P.Dura</i> 138 – AD c. 230–50<br><i>P.Dura</i> 139 – AD c. 200–40<br><i>P.Dura</i> 142 – AD c. 220–40<br><i>P.Dura</i> 143 – post AD c. 221<br><i>P.Dura</i> 145 – AD c. 200–56 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <b>New<br/>fragments</b>                                                          | <i>P.CtYBR</i> inv. DP 121 – AD c. 200–30<br><i>P.CtYBR</i> inv. DP 23 – AD c. 200–56<br><i>P.CtYBR</i> inv. DP 16 <i>recto</i> – AD c. 212–30<br><i>P.CtYBR</i> inv. DP 16 <i>verso</i> – AD c. 200–30<br><i>P.CtYBR</i> inv. <i>s.n.</i> (box 3 folder 1) – AD c. 200–30<br><i>P.CtYBR</i> inv. <i>s.n.</i> (box 3 folder 2) – AD c. 200–30<br><i>P.CtYBR</i> inv. <i>s.n.</i> (box 3 folder 3) – AD c. 200–30                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |

|  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|--|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|  | <p>P.CtYBR inv. <i>s.n.</i> (box 3 folder 4) fr. 1 – AD c. 200–56<br/>P.CtYBR inv. <i>s.n.</i> (box 3 folder 4) fr. 2 – AD c. 200–56<br/>P.CtYBR inv. <i>s.n.</i> (box 3 folder 5) – AD c. 200–30<br/>P.CtYBR inv. <i>s.n.</i> (box 3 folder 6) fr. 3 – AD c. 200–30<br/>P.CtYBR inv. <i>s.n.</i> (box 3 folder 6) fr. 4 – AD c. 200–30<br/>P.CtYBR inv. <i>s.n.</i> (box 3 folder 6) fr. 10<i>a-c</i> – AD c. 200–30<br/>P.CtYBR inv. <i>s.n.</i> (box 3 folder 7) fr. 1 – AD c. 220–56<br/>P.CtYBR inv. <i>s.n.</i> (box 3 folder 7) fr. 8 – AD c. 220–56</p> |
|--|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

**5.1. AD 200–10**

Gilliam (1950); J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 403–5 no. 99); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VI 311 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 179 (1992). TM 44776

Fr. (*tomos synkollesimos*): [19.5x90] cm: fr. *a* (19.5x25.5 cm), *b* (11.5x24.5 cm), *c* (9.5x22.5 cm), *d* (4x2.5 cm), *e* (2.5x2.5 cm), *f* (4x2 cm), *g* (4x1.5 cm)

These seven fragments come from a collection of official letters, originally part of a *liber epistularum* (register of correspondence) where they were pasted together in chronological order.<sup>286</sup> According to Gilliam, what remains of the original roll consists of about 40 fragments. Most of them have been probably re-joined before their first edition, as in the 1950 contribution only 12 fragments appear, three of which (*a*, *b* and *c*) offer some articulated text (Gilliam 1950: 173). Gilliam's 1959 edition and Marichal's one in 1975 have altered the order and names of the fragments due to re-joinings and removals; a further reorganisation of the fragment has been done at the Beinecke Library by R. Duttenhöfer in the early 1990s.<sup>287</sup> In the three more extensive fragments, *a* *b* and *c* (here respectively letters *A*, *B*, *C*), one finds the fairly preserved remnants of three *epistulae probatoriae equorum* 'probation letters for horses', assigning mounts to individual cavalrymen of the cohort. It is possible that more letters are represented in the smaller fragments. The letters (most likely originals and not copies)<sup>288</sup> have been included in the cohort's record of correspondence, the main theme of which probably consisted of horses and cavalrymen in the Palmyrene cohort. The featured order of the presentation of letters *A*, *B* and *C* is the same probably to be seen in the *liber*: P.Dura 56*a* (where the left margin is fully visible), *b* and *c*.<sup>289</sup> It is not clear why the first letter did not have any marginal dating formula with *data* + day month and location, since *b* and *c* both feature it. The hand, a 'large, well-formed cursive'<sup>290</sup>, may be the same for all the fragments, or at least a very similar one.

fr. *a* (= letter *A*), recto

|              |                                                                                                                             |
|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | Ulpio                                                                                                                       |
| <sup>2</sup> | Marius Maxim[us] Valent[in]o s[uo]                                                                                          |
|              | acc septimum decimum [K]al[endas] A[p]ril[is] [d] n[on] Imp[er] A[nt]onino Aug[ustinus] I[ulius] et [G]eta Caesare II] cos] |
| <sup>3</sup> | sal[ute]m                                                                                                                   |
| <sup>4</sup> | Ecum quadrim[us] rus person[a]tum                                                                                           |
| <sup>5</sup> | s[ed] n[on] probatum a me Iulio Basso eq[ui] coh[ortis] XX Pal                                                              |
| <sup>6</sup> | c[on] p[ro] ✕ centum viginti [q]uinq[ue] in act[a] u[t]                                                                     |
| <sup>7</sup> | mos refer[re] et [ ] nota ex die [qu]ar[cto] [ ]                                                                            |
| <sup>8</sup> | Iunia[s] [d] n[on] Imp[er] Antonino A[ugustinus] III [e]t [G]et[a]                                                          |
| <sup>9</sup> | Caesare it[e]r[um] cos]                                                                                                     |

fr. *a* (= letter *A*), verso

|              |                                                    |
|--------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | ULPIO VALENTINO TRIB[unus] COH                     |
| <sup>2</sup> | a                                                  |
| <sup>3</sup> | Mario Maximo leg[atus] Aug[ustinus] pr[ae]f[ectus] |

<sup>286</sup> The main clue to this reconstruction is the reception formula '*accepta* + date', written by the collector of the letters in the blank space between the customary greeting formula and the body of the letter itself. On this peculiar archival arrangement, see Iovine (2019c: 207–11; 215–16).

<sup>287</sup> A record of the alterations and the reasons for the current disposition of the fragments, which almost totally matches Duttenhöfer's, is in Iovine (2021: 168–75).

<sup>288</sup> Marichal in *ChLA* (VI: 15).

<sup>289</sup> Clues in the shape and dimensions of the scraps are listed in Iovine (2021: 168–75).

<sup>290</sup> Gilliam (1950: 174).

1 ] . . . i . [ Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: [ . . . . . ] . . . i . [ . . . ] Gilliam<sup>2</sup> Marichal Cugusi: ] . . . i . [ . . . ] Fink || 2 Va]lenti[n]o] edd. || 4 quadrim[u]m Fink Cugusi || 6 in . . . [ . . . ] Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: i]n Marichal : [acta ut] Cugusi || 7 et [ . . . . . ] Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: et ac[tis ad]nota dubitanter Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: et . . . [ . . . . . ] Fink (qui de in la[tere] nota cogitavit) Marichal Cugusi | [qu]ar[to . . . ] Gilliam Fink Marichal: [qu]ar[to . . . Cugusi | Kal] vel Id] vel Non] || 8 [e]t [[G]et[a] edd. || 9 II] [ Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: ite[r]um alii

ad ll. 2–3: a d Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: acc Gilliam<sup>2</sup> | April[es Marichal Cugusi | fortasse et [I]I[I] legendum: [III Gilliam<sup>1</sup>

‘... Marius Maximus to his Valentinus, greetings. Enter in the record –as it is customary– a horse, four years old, reddish, masked (?) and without brands, approved by me, (and give it) to Iulius Bassus, cavalryman of the 20<sup>th</sup> cohort of the Palmyrenes which you command, at the cost of 125 denarii ... note it from the fourth day ... of June under the third consulship of our lord the Emperor Antoninus Augustus [erased: and the second of the Caesar Geta]’.

‘To Ulpius Valentinus, tribune of the cohort, from Marius Maximus, legate of the Augusti in place of the praetor’.

1 The annotation at the top of the document, put there by a further hand and in the upper margin, appears to contain the name *Ulpius* in dative case: the name happens to be the *nomen* of the letter’s addressee. Not so Cugusi.<sup>291</sup> Parallels in Durene official correspondence<sup>292</sup> are not particularly enlightening on the reason for such annotations. Perhaps in this case it has a scribal origin and functions as a reminder, or a mark for internal purposes.<sup>293</sup>

2 Marius Maximus is a well-known top-ranking Roman officer; he pursued a very rich career, culminating in being *legatus Augustorum pro praetore* ‘legate for the Augusti in place of the praetor’ in Gallia Belgica and in Syria<sup>294</sup>. Contrariwise, Ulpius Valentinus, who happens to be the tribune of the cohort in AD 208, is so far unknown. The adjective *suus*, employed by Maximus towards Ulpius, makes one think that had Maximus directly addressed Ulpius in the letter he would have used a form of *meus* – such as *mi Ulpi* – which was appropriate for inferiors in rank.<sup>295</sup>

2–3 The erasure of Geta’s name is conjectural: see ll. 8–9. Notice the customary abbreviations: *acc(epta)* – *epistula* being implicit – *Kal(endas)*, *April(es)*, *Aug(usto)* and *co(n)s(ulibus)*. Other abbreviations in the lacuna are conjectural, but very likely.

4–5 The body of the letter begins with the description of the horse: age (4 years old: *quadrimum*), colour (reddish: *russeum*, abbreviated *rus*), noteworthy particulars such as markings (*personatum* probably means that there is something on its *persona*),<sup>296</sup> and the absence of branding: l. 5 *s(ine) n(ota)*. For the form *ecum* for *equum*, probably an alternative spelling which was closer to the real pronunciation of the noun in that moment, see Allen (1965: 16–19). The adjective *russeus* is also found in *P.Brook. Gr.* 100, l. 7 *colore russeo*.<sup>297</sup> Gilliam provides instances of similar descriptions in Greek papyri,<sup>298</sup> and points out that in the garrison at Dura-

<sup>291</sup> See CEL II 179.1 *ad loc.*

<sup>292</sup> *P.Dura* 63, 66f, 71: see commentary *ad loc.* and Iovine (2021: 168–71).

<sup>293</sup> See Marichal: ‘traces très incertaines ... peut-être ajouté lors de l’enregistrement et du collage des lettres’ (‘very uncertain traces ... perhaps added when the letters were put in the register and glued,’ *ChLA* VI: 15).

<sup>294</sup> See his entry in *RE*, XIV, 1828–31. A detailed account is also in Rostovtzeff (1933: 317–8); further references in Chaumont (1987: 424, fn. 9).

<sup>295</sup> See Dickey (2004b: 519–20).

<sup>296</sup> *Personatus* in standard Latin would have referred to human individuals, literally or metaphorically wearing a mask (see *ThLL* X 1.2. 1732 and *OLD* 1356 s.v. *personatus*). One finds only two instances of the neuter *personatum* in the form of a noun and the feminine *personata/personatia*, signifying a plant with a distinctive mark (*Plin. nat.* 21, 74; 25, 104; *Col.* 6, 17, 1). One may guess, like Cugusi, that the horse had something very evident on its face, e.g. a black spot (*CEL* II: 235).

<sup>297</sup> Second century AD, TM 27407. See also the otherwise unattested adjectives *russeobadius* and *russeosordidus* in *P.Dura* 97.

<sup>298</sup> Gilliam (1950: 177 fn. 31).

Europos – and perhaps elsewhere – horses assigned to military units had no official names.<sup>299</sup> This is also evident from *P.Dura* 97.<sup>300</sup>

5 Typical of *epistulae probatoriae*, *probatum a me* is nevertheless a noteworthy statement. Although the provincial governor could hardly make a specific *probatio* ‘probation’ of all the new horses destined to every military unit in the province, and likely performed the task only in bureaucratic fiction – the concrete act being deferred to *stratores* ‘aides’ – Gilliam believes that at least a quick formal inspection took place.<sup>301</sup> The cavalryman who is to receive the horse might well be the Iulius Bassus mentioned in *P.Dura* 100, where he is described as enlisted in AD 205,<sup>302</sup> only two or three years before this *probatoria* was produced for him. This may lead to think that he was specifically enlisted as an *eques*; alternatively, that he was transferred from another unit;<sup>303</sup> or that he enjoyed a particularly rapid promotion.<sup>304</sup> In previous editions of the *P.Dura* one normally finds the abbreviation *coh* solved in the genitive *coh(ortis)*, as a genitive is predictable in such circumstances (‘a soldier of the cohort’); likewise possible is, however, the ablative.<sup>305</sup>

6 *c(ui) p(raees)* ‘which you command’ is a widespread formula; also the symbol for *denarii* (⌘) is amply attested in Latin papyri.<sup>306</sup> 125 *denarii* is probably a standard price;<sup>307</sup> in all likelihood the sum was taken, as other sums intended for victuals and equipment, directly from the soldier’s pay.<sup>308</sup> Gilliam supposes that the soldier could be allowed to keep the horse after the *honesta missio* (the ‘honourable discharge’ after 26 years of service) or that its cost was refunded to him at that very moment.<sup>309</sup> Confiscation as a different (and probably later) way to provide horses to the army seems to be described in Cod. Theod. 6, 31, 1; 11, 17; 18; *P.Flor.* II 278<sup>310</sup> witnesses perhaps a similar practice at an earlier stage.<sup>311</sup>

6–7 *in acta ut mos refer*: the *acta* here mentioned might well be the *acta diurna* of the unit; the final outcome of this order (the *relatio in acta*) might be seen in *P.Dura* 89 col. I, ll. 14–15, where the scribe has literally copied an *epistula probatoria* for two recruits.

7–9 The governor’s order not only prescribes the *relatio in acta*, but also specifies the day and the year to which this *relatio* must be referred: the fourth day of the Calends, Ides or Nones of June – and then the year, where the name of Geta is erased with a continuous horizontal stroke of pen. The erasure cannot have taken place before AD 212, when Geta’s memory was the object of condemnation (*damnatio memoriae*). The *damnatio memoriae* must have been a keenly felt ritual if the *libri epistularum* were also affected by it; one might also remark that these letters could be needed even some years after their being filed in the archive, if the clerks of the *officium* felt it necessary to keep them updated with the latest political developments within the Imperial

<sup>299</sup> *Ibidem*, fn. 32.

<sup>300</sup> The papyrus, a list of men and their mounts (see commentary *ad loc.*), suggests that horses employed in Roman army received no names and were permanently assigned to individual soldiers, so that a particularly precise description was required for identification (Welles, Fink and Gilliam 1959: 298).

<sup>301</sup> Gilliam (1950: 176 fn. 20); see also Davies (1969: 435–57) for a full survey; and Albana (2011: 70).

<sup>302</sup> In *P.Dura* 102 col. V, l. 20.

<sup>303</sup> Annotations such as *translatus in cohortem* / *ex cohorte* are attested in the great roster *P.Dura* 100 (coll. VIII l. 30; XIII l. 9; XXXXI l. 9); plus, transfers of men from one unit to another are documented in strength reports (*pridianae*), such as *P.Brook.* 24, ll. 4–7; and *P.Mich.* VII 454 (third century AD, TM 69886).

<sup>304</sup> On the *pedes* and *equites* as not only different typologies of soldiers, but also different ranks (lower the former and higher the latter) for the same soldiers, see Gilliam (1965).

<sup>305</sup> See e.g. *ChLA* XLV 1340 (= *P.Vindob. inv.* L 135), ll. 1–3 *Lucius Caecilius Secundus eques ala Paullini | turma Dicaci, Caio Pompeio militi coh(orte) | A . . . b[i] Habeti centuria Betiti salutem* (AD 27, TM 16273), and the discussion *ad loc.* in Harrauer and Seider (1979: 111).

<sup>306</sup> For *cui praeest* / *praeest*, see *ChLA* XI 501 (AD 48–52, TM 69987); *P.Oxy.* VII 1022 (AD 103, TM 78569); *T.Vindol.* II 154 (AD 85–92, TM 114419); *P.Dura* 61, *P.Dura* 66 *d recto*. For ⌘ = *denarii*, see *P.Mich.* VII 438 (AD 140, TM 69901); *P.Fouad* I 45 (AD 153, TM 20991); *ChLA* III 208 (AD 175, TM 10770), etc.

<sup>307</sup> It appears to be the same in *P.Dura* 97, ll. 9; 14; *passim*, for instance.

<sup>308</sup> See Lesquier (1918: 253–6): ‘le stipendium n’était pas entièrement versé au soldat. Il faisait l’objet de retenues. Elles servaient principalement à pourvoir à son alimentation, à son habillement, à son armement et à son entretien. . . . Ces grands services sont assurés par l’Etat, c’est-à-dire en l’espèce par la préfecture d’Egypte’ (‘the salary was not paid in full to the soldier. It was subject to deductions. They were mainly used to provide for his food, clothing, armament and maintenance . . . These major services were provided by the state, in this case by the prefecture of Egypt’).

<sup>309</sup> Gilliam (1950: 179–80).

<sup>310</sup> AD 203, TM 19670.

<sup>311</sup> Gilliam (1950: 180).

family.<sup>312</sup> It is remarkable that the *acceptio* of this letter was done in March (*septimum decimum* [K]al A[p]ril), but the *relatio* was prescribed for May/June, more than two months later. In *P. Oxy.* VII 1022 the letter is filed in the archive on the sixth day before the Calends, i.e. after the assignation takes place (on the eleventh day), not before.<sup>313</sup> Cugusi believed the *relatio in acta* to be unrelated to the reception of the letter: it would only mark the act of the *probatio*, which comes of course before the *relatio* itself.<sup>314</sup> It can also be supposed, that the inclusion of the letter in the *liber epistularum* was an occurrence entirely decided by the individual necessities and timetables of the clerks then working in the *tabularium*; it would be impossible, therefore, to find an established rule for the times and ways of a letter's inclusion in the book.

*verso*

**1–3** Sender and addressee are furthermore declared, with the customary graphical variation.<sup>315</sup> The usual abbreviations can be seen: *trib(uno)*, *coh(ortis)*<sup>316</sup>, *Augg* = *Augustorum*, and *pr(o) pr(aetore)*.

*fr. b* (= letter *B*), *recto*

|              |               |                                                  |
|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> |               | [Marius Maximus Valentino suo                    |
| <sup>2</sup> |               | salutem                                          |
| <sup>3</sup> |               | Ecos quo]rum ic[onismos subic]i iussi            |
| <sup>4</sup> | dat           | p[robatos] a me equitibus i[nf]ra [sc]riptis     |
| <sup>5</sup> | IIII Idus Mai | coh· [XX P]almyr' c· p· singulos· ※ centenis·    |
| <sup>6</sup> | Hieropo       | [ ±13 ]e[ ± 15 ]                                 |
| <sup>7</sup> |               | [ ± 11 e]x VI· Kal [ . . . . Apro et Maxi]mo cos |

*fr. b* (= letter *B*), *verso*

|              |                                |
|--------------|--------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | [ULPIO] VALENTINO [TRIB COH    |
| <sup>2</sup> | a                              |
| <sup>3</sup> | Mario Maximo l]eg [A]ugg pr pr |

**2** [IIII Idus Maia[s] d n Imp Antonino Aug III et [[Geta Caes]] cos salutem] *Gilliam*<sup>1</sup> || **3** [ecos duos quo]rum dubitanter *Gilliam* | subici] *Marichal Cugusi* || **4** p[rob]at[os] *Gilliam*<sup>1</sup> *Fink Marichal* | a] *Gilliam*<sup>1</sup> || **5** coh(ortis)· XX Palmyr' *Gilliam Fink Marichal* || **6** *lacunam statuit Gilliam*<sup>1</sup>: ] [ *Gilliam*<sup>2</sup> *Fink*: ] . '[ *Marichal*: [uicenis quini]s · [in acta ut mos est referri ex - - - Cugusi || post **6** contulerunt fr. h, i [ . . . . . e]x VI Kalendas [ . . . . Apro et Maxi]mo consulibus *Gilliam*<sup>2</sup> *Fink* (*Marichal prohibente*)

**2** t[rib(uno)] *Gilliam*<sup>2</sup> *Fink*

'Marius Maximus to his Valentinus, greetings. (Enter in the records?) some (?) horses of which I have ordered to append descriptions, approved by me, (and give them) to the cavalymen below mentioned from the 20<sup>th</sup> cohort of the Palmyrenes which you command, each of them at the cost of one hundred ... denarii... from the sixth day after the Calends... during the consulship of Aper and Maximus'.

'To (Ulpian) Valentinus, tribune (of the cohort, from Marius Maximus), legate (of the Augusti in place of the praetor)'.

**1–3** The first three lines are almost entirely reconstructed; the plural number of horses is inferred by the words *quo]rum* (l. 3), *equitibus* (l. 4) and *singulos* (l. 5), all suggesting

<sup>312</sup> For the erasure of Geta's name, see *P. Mich.* VI 397 (AD 204, TM 12204); 398 (AD 207, TM 12205); *PSI* XII 1245 (AD 207, TM 40816) and Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 218 fn. 9).

<sup>313</sup> In ll. 5–7 the sender says *in num[er]os referri iube ex XI | Kalendas Martias*, but the formula *accepta* at l. 24 is followed by *VI K(alendas) Martias*.

<sup>314</sup> *CEL* (II: 236).

<sup>315</sup> See above (4.1.1 and 4.1.2).

<sup>316</sup> Or *coh(orte)*?



that more than one animal is being dealt with here. The governor declares that *iconismi* – i.e. ‘descriptions’ of the horses – are attached, on his command, to the present letter (*subici iussi*).<sup>317</sup> This attachment is not extant: it might, and might not, have been included in the *liber*. According to Gilliam, the formula *accepta* lay in the same line of *salutem*.<sup>318</sup>

**4** Again, a mark of personal inspection (*probatos*). Instead of naming the *equites* who are to be assigned the horses, the sender has allegedly made a list of them *infra*; that is, we assume, in the lower section of the papyrus sheet, which is not extant.

**5** *coh(ortis)* or *coh(orte)*, *Pal(myrenorum)*, *c(ui) p(raees)*, and the symbol for *denarii*, as expected. The letter specifies the price for the individual horse (*singulos*); this is probably the reason why *centeni* ‘one hundred each’, and not the plain figure *centum*, is employed.<sup>319</sup>

**6–7** These lines probably contained something similar to *in acta ut mos refer*, and then the dating formula with consular year, which is still partially preserved. If the reconstruction of the sequence of the fragments is correct, this letter was written in the year AD 207 – earlier, that is, than letter *A*. However, the order of letters *A*, *B*, *C* in the original *liber* cannot have been the reverse of what is now implied by previous editions;<sup>320</sup> the left margin is clearly visible in letter *A*. It is possible that the letter was included later in the *liber*, for now unfathomable reasons.<sup>321</sup>

In the left margin, a partial dating formula *ad latus*: *dat(a) | III Idus Mai(as) | Hieropo(li)*, typical of provincial chanceries as imitating the customs and traditions of Imperial offices. The letter was sent on 12 May, when Marius Maximus was in Hierapolis. This was probably the final formula put in the sheet by the clerks before sending the letter to its intended recipient; it is the earliest instance of a Latin marginal dating formula in a papyrus. For such dating formulae in official documents disseminated by the prefect’s chancery, see Iovine (2019c: 163–205).

*fr. c (= letter C), recto*

|              |                |                                                              |
|--------------|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> |                | [Marius Maximus Valentino suo                                |
| <sup>2</sup> |                | salutem.]                                                    |
| <sup>3</sup> |                | Eç[um] [Ca]ppado[cem . . .] . . u . u . [ . . .]t . [ . . .] |
| <sup>4</sup> | dat            | -num n̄ f̄ ā s̄ pr[oba]tum a me Halathe                     |
|              |                | CXXV                                                         |
| <sup>5</sup> | XVI Kal [S]ept | Mari eq coh [XX P]al c p ✕ centu[m u]iginti qu[i]nqu[e]      |
| <sup>6</sup> | Antiochia      | in [acta ut] mos [refer ex] Kal . [                          |

*fr. c (= letter C), verso*

|              |                              |
|--------------|------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | [ULPIO] VALENTIN[O TRIB COH  |
| <sup>2</sup> | a                            |
| <sup>3</sup> | Mario Maximo leg] Augg pr pr |

**2** [XVI Kal Sept d n Antonino Aug III et [[Geta Caesare]] II cos salutem] *Gilliam*<sup>1</sup> || **3** Ca]ppado[cem . . .] u . [ . . .] . . [ . . .] *Gilliam Fink Cugusi*: [Ca]ppado[cem . . .] u . [ . . .] . . [ . . .] (sic!) *Marichal* || **3–4** m[uri]num *dubitanter Gilliam*<sup>1</sup> || **4** n(ota) f(emore) a(rmo) s(inistro) *dubitanter Gilliam*: n(otatis) f(emore) a(rmo) s(inistris) *Fink*: n(otae) f(emore) a(rmo) s(inistris) *Marichal*: n(ota) f(emore) a(rmo) s(inistris) *Cugusi* || **5** Mari[ni] *Gilliam Fink*: Mari [ . ] (*dubitanter an Mari(ni)*) *Marichal* | Pa][myrenorum] *Marichal Cugusi* | [\*] *Gilliam Fink*: (denariis) *Marichal* | ·CXXV *Marichal* | . . . . . [ . . .] . . . . . [ *Gilliam Fink*:

<sup>317</sup> See *P.Oxy.* VII 1022 ll. 8; 12; 14; *passim*.

<sup>318</sup> Gilliam (1950: 184).

<sup>319</sup> See *ThLL* III 815–17 and *OLD* (299) s.v. *centeni*.

<sup>320</sup> Gilliam’s observation (1950: 172–73) is right; Marichal (*ChLA* VI: 16) gives a visual representation of this in the photo he attaches to his edition.

<sup>321</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the problem, see Iovine (2021: 168–75).

c[e]ntu[m] uiginti q(uinque) (*dubitanter*) Marichal Cugusi || 6 om. Gilliam<sup>1</sup> | ex K]al . [ Gilliam<sup>2</sup> Fink: e]x Ka[i] Marichal: e]x Kal[ Cugusi

‘(Marius Maximus to his Valentinus, greetings. Enter) in (the records) – as it is customary – from the Calends ... a horse from Cappadocia ... with a brand on its thigh and left shoulder (?), approved by me, (and give it to) Halathe (son of) Maris (?), cavalryman of the (20<sup>th</sup>) Palmyrene cohort, which you command, at the cost of (125?) denarii ...’

‘To (Ulpius) Valentinus, (tribune of the cohort, from Marius Maximus, legate) of the Augusti in place of the praetor’.

**1–3** As in the preceding letter, it is Gilliam’s opinion that the *accepta* + dating formula and *salutem* were on the same line.<sup>322</sup>

**3–4** For Cappadocian horses – apparently, much sought after – see *PSI* VI 729<sup>323</sup> and e.g. Nemes. *cyn.* 241; Veg. *mulom.* 3, 6, 4; Capitol. 4, 5, 1. The faint remnants of l. 3 certainly contained the description of the animal; for *-num* (l. 4) Gilliam thinks of *murinum*.<sup>324</sup> Although the meaning of the abbreviation *nfas* is more or less arguable (*nota*, *femur*, *armus* and *sinister* are the likely involved words: the horse is described as having spots on his fore- and hind limbs), the exact forms of the words are now unfathomable.

**4–5** The cavalryman who is to receive the horse in this instance is styled with a type-A name:<sup>325</sup> Halathe(s?), son of Maris. A Maris son of Iarhaeus / Ierhaeus (perhaps the same person?) also appears in *P.Dura* 98, 100 and 102.<sup>326</sup> As the letter was written before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, this might imply that the soldier is (still) not a Roman citizen.<sup>327</sup>

**5** The amount of money is written in full, as in the preceding letters; but here it is written by a different, much more informal hand; and somebody has added in the interlinear space the corresponding figure, for no apparent reason but (perhaps) to make the number, which is roughly written, more understandable to the readers<sup>328</sup>. However, why the figure was written so quickly and informally from the beginning, cannot be clearly gathered.

Again, the left margin provides us with information on when and whence the letter was dispatched: *dat(a) | XVI Kal(endas) [S]ept(embres) | Antiochia*. The hand seems markedly different from that which wrote the formula in letter *B*.

*fr. d*

|<sup>1</sup> [M]arius [Maximus

]Mariu[s] Gilliam<sup>1</sup>

*fr. e*

|<sup>1</sup> ]i[ . ]o[

] [ Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: ]i[ . ]o[ Gilliam<sup>2</sup> Fink Marichal: Valent]i[n]o vel s[u]o *dubitanter* Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: Valent]i[n]o [suo Cugusi:

*fr. f*

<sup>322</sup> Gilliam (1950: 185).

<sup>323</sup> AD 77, TM 70005.

<sup>324</sup> ‘Mouse-coloured’: the same adjective is used for a horse in *P.Dura* 97, l. 10.

<sup>325</sup> See above (3.1).

<sup>326</sup> See 3.2.

<sup>327</sup> Cf. Gilliam (1950: 185–6); R. Marichal in *ChLA* (VI: 19).

<sup>328</sup> Gilliam (1950: 186).

|<sup>1</sup> ]eta . .[

]eta . .[ *Gilliam Fink Marichal*: ]et aç[is dubitanter *Gilliam*<sup>2</sup>: ]eta .[ *Cugusi*

*fr. g*

|<sup>1</sup> ] . d .[

Rostovtzeff (1933); (1934a) [only letter **B**]; J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 399–402 no. 98); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VI 315 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 178 (1992). TM 44782

Frr. *a* (27.5x52 cm); *b+c* (14x8 cm); *d* (16.2x13.2 cm); *e* (4.8x3 cm); *f* (4x3.5 cm); *g* (15.5x1 cm); *h* (15.5x2.5 cm); *i* (4.8x2.5 cm); *j* (3.5x2.5 cm); *k* (3.3x2 cm); *l* (2.2x3.1 cm); *m* (1.8x2 cm); *n* (3.6x1.7 cm); *o* (3.4x3.2 cm); *p* (3.2x4.1 cm)

The papyrus preserves fragments from official letters, sent by the Syrian governor's office to the commanding officers of the Palmyrene cohort and other units stationed on the Euphrates. According to the online images and the current disposition in the frame, *P.Dura 60* consists of 16 fragments, from *a* to *p*. Their *verso* is blank. Frr. *a* to *f* have been published by Gilliam, Fink, and Marichal; frr. *g* onwards have been published by Marichal alone. Frr. *n* and *p* bear only a few uncertain traces and could not be published. The letters that identify the fragments here have been copied from the online photographs; their disposition and re-joinings follow the same order, but for frr *g-h*, which have been considered (as Marichal did) as portions of a single fragment, on account of several matching sequences of wormholes on their surface. What follows is a full account of discrepancies in different, subsequent editions:

**Table 5.2** – Prospect of the fragments in *P.Dura 60*

| Online images                                                                           | Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959)                                                                                    | Marichal (1975)                                                                            | Cugusi (1992)                                                                          |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Fr. <i>a</i><br>( <i>]meorum</i> + <i>Marius Maximus tribb</i> )                        | <b>A</b> ( <i>]meorum</i> ) + <b>B</b> ( <i>Marius Maximus tribb</i> etc.; the whole fragment is called <i>a</i> ) | Fr. <i>a</i> = <b>A</b> ( <i>]meorum</i> ) + <b>B</b> ( <i>Marius Maximus tribb</i> etc.;) | Fr. <i>a</i> , letter 1. ( <i>]meorum</i> ) and 2. ( <i>Marius Maximus tribb</i> etc.) |
| Fr. <i>b</i> (l. 2 <i>ii cos quem</i> etc.)                                             | <b>C</b> (frr. <i>b+c</i> )                                                                                        | <b>C</b> (frr. <i>b+c</i> )                                                                | Frr. <i>b-c</i> (= letter 3.)                                                          |
| Fr. <i>c</i> (l. 1 [ <i>Marius M]aximus tri[b(unis)</i> etc.)                           |                                                                                                                    |                                                                                            |                                                                                        |
| Fr. <i>d</i> (l. 9 <i>q]uantitate solos bin[os] aureos</i> etc.)                        | <b>D</b> (fr. <i>d</i> )                                                                                           | Fr. <i>d</i>                                                                               | Fr. <i>d</i> (letter 4.)                                                               |
| Fr. <i>e</i> (l. 2 <i>]ceteros[</i> etc.)                                               | Fr. <i>e</i> (part of <b>D</b> ?)                                                                                  | Fr. <i>e</i>                                                                               | Fr. <i>e</i>                                                                           |
| Fr. <i>F</i>                                                                            | Fr. <i>f</i>                                                                                                       | Fr. <i>f</i>                                                                               | Fr. <i>f</i>                                                                           |
| Fr. <i>g</i> (tall scrap, left edge of a line, l. 5 <i>ctas[</i> )                      | -                                                                                                                  | Fr. <i>k</i> ('illisible')                                                                 | -                                                                                      |
| Fr. <i>h</i> (another tall scrap, similar to <i>g</i> , l. 3 <i>]ri</i> or <i>]si</i> ) | -                                                                                                                  |                                                                                            | -                                                                                      |
| Fr. <i>i</i> (l. 4 <i>]e ur [</i> )                                                     | -                                                                                                                  | Fr. <i>g</i> ( <i>k+i</i> )                                                                | -                                                                                      |
| Fr. <i>j</i> (l. 1 <i>]ir [</i> )                                                       | -                                                                                                                  | Fr. <i>j</i>                                                                               | -                                                                                      |
| Fr. <i>k</i> (l. 2 perhaps <i>]ir[</i> )                                                | -                                                                                                                  | Fr. <i>g</i> ( <i>k+i</i> )                                                                | -                                                                                      |
| Fr. <i>l</i> (l. 1 <i>]mittas [</i> )                                                   | -                                                                                                                  | Fr. <i>i</i>                                                                               | Fr. <i>i</i>                                                                           |
| Fr. <i>m</i> (l. 2 <i>]quid[</i> )                                                      | -                                                                                                                  | Fr. <i>h</i>                                                                               | -                                                                                      |
| Fr. <i>n</i> (an oblique stroke only is visible)                                        | -                                                                                                                  | Fr. <i>m</i>                                                                               | -                                                                                      |
| Fr. <i>o</i> (l. 1 <i>]cias</i> )                                                       | -                                                                                                                  | Fr. <i>l</i>                                                                               | -                                                                                      |
| Fr. <i>p</i> (two strokes forming an ellipse)                                           | -                                                                                                                  | Fr. <i>n</i>                                                                               | -                                                                                      |

Most of these letters are fragmentary: at least four can be identified and isolated (fr. *a* col. II = letter **A**; fr. *a*, col. II = letter **B**; frr. *b+c* = letter **C**; fr. *d* = letter **D**); then follow uncertain fragments, which might belong to one or more letters (frr. *e-p*). Letters **C** and **D** yield very little text, but their overall meaning can be caught. It must be remarked how in fr. *a* at least two letters (**A** and **B**) had been originally copied by the same hand; the first letter, in the (lost) left corner of the original sheet, has almost entirely vanished (only a word remains), while the other, located in

the right portion of the fragment, survived in its entirety. It contains the copy of an official letter from the governor of Syria to a *procurator Augustorum*, forwarded to the commanding officers of military units in the neighbourhood of Dura, and concerning an embassy from Parthia.

The details of the composition and dispatch of this letter can be thus reconstructed. Around AD 207–9, Parthian ambassador Goces met Emperor Severus – or more likely, the governor of Syria Marius Maximus,<sup>329</sup> as Severus might have been in Britain at the time – in order probably to discuss some of the Roman conquests in Osroene during Severus’ successful Mesopotamian campaign of AD 197.<sup>330</sup> Though unrecorded by contemporary sources, this diplomatic mission must have been quite important: it took place between two wars involving Rome and the Parthian Empire (AD 194–8 and 211), and testifies to the continual diplomatic effort between the two superpowers. Goces very likely travelled with a conspicuous escort, the keeping of which must have been very expensive, as one can gather, for instance, from the luxurious embassy of Tiridates.<sup>331</sup> After the meeting came to an end, Goces set off to return home; he would have followed the Euphrates southwards, crossed it at a certain point, and re-entered Parthia. On his path lay a number of Roman outposts, each of which would have been required to receive him and his entourage, accommodate, feed and entertain them, and send them off to the next outpost until the border was reached. All this must have meant the employment of a great deal of money. Maximus sent therefore a letter to a *procurator Augustorum*, Minicius Martialis, who was likely responsible in that particular moment for a number of financial operations in the province (from taxation to distribution of salaries);<sup>332</sup> and ordered him to provide Goces and his followers with *xenia* ‘gifts’.<sup>333</sup> But a letter to Martialis only was probably not enough, and he forwarded the same letter to all the outposts Goces was to encounter while travelling, with a short introduction, and a list of those very outposts at the bottom of the copied letter: Gazica, Appadana, Dura, Eddana, Biblada. Each fort received this forwarded letter, and probably all of them had it copied somehow before forwarding the letter to the next outpost: it is hardly likely they could have kept the original in their archive. The copy preserved in the Durene *officium* is the only one now extant. Abbreviations – *Aug(ustorum)*, *co(n)s(ulibus)*, *d(ominos)*, *exe(mplum)*, *Imp(eratores)*, *n(ostrorum)*, *n(ostros)*, *n(umerorum)*, *praef(ectis)*, *proc(uratori)*, *trib(unis)* – are consistently employed, whether they be marked with a medial dot (*Imp·*, *praeff·*, *proc·*, *tribb·*) or with an oblique stroke over the letter (*n’n’*); or simply unmarked (*Augg*, *dd*). Medial dots also occur after two complete words (letter B l. 3 *adplicui·*, fr. d l. 7 *d]enaris·*).

Fr. a col. I (= letter A)

|<sup>1</sup> ]m eorum

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1 ]m eorum *Marichal (Cugusi probante): ]meorum Gilliam Fink*

fr. a col. II (= letter B)

|<sup>1</sup> Marius Maximus tribb· et praeff· et praepositis nn’ salutem.

|<sup>2</sup> Quid scribserim Minicio Martiali proc· Augg n’n’

|<sup>3</sup> et notum haberetis· adplicui· opto bene ualeatis.

|<sup>4</sup> ex

|<sup>5</sup> Curae tibi sit, et quaesturas n’n’ per quos transit Goces

|<sup>6</sup> legatus Parthorum missus ad dd n’n’ fortissimos Impp

|<sup>7</sup> secundum morem xenia ei offerre. Quid autem in

<sup>329</sup> Marius Maximus is mentioned in *P. Dura* 56 and 59 too. See the commentary *ad loc.*

<sup>330</sup> See Chaumont (1987: 436–47) for a detailed historical reconstruction of the context in which Goces’ mission took place. As Vologases VI had only recently risen to the throne, Goces might have been sent to represent a new political orientation.

<sup>331</sup> See D.C. 63, 2; Svet. *Nero* 30, 2; and Rostovtzeff (1934: 321–2).

<sup>332</sup> References to this otherwise unknown (but for an inscription in the Durene *mithraeum*) procurator are in Chaumont (1987: 424 fn. 10). Among them, it is worth mentioning *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 291–2 (no. 618) and Pflaum (1950: 134; 156–7), where the duties of Minicius are briefly described in the larger frame of equestrian procurators in Roman Empire.

<sup>333</sup> See below the commentary *ad loc.*

8       quoque numero erogaueris scribe mihi.  
 9           Gazica  
 10          Appadana  
 11          Dura  
 12          Ed[da]na  
 13          Bi[blada]

‘Marius Maximus to the tribunes, the prefects, and the praepositi numerorum, greetings. I have attached what I have written to Minicius Martialis, procurator of our Emperors, for your knowledge.

Copy.

Let it be your duty that the treasuries of the units through which Goces passes, the Parthian ambassador sent to our lords the most strong Emperors, provide him with friendly gifts according to the custom. Write to me, however, how much you will have spent in each unit.

Gazica  
 Appadana  
 Dura  
 Eddana  
 Biblada’.

3 ut *legendum cum Wilcken (1935: 316) || 5 et quaesturas (dubitanter an et quaesturis an ex quaesturis) Gilliam Fink Marichal: ut quaesturae ... offerant coniecit Wilcken (1935: 316): et quaesturae (uel quaesturas Rostovtzeff<sup>334</sup>) Rostovtzeff: et quaesturas pro etiam quaesturas in commentario Cugusi | uel Gopes Rostovtzeff || 9 Gasica Rostovtzeff<sup>335</sup> || 11 D[ur]a Rostovtzeff<sup>336</sup>: Du[r]a alii*

**1–3** This is the introductory paragraph Maximus has inserted at the top of the copy of the letter to Martialis that he was forwarding. The original letter which was actually dispatched to the outpost mentioned would have had some traces of the provincial chancery, namely, the script, or other formulae which functioned as subscriptions; it would have had on the *verso* the names of the sender and of the addressee(s); and the *praescriptum* would have been divided by a blank space, with *salutem* located close to the right margin. Here we see none of this, which prompts us to suppose this was a copy of the forwarded letter, which scribes in the Durene *officium* prepared before sending the original away to the next outpost. The addressees are the *tribuni* (commanders of the *cohortes miliariae*), the *praefecti* (for the *cohortes quingenariae*) and the *praepositi* (in charge for *uexillationes*);<sup>334</sup> in short, all the available commanding officers of the troops (*numeri*) quartered in the region.

**2** *Scribserim* is for *scripserim*. The redoubled consonants (*gg*, *nn*) make us think the *Augusti* are still two, not three (from AD 209 on Geta was associated to Severus and Caracalla).<sup>335</sup>

**3** Wilcken was most likely right in emending *et* to *ut* at l. 3. Such as it is, the syntactical construction of ll. 2–3 *quid scribserim Minicio Martiali ... et notum haberetis adplicui* is ungrammatical; *adplicui* already has an object (*quid scribserim*) and now needs a purpose, i.e. *ut notum haberetis*. Wilcken notes Greek parallels, such as ἵν’ εἰδῆτε.<sup>336</sup> According to Rostovtzeff, *adplicui* instead of *subieci* is quite rare.<sup>337</sup>

**4** *Ex(emplum)*, ‘copy’. Ll. 5–8 contain the text of the original letter sent to Minicius Martialis.

**5** The name Goces, though unattested, poses no problem to scholars.<sup>338</sup> The ambassador is said to pass literally through ‘numbers’, *numeri* (*numerorum per quos transit Goces*). As Luther points out, ‘*numerus* selbst ist die Bezeichnung für die Truppenabteilung, nicht für das Lager oder den Ort, in dem die Truppe stationiert ist’ (‘the very name *numerus* is the name for the troop division, not for the camp or the place where the troop is stationed’).<sup>339</sup> In fact,

<sup>334</sup> See *CEL* (II: 230).

<sup>335</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 222); Chaumont (1987: 425).

<sup>336</sup> Wilcken (1935: 315).

<sup>337</sup> Rostovtzeff (1934a: 318).

<sup>338</sup> For Goces – whose name, though unattested, poses no linguistic problem – see Rostovtzeff (1934: 31); Chaumont (1986: 425).

<sup>339</sup> Luther (1997: 240).

instances of *numerus* employed to describe a place are very rare.<sup>340</sup> It may be possible, however, that for the sake of conciseness and perhaps for a rooted custom of the area, *numerus* here is employed somehow incorrectly as an umbrella-term, both for the military unit and for the settlement and/or region it governed. Luther believes that the name of the places mentioned in this papyrus do not represent precise locations, but, more generally, the districts the *numeri* were responsible for.<sup>341</sup>

**5–8** Maximus must have meant to address his letter not just to Minicius, but to the *quaesturae numerorum per quos transit Goces*, i.e. the *quaesturae* of the outposts through which Goces makes his journey home, from the very beginning. The orders he gives to him in the original letter, are also given to them, as if it were obvious that the letter would have been later forwarded to them too. In fact, instead of sending two different letters, Maximus has forwarded to his second addressee (the commanding officers of the *numeri*) the same letter he sent to Minicius. The *quaesturae numerorum* might represent some sort of economic office of the units involved. We know that in Roman military units there was an office called *quaestorium* which preserved the money and valuable goods, and where ambassadors and messengers were received<sup>342</sup>; it is possible that *quaestura*, up to now unattested in military contexts, is a mistaken or alternative way to refer to these places. We may be dealing, according to Gilliam,<sup>343</sup> with ‘unit treasuries’. The *xenia* mentioned at l. 7 probably include accommodation and gifts; Chaumont believes the term to be rather generic in this context, and to mean only victuals and lodgings.<sup>344</sup> Maximus concludes his letter by asking for a detailed account of the expenses per each *numerus*.

The text has been the object of some doubts. First of all: *quaesturae* or *quaesturas* (l. 5)? After Rostovtzeff and Wilcken, who were convinced of *quaesturae* (although Rostovtzeff put *quaesturas*? into brackets in the text),<sup>345</sup> all among the following editors were determined on *quaesturas*. The letter, in fact, is closer to an *s* than to an *e*; however, the succession of strokes, and in particular the unusual length of the first stroke, which appears to be higher than expected for *s* (but understandable for an *e*) still appear to be ambiguous. From this uncertainty directly originates a syntactical problem in the sentence *curae tibi sit et quaesturas nn ... xenia ei offerre* (ll. 3–5). Rostovtzeff and Wilcken, as mentioned above, read *quaesturae*, so that the sentence could be easily construed as a double dative: ‘let it be your duty, and of the *quaesturae numerorum*... to provide gifts to him’. Wilcken, however, was unsatisfied with the singular dative: a number of *numeri* must have a number of *quaesturae*, not just one. Hence, his emendation *ut quaesturae offerant*. Gilliam preferred not to alter the text, construing *quaesturas ... offerre* as an infinitive governed by *curae tibi sit*. However, he too was unsatisfied with the text as it was, and suggested to correct in *et quaesturis* (again, double dative) or *ex quaesturis*.<sup>346</sup> Fink had no doubts on *quaesturas*,<sup>347</sup> nor has Cugusi, who thinks of *et* as a substitute for *etiam*: ‘let it be your duty, that *also* the treasury units provide gifts for him’.<sup>348</sup>

In such cases, where textual oddities seem to be unconquerable without massive alterations to the text, the safest way to intervene is perhaps the most conservative one. It must be remarked, however, how a dative after *tibi et* might be expected, as Maximus is addressing not only Minicius (*tibi*), but also the commanding officers of other units, from whose treasuries (*quaesturae*) the funds for Goces’ entertaining should have come. Two addressees call for two

<sup>340</sup> See OLD (1203) s.v. *numerus* 7.; only one passage is quoted, *ἄν<ο>ν<η> enim illa soli inaequalitas recte colligi poterit, nisi quod e terra quidquid nascitur in aëre rectum ex[t]istit et illam terrae obliquitatem crescendo adterit, nec maiorem numerum occupat quam si ex plano nascatur* (‘for there is no way correctly to make even the inequality of the ground, unless anything born from earth stands upright in the air and by its growth has worn down the slant of the ground, and occupies no wider space than if it had been born from even ground’, Frontin. *grom.* p. 19).

<sup>341</sup> ‘Nichts zwingt uns zu der Annahme, daß die im Brief des Marius Maximus erwähnten Orte den jeweiligen Stützpunkt bezeichnen müssen. In Bezug auf die Ortsnamen drängt sich vielmehr die Hypothese auf, daß hier der Zuständigkeitsbereich eines *numerus* gemeint ist, der Distrikt, für den er die militärische Sicherung zu übernehmen hatte’ (‘nothing forces us to assume that the places mentioned in the letter of Marius Maximus must designate the respective base. With regard to the place names, one is rather lead to hypothesise that the area of responsibility of a *numerus* is meant here, the district for which it had to provide military security’, Luther 1997: 240).

<sup>342</sup> Rostovtzeff (1934a: 319); Chaumont (1987: 433–4).

<sup>343</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 223).

<sup>344</sup> Chaumont (1987: 435–6).

<sup>345</sup> See Rostovtzeff (1933); (1934a); Wilcken (1935).

<sup>346</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 224).

<sup>347</sup> Fink (1974: 401).

<sup>348</sup> See CEL (II: 234).

datives, the more so for the presence of *et* which would join them ('let it be your duty and of the *quaesturae*); if taken for *etiam* 'also', it would still call for a further element: 'also the treasury units', but in addition to what?

Note that in *secundum* the scribe was initially writing *secumdum*; *offere* is a mistake for *offerre*.

**9–13** The places mentioned at the bottom of the letter (Gazica Appadana Dura Eddana Biblada) seem partially to match equivalent locations mentioned by Isidorus of Charax in his *Παρθικοὶ σταθμοί*<sup>349</sup> between first century BC and first AD. In Isid.Char. *BNJ* 781 F 2,31–6, after describing Ναβαγάθ and its adjacent river Ἀβούρας (Khabour), a tributary of the Euphrates ἐκεῖθεν διαβαίνει τὰ στρατόπεδα εἰς τὴν κατὰ Ῥωμαίους πέραν 'from which the legions cross towards the Roman border', he goes on: εἶτα Ἀσιχα κώμη, χοῖνοι δ' ἔνθεν Δοῦρα Νικάνορος πόλις, κτίσμα Μακεδόνων, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἑλλήνων Εὐρώπος καλεῖται, χοῖνοι ε'. Εἶτα Μέρραν ὁχύρωμα, κωμοπόλις, χοῖνοι ε'. Εἶτα Γιδδάν πόλις, χοῖνοι ε'. Εἶτα Βηλεὶς Βιβλάδα, χοῖνοι ζ' 'then the village of Asicha, 4 *schoinoi*; from there Dura, the town of Nikanor, a foundation of the Macedonians which is called Europos by the Greeks, 6 *schoinoi*. Then the village-town and fortress of Merra, 5 *schoinoi*. Then the town of Giddan, 5 *schoinoi*. Then Belesi Biblada, 7 *schoinoi*'. Four out of five outposts – Gazica (Ἀσιχα), Dura (Δοῦρα/Εὐρώπος), Eddana (Γιδδάν) and Biblada (Βιβλάδα<sup>350</sup>) – are here featured; their order testifies that Goces is on his way back, and not the opposite. For further details on all the places, see Chaumont (1987: 426–33); *CEL* (II: 232); and Edwell (2008: 66–72), who proceeds further in elucidating the whole Roman military network on the high Euphrates and the Khabour river.

**10** Appadana is the only outpost not found in the *Σταθμοί*: and yet it had to be of great consequence for the auxiliaries in the cohort. It is frequently mentioned as a location for detachments in the great rosters, *P.Dura* 100 and 101; in other, less well preserved, rosters (*P.Dura* 102); in letters (*P.Dura* 63, 64), morning reports (*P.Dura* 82) and military lists (*P.Dura* 104 fr. c, 116<sup>351</sup>). Also inscriptions from Dura are attested containing this toponym.<sup>352</sup> Up to now, however, there have been difficulties and controversies in locating this Appadana within the Roman military network on the Euphrates and the lower Osroene.

More than one Appadana is known from ancient sources to have existed in the region of the Middle Euphrates; the noun is fitting for a town, as *apadāna* means 'royal palace', βασιλεία, in ancient Persian.<sup>353</sup> There is an Ἀφραδάνα mentioned in Ptol. *Geog.* V 18,6 among Βαβυλωνιακά πόλεις καὶ κῶμαι 'Babylonians towns and villages' on the Euphrates, presumably southwards from (and close to) the mouths of the river Khabour, and which has been identified with the Βασιλεία mentioned in Isid. Char. *BNJ* 781 F 2,15–23<sup>354</sup>; another Ἀφραδάνα, this time in the μέσθι χώρα 'in-between country' between the Tigris and Euphrates (Ptol. *Geog.* V 18,13<sup>355</sup>); and the Ἀπαδάνα mentioned in the so-called dossier of the Euphrates papyri (*P.Euphr.*), dated back to the mid-third century AD. This Appadana was the seat of a judiciary διοίκησις 'assize-district' and of a *procurator*; it also hosted a *numerus Palmyrenorum* (a *uexillatio* from the XX

<sup>349</sup> = *GGM* I p. 244 Müller.

<sup>350</sup> *Bi[blada]* in the text of *P.Dura* 60 letter *B* is in fact reconstructed thanks to the contribution of the *Σταθμοί*.

<sup>351</sup> See commentaries *ad locum* for each of the mentions.

<sup>352</sup> Namely, *SEG* VII 385, in the house of the merchant Aurelius Nebuchelus (l. 9 ἔπεμψα εἰς Ἀπάδανα (δηνάρια) c 'I sent to Appadana 200 denarii') and 419, quite shorter (εἰς Ἀφράδανα | δελματικὴν α ξ | μαθκ(ῶνα) 'to Appadana one robe, 60 *mathkonas* (?)'), both found in the ruins of Dura. These only confirm that Appadana was a destination for business and not just for detachments; nothing is offered on their location in the territory. See Chaumont (1987: 428 fn. 29) and Gnoli (2000: 58–9).

<sup>353</sup> Gnoli (2000: 32).

<sup>354</sup> This seems today an accepted opinion: see Chaumont (1987: 428, fn. 30); Gnoli (2000: 33–5; 58). Coordinates given by Ptolemaeus for Χαβόρα, a settlement very close to the river Khabour, and Ἀφραδάνα, are almost identical, and the two items of the list are separated by only one item (Χαβόρα – Θέλδα – Ἀφραδάνα): this would match with Isidorus' account (Χουμβανή – Θυλλάδα – Βασιλεία) in 17–23 εἶτα Χουμβανή κώμη, χοῖνος α'. Ἐνθεν Θυλλάδα Μιρράδα, σταθμὸς βασιλικός, χοῖνοι δ'. Εἶτα βασιλεία, Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν, Δαρείου κτίσμα, κωμόπολις: ἐνταῦθα Σεμιράμιδος ἐστὶ διώρυξ, καὶ λίθοις πέφρακται ὁ Εὐφράτης, ἵνα στενοχωρούμενος ὑπερκλύζηι τὰ πεδία: θέρους μέντοι ναγαγεῖ τὰ πλοῖα: <χοῖνοι ζ> 'then the village of Choumbane, one *schoinos*. From there Thillada Mirrada, royal station, 4 *schoinoi*. Then Basileia, a temple of Artemis, a foundation of Darius and a village-town; here is located Semiramis' trench, and the Euphrates has been blocked with rocks, so that it may be constrained and thus overflow in the plains; yet, in summer, the ships navigate it; 7 *schoinoi*'. Both sequences, in Ptolemaeus and Isidorus, are almost immediately after the town of Νικηφόριον.

<sup>355</sup> See Gnoli (2000: 36; 58) and attached bibliography for the identification with a town mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, Apatna.



*Palmyrenorum*?) and a *praepositus praetenturae*; and it became a πόλις about AD 244–8 by the name of Νεάπολις.<sup>356</sup> Eventually, there is the Appadana repeatedly mentioned in the Dura papyri, and which – according to *P.Dura* 60 – lay between Gazica and Dura, i.e. slightly north from Dura. A brief summary on the attested Appadana is in Edwell (2008: 69–71). The papyri, when referring to the name of Appadana, do not make any attempt at distinguishing it from ‘others’ Appadana;<sup>357</sup> it may be surmised, that in the notions of those who wrote those papyri, there was only one relevant Appadana in the neighbourhood of Dura, or at any rate, that only one Appadana was the object of *uexillationes*. Is this last Appadana to be identified with one of those mentioned above, or are we rather facing a further, distinct settlement and/or military station?

Rostovtzeff believed the stations in *P.Dura* 60 to have been located on the right side of the Euphrates and close to Dura, thus preventing an identification between Ptolemy’s Appadana – which allegedly lay somewhere north of Dura, in the lower Osroene, close to the mouth of the river Khabour, anyway to the *left* of the Euphrates – and that of the Dura papyrus, which was located, like the other places mentioned, on the ‘Roman’, *right* bank off the river.<sup>358</sup> This opinion is repeated in the *editio princeps* of the Dura papyri.<sup>359</sup> Instead, first editors of the Euphrates papyri D. Feissel and J. Gascou believe this Appadana to be the *very* same town mentioned in the *P.Dura*, and that it was located at the mouth of the Khabour river, where it flows into the Euphrates; important clues would be the presence of a *procurator*, of a soldier from the *numerus Palmyrenorum*, and of a *praepositus praetenturae*.<sup>360</sup> Edwell seems to accept this.<sup>361</sup> Luther partially agrees with this reconstruction. First of all, he decidedly separates Ptolemy’s Appadana (allegedly ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ, i.e. on the *left* bank of the Euphrates) from Isidorus’ Βασιλεία (on the *right* bank, since it follows Γαλάβαθα and is therefore ἐν Παραποταμίᾳ);<sup>362</sup> then, he argues for the identity of the former with the Appadana from Durene documents. If it is true that the places mentioned in *P.Dura* 60 seem to be on a direct line from Syria to Parthia, it is also true, according to Luther, that nothing forces us to locate Appadana on the right bank of the river, like the other places mentioned in the Dura papyrus (including Dura itself). As those places probably referred to districts, rather than specific towns or villages, Appadana might well have been on the left bank, and the *numerus per quem transit Goces* may be identified with its correspondent territory, which most likely stretched from the left to the right bank of the river, between the district of Gazica and that of Dura.<sup>363</sup> On the other hand, Gnoli has strongly objected to these

<sup>356</sup> See Feissel and Gascou (1989); (1995); (1997); (2000) for the *editiones principes* and a commentary on all the Euphrates papyri; and Merola (2012). That the Appadana of the Euphrates papyri was seat of a judicial dioceses can be surmised by *P.Euphr.* 1 l. 5, where Beth Phouraia is said to belong to the district of Ἀππάδανα – and the petitioners claim to have come there to be heard by the prefect of Mesopotamia, Iulius Priscus; in *P.Euphr.* 3–4 one can see the πρεπόσιτος πρετεντόρης (AD 252–6, TM 23923; 23924); the soldier from the Palmyrene cohort is probably to be seen in *P.Euphr.* 14 l. 5 ἀπὸ ἀριθμ[οῦ Παλ]μυρηγῶν (AD 241, TM 44672). One would have expected the σπεῖρη εἰκοστὴ Παλμυρηγῶν to have been directly mentioned, rather than be alluded to through an unspecified ἀριθμός = *numerus*.

<sup>357</sup> It is true, of course, that no such attempt is to be seen for any other location in Dura papyri; we have no notion, however, of places in Dura papyri whose names could create ambiguities and difficulties. There are no ‘second’ or ‘third’ BIRTHA, BECCHUFRAYN, MAGDALA, etc.

<sup>358</sup> ‘Un village nommé Appadana apparaît souvent dans les graffiti de Doura. Une ville d’Appadana (Apphadana, Aphhadana) est mentionnée par Ptolémée quelque part près de l’embouchure du Chabour. M. Dussaud place cette ville dans les environs de Houseiniyé, Herzfeld et le père Poidebard à Tell Fdeyn. J’hésite à identifier l’Appadana des Textes de Doura avec l’Appadana de Ptolémée car toutes les stations de notre liste se trouvent sur la rive romaine de l’Euphrate et tout près de Doura’ (‘A village called Appadana often appears in the graffiti of Dura. A city of Appadana (Apphadana, Aphadana) is mentioned by Ptolemy somewhere near the mouth of the Shabur. M. Dussaud places this city in the vicinity of Houseiniyé, Herzfeld and Father Poidebard at Tell Fdeyn. I hesitate to identify the Appadana of the Dura Texts with Ptolemy’s Appadana because all the stations in our list are on the Roman bank of the Euphrates and very close to Dura’, Rostovtzeff 1933: 320–1).

<sup>359</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 40).

<sup>360</sup> Feissel and Gascou (1989, 541–2); see also Merola (2012: 3–10).

<sup>361</sup> Edwell (2007: 69–71).

<sup>362</sup> See Luther (1997: 237–8). Luther believes that in the sentence ἐνθεν παραποταμία Γαλάβαθα, κόμη ἔρημος, σχοῖνοι δ’. Εἴτα Χουμβανὴ κόμη κτλ. (Isid. Char. *BNJ* 781 F 2,15–17), παραποταμία is the feminine gender of the adjective παραποτάμιος ‘referring to the region of Parapotamia’, and that from here the itinerary switches to the right bank of the Euphrates. Gnoli, though confirming the division between Parapotamia (to the right side of the Euphrates) and Mesopotamia (in the middle area between the Euphrates and Tigris) both as regions and as districts – several Greek Durene papyri and the Latin *P.Dura* 55a show that Dura-Europos lay in the district of Parapotamia – rejects this argument, and construes the adjective παραποταμία in a non-technical sense: ‘being located along the river (*scil.* Euphrates)’, since before this passage the itinerary had dealt with locations in the interior, or on the river Khabour (2000: 37; 44).

<sup>363</sup> Luther (1997: 238–40).

reconstructions. First of all, he dismisses with many counterarguments Luther's hypothesis that locations mentioned by Ptolemaeus after Νικηφόριον cannot be identified with those mentioned in Isidorus' itinerary: in fact, it would be the very same bank the two authors deal with, i.e. the right one.<sup>364</sup> Thus, he rejects the identification between the Appadana from the Euphrates papyri and that mentioned in the Durene ones. The Appadana in Dura papyri, he argues, appears to be a consistent military outpost, rather than a small town soon to be awarded the rank of πόλις. Moreover, if the Appadana in *P.Dura* 60 letter *B* was located between Dura and Gazica (which lies 33 km from Dura according to Isidorus), then the town (or fort) should have been positioned about 17–18 km from Dura itself. The mouths of the Khabour, for instance, lie some 50 km from Dura, and yet in Isidorus' itinerary Gazica and Dura are the closest σταθμοί 'stations' from it while heading south. Now, both Appadana in the *P.Euphr.* and Dura were seats of judicial dioceses; if the two Appadanæ were one and the same, they would be too close to each other, and the Durene district would be implausibly small. The Appadana/Neapolis from the *P.Euphr.* should then be looked for in the Osroene region, northwards from the confluence Khabour-Euphrates; and this prevents any identification with the Appadana of *P.Dura* 60, which must lie south from the Khabour.<sup>365</sup> These arguments (further discussed by the same author in more recent publications)<sup>366</sup> have undergone a partial rebuttal by G. D. Merola, who has emphasized once again the relevance of arguments such as the presence of a *praepositus praetenturae* in Appadana in both *P.Dura* 64 (AD 220) and *P.Euphr.* 3–4 (AD 252–6); and of a soldier from a *numerus Palmyrenorum* in *P.Euphr.* 14 (AD 242).<sup>367</sup>

No scholar seems to have reached a satisfactory conclusion up to now; one remains with the data provided by *P.Dura* 60, that Appadana – whether a military outpost, a town, or a district – lay between Gazica and Dura Europos, southwards from the mouth of the river Khabour where it meets the Euphrates. This piece of information has not been contradicted, nor is there any reason to do so. As to the identification of our Appadana with the Appadana of the *P.Euphrates* and/or with the Appadana of Ptolemaeus, this must for now remain the object of speculation.

12 Eddana is also mentioned by late antiquity scholars Heliodorus<sup>368</sup> and Stephanus of Byzantium.<sup>369</sup>

fr. *b+c*

|               |                                                            |
|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | [Marius M]aximus tri[bunis                                 |
| <sup>2</sup>  | sal[utem.]                                                 |
| <sup>3</sup>  | [ . . . . . ]ar [ . ] et pridian [                         |
| <sup>41</sup> | [ . . . . . ] estis item [                                 |
| <sup>5</sup>  | [Sep]tem[bri]um Imp[er] Ant[onino Aug III et Geta Caesare] |
| <sup>6</sup>  | II coss quem [ . . ] m [                                   |
| <sup>7</sup>  | -ptum[                                                     |
| <sup>8</sup>  | solen[t                                                    |
| <sup>9</sup>  | -tiu [                                                     |
| <sup>10</sup> | com[                                                       |

<sup>364</sup> Gnoli counteracts Luther in (2000: 33–44); his main arguments lie in the unfeasibility of a double (and unmentioned) crossing of the river, both after Phaliga and after Nabagath, if Luther's interpretation of the itinerary is correct; and the presence of Semiramis' channel, which in Luther's opinion is on the Syrian (right) bank of the Euphrates, but should rather be on the Mesopotamian side (the left bank), as the latter is normally the source of a channel and water for the more arid right bank (41–2).

<sup>365</sup> See Gnoli (1999: 351–6); (2000: 58–64).

<sup>366</sup> Namely, Gnoli (2007: 73–7).

<sup>367</sup> See Merola (2012: 3–10, particularly p. 10).

<sup>368</sup> Hdn. p. 179,3 <Ἐδδανός>, ἀφ' οὗ Ἐδδανα πόλις πρὸς τῇ Εὐφράτῃ 'Eddanos, hence the town of Eddana on the Euphrates', and 383,2 <Ἐδδανα> πόλις πρὸς τῇ Εὐφράτῃ, κατοικία Φοινίκων, ἀπὸ Ἐδδανοῦ ἡγεμόνος 'Eddana, a town on the Euphrates, a colony of the Phoenicians, from (its) commander Eddanos'.

<sup>369</sup> St.Byz. 260,16–17 <Ἐδδανα>, πόλις πρὸς τῇ Εὐφράτῃ, κατοικία Φοινίκων, ἀπὸ Ἐδδανοῦ ἡγεμόνος. Τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἐδδανεύς 'Eddana, a town on the Euphrates, a colony of the Phoenicians, from (its) commander Eddanos. The adjective of the nationality is *Eddaneus*'.

|<sup>11</sup> [ . . ] . [ . . ]  
- - -

3 ]r . . et pridian . [ (*dubitanter an d*]iar[ia] et pridiana *in commentario*) Gilliam Fink: ] . ar[ . . ] et pridian . [ Marichal Cugusi || 4 ]e . [ . ] s (*dubitanter an ea*[t]is) Gilliam Fink: e . [ . ]is (*dubitanter an e*[t]is) Marichal Cugusi || 5 [ . . ] . . . [ . . . ]um (*dubitanter an stip Kal Sep*]tem[bri]um) Gilliam Fink Cugusi: ] . . . [ . . . ]um Marichal | Im[p(eratore)] edd. || 6 qu[ . ]m edd. | . [ . . . ] . m . [ Marichal Cugusi || 8 sole . [ Fink || 10 *dubitanter an com*[militon- vel similia Gilliam || 11 *uidi*

‘Marius Maximus to the tribunes ... greetings ... the yearly reports ... as well as ... of September, during the third consulship of the Emperor Antoninus Augustus and the second of Geta Caesar, whom ...’

1 Marius Maximus is again the sender; among the addressees one can see the tribunes only, but more officers might have been included.

3 The letter, according to Gilliam, might have directed a number of items of paperwork (including yearly reports, or *pridiana*) to a certain destination within a certain date.<sup>370</sup>

4–5 Some hypothetical readings proposed by Gilliam and Marichal are confirmed by direct inspection: at l. 4, ] *es*tis *item*; at l. 5, [Sep]tem[bri]um; in the same line, *quem* is clearly visible.

fr. d

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> [ . . ] . [ . . ]  
|<sup>2</sup> ] Aug[ . ] . d . [ . . . ]  
|<sup>3</sup> ]plet[ . . . ] ±15 [ . u . [ . ] . [ . ]  
|<sup>4</sup> ]se . . . s . [ . . . ] ±10 [ . s dena-  
|<sup>5</sup> ]s praecise . [ . ] . [ . . . . . ] denarios  
|<sup>6</sup> ] nt primo quidem [ . . . . . ] p]ariari  
|<sup>7</sup> usqu]e ad denarios [ . . . . . ] [ . . ] [ . . . . . ] a d]enaris  
|<sup>8</sup> ]nt usque ad denarios [ . . . . . ] VI . . . .  
|<sup>9</sup> q]uantitate solos binos aureos  
|<sup>10</sup> ]s  
- - -

*hoc fragmentum ad fr. b+c conferendum suspicatus est Gilliam || 2 ] Aug . . [ (*dubitanter an ] aug*[g] uel ]augnos]) Gilliam Fink: ] Aug[ . . ] . [ Marichal Cugusi || 3 ] le . [ (*dubitanter an com*]plet Gilliam) edd. | ] us[ . ] . [ . ] Gilliam Fink Cugusi: ] . . . [ . ] . [ . ] Marichal || 4 ]sec . us . [ (*dubitanter an ]sectus in commentario Gilliam) edd. || 4–5 dena*]rios *dubitanter Gilliam || 5 praeci*[s]e edd. || 6 ] . t Marichal Cugusi | qu[i]d[e]m edd. | p]ariati *etiam legi posse monent Gilliam Marichal || 7 [usqu]e ad denarios [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] a d]enaris edd. || 8 ]ent (*dubitanter an deb*]ent *an sol*]ent *in commentario*) Gilliam Fink: ]nt Marichal Cugusi | [ . . ] . [ . ] . . . [ edd. || 9 *ex maiore q]uantitate dubitanter Gilliam***

‘...shortly... denarii... first, certainly... be settled ... up to (?) denarii ... from (?) denarii; ... up to denarii ... (from the?) quantity, only double aurei ...’

7-9 According to the scanty data it yields, fr. d might have focused on ways of paying soldiers.<sup>371</sup> This reminds one of letter B and the financial operations it mentions.

<sup>370</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 224); see also Stauner (2004: 108–10) for the months in which those reports were drafted.

<sup>371</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 225).

*fr. e*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ]s[. ]p...[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] ceteros[  
 |<sup>3</sup> ]a denar[iis  
 |<sup>4</sup> ]...act[  
 ---

**1** ]p...[ *edd.* || **2** ] ete...[ *Gilliam Fink:* ]ceteros[ *Marichal Cugusi* || **3** ]a dena[riis *Gilliam:* ]a dena[ri-  
*Fink:* ]ade a[ *Marichal Cugusi* || **4** ]...ct[ *Gilliam:* ]...[ *Fink*

*fr. f*

---

|<sup>1</sup> praef]ectis n[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]am prae[  
 |<sup>3</sup> ]...[  
 ---

**1** fortasse num[erorum uel similia: n[n *Gilliam Fink:* n(umerorum) [ *dubitanter Marichal:* n[ *Cugusi* || **3**  
*uidi*

*fr. g+h*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ]  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]  
 |<sup>3</sup> ]i  
 |<sup>4</sup>  
 |<sup>5</sup>  
 |<sup>6</sup> -tor[  
 |<sup>7</sup> -ct...[  
 |<sup>8</sup> ...[  
 ---

*omm. Gilliam Fink Cugusi*

*fr. i*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ]ad...[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]...[  
 |<sup>3</sup> ]e[.]e ina[  
 ---

*omm. Gilliam Fink Cugusi* | hoc *fr.* coniunctum cum *fr. k* edidit *Marichal* || **1** ]...[ *Marichal* || **2** vacuum  
*Marichal* || **3** fortasse ue[t]erina[m]: e[ur[ *Marichal*

*fr. j*

---

<sup>|1</sup>                    . m . [   
<sup>|2</sup>            ]ul . [ . . . ] . . [   
<sup>|3</sup>            ]um[   
 - - -

*omm. Gilliam Fink Cugusi || 1 VI uel 7: ]ir . [ Marichal || 2 ] . . [ Marichal || 3 ] . . [ Marichal*

*fr. k*   
 - - -   
<sup>|1</sup>            ]in[   
<sup>|2</sup>            ] .   
 - - -

*omm. Gilliam Fink Cugusi | hoc fr. coniunctum cum fr. i edidit Marichal || 1 ] . . [ Marichal || 2 fortasse ]us*

*fr. l*   
 - - -   
<sup>|1</sup>            ]mittas . [   
<sup>|2</sup>            ] . h . . ra . [   
 - - -

*omm. Gilliam Fink || 1 ]mittas[ Marichal Cugusi || 2 ]h . . . . [ Marichal: ]h . . . . . a [ Cugusi*

*fr. m*   
 - - -   
<sup>|1</sup>            ] . u . . [   
<sup>|2</sup>            ]quid . [   
 - - -

*omm. Gilliam Fink Cugusi || 1 ] . . . [ Marichal || 2 ]quid[ Marichal*

*fr. o*   
 - - -   
<sup>|1</sup>            ] . ias   
<sup>|2</sup>            ]s . [ . ]s .   
<sup>|3</sup>            ] . a . [   
 - - -

*omm. Gilliam Fink Cugusi || 1 ]cias Marichal || 2 ] . [ . ] . . [ Marichal || 3 ] . [ Marichal*

*P.Dura 57* (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 32).

AD 200–10 (c.)

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 411 no. 103); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VI 312 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 180 (1992). TM 44779

Frr. *a* (6x1.5 cm); *b* (7.5x1.5 cm); *c* (8x1.5 cm); *d+e* (6x1.5 cm); *f+g* (9x3 cm)

Palaeographical parallels suggest that these small fragments come from a letter; perhaps glued together in a *liber epistularum* –which would imply a comparison with *P.Dura 56* and *66*. Some traces on the *verso* are visible and are perhaps from the recipient's name. The dating is on palaeographical grounds.<sup>372</sup> Frr. *a* and *b* are blank. The name and order of the fragments, as well as their re-joinings, have been altered among the *editio princeps* by Marichal (Gilliam providing only a brief description), Cugusi's re-edition and the actual disposition of the fragments according to the online photographs. The arrangement here followed is Marichal's. The table below offers a record of the alterations:

**Table 5.3** – The fragments in *P.Dura 57*

| Marichal                             | Cugusi                                 | Online photos (fragments all separated from each other) |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>a</i> (blank)                     | <i>a</i>                               | <i>f</i> (blank)                                        |
| <i>b</i> (blank)                     | <i>b</i>                               | <i>g</i> (blank)                                        |
| <i>c</i>                             | <i>c</i>                               | <i>b</i>                                                |
| <i>d</i> , re-joined to fr. <i>e</i> | <i>d</i> (detached from <i>e</i> )     | <i>e</i>                                                |
| <i>e</i> , re-joined to fr. <i>d</i> | <i>e</i> (detached from <i>d</i> )     | <i>d</i>                                                |
| <i>f</i> , re-joined to fr. <i>g</i> | <i>f</i> (still rejoined to <i>g</i> ) | <i>a</i>                                                |
| <i>g</i> , re-joined to fr. <i>f</i> | <i>g</i> (still rejoined to <i>f</i> ) | <i>c</i>                                                |

It is interesting to notice that at least frr. *a*, *b* and *g* (placed upside down, and mirror-like) were most probably aligned in the original roll, as can be seen from a recurring hole.

**Table 5.4** – Wormholes in *P.Dura 57*

| Fr. <i>a</i>    | Fr. <i>b</i>    | Fr. <i>g</i> (upside down) |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| <b>Fig. 5.1</b> | <b>Fig. 5.2</b> | <b>Fig. 5.3</b>            |

fr. *c*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup>     ] . [  
 |<sup>2</sup>     ] . . . [  
 |<sup>3</sup>     ] dim [  
 |<sup>4</sup>     ] . . [  
 ---

1 . . . . Cugusi || 2 ] . [ Marichal: . . . . Cugusi || 4 ] . [ Marichal: om. Cugusi || post 4, 5 ] . [ vidit Marichal

fr. *d+e*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup>     ] . [  
 |<sup>2</sup>     ] . [  
 |<sup>3</sup>     ] . . [  
 ---

<sup>372</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 220).

*fr. f+g*

```

- - -
|1      ]ia[
|2      ]ni i . . [
|3      ] a . . . [
|4      ] . [ . ] . . . . [
|5      ]gi i . [
- - -

```

**3** ] a . . [ *Marichal Cugusi* || **4** ] . [ ] · . . [ *Marichal Cugusi* || **5** *fortasse* ]gli . [ A]eli *vel* Aur]eli *Gilliam*:  
 ]gi i [ *Marichal*: ]gii [ *Cugusi*:

**5.2. AD 210–20**



*P.Dura* 63 (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 10)

AD 211 (c.)

E. T. Silk and C. B. Welles in Rostovtzeff (1934a); J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 355–6 no. 88); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VI 318 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 187 (1992). TM 44791

Fr. (papyrus sheets): 12.5x22.5 cm<sup>373</sup>

The papyrus consists of two sheets (*kollemata*) glued together. The technique was customary for *libri epistularum*; in the present instance, the intention probably was to group together only these two sheets, and no more. The *kollesis* is distinctly visible in the intercolumnium; so is (partially) the upper margin, whereas the lower one is lost, and the inferior portion of the fragments is ridden with holes. A small scrap, which in previous editions was located under letter *B* and constituted its l. 10, was subsequently relocated in letter *A* l. 9 (as can be gathered from the online images), and afterwards in l. 10 in the glass frame. Since there is no actual certainty concerning its position in the original document, it has been edited separately and called fr. *a*.

Each sheet contains the copy of an official letter: letter *A* is contained in the first sheet, *B* in the second one. The original letters, now lost, were written in separate moments, on separate sheets, and presumably by two different hands; they were sent by a Iulius Pomponianus to a Saturninus,<sup>374</sup> both unattested names among Durene soldiers and officials, perhaps because they were officials stationed elsewhere in the region. Afterwards, the letters were copied by the same hand<sup>375</sup> in two separate sheets, glued together, and forwarded together, as if they were a single sheet, by the same sender (Iulius Pomponianus) to a single addressee, the commanding officer of the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort Agathonius. This is further testified by the fact that on the *verso* there is only one indication of sender and addressee, not two, as if the sender identified the two letters as a single unit. According to the reception formula ‘*accepta* + consular date’ written by the clerk between ll. 1–2 of letter *B*,<sup>376</sup> the letters were inserted in a *liber epistularum* in AD 211, presumably not long after the originals were composed. The scribe has written on the *verso* the names of the sender (Iulius Pomponianus) and the addressee (Agathonius); he has, moreover, written the name of Agathonius in dative case (*Agathonio*) before the *praescriptum* of both letters, to emphasize that he was the intended recipient of them.<sup>377</sup> The precise content of the letters cannot be reconstructed with any certainty: one can only gather that the sender asks the addressee for some soldiers to be sent to him, perhaps for corrective proceedings. Abbreviations are systematically employed, and *centuria* has its customary symbol (♂).

Two palaeographical features deserve to be noted. First, the letter *l* in the whole document seems to be drawn up both in the customary way for the old Roman cursive (i.e. with a long, oblique stroke pointing downwards) and in a form, first attested at the very beginning of the third cent. AD, which is the ancestor of that employed in early new Roman cursive: a serpentine stroke, curled at the top and the bottom. This graphical variation for *l* is typical of second and third century AD, and is described in Cencetti (1950: 93). It seems that in letter *A* l. 3 the scribe employed the latter form of *l* for *Seleuci*, and then corrected it.

**Table 5.5** – *L*’s in *P.Dura* 63

|                                              |                 |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Letter <i>A</i> , l. 3<br>( <i>Seleuci</i> ) | <b>Fig. 5.4</b> |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------|

<sup>373</sup> The first sheet measures 12.5x8.5 cm; the second, 11x14 cm.

<sup>374</sup> In letter *a*, the sender’s name does not survive, and according to Marichal, there is no way to ascertain that he sent letter *a*, too, to Saturninus (*ChLA* VI: 32); however, as Pomponianus himself sends the copies to Agathonius (cfr. the *verso*), he is also very likely to have sent the originals to Saturninus.

<sup>375</sup> The hand of both letters most probably comes from provincial chancery, and Iulius Pomponianus might have been a top-ranking officer there (*ChLA* VI: 32).

<sup>376</sup> More on this formula in Iovine (2019c: 207–11; 215–16).

<sup>377</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 228).

|                                                                 |                 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Other <i>l</i> 's: letter <i>A</i> , l. 3 ('ancient' <i>l</i> ) | <b>Fig. 5.5</b> |
| Other <i>l</i> 's: letter <i>A</i> , l. 8 ('new' <i>l</i> )     | <b>Fig. 5.6</b> |

The second peculiarity lies in how the scribe draws elliptical shapes, namely those of *o* and *d* (see letter *A*, ll. 1–2; 4): he apparently does not stop drawing the stroke when the circle is closed, but keeps it a while longer on the sheet, creating an oblique, ornamental stroke which resembles an acute accent. The ornamental nature of this stroke is clear from letter *B*, l. 2 *suo*.

**Table 5.5** – Ornamental strokes in *P.Dura* 63

|                        |                 |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| Letter <i>A</i> , l. 1 | <b>Fig. 5.7</b> |
| Letter <i>A</i> , l. 4 | <b>Fig. 5.8</b> |
| Letter <i>B</i> , l. 2 | <b>Fig. 5.9</b> |

letter *A*

<sup>1</sup> Agathonio  
<sup>2</sup> ] S[atur]nino suo  
<sup>3</sup> [s]alutem.  
  
<sup>4</sup> mit]tas ad me  
<sup>5</sup> ] [. ] ♀ Seleuci  
<sup>6</sup> ] uestrum qui ui  
<sup>7</sup> ]m uendidisse ge-  
<sup>8</sup> ] io proc· dupla bona  
<sup>9</sup> ]is [. ] ius eiu[s]  
<sup>10</sup> ] ... [

---

letter *a*: **1** Iulius Pomponianus] Agathonio *dubitanter in commentario Cugusi* || **2** Iul Pomponianus Satur]nino Gilliam, *Fink prohibente, dubitanter Cugusi*: Satur]nino *Fink Marichal* | s[u]o *Fink* || **4** peto, domine frater, mit]tas *dubitanter Gilliam*: ] as *Fink* || **5** ] Seleuci *Gilliam*: ] [ ] ♀ Seleuci *Fink*: ] [(centuria) S]eleuci *Marichal Cugusi* | fortasse m]i[l(es)] quolibet casu: ante ♀ nomen militis accusativo casu suspicatus est *Gilliam* || **6** ]ostrum (fortasse n]ostrum uel u]ostrum) *Gilliam Fink Marichal*: ]uestrum *Cugusi* | ui- suspicatus est *Gilliam*: ui|[detur e.g. *Marichal* || **7** ], Gilliam | e[. ] Gilliam: he[ *Fink*: ge[. ] *Marichal Cugusi* || **8** ], o edd. || **9** ] . . . [ . . . ] usei [ . . . . . ] (fortasse ] . o [ . . . ]bus eiu[s]) *Gilliam*: ] . . . [ . . . ]dusei [ *Fink*: ] . . . [ . . . ]ius ei [ (dubitanter an eiu[s]) *Marichal Cugusi* || **10** uidi

letter *a*: 'To Agathonius.

... to his Saturninus, greetings ... pray send me ... from Seleucus' century ... yours ... he has sold... the procurator... double goods ...'

**1** The name 'Agathonius' is unattested in Dura papyri: he probably was – like Ulpius Valentinus in *P.Dura* 56, or Postumius Aurelianus in *P.Dura* 66, both addressees of official letters – a commanding officer of the Palmyrene cohort (perhaps the tribune). The name has been added at the top of the letter, above the *praescriptum*, by the same hand that wrote the whole letter. Parallels of this custom in Durene official correspondence are attested.<sup>378</sup>

<sup>378</sup> *P.Dura* 60, where the sender of the letter has it copied and forwarded to different addressees; and *P.Dura* 56 letter *A*, 66 f, 71 for the marginal annotation of a name in dative case: see commentary *ad loc.*, Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 228) and Iovine (2021:

2 Saturninus, the recipient, is also unattested in Dura papyri.

4–5 The main object of Pomponianus seems to have some soldiers sent to him (*mit[tas ad me]*). Between *ad me* and the mention of the century (that of Seleucus)<sup>379</sup> probably lay the names of the soldiers concerned.

6–8 The soldier(s) might have been accused of a forced sale, or of violence (*ui | [- -]m uendidisse*), and would have had a punishment inflicted (here described as *dupla bona*); Marichal is sceptical, since in such cases as *stipulationes per uim* (forced sales or businesses), the punishment consisted in the quadruple of the *bona*.<sup>380</sup>

letter B

|<sup>1</sup> [Agathon]io  
|<sup>2</sup> Iul Pomp[o]nianus Sa[tur]nino suo  
acc Kal Iul Gentiano et Bass[o co]s  
|<sup>3</sup> salutem.  
|<sup>4</sup> Peto domine frater Themar[sam  
|<sup>5</sup> -da· et Hiereum Abe[d  
|<sup>6</sup> de quibus tibi . . . [  
|<sup>7</sup> meus dominus . [  
|<sup>8</sup> Appada[na  
- - -

letter b: 1 omm. Silk et Welles | post hanc lineam . [ ] . [ ]s (dubitanter an [ ] e]x(emplum) . [ ] . [ ]s) Fink, Marichal prohibente || 2 Apr[o]nianus Silk et Welles: Pom[po]nianus Cugusi | . . . [ ] . no Silk et Welles: Sa[tur]nino alii || 3 sa[l]utem Silk et Welles || 4 dubitanter an Themar[sa uel Themar[sam Gilliam || 4–5 dubitanter an [Zebi]da Gilliam Fink || 5 ab[ Silk et Welles || 6 fortasse iam: m[ Silk et Welles: s[c]r[i]b[ (fortasse s[c]r[i]b[ (sit) Fink || 7 . . . [ Silk et Welles: d[o]minus . [ (dubitanter an domine fr[ater in commentario) Gilliam Marichal Cugusi || 8 in hac linea quod nunc est fr. a posuerunt Gilliam Fink Marichal

ad ll. 2–3: Ba[sso Silk et Welles

letter b: ‘To Agathonius.

Iulius Pomponianus to his Saturninus, greetings. I beg you, my lord brother ... send me Themarsa, son of Zebidas (?) and Hiereus (son of) ..., of whom I (already?) have ... to you ... my lord ... Appadana ...’

1–2 Iulius – here abbreviated *Iul* – Pomponianus, like Agathonius and Saturninus, is unattested elsewhere in Dura papyri. Right above the beginning of the *praescriptum* (l. 2), between *Iul(ius)* and *Pomp[o]nianus*, one can see an oblique stroke, unconnected with other letters, and probably due to scribal mistake, or to *probatio calami* (‘test of the pen’, *ChLA* VI: 32); cfr. differently Fink (1971: 356), who tentatively read *[e]x(emplum)*.

2–3 *acc(epta) Kal(endis) Iul(iis) ... co(n)s(ulibus)*. One can read the docket testifying the inclusion of the letter in the *liber epistularum*. A similar docket was probably present in the preceding letter, but must have vanished in the lacuna. As mentioned above, this particular docket is discussed in Iovine (2019c: 208–9).

4–5 Syntax in this letter is clearer as one can read the beginning of the sentences: once again, the sender is requesting two soldiers to be sent to him. Names are quoted, as usual in Dura rosters too, with their patronymic; and at least for *Hiereus*, correctly inflected. If *Zebi]da* is to be read at l. 5, and the soldiers are only two, one could reconstruct quite a short line:

*Peto, domine frater, Themar[sam Zebi-*

168–71). It must be remarked, that only in *P.Dura* 63 is one sure that the hand beyond the annotation and the rest of the text is the same.

<sup>379</sup> At least one of the soldiers was enlisted in the century of Seleucus, who also appears in *P.Dura* 66 l col. II, and is dead – or has been removed – in *P.Dura* 100. See commentary *ad loc.*

<sup>380</sup> See Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 228); *ChLA* (VI: 32); cf. also Dig. 4, 2, 14.

-da· et Hiereum Abe[dsalman, ʔ ...  
 de quibus tibi . . . [  
 meus dominus . [

Alternatively, *Zebi*]da at l. 4–5 might be the name of a commanding officer, either a centurion or a decurion, from whose unit Themarsas was to be taken: *Themar[sam*, patronymic, ʔ/ʔ *Zebi*]da et Hiereum, etc. A decurion called Zebidas Iarhaei is attested in the great rosters (*P.Dura* 100, 101) and in *P.Dura* 67, i.e. between AD 218 and 228; more than one Themarsas were on his command.<sup>381</sup>

**6–7** *de quibus* might have opened a remark on a preceding discussion (‘about whom I have already written to you?’); the subject could also have been *meus dominus*, if it was he who sent for the soldiers, and not the sender. One is not sure about the position of the verb governed by *peto* (e.g. *mittas*, as in the former letter): it might have been located at l. 6 or 7, perhaps after a parenthetic of some sort (e.g. *peto ... Themarsam ... et Hiereum ...*, *de quibus tibi iam rescripsit meus dominus, mittas ad me* etc.)

**8** The settlement of Appadana (see *P.Dura* 60 *B ad loc.*) is here probably connected with detachments (*uexillationes*); Themarsas and Hiereus might be being summoned there, or from there to anywhere else.

fr. a  
 - - -  
 ]eni[  
 - - -

fr. a: [ . ]e[ edd.

Very little can be gathered from this document. It might have been a portion of either letter. Attempts at re-uniting it with one of them seem so far unconvincing.

verso  
 |<sup>1</sup> AGATHONIO  
 |<sup>2</sup> a Iul P[o]mp[oniano]

verso: 2 P[ompo]n[iano] Gilliam Marichal Cugusi: P[o]mpon[iano] Fink

verso: ‘To Agathonius, from Iulius Pomponianus.’

As pointed out in **4.1.1** and **.2**, one can see the cursive writing striving to imitate a capital one at l. 1, whereas l. 2 is written in a more quick and careless way.

<sup>381</sup> Details in **3.2.2** and **.3**.

***P.Dura* 70** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 68)

AD 213

Literature: J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 411 no. 104); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 325 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 189 (1992). TM 44799

Fr. (papyrus sheet): 7x6.5 cm

A small fragment, small and ridden with holes; the ink has almost vanished. Only the upper margin survives. The *verso* is blank. The *recto* contains the remnants of what originally must have been an official letter. One can only see the word *salutem* (l. 2) and the customary reception formula ‘*accepta* + consular date’ inserted after the *praescriptum*. The reception formula can be read and provides a dating for the document; it has been written by an informal hand, sloping to the right until *et*, when it becomes more erect. Notice the abbreviation *Aug(usto)*.

$$| \dots [$$

Antonino] Aug III[I] et Balbino [II cons

$$|{}^3 \quad \quad \quad ] \quad [$$

— — —

3 ] [ Gilliam Fink Marichal

*ad ll. 2–3: acc(epta) ... Antonino] Marichal Cugusi | II[II] edd. | B[a]lbin[o edd.*

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 356–80 no. 89); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VI 321 + XLVIII 321 (1975 + 1998); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 191 (1992); *ChLA* XLVII 1446 (only fr. 1; 8; 6, under the name of *P.Dura 66ggg*); TM 44795

Frr. (*tomos synkollesimos*): *a* (18x24,5 cm); *c* (18x7cm); *d* (19x44 cm); *e* (19x11 cm); *f* (18x16 cm); *g* (19.5x14 cm); *h* (18x14 cm); *j* (19.5x21.5 cm); *k* (19.5x10 cm); *l* (19.5x14 cm); *m* (19.5x14.5 cm); *n* (18x11 cm); *o* (19x10 cm); *r* (6x4.5 cm); *t* (17x13 cm); *u* (4x1 cm); *v* (3.5x3 cm); *y* (20x11 cm); *bb* (16.5x12.5 cm); *dd* (3x2 cm); *ff* (20.5x11 cm); *hh* (20x7.5 cm); *ii* (14x9 cm); *jj* (14x13 cm); *ll* (13x13 cm); *mm* (15.5x14.5 cm); *pp* (18x12 cm); *qq* (19x12 cm); *rr* (11x6 cm); *ss* (14.5x6 cm); *tt* (20.5x3.5 cm); *uu* (17x4.5 cm); *vv* (10x7 cm); *ww* (5x7 cm); *xx* (11.5x6.5 cm); *yy* (7x6 cm); *zz* (13.5x13 cm); *aaa* (10x5 cm); *bbb* (12x10 cm); *ccc* (8.5x8 cm); *ddd* (17x12 cm); *eee* (3.5x3 cm); fr. 1 (4.5x3 cm); 2 (4.5x1.5 cm); 3 (4.6x3.2 cm); 4 (4.3x3.7 cm); 5 (3.5x2 cm); 6 (1.8x1.6 cm); 7 (7.9x3.2 cm); 8 (1x2.5 cm); 9 (2.5x1.7 cm)

*P.Dura 66* consists of more than two hundred scraps, once constituting a *liber epistularum*. Similarities in shapes and wormholes have allowed Dr H. Ibscher to restore their sequence in the original roll, which must have been rolled with its end in the external part, and its beginning close to the core of the roll. The letters which came first in chronological order were therefore very close to the core of the roll, and are now the best preserved, even if margins are always lost and the fragments are incomplete on all sides.<sup>382</sup> The maximum height of the fragments is 20.5 cm; the columns preserved vary between 7 and 20.5 cm, and the length of the complete roll might have amounted to 6 or 7 metres.<sup>383</sup> Frr. 2, 4, 7 must be read upside down, rotated of 180°; fr. 8 must be rotated 90°. In fr. 3 (4.6x3.2 cm) only an oblique stroke can be seen. Fr. 5 (3.5x2 cm) is blank. Frr. 1-9 have in fact been assigned to *P.Dura 66* only after Marichal's edition, and have been published for the first time in *CEL* (only fr. 1; 8; 6, under the name of *P.Dura 66 ggg*) and then here.

Thus realigned, this vast amount of fragments come from the largest *liber epistularum* so far preserved among Latin papyri. It contains remnants from more than 50 letters, mainly in Latin; a small number of completely Greek ones (letters *b*, *i*, *p*, *aa*, *kk*, *nn*, *oo*, *fff*) and of Greek ones with the customary Latin docket *accepta* + date (letters *qq*, *s*, *w*, *z*, *cc*, *ee*, *gg*) do not feature here. Senders and recipients of these letters are not always clear; when the first lines of the letters do not survive, or nothing can be seen on the *verso*, they are irretrievably lost. A number of them are sent to (*f*, *g*, *h*, *y*, *bb*, *jj*, *uu* etc.), or from (*a*, *j*), the tribune of the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort, a Postumius Aurelianus, but some are not, and were probably included in the *liber* out of their relevance (e.g. *c*, *j*). The letters are all dated AD 216 (the second consulship of Sabinus and the first of Anullinus), when Caracalla was commencing his campaign against the Parthians, and have been put together in chronological order according to the extant dating formulae: 8-15 July (*d*), 16-31 July (*f*), 16-31 July (*t*), 16 July-12 August (*u*), 12 August (*w*), 22 August (*y*), 23 August (*z*), 11 (or 10?) September (*bb*), 8 or 9 September (*cc*), 9 September (*ff*). Previous editors believed letter *bb* to be dated *VI Idus* = 8 September; the reading accepted in this book slightly breaks the chronological order, which was probably not perfect in the first place. Given the recurring topics of the letters, Gilliam has suggested that the original *liber* was devoted to members of the cohort who were assigned to procurators, or sent away in detached units, or called back, in order to strengthen the cohort for the impending war.<sup>384</sup> Since the dating formulas cover July to December (see letter *pp*), those *libri epistularum* were probably likely to be arranged every semester<sup>385</sup>. It is noteworthy that we meet here for the first time in the Durene *corpus* two centurions, Seleucus and Marcus, the first of whom was soon to die – or be replaced – as in *P.Dura 98* (AD 218–9) his century is styled *Seleuciana*. Abbreviations – *acc(epta)*, *Aure(lium)*, *Cl(audius)*, *coh(ortis)*, *co(n)s(ulibus)*, *Decembr(es)* and *Dec(embres)*, *eq(uitem)*, *Iul(ias)*, *n(umero)*, *proc(uratoris)*, *trib(unio)*, *Ulp(ius)* – are common, consistently employed, and generally unmarked. *Turma*, *centuria* and *centurio* have their customary symbols (T, Y).

<sup>382</sup> See Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 234).

<sup>383</sup> See Marichal in *ChLA* (VI: 42).

<sup>384</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 235).

<sup>385</sup> *CEL* (II: 247).

letter *a*

## recto

<sup>1</sup> ] . [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] . [  
<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>3</sup> ] . n'a' [ . . ] . domini s [ . ] n . [ ±14 ] . s [co]h XX [P]almu-  
<sup>4</sup> -r[e]norum Anton[i]nian[ae . . . . .] degen[ . . . ] quodam siluae  
<sup>5</sup> [ . . ] Bars[i]msus du[ ±12 ] [[ta]] [ . ] . asos nu[ . ] . i misi  
<sup>6</sup> ad uos p[e]r Aurel[ ±14 ] . . . m sta[tor]em  
Aurel Muc[i]anum [[ M[a]ria[ni]]]  
<sup>7</sup> coh eiusdem quem dim[ ±19 ] quintum Nonas Iulias  
<sup>8</sup> Sabino II et Anullino cos [ ±9 ] rla[ . ] am p [ . . . ] es scri-  
<sup>9</sup> -batis. Opto uos, domini,  
<sup>10</sup> felicissimos mul-  
<sup>11</sup> -tis [ann]is bene  
<sup>12</sup> [ua]l[ere].

## verso

<sup>1</sup> ] O N [ . ] . RIANO PF· ET AURELIO REGULO PP· [ .  
<sup>2</sup> Antoninia[nae  
<sup>3</sup> a  
<sup>4</sup> Postumio Aur[el]iano trib coh

*recto: 1* ] . [ Gilliam: ] . [ Fink Marichal Cugusi || 2 ] a edd. || 3 ] . p [ . . ] domini Gilliam: p [ . . ] domini Fink: ] . r [ . . ] domini (dubitanter an oro [uos]) Marichal Cugusi | ] . [ n . . (dubitanter an s[i]ne m[ora]) Gilliam: . . . . . [ Fink: s . n . . Marichal Cugusi | remittatis milit[es] dubitanter Fink || 3–4 [P]almy[r]enorum Gilliam Fink: [P]almu- Marichal Cugusi || 4 Anto[nin]ian[ae Marichal Cugusi | ] . ge [ . . . ] (dubitanter an [qui] vel [quos] degen[tes]) Gilliam: degen[tes] Fink: dege [ . . . ] Marichal Cugusi | quo[n]dam dubitanter Gilliam || 5 [ . . ] b [ . . ] . . . . . [ —13 ] (dubitanter an [su]b ra uel ar) Gilliam: ] . . . . d [±13] Fink: ] br [ . . ] . d [ Marichal Cugusi | [ a ] [ . . ] as . . . [ . . ] . misi (dubitanter an ] . rs et os[ vel ogi]) Gilliam: ] as . n [ Fink: ] a [ . . ] asos n [ . . ] . (dubitanter an os[ vel ogi]) Marichal Cugusi | fortasse nu(mero) [X]XII misi || 6 [pe]r Marichal: [pe]r Cugusi | Aurel edd. | fortasse ]usium vel ]ianum: item Gilliam: ] . . [ . ] um Fink: i [ . ] m (dubitanter an Muc[i]a[n]um) Marichal: i [ . ] m Cugusi || 7 dim[isi] ad uos Gilliam: dim[isistis] dubitanter Fink Marichal probante: dim[iseram] a(-) d(-) uel ad uos dubitanter Cugusi | [N]onas Fink Marichal Cugusi || 8 [et] Marichal Cugusi || 8–9 ]rla[ . ] m p [ . . ] scri-| -batis (dubitanter an [peto ob pe]rla[t]am scil. epistulam, pa[tr]es, scri|batis) Gilliam: ]rla[ . ] am p [ . . ] es Marichal Cugusi || 9 op[t]o edd. || 12 [ualere] Gilliam Fink Cugusi: [ualere] Marichal  
*ad ll. 6–7:* [A]urel Marichal Cugusi | Mu[ci]anum edd. | M[aria]ni Gilliam Marichal: M[a]ri[ani] Fink Cugusi

*verso: 1* ] o [ . . ] . . . iano (dubitanter an N[u]meriano vel N[u]m[is]iano) Gilliam Fink: [ . . ] Marichal: ] o N [ . . ] . s iano Cugusi | p(rae)f(ecto) et Aurelio Regulo p(rae)p(osito) uel p(rimi)p(ilo) uel p(rimi)p(ilaris) dubitanter Gilliam | dubitanter an l[eg]ionis XVI F(laviae) F(irmae) uel n[umeri] Gilliam Fink Marichal: l[eg] ( ) XVI F ( ) F ( ) Cugusi || 3 [XX Palmyr ( ) Antonin ( ) dubitanter Cugusi

## recto

‘...my lords, ... of the 20<sup>th</sup> cohort Antoniniana of the Palmyrenes ... from someone/once in Silva (?) ... I sent to you through Aurelius... messenger of the same cohort, Aurelius Mucianus (*added*) [from Marianus’ century: *added and erased*], whom I (dismissed?) on the fifth day before the Nones of July, during the second consulship of Sabinus and the first of Anullinus ... (I pray) that ... you write. I wish you, my Lords, to live most healthily and happily for many years’.

*verso*

‘To ... N ...ianus, prefect, and Aurelius Regulus, praepositus/primipilus (?) of the ... Antoniniana, from Postumius Aurelianus, tribune of the cohort’.

*recto*

**4** Gilliam believes *siluae* (corrected from *silue*) to be a toponym.<sup>386</sup>

**5** If one supposes the top of *i* to have been either erased by time and wear, or – more likely – to have been somehow lower on the writing line than usual, one might well read the name *Bars[i]msius* or *Bars[i]msus*; before it, *A[el(ius)]* is possible.

**6–7** The name of the *stator* was added in smaller letters by a second hand. The *stator* acts as a letter-bearer, or messenger;<sup>387</sup> this led Gilliam to believe that the sender (in this case, the cohort’s tribune himself, Postumius Aurelianus) was asking the two addressees (l. 9 *uos*) whether a previous letter had been received or not.<sup>388</sup>

**9–12** *Opto ... ualere* was written by a further hand.

*letter c*

---

|              |                    |               |
|--------------|--------------------|---------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | ] . [              |               |
| <sup>2</sup> | ] lue . [          | ] . . . . o [ |
| <sup>3</sup> | ] ad . [           | [ὁ] πτίων     |
| <sup>4</sup> | ] . [ . ] se       | ὁ π-          |
| <sup>5</sup> | ] misi             | -τίων         |
| <sup>6</sup> | ] endarum          |               |
| <sup>7</sup> | ] . pollione coh [ |               |

---

**1**] . . . . [ *Fink Cugusi* || **4**] . . . . .] e *Gilliam Fink Cugusi*: ] . . .] e *Marichal* || **5** di] misi, trans] misi, re] misi *uel similia dubitanter Marichal* || **6**] eno[ .] arum *Gilliam Fink*: ] endarum (*dubitanter an Kal]endarum*) *Marichal Cugusi* || **7** fortasse ] a Pollione: ] . . ollioneco . [ (*dubitanter an pollione coh[ortis]*) *Gilliam* (*dubitanter an Pollione cos[us]*) *Fink*

*ad l. 2*: ] . . . . [ *Gilliam Fink Marichal*: [ . . . ] . . . o [ *Cugusi*

**2–5** Marginal annotations in Greek have been written by a different, more informal hand, and probably refer to the rank of some of the soldiers mentioned.

**7** Whether this *pollio cohortis* be an officer charged with cleaning weapons (*qui arma polit*?) or something similar to a *strator*, or even the cohort’s *grammaticus* (‘teacher’) who taught his comrades-in-arms to read and write, is uncertain.<sup>389</sup>

*letter d*

*recto*

|              |  |              |
|--------------|--|--------------|
| <sup>1</sup> |  | ] . [        |
| <sup>2</sup> |  | ] salut[e]m. |

<sup>386</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 237); see *CIL* III 3490 *D(olicheno?)*] | *Harfua|ri{i}nus Su|rus ex re|gione Do|lica vico* | *Arfuaris* | *Silua u(otum) s(oluit)* | *Modesto* | *et Probo* | *co(n)s(ulibus)* (AD 228, from Pannonia).

<sup>387</sup> See *OLD* 1815 s.v. *stator*.

<sup>388</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 238).

<sup>389</sup> See *ChLA* (VI: 47). For a full analysis of extant sources (literary texts, the *Digest*, inscriptions, papyri) and a list of possible meanings of the word *pollio*, including the – perhaps far-fetched – hypothesis that *polliones* were military units’ Latin teachers, see Dietz (1985).



<sup>3</sup> [Milit]es n uiginti octo d[omine coh]  
<sup>4</sup> [XX Palm] cui pr[a]ees tib[i]  
<sup>5</sup> [ . . . . . A]ureli Th[eo]dori proc A[ug n cui]  
<sup>6</sup> q[uoru]m in loco a[l]i[o]s dedi, remis[i] [  
ex hi[s - - -]  
<sup>7</sup> . [ . . . ae]gri et imm[unes] . . . erunt m[  
<sup>8</sup> qu[ . . ] summissi [ . . . . .]a ex his qui [  
<sup>9</sup> n[ . . . . ]exill[ . . . . . ] [ . . ]runt [quo-]  
<sup>10</sup> -ru[m no]mina . [ ±11 ] i p[ .  
 - - -

| col. I                                          | col. II              |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> . . . . . ] [                      |                      |
| <sup>2</sup> . . . . . ] us                     |                      |
| <sup>3</sup> . . . . . ]s Barse[mias]           |                      |
| <sup>4</sup> Ulp [Sil]uanus                     | ]mbi [               |
| <sup>5</sup> Cla Zebidas                        | ] mo gyn[            |
| <sup>6</sup> Ae[l] Auidas                       | ]lianus [            |
| <sup>7</sup> . [ . . . . . ]anus                |                      |
| <sup>8</sup> . [ . . . . ]asreus                |                      |
| <sup>9</sup> . [ . . . . V]abdallathi           |                      |
| <sup>10</sup> [im]mun Iul[ . . . . . ] nus I    |                      |
| <sup>11</sup> A[urel S]eleycus                  |                      |
| <sup>12</sup> A[urel] Alexandrus                | [acc ... I]dus Iul   |
| <sup>13</sup> . . [ . . . . . ]s a . . . . . ca | [Sabino II] et Anul- |
| <sup>14</sup> . . . . . ]annas                  | [-lino] cos          |
| <sup>15</sup> Dem]etrius                        |                      |
| <sup>16</sup> . . . . . ]                       |                      |
| <sup>17</sup> . . . . . ]                       |                      |
| <sup>18</sup> . . . . . ]s                      |                      |

verso  
<sup>1</sup> ] TRIB C[OH]

*recto: 1 ante hanc lineam lineam deperditam Gilliam (in commentario) Marichal || 2 s[a]lūt[em] Gilliam: ] [ ]salūt[em] Fink: s[a]lūt[em] Marichal Cugusi || 3 [milite]s Cugusi || 4 cui pr[a]ees Gilliam: c]ui Marichal Cugusi: c]ui pr[a]e[e]s Fink || 4–5 ex minis[terio] Gilliam: ex mini]s[terio] Fink Marichal Cugusi || 5 A[ug(usti) cui] Gilliam Fink: A[ug(usti) n(ostri)] Marichal Cugusi || 6 q[uor]um Gilliam | remis[i] Fink Marichal Cugusi || 7 a[ . . . ] ri et i . [ . . . . . ] erunt [ (dubitanter an imm[ vel inn[ ) Gilliam: r[ . . . . ]gri et i m[ . . . . ] erunt m[ (dubitanter an remis[i, qui eo]r[um ae]gri et imm[unes] Fink: . [ . . . . ] ri et imm[ . . . . . ] erunt [ . . . . . ] (dubitanter an m]anserunt) Marichal: r[ . . . . ] ri et imm[ . . . . . ] erunt m[ . . . . . ] Cugusi || 8 qua[e] Fink | ] Gilliam Fink Marichal: ]a (dubitanter an [praetere]a) Cugusi || 9 u]exilla[tion] (dubitanter an qui [degu]n[t in u]exilla[tione] Gilliam: ]exill[ (u]exilla[ri vel u]exilli[s e.g.] Fink: ]exill[±10] Marichal: ]exilla[ Cugusi || 10 r[um Gilliam Marichal Cugusi | fortasse a[d]plicari ius] si pe[r: ]ci (dubitanter an [quo]r[um no]mina i[tem ... subie]ci) Gilliam Fink Marichal: i[n]fra iussi subi]ci Cugusi || post l. 10 ] [ Gilliam Marichal: ]b[ Cugusi*

*col. I: 2 ] us Gilliam Marichal Cugusi: ]ius Fink || 3 a[ Cugusi | ] Gilliam Fink Marichal: ] Cugusi || 6 [ . . . . ] Gilliam Fink Marichal: A[ . . . . ] Cugusi || 8 I[ul(ius) Gilliam: A[ Cugusi | ]arreus Fink Marichal*

*Cugusi* || 9 ]uab *Fink* | -abballathi *Gilliam Fink* || 10 . mun *Gilliam Fink* | ] us I *Gilliam*: ]nus I *Fink*: ] . nusi  
*Cugusi* || 11 [S]eleucus *Gilliam Fink* || 12 Alex[a]ndrus *edd.* || 13 ]a . . . a[ *Gilliam*: . . . [ ]ab . . . ga  
*Fink*: . . . [ . . . . . ]a . . . a[ *Marichal Cugusi* || 14 M]annas *dubitanter Fink Cugusi* || 18 ] s *Gilliam Fink*

*col. II: 4* ] . . . [ *Gilliam Marichal Cugusi*: ] . . . [ *Fink* || 5 ]n . og . i[ *Gilliam*: ] m . ogyn[ *Fink*: ]mogyn[  
*Marichal Cugusi* || 6 Iu]lianus *Gilliam* || 12 Id]us *edd.: et Idi]*bus Iul(iis) *dubitanter Gilliam*: Idib]us  
*dubitanter Fink*

*verso: 1* trib· *Cugusi* | c[oh(ortis) *Gilliam Fink*: co[h(ortis) *Marichal Cugusi*

*recto:* ‘...greetings. An amount of twenty-eight soldiers, my Lord, of the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort which you command, I have sent you back from serving Aurelius Theodorus, procurator of Augustus, to whom I have given others in replacement ... sick and exempted will be [*added*: from whom] ... I have sent... from whom who ... whose names...’.

*col. I*

‘...Barsemias  
 Ulpius Silvanus  
 Claudius son of Zebidas ...  
 ... of Uabdallathus ...  
 Iulius (exempted)  
 Aurelius Seleucus  
 Aurelius Alexandrus  
 ... Demetrius ...’.

*col. II:* ‘... (received in the ... day before) the Ides of July, during the second consulship of Sabinus and the first of Anullinus’.

*verso:* ‘(To ...), tribune of the cohort’.

*col. I*

**3-6** *n(umero)* was probably followed by a medial dot, or an oblique stroke. The sender confirms that he is sending back the 28 soldiers he had earlier sent to Aurelius Theodotus, for some unspecified special errand (*ministerium* ‘service’ is a plausible reconstruction, though merely hypothetical).<sup>390</sup>

**5** The s[ at the beginning of the line (*Fink*, *Marichal*) is in fact a scratch in the fibre, rather than actual ink.

**7** Known categories such as *aegri* ‘sick’<sup>391</sup> and *immunes* ‘exempted’<sup>392</sup> are to be found: the sender might have specified how many of the group were temporarily unable to attend any further duty.

**9-10** *quorum nomina* ‘whose names’ is a prelude to the following list; the verb *adplicari* might be seen after *nomina*.

*col. I*

**10** The condition of *immunis* (and probably of *aeger*) were noted to the left of the names in the list, as can be seen here. After the name of the soldier, one can see a figure (*I*) perhaps followed by a medial dot or another *I*; the latter interpretation (a *II* after the name) matches a usage found in morning reports (*P.Dura* 82 and 89), where after soldiers with the same name of those previously mentioned, a figure is put after their very names (*II*, *III*) in order to tell them apart from the earlier ones.

**11** Notice *Seleycus* is in place of *Seleucus*.

<sup>390</sup> See *ThLL* VIII col. 1066 s.v. *ministerium*, and *Plin. epist.* 10, 27, 1 *hos interim, sicut inueneram, in ministerio eius relinquendos existimaui, praesertim cum ad frumentum comparandum iret in Paphlagoniam* ‘meanwhile I decided to leave them in his service just like I had found them, particularly because he was going to Paphlagonia to gather cereals’.

<sup>391</sup> See for instance the already quoted *ChLA* III 219 (AD 105, TM 69875); *ChLA* X 443 (third century AD, TM 69941).

<sup>392</sup> Cf. the already seen *P.Mich.* VII 454 (after AD 199, TM 69886); *ChLA* XI 505 (AD 85–8, TM 69991). See also Breeze (1974) and Phang (2007: 296–7).



**11–3** The lines contain the customary greeting formula; the fact that another hand, perhaps the same who wrote the letter, added lines after the formula, is not easily to be explained, since so little of the text has survived.

letter *f*

|<sup>1</sup> [Pos]tumio [Aureliano - - -]  
 |<sup>2</sup> [A]elius I[n]genianus [et] Aurel [  
 |<sup>3</sup> salu[tem]  
 |<sup>4</sup> [ ] ..[ ]erum [  
 |<sup>5</sup> [ ]us[ ] ..[ ]ana [  
 |<sup>6</sup> [ ] [ ] [ ] epr[ ] [scribtu [  
 |<sup>7</sup> [ ] mut· n[ ] rat[ ] in-  
 |<sup>8</sup> [ ] da [ ] domi]ne fra-  
 |<sup>9</sup> -ter dimis[ ±12 ]bet  
 |<sup>10</sup> [ ] Kal Aug c [ ] oset[  
 |<sup>11</sup> ]mu [

1 suo] Gilliam || 2 [ ] genianus Gilliam Fink Marichal || 4 [ ] ..[ ] rum [ Gilliam Fink: ] n[ ]erum [ Marichal: p[ Cugusi || 5 [ ]ana Gilliam Fink: ] [ ]ana [ Marichal: [ ]ana [ Cugusi || 6 ]ep [ Gilliam Fink Marichal: epi[stul [ Cugusi | ] [scr[ ] [ Gilliam Fink Marichal: ] [scr[ ] [ Cugusi || 7 ]mutn[ Gilliam Fink | ] at [ Gilliam Fink: ] at [ Marichal: ]at [ Cugusi | [ ]in[ Gilliam Fink: [ ] in [ Marichal Cugusi || 8 domine] Gilliam Fink: domin]e Cugusi || 9 [ ] eci Gilliam Fink: ] bet Marichal Cugusi || 10 [acc] Gilliam Fink Marichal: [acc( ) ( ) K]al Cugusi | [ Gilliam Fink: c [ Marichal Cugusi | ] oseo[ Gilliam Fink: ]los et Marichal: ]tos [ Cugusi || 11 ] [ Gilliam Fink: felicissi]mum dubitanter Marichal: opto te frater felicissi]mum | [multis annis | bene ualere] dubitanter Cugusi

‘To Postumius Aurelianus, Aelius Ingenianus and Aurelius ... greetings. ... my lord brother ...  
 Received at the Calends of August...’

**1** The annotation *Postumio Aureliano* was added by a further hand in smaller characters, as can be seen in *P.Dura* 56, 63, 71 (see commentary *ad loc.*)

**10–1** These lines probably contained added formulae, as the hand seems to be different from the preceding writing.

letter *g*

recto

|<sup>1</sup> Postu[mio Aureliano - - -]  
 |<sup>2</sup> Aelius [In]genia[nus] [  
 |<sup>3</sup> [salutem.]  
 |<sup>4</sup> [ ] [ ±15 ] et Aureliu[  
 |<sup>5</sup> ]e [ ] an[ ] te [  
 |<sup>6</sup> ]p [ ] s [  
 |<sup>7</sup> [ ] [ ] [ ] et[  
 |<sup>8</sup> [ ] emis[ ] u[ ] i  
 |<sup>9</sup> [ ] [ ] lir [ ] um  
 |<sup>10</sup> a Lupo pr[ ] coh XX P]almur’  
 |<sup>11</sup> [ ] itine [ ] b dimis-  
 |<sup>12</sup> -soria [ ] tra[  
 |<sup>13</sup> [ ] e [



| om [: fortasse et coge[ ] ]to [ Gilliam Fink Cugusi: ]to [ Marichal || 8 fortasse [a]d ill[um uel  
 ill[os: [ ]il [ Fink: [ ]il [ Marichal: [ ]si l [ Cugusi | pr]ocura[tor edd. || 9 Augus[ti nostri dubitanter  
 Cugusi || 10 mei[s dubitanter Gilliam | ] [ Gilliam Fink: ] i [ Marichal: ] eu i [ Cugusi

ad l. 8: ]c Gilliam Marichal

fr. a: edidi: fortasse ] misi[

‘To Postumius Aurelianus, Aelius Ingenianus and Aurelius ... greetings. ... Aurelius Zabdibolus ... the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort... we gave ... (received) ... the procurator of Augustus (?) ... from (my?) letters ...’

**4-8** The name of a soldier (Aurelius Zabdibolus?), the form *dedimus* – which probably refers to the two senders – and the mention of a *procurator Augusti*, might point to the context of letter *d*: a soldier has been sent to, or from, a top-ranking officer (a *procurator*) for special errands.

**6** This letter represents col. X of the original roll. There seem to be two fragments more than what is expected from previous editions. Here is an image of what remains from the column, the two problematic scraps being pointed out with circles:

**Fig. 5.10**

At first sight, both scraps seem to be assigned to l. 6 of the preserved text; the left one is slightly higher in the line, and is positioned at its centre. While editing this line, editors normally ignore the fragments, which do not appear in the photos Marichal attaches to his edition in 1976; and must have been, therefore, added later. It must be remarked, however, that the left fragment probably does *not* belong to col. X and letter *h*. First of all, it is rotated 180° and can only be read if turned upside down; secondly, its shape does not match with any other in *P.Dura* 66, and is particularly alien to the clearly regular succession of fragments forming letters *f*, *g*, *i*, *l*, which were close to *h* in the original *volumen* and retain the same shapes. I am unable to understand where the scrap really belongs; I therefore have edited it as letter *h* fr. *a*.

As for the right fragment (positioned at the end of l. 6), its shape matches with other scraps in the same position in previous columns (VIII, IX) and this certifies its belonging to letter *h*. L. 6 in the text of letter *h* presented here takes the scrap into account.

**8** Perhaps below [ac]c – which was added by a second hand and whose restoration, though likely, remains somehow uncertain – lay the customary dating formula for the inclusion of the letter in the *liber*, as often happens in other letters from *P.Dura* 66.

letter *j*

recto

|               |                           |
|---------------|---------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | m[ ]us ab [ ]ab ep [ ]bit |
| <sup>2</sup>  | Anton[ ] i in [ ] e       |
| <sup>3</sup>  | litter[ ] s[ ±11 ]        |
| <sup>4</sup>  | ]i us [ ] pra[e]ff[ ]     |
| <sup>5</sup>  | ]p [ ] [ ]                |
| <sup>6</sup>  | qu[ ]s[ ]                 |
| <sup>7</sup>  | pe [ ±20 ]                |
| <sup>8</sup>  | m [ ±15 ] [ ] [ ]         |
| <sup>9</sup>  | qu [ ±15 ] mense [ ] us   |
| <sup>10</sup> | hib[ern- ] bem [ ] lo     |
| <sup>11</sup> | coh [ ±14 ] s [ ] ue      |
| <sup>12</sup> | n [ ±15 ] [ ] eo [ ]      |

|<sup>13</sup>        [.] [            ±20            ] [ ]  
 - - -

verso  
 |<sup>1</sup>        [A]ure[1 .....] 9  
 |<sup>2</sup>        a Postumio Aureliano t[rib coh]

verso fr. a  
 - - -  
 |<sup>1</sup>        ] [ . . . ] . . a [ ]  
 - - -

recto: **1** m[issu]s dubitanter Fink | ab ep[iscop]o [ Marichal Cugusi: ] ab ep[iscop]o [ Gilliam (dubitanter an ] ab ep[iscop]o [stul-)  
 Fink | et ] bis possis: ] . . . Gilliam Fink Marichal: ] est Cugusi || **2** [ . . . ] Gilliam Fink Marichal: ] . . . Cugusi |  
 Anto[ ] Gilliam Fink Marichal: Anto[n- Cugusi | ] i in[ edd. || **3** ] li [ Gilliam Fink | ] . . . s[ Marichal  
 Cugusi || **4** ] i u [ Gilliam Fink: ] ibus [ Marichal: ] ibus [ Cugusi | pro praefectis, ut uidetur: ] r[ . . . ] [ ]  
 (dubitanter an pr[a]ef) Gilliam Fink: praef[ Marichal: ] pr[a]ef[ Cugusi || **5** ] [ Gilliam Fink: ] [ Marichal  
 Cugusi | ] . . . Cugusi || **6** [ . . . ] Gilliam Fink | ] [ edd. || **7** pe[ edd. | ] ] uidi || **8** mi[ edd. || **9** ] en [ Gilliam  
 Fink (dubitanter an eri) Marichal: ] en i [ Cugusi || **10** ] be[ Gilliam Fink Cugusi: ] be[ Marichal || **11**  
 coh [ Marichal | ] e Gilliam Fink || **12** fortasse ] ue[n]e[r: ] [ edd. | ] [ recognoui | ] o [ Gilliam Fink: ] eo  
 (dubitanter an eos vel eor[um]) Marichal || **13** ] [ Gilliam Fink: om. Marichal: [ ] [ Cugusi

verso: **1** Au]re[1 edd. || **2** da initio lineae Cugusi

verso, fr. a: **1** ] [ . . . ] . . [ Gilliam Fink: ] 1 [ . . . ] . . [ Marichal: om. Cugusi

verso

‘To Aurelius ... centurion, by Postumius Aurelianus, tribune (of the cohort)’.

**9**        ] mense[ (‘month’, whatever the inflection) is clearly legible. Marichal’s temptation of reading *eri* instead of *en* is strong, but one can resist it by comparing the *n* with another certain *n* at l. 2 (in []):

**Table 5.7** – *N*’s in *P.Dura* 66j

| l. 2             | l. 9             |
|------------------|------------------|
| <b>Fig. 5.11</b> | <b>Fig. 5.12</b> |

letter *k*

- - -  
 |<sup>1</sup>        ] su [            ] u [ ]  
 |<sup>2</sup>        bar [ . . . . . ] s· q[ ]  
 |<sup>3</sup>        -serati [ . . . ] esse[ ]  
 |<sup>4</sup>        [ . ] ana libr[ . ] s [ . ] t[ ]  
 |<sup>5</sup>        [ . ] numer[at]io ue [ ]  
 |<sup>6</sup>        [ . ] umer[ . . . . . ] qu[ ]  
 |<sup>7</sup>        [ . ] ico[ . . . . . ] m[ ]  
 |<sup>8</sup>         
 |<sup>9</sup>                   ] ol[ ]  
 |<sup>10</sup>                   ] ddur [ ]

|<sup>11</sup> ]uil[  
|<sup>12</sup> ]xi[

---

**1**]...[±9]...[ *Gilliam Fink Marichal*: ]...[ *tantum Cugusi* || **2**]b[ ] *edd.* || **3**]serati[ *edd.* || **4** praetor|i]ana  
scil. porta uel Appa|d]ana libr[a]s possis: libr(arius) prohibuerim: ]analib[ ]s[ ]t[ (*dubitanter an libr[ uel*  
liba]) *Gilliam (dubitanter an c]analibu[s ] Fink Marichal*: ]analibr[ *Cugusi* || **5**]iume[ ]...[ ]e[ *Gilliam*  
(*dubitanter an iumen[ta] Fink*: ]ium er[ *Marichal*: ]ium er[ ]o[ ]e[ *Cugusi* || **6**]...[ ]...[ *edd.* || **7**  
]...o[±10]...[ *Gilliam Fink*: ]...o[ *Marichal*: ]...o[ ]u[ *Cugusi* || **9**]l[ *edd.* || **10**] Dur[a *dubitanter edd.*  
|| **11**]...l[ *edd.* || **12**]x[ *Gilliam Fink Marichal*: coh X]X P[almyrenorum *dubitanter Cugusi*

**5** Only the word *-numeratio* can be seen.

letter *l*

col. I

|<sup>1</sup>  
|<sup>2</sup>  
|<sup>3</sup>  
|<sup>4</sup>  
|<sup>5</sup>  
|<sup>6</sup>  
|<sup>7</sup>  
|<sup>8</sup>  
|<sup>9</sup>  
|<sup>10</sup>

|<sup>11</sup> ]  
|<sup>12</sup> ]  
|<sup>13</sup> ]ius  
|<sup>14</sup> ]o  
|<sup>15</sup> acc d]ecimum  
|<sup>16</sup> opto te, d]omine  
|<sup>17</sup> feliciss]i[m]um  
|<sup>18</sup> bene ualer]e

col. II

...[  
[  
☿ Sele[uci  
Aurel Me[ ] The]marsa  
[  
☿ Marci  
Aurel Iar[haeus Zeb]ida  
Ul[p] Barse[mias]  
Aurel [  
[

col. I: **11**]a *Gilliam Fink Marichal*: ]...[ *Cugusi* || *inter lineas 11–2 uacuum uidit Marichal: dispexit Cugusi*  
|| **12**] *Cugusi* || **13**]u[ *Gilliam Fink Marichal*: ]u[ *Cugusi* || **14**]o *edd.* || **15**d]ecimum *Gilliam Fink*  
*Marichal | post hanc lineam [Kal(endas) Aug(ustas)] lineam aliam Marichal Cugusi* || **17**felicissim]um  
*Cugusi*

col. II: **1**]a[ *Gilliam Fink*: A[ *Marichal* || **2**A[ *Cugusi* || **4**Me[ ]...[ The]marsa *edd.* || **7**Zebi]da *edd.* || **8**  
Ul[p] *edd.* || **9**Aure[ ] *edd.* || **11**(centuria) An[tonini *dubitanter Gilliam Fink Marichal*: A[ *Cugusi* || **15**]...[  
*Cugusi*

col. I: ‘...the tenth... I wish you, my lord, to live most happily and healthily’.

col. II

‘... Seleucus’ century:

Aurelius ... son of Themarsas

...

Marcus’ century:



Aurelius Iarhaeus son of Zebidas,  
 Ulpus Barsemias  
 Aurelius ...'

This list of soldiers, like that in P.Dura 66d, must have been attached to a letter, whose remains survive in col. I, probably along with the docket 'accepta + consular date'.

**I 15–8** This formula has been added by another hand. The figure pointing out the day (*decimum*) is here written in letters.<sup>394</sup> It remains undetermined, where the remaining portion of the date lay after *d]ecimum*: perhaps at the beginning of l. 16, in a relevant *ekthesis*?

letter *m*

---

|              |      |
|--------------|------|
| <sup>1</sup> | . [  |
| <sup>2</sup> | .. [ |
| <sup>3</sup> | . [  |
|              | ---  |

*edidi* || 2 *fortasse* Iu[lius

letter *n*<sup>395</sup>

*recto*

---

|               |                                   |
|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | [ ..... ] la .. [ ..... ] .       |
| <sup>2</sup>  | [ ..... ] ..... [ ..... ] .       |
| <sup>3</sup>  | [ ..... ] age .. [ ..... ] l-     |
| <sup>4</sup>  | [coh] XX Pal[m] cum               |
| <sup>5</sup>  | [ ..... ] o proc [ ..... ] .. tia |
| <sup>6</sup>  | [ ..... ] et [                    |
| <sup>7</sup>  | [ ..... ] tu [ ..... ]            |
| <sup>8</sup>  | po [ ..... ] tu [ ..... ]         |
| <sup>9</sup>  | da [ ..... ]                      |
| <sup>10</sup> | d[                                |
| <sup>11</sup> | i [                               |
| <sup>12</sup> | ri u [                            |

*recto fr. a*

---

|              |        |
|--------------|--------|
| <sup>1</sup> | nf [   |
| <sup>2</sup> | .. o [ |
|              | ---    |

*verso*

|              |                            |
|--------------|----------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | ] .. BARCHALBA [           |
| <sup>2</sup> | ab A[u]relia A ..... u . o |

<sup>394</sup> See P.Dura 56 letter A, P.Dura 125.

<sup>395</sup> In the glass frame in which the letter is located one can see a further fragment in the *recto*, here noted as fr. a.

recto: 1 ] . a . [ Gilliam Fink: ] la . [ ] . [ Marichal Cugusi || 2 ] . [ Gilliam Fink: ] . [ ] . [ Marichal: ] . [ ] . [ Cugusi || 3 ] . g . . [±7] [ Gilliam Fink: ] . ge . . [ ] . [ Marichal Cugusi || 4 co]h edd. | Pal[m . . ] cum Gilliam Fink: Pal[ ] cum Marichal: Pal[m( ) ] cum Cugusi || 5 fortasse A[u]g[u]sti a: A[u]g . . . la Gilliam Fink: A[u]g . . . it la Marichal: A[u]g n( ) dubitanter Cugusi || 3–5 mi] | [co]h XX Pal[m qui] cum | [Lu]po proc A[u]g dubitanter Gilliam || 6 ] et [ Gilliam Fink Cugusi || 7 fortasse ] tu[ vel ] tu[ : . ] u . [ edd. || 8 co[ . . ] . tantum Gilliam: co[ . . ] Fink: co[ . . ] . [ Marichal: co[ . . ] . [ Cugusi || 9 da[ . . ] . [ Gilliam: da[ . . ] . [ Fink: da[ . . ] . [ Marichal Cugusi || 10 ] . [ Gilliam Fink Marichal: . . [ Cugusi || post l. 10 lineam aliam d[ Cugusi || 12 fortasse riçus[ vel ritur[ : ri . u[ Gilliam Fink: ri . . . [ Cugusi

recto fr. a: edidi || 1 fortasse n(ota) f(emore) a[(rmo)

verso: 1 ] Barchalba [ edd. || 2 A . . . . . Gilliam Fink: A . . . . . o Marichal: Ammoni . . . o Cugusi

The image below is letter **n** (= col. XVII) as it is featured in the online photographs of *P.Dura* 66 and in those included in Marichal's edition in the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*. Two scraps, marked by black arrows, pose problems to the reconstruction of the text of the letter. The scrap on the left is wrongly aligned to those above it, as already suspected by R. Marichal.<sup>396</sup> The scrap on the right, on the other hand, seems completely alien, if not to *P.Dura* 66 at all, at least to this particular column, as in the preceding ones the scrap on the right side of the column becomes smaller and smaller, and then almost vanishes in coll. XV–XVI (letters **k**, **l**, **m**), whereas the right scrap in letter **n** is quite large. Moreover, it is rotated 180°.

Fig. 5.13

While for the left scrap it is enough to re-align it by moving it further to the left, so that the beginning of the lines matches that in the scraps above it, possible solutions for the problem of the right scrap are necessarily more conjectural. One cannot be certain whether it belonged or not to letter **n**, or to this section of *P.Dura* 66, or to *P.Dura* 66 at all. It is here published as letter **n** fr. a. One is tempted to suspect that the scrap may constitute not the lower right, but the upper left component of the column; col. XVII oddly lacks that component (see the image above), whereas the preceding and following columns all have it. It must be remarked, however, that the supposedly misplaced fragment is, again, somewhat larger than the upper left scraps of the relevant columns, and its shape and holes do not particularly match those of the other scraps. The following image shows the left fragment correctly aligned with those above it, and the right fragment rotated 180° in the same position as before.

Fig. 5.14

letter o

recto

---

|              |                                                    |
|--------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | [ . . . . . ] a [ . . . . . ] at . . [             |
| <sup>2</sup> | [ . . . . . ] [ . ] [ . ] u[ . . . . . ] rec . . [ |
| <sup>3</sup> | po [ . . . . . ] Aurel [ . . pr ] oc Aug . [       |
| <sup>4</sup> | [ . . . . . sig ] nifer [ . . ] l o [              |
| <sup>5</sup> | [ . . . . . ] r [ . ] io [ . . . . . ] ` ii [      |
| <sup>6</sup> | [ . . . . . ] t [ . . . . . ]                      |

<sup>396</sup> 'Il est vraisemblable que le fragment supérieur droit correspond à l'extrémité droite de la colonne et le fragment gauche, en bas, au début, mais est-il bien en place?' ('It is likely that the upper right fragment corresponds to the right end of the column and the lower left fragment to the beginning, but is it in place?', *ChLA* VI: 63).



2 [c(ui)·] p(raees)· uix possis | ] dp (*dubitanter an q(uondam) d(is)p(ositos)*) Gilliam Fink: ]qdp Marichal Cugusi | fortasse Ma[ri]s Iar[haei: m [ ] [ Gilliam Fink Marichal: m [ ] [ Cugusi || 3 co [ edd. || 5 fortasse dim]issori[-: ] sso [ Gilliam Fink: ] sso [ ] [ Marichal: ]issor[ Cugusi || 6 fortasse cos[ uel cus[: ] [ edd. || 7 [acc(epta) ] Cugusi | Au[g Marichal Cugusi || 10 ] [ Gilliam Fink Cugusi

letter t: ‘... a soldier of the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort... I ordered Cocceius... during the second consulship of Sabinus...

Received on the Calends of August, during the second consulship of Sabinus and the first of Anullinus’.

2 The content of the letter is unfathomable: notice the abbreviation *qdp*, to be found also in *P.Dura* 82 col. II, ll. 6–8; 21; and *P.Dura* 95. See commentary *ad loc.*

7–8 A further hand has added the ‘*accepta* + date’ formula. Probably due to the extent of the lower margin in the original papyrus, the letters are of the same magnitude as those of the main hand, instead of being purposely shrunk in size. Note that one is not really sure where the scribe divided the formula: he also might have put the *et* after *Sabino II* and left *Anu]llino* alone.

10 A further hand (or maybe the same hand which drew the *accepta* formula) might have also added some closing greeting formula, such as *opto uo]s* and the like.

letter u

---

|<sup>1</sup> ] ciu[  
|<sup>2</sup> [acc ] Aug [  
|<sup>3</sup> [Sabino II et Anu]lli[no cos  
---

1 ] [ edd. || 2 I]dus [Aug Marichal Cugusi

‘... Received on the ... of August, during the second consulship of Sabinus and the first of Anullinus’.

letter v

---

|<sup>1</sup> ] eliu[  
|<sup>2</sup> ] um[  
---

1 ] Aelius uel ] Aelium uel Au]relius uel Au]relium *dubitanter* Gilliam || 2 ] u [ Gilliam Fink Marichal

letter y

recto

---

|<sup>1</sup> ]XV[ ]uni[ ]r[  
|<sup>2</sup> ]ri[ ]cohor[ ]mi[  
|<sup>3</sup> Pal]mureno[rum  
|<sup>4</sup> ] duxit [  
|<sup>5</sup> ]c dec[e]m[ ]i[  
|<sup>6</sup> ] r pis[ ]

|<sup>7</sup> Sabino II et] Anulin[o co]s  
 |<sup>8</sup> [acc] XI Ka[l] Septem[bres]  
 |<sup>9</sup> [Sab]ino [II] e[t Anulli]no  
 |<sup>10</sup> cos

verso

|<sup>1</sup> [POSTU]MI[O] A[U]RELIAN[O] TRIBUN[O COH]  
 |<sup>2</sup> ab Aureli[o] e u . . . ]llice .  
 |<sup>3</sup> ]f- p praef ale . . . . . uii

*recto: 1* ] . . . . . n . . . . . n [ *Gilliam:* ] . . . . . n . . . . . n [ *Fink:* ] . . . . . n [ ] r [ *Marichal:* ] . . . . . n [ *Cugusi* || **2** ]ri[ . . . ] cohort[ . . . . . ] (*dubitanter an cohort[t]is XX*) *Gilliam:* t]ri[b] cohort[t]is m]l coh xx *Fink:* ]ri[ . . . ] cohort[ . . . . . ]ina [ *Marichal:* ] cohort [ *Cugusi* || **3** Palm]ureno[rum *edd.* || **2–3** cohort[t]is m]l coh XX Palm]ureno[rum *dubitanter Fink* || **5** ] de [ . . ]m [ . . ] (*dubitanter an dec[e]m*) *Gilliam:* ]o dec[e]m [ . . ] (*dubitanter an mis[i, numer]o dec[e]m rem[isi]*) *Fink:* ] de [ . . ]m [ . . ]i [ ] [ *Marichal:* ] dec[e]m [ . . ]i [ *Cugusi* || **6** fortasse per epist[ulam uel epist[ulas: ] . . . . . p . . . [ *Gilliam:* ] . . . . . p . . . [ *Fink:* ] . . . [ ]a pri [ *Marichal:* ] . . . [ ] p . . . [ *Cugusi* || **7** suppleui: Anullin[o cos *Gilliam Fink:* Anul[l]in[o cos *Marichal Cugusi* || **8** XI: *Fink Marichal* | Ka[l Sep]tem[br *edd.* (]tem(bres) *Gilliam:* [bres *Fink:* [br(es) *Marichal Cugusi*) || **9** Sabi]no *Fink Marichal Cugusi* || **9–10** e[t A]nul[li]n[o co(n)s(ulibus) *Gilliam Fink Marichal:* A]nul[li]no *Cugusi*

*verso: 1* A]urelian[o *Gilliam Fink:* Au]relian[o] *Marichal Cugusi* || **2** ab Aurel . . . . . [ . . ] . . . . . [ (*dubitanter an Abed ...*) *Gilliam Fink:* . . Aureli[o] C . . . . . [ . . ] . . . . . [ *Marichal:* [ab] Aureli[o] . . . . . *Cugusi* || **3** ] p . . . f . . . . . [ . . ] . . . [ (*dubitanter an Aurel*)] *Gilliam Fink:* p praef(ect) Ale . . . . . [ (*dubitanter an ap(ud) uel rep(ositum) uel r(es)p(onsum)*) *Marichal:* . . praef Ale . . . . . *Cugusi*

*recto:* ‘... tribune of the cohort... the Palmyrenes... he led... ten... from my (?) letters... during the consulship of Anullinus... Received on the 11<sup>th</sup> day before the Calends of September, during the second consulship of Sabinus and the first of Anullinus’.

*verso:* ‘To Postumius Aurelianus, tribun[e of the cohort, from Aurelius ...’

**8–9** The ‘*accepta*’-formula’ has been added in distinctly smaller and coarser characters than those found in the main text.

#### Letter *bb*

*recto*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> . . . . . ]um[ . . . . . u .  
 |<sup>2</sup> [X]X Palmyr . . . . .  
 |<sup>3</sup> [ . . . ] ra t l[  
 |<sup>4</sup> [ . . . ]n[ . . . ]um .  
 |<sup>5</sup> . . . . . [ . . . . . ]n .  
 |<sup>6</sup> re . . . ]m[  
 |<sup>7</sup> [ . . ]et[ . . ] nu .  
 |<sup>8</sup> acc I[I]I Id[us Septem-]  
 |<sup>9</sup> -bres Sabin[o II et]  
 |<sup>10</sup> Anullin[o cos]

verso

|<sup>1</sup> [POSTUMIO A]URELIANO [TRIB COH  
|<sup>2</sup> ]n[.]i[.]

*recto:* 1 a[ Cugusi | ] u[ edd. || 2 Palmyr[ ] [ Marichal: ] [ Cugusi || 3 fortasse ]errant uel ] orant:  
[.] ra[.]t[ Gilliam Fink: [.] Marichal Cugusi || 4 [.] ]um[ Gilliam Fink: [.] ]ndum [ Marichal  
Cugusi | supra n[.] um[.]o' Gilliam Fink || 5 [.] ]n[ Gilliam Fink: [.] ]n[ Marichal:  
[.]n[ Cugusi || 6 ] [ Gilliam Fink Marichal || 7 et[.] n[ Gilliam Fink: [.] ]et[.]n[ Marichal Cugusi || 8  
etiam I[II]I possis: [V]I Gilliam Marichal Cugusi: [VI]I Fink | Sab[i]n[o Cugusi

*verso:* 2 ]n[.]i[ Gilliam (dubitanter an a Leo)ne[tr]i[b] Fink: ]n[.]i[ Marichal: ]n[.]i[ Cugusi

*recto:* ‘... the 20<sup>th</sup> cohort of the Palmyrenes... Received on the ... day before the Ides of September, during the second consulship of Sabinus and the first of Anullinus’.

*verso:* ‘To (Postumius) Aurelianus, (tribune of the cohort) ...’

letter **dd**

---  
|<sup>1</sup> ]e ut[  
|<sup>2</sup> ] nt[  
---

1 ]e[ edd. || 2 ] nt[ edd.

letter **ff**

*recto*

---  
|<sup>1</sup> ]rmos e[  
|<sup>2</sup>  
|<sup>3</sup> ]e Aciba[s  
|<sup>4</sup> ] er[  
|<sup>5</sup> ]εινοο[ ]  
|<sup>6</sup>  
|<sup>7</sup> acc V Idus [Septembres]  
|<sup>8</sup> Sabiño II et [Anullino cos]

verso

|<sup>1</sup> ] el .....s[

*recto:* 1 fortasse ad ho]rmos reff[iciendos vel fo]rmosae f[.] ] se[ Gilliam Fink: ] m se[ Marichal  
Cugusi || 3 fortasse Aur]el(ius): ]el[.] ] [ edd. || 4 ] r[ Gilliam Fink: ] r[ Marichal Cugusi

*verso:* omm. Gilliam Fink | A]urel ..... (dubitanter an a, m uel n in initio cognominis) Marichal: ] el .....

*recto:* ‘... Received on the fifth day before the Ides of September, during the second consulship of Sabinus and the first of Anullinus’.

1 Perhaps a reference to the *hormoi* (ὄρμοι), the anchorages (or shelters?) which a Roman soldier might contribute to building.<sup>397</sup> What follows is more puzzling: *ad ho]rmos ref]iciendos* might be a possible reading. Alternatively, but less likely, I suggest *fo]rmosae fl].*

5 Remains of an annotation in Greek.

letter *hh*<sup>398</sup>  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> [ . . ]ex . [  
 |<sup>2</sup>  
 |<sup>3</sup> Aurel[  
 |<sup>4</sup> [ . ]r[ . ]m . [ . ] . [  
 |<sup>5</sup> [ . ] . li pe .  
 |<sup>6</sup> [ . ] [ . . . ] i . [  
 |<sup>7</sup> . . . [ . . ]emb[  
 | . m . . ab  
 |<sup>8</sup> [ . ]d[  
 | . uar[  
 |<sup>9</sup> [ . . ]pes . [  
 |<sup>10</sup>  
 |<sup>11</sup> acc [ . . . . . ] .  
 |<sup>12</sup> [  
 |<sup>13</sup> [  
 |<sup>14</sup> li[  
 |<sup>15</sup> . [  
 . [

4 ]r[ . ]m . [ *edd.* || 5 [ . . . ]l . . e . [ *Gilliam Fink:* ]lipe . [ *Marichal:* ]l . . . [ *Cugusi* || 6 [ . . . . . ]i . [ *Gilliam Fink:* ]i . [ *Marichal Cugusi* || 7 . . . . . ] . . . [ *Gilliam Fink:* . . [ . . . ] . [ *Marichal:* . . [ . . . ] . . [ *Cugusi* || 9 ] . . . . [ *Gilliam Fink:* ] . . . [ *Marichal Cugusi* || 11–5, fortasse acc [ . . . . . ]a | [ - - - Sa]b[ino II et Anul]]li[no] | ç[os: acc[- - -] | [- - - -] | . [- - - -] | [- - - -] *Gilliam Fink Cugusi:* acc[- - -] | . [- - - -] | . [- - - -] *Marichal*

*ad ll. 7–8: fortasse I]d(us) Mai(as) Sab: sept]em Sab- Gilliam: Sa[b]in- Marichal: Sabino Cugusi*  
*ad ll. 8–9: fortasse Feb]ruar[ias: [ . . ]mar[ Gilliam Fink*

1 A very short line, where *e* and *x* are clearly visible: apparently nothing before *e*, and an oblique stroke, pointing upwards, after *x*. This line is separated from the following ones by what appears to be a blank space. We are perhaps witnessing the word *exe[mplum]* or *ex(emplum) e(pistulae)*:

Fig. 5.15

This might imply that what follows in *hh* (duly separated by a blank line from the preceding portion of the letter) is a copy of another letter.

7 Perhaps *sept]emb[res* or the like?

7–16 One ought to remark on the unusual abundance of marginal annotations: in this letter, at least three different hands can be witnessed in addition to the main one, each hand

<sup>397</sup> P.Gen. Lat. inv. 1 (= *ChLA* I 7a-b) part II, ll. 11-13 *T(itus) Flavius Satur*[- - -] | *exit ad hormos confodiendo*[s - - -] | *XIX K(alendas) Febrarias* (TM 69867). See *ThLL* VI.3 col. 2972 s.v. *hormus* and the corresponding entry in *LSJ*<sup>9</sup> (1253–4) s.v. ὄρμος.

<sup>398</sup> Only a few uncertain traces on the *verso*.

producing a marginal note in a very careless and informal script. The first of these three annotations lies in the left margin between ll. 7–8 (if we count the blank line as l. 2):

**Fig. 5.16**

The second docket can be clearly read as *Feb]ruar[ias* or *Feb]ruar[iis*, even if the nature and purpose of the docket itself is unclear: it seems to lie in a blank line in the middle of the document, employing no marginal space:

**Fig. 5.17**

The final annotation is, as customary with official correspondence, the date of inclusion of the letter in the *liber epistularum*. The first word, *acc[* for *acc(epta)* or *acc(epta)*, is clearly visible; editors content themselves with assessing its presence. Only a handful of letters survives from the docket; enough, however, to attempt a reconstruction:

TABLE 5.8 – *P.Dura 66hh*: the docket

|                  |                                                                                              |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Fig. 5.18</b> | acc(epta) [- - -]a<br>[ - - - <sup>399</sup> Sa-]<br>-b[ino II et Anul-]<br>-li[no]<br>c[os] |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

*letter ii*

---  
|<sup>1</sup> re[ . . . ] . [  
|<sup>2</sup> . . n . [  
|<sup>3</sup> epulum [  
|<sup>4</sup> penum [  
|<sup>5</sup> XX Pal[myr  
pr[  
|<sup>6</sup> ] e arici . [  
|<sup>7</sup> si . [  
|<sup>8</sup>  
|<sup>9</sup> . [  
---

**1** uel ie[ *possis*: i . . . [ *Gilliam Fink*: i . . . [ *Marichal Cugusi* || **2** fortasse dd nn id est d(ominorum) n(ostrorum): . . . [ *Gilliam Fink*: o[ . . . ]n . . . [ *Marichal Cugusi* || **3** epulu . . . [ *Gilliam Fink Marichal*: epulum *Davies (1968a: 33) probante Cugusi* || **4** pe . . . [ *Gilliam Fink*: penum *Davies (1968: 33)*: pe . . . [ *(dubitanter an penu[m]) Marichal*: penu[s coh] *Cugusi* || **5** a . . . . . [ *Gilliam Fink*: Pa[lm(yrenorum) *Marichal Cugusi* | *post hanc lineam lineam aliam* . . . [ *Gilliam Fink*: pr[ *Marichal*: pr[ in interlineo *Cugusi* || **6** fortasse tes[serari(i) vel nu]merari(i) cir[citer: . . . ] . . . ici . . . [ *Gilliam Fink*: e . . . i ci . . . [ *Marichal*: e . . . ici . . . [ *(dubitanter an ei uel et adicia[tur) Cugusi* || **7** s . . . [ *Gilliam Fink Marichal* | *post hanc lineam lacunam et lineam aliam* . . . [ *Gilliam Fink Marichal, Cugusi dubitante*

**3** Davies argues that *epulum* was for auxiliary units, such as *cohortes* and *alae*, what *saturnalicium kastrense* was for legions, i.e. provisions for banquets.<sup>400</sup>

<sup>399</sup> In this long lost sequence the day and the month might have been inserted.

<sup>400</sup> *Davies (1968: 33)*.





<sup>4</sup> Sabino II et A]nullino cos. Opto  
<sup>5</sup> te domine fra-  
<sup>6</sup> -ter felicis[si]mum  
<sup>7</sup> bene uale[r]e.

*letter II (a): (a) et (b) fragmentum unum censuerunt Gilliam Fink: recte divisit Marichal Cugusi probante*  
 || **1** omm. Gilliam Fink Cugusi || **2** omm. Gilliam Fink Cugusi: ] . [ . ] [ Marichal || **3** om. Cugusi: ] . [ Gilliam Fink: ] . [ Marichal || **4** om. Cugusi: ] . [ . ] . [ Gilliam Fink: ] . [ Marichal || **5** Anul[l]ino edd. || **6** ] . [ . . . . ] al Gilliam Fink: opto] te [frat]er Marichal Cugusi || **7** ] . [ Gilliam Fink: felic]is[sim]um Marichal Cugusi || **8** ]e[ Gilliam Fink: ua]le[re Marichal Cugusi

*letter II (b): 1 ] ol Gilliam Fink: coh· Cugusi || 4 suppl. Fink in commentario: ] . [ ]o Gilliam Fink: Anulli]no Marichal: Anulli]no Cugusi | opt[o] edd. || 5 [f]rater Marichal*

*letter II (a): ‘... during the consulship of Anullinus. I wish for you, my brother, to live most happily and healthily’.*

*letter II (b): ‘... during the consulship of... I wish for you, my lord brother, to live most happily and healthily’.*

#### letter mm

- - -  
<sup>1</sup> ] . . . [ .  
<sup>2</sup> ] . m[ .  
<sup>3</sup> ] . ul . [ . . ] . ar . [ . . . ] n[ .  
<sup>4</sup> ] titutum [ . ] dim[ . . . . . ] ier[ .  
<sup>5</sup> ] lania Ant[o]niniana Antio[ch  
<sup>6</sup> ] ol . [ . . ] s[ . . Sa]b[ino II] et Anullin[o cos  
<sup>7</sup> ] m[ . . . . . ] mib . [ .  
<sup>8</sup> ] q[u]i . [ . . ] umie[ . . ] sra[ .  
<sup>9</sup> ] s Latinos. [Opt]o te domine fra[ter]  
<sup>10</sup> fel[ici]ss[i]mum bene ualere

**1** ] . [ Gilliam Marichal Cugusi: ]ça[ (vel ]cr[ vel ]pr[) Fink || **2** ]m[ edd. || **3** ] . ul[ . . ] . ra[ . . . ] n[ Gilliam: ] . ara[ Fink: ] ara[ Marichal Cugusi || **4** ] . i . tum Gilliam Fink | dim[isi dubitanter Fink | ] . . [ Gilliam: ]ig[ Fink: ] . er[ Marichal Cugusi || **5** ] [a]nia [A]nt[o]niniana (dubitanter an ala Thra(cum)) Her[cu]lania Ant[o]niniana Gilliam: ]l . nia [A]nt[o]niniana Marichal Cugusi | fortasse Antio[chia uel Antio[chus: [i]n ti[ Gilliam: [ ]nti[ Fink: ]nti Marichal Cugusi || **6** ] . [ . . ] . [ Gilliam: ] . [ . . ] [ Fink: ] . [ . . . Marichal: ] . [ Cugusi || **7** fortasse ] . mib[us: ] . [ . . . . . [ Gilliam: ] . [ . . ] . [ ] . mib . [ Fink: ] . [ ] . ib . [ Marichal Cugusi || **8** ] . . [ . . . . . ] mi . [ . . . [ Gilliam: ]b . [ . . . . . ] mi . [ . . . [ Fink: ] . q . [ . ] mi . [ . ] ra[ Marichal: ] . [ . . . ] mi . [ . ] ra[ Cugusi || **9** ] . . tin . [ Gilliam: ] . rtin . [ Fink: ] . . urtin . [ Marichal: ] . . rtin . [ Cugusi | fr[ater edd. || **10** [f]e[lici]ss[i]mum Gilliam Fink: [felici]ss[im]um Marichal: [felici]ss[im]um Cugusi | be[n]e Gilliam: be[n]e Marichal Cugusi | ua]ler[e] Gilliam Fink Marichal: ua]lere Cugusi

‘...during the second consulship of Sabinus and the first of Anullinus... I wish for you, my Lord brother, to live most happily and healthily’.



|<sup>1</sup> ] . . m[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] n item[  
 |<sup>3</sup> A]nton[  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] . . . [ . . . ] iui[  
 |<sup>5</sup> ] . [ . . ] ti [ . . ] . . . [ . . ] iussu[  
 |<sup>6</sup> ] . [ . . . ] . . ter[ . . f]rater . . [  
 |<sup>7</sup> ] . . [ . . . . . . . . ] . . i [ . . ] ui . . [  
 |<sup>8</sup> ] b[ . . ] . . . . . [ . . ] s mutantur [  
 |<sup>9</sup> ] cum pecoribus esse [  
 - - -

*fr. a*

|<sup>1</sup> ] et[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] . an . [  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] m . [  
 - - -

**1** ] m[ *edd.* || **3** A]nton[*inian- Cugusi* || **4** ] . . [ . . . . . ] . . . [ *Gilliam Fink:* ] . . [ . . . . . ] . . [ *Marichal Cugusi* || **5** ] ti [ . . ] . . . [ . . ] u . . . [ *Gilliam Fink:* ] iuss[ *Marichal:* ] iussu[ *Cugusi* || **6** ] . . . . . [ . . ] f]rater [ *Gilliam Fink:* ] . . te [ . . . . . ] f]rater [ *Marichal:* ] . . te [ . . . . . ] f]rater [ *Cugusi* || **7** ] . [±8]e . . . [ . . ] . . i [ *Gilliam Fink:* ] g[ . . . . . i . . . . . ] e . . . [ . . ] . . i [ *Marichal:* ] . . [ . . ] e . . . . . cui [ *Cugusi* || **8** ] . . . . . i . . . . . [ . . ] u . . ant [ *(dubitanter an mutant cum symbolo centuriae)* *Gilliam Fink:* ] . . . . . [±12]utant [ *(dubitanter an mutantur)* *Marichal:* ] . . . . . . . . . . [ . . ] utantur[ *Cugusi*

*fr. a: qq et a unum fragmentum censerunt Gilliam Fink, recte divisit Marichal Cugusi probante* || **1** ] . . . [ *Gilliam Fink: om. Marichal Cugusi* || **2** fortasse ] Ianu[arias: ] . . n [ *Gilliam Fink:* ] et n [ *Marichal: om. Cugusi* || **3** ] . . [ *Gilliam Fink: alia manu hanc lineam putat scriptam Marichal: om. Cugusi*

*letter rr*

|<sup>1</sup> ] . [ . . . ] ti[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] castra  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] . ane [ . . ] i  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] tuus [  
 - - -

**2** c]astra *edd.* || **3** ]ane[ . . ] . *edd.* || *spatium uacuum inter ll. 3 et 4* || **4** fortasse aedi]tuus: ] . . . [ . . ] *edd.*

*letter ss*

|<sup>1</sup> ] kas-  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] es [  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] . [ . . . ]  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] us  
 |<sup>5</sup> De]cenbr S[a]b[ino II et  
 |<sup>6</sup> A]nul[li]no cos  
 - - -

1 kas[tra dubitanter Gilliam Cugusi || 2 ]us[ edd. | post hanc lineam duas lineas deperditas Gilliam Fink Cugusi || 3 recognoui || 5-6 ] en . . [- - -] | Anu]llino coş (dubitanter an De]cenbr Şa[bino II) Gilliam Fink: De]cenb[r]es Şa[bino II et] A[n]u]l[li]no coş(ulibus) Marichal Cugusi

letter **tt**

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> ] felicitis-  
|<sup>2</sup> [-simum - - - be]ne uale-  
|<sup>3</sup> [-re]

‘...that you live most happily and healthily’.

letter **uu**

recto

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> . . i[  
|<sup>2</sup> m . [  
|<sup>3</sup>  
|<sup>4</sup> cos[  
|<sup>5</sup> . iui . [  
- - -

verso

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> POSTUMIO AURELIANO TRIB C[OH]  
|<sup>2</sup> a S[ ±15 ] . . p praet

recto: 1 [ . . ] [ Gilliam Fink: ] [ Marichal: om. Cugusi || 2 [ . . ] [ Gilliam Fink: ] [ Marichal: om. Cugusi | post hanc lineam aliam deperditam Gilliam Fink || 4 . . . [ Gilliam Fink: ] . . [ Marichal: ] coḥ[ uel ] coḥ[ Cugusi || 5 [ . . ] iui[ Gilliam Fink: ] iui[ Marichal: ] iui[ Cugusi

verso: 1 trib [coh] edd. || 2 a[ edd. | ]p (dubitanter an praep] praet Gilliam) edd.

verso

2 One might see here once again *pr]aep(osito) praet(enturae)*.<sup>405</sup>

letter **vv**

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> ] . [ . . . ] . . . [- - -  
|<sup>2</sup> ]u Sabino I[I e]t  
|<sup>3</sup> [Anulli]no c[o]s  
|<sup>4</sup> ] .  
|<sup>5</sup> ] . . [  
|<sup>6</sup> ] . Opt[o te  
|<sup>7</sup> domine fr]ater f[eli-

<sup>405</sup> See *P.Dura* 64 ad loc.

|<sup>8</sup> -ciss]im[u]m b[ene  
|<sup>9</sup> ualere.]

1 ] [ Gilliam Fink: ]e[ Marichal: ]e[ . . . ] [ Cugusi || 2 ] edd. || 3 fine lineae [ . . . . . ] Gilliam Fink  
Marichal: [ . . . ] Cugusi || 4 ] [ . . . ] [ Marichal || 5 ] . . . [ Marichal Cugusi || 6 ] Opt[o edd. || 7 fra]ter  
edd. | -cissi]m[u]m Cugusi | [bene] edd.

‘... under the second consulship of Sabinus and the first of Anullinus... I wish for you, my lord brother, to live most happily and healthily’.

letter **ww**

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> ]ear[ . . . . ] [ .  
|<sup>2</sup> . [ . . ]prob[ . . ]u [ .  
|<sup>3</sup> Longi[n]us t[ . . . ]  
- - -

1 ] . . [ Gilliam Fink: ] . [ Marichal Cugusi || 2 fortasse prob[at]um: ] . . . [ . ] [ Gilliam Fink: ] . . . [ .  
Marichal: ] . . [ Cugusi || 3 Longi[nu]s [ . edd.

letter **xx**

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> . [ .  
|<sup>2</sup> A]urel [ .  
|<sup>3</sup> ]n Aure[l] [ .  
|<sup>4</sup> ]k[ .  
|<sup>5</sup> ]II K[al  
|<sup>6</sup> ]ino[  
|<sup>7</sup> fe]licis[s]im-  
|<sup>8</sup> [-um multis anni]s ben[e ua]lere

1 ] [ edd. || 2 ] el [ Gilliam Fink: ] el [ Marichal Cugusi || 3 ] Aure[l edd. || 4 ] [ edd. || 5 omm. Gilliam  
Fink: ]II [ Cugusi || 6 [Sab]ino [II et Anullino cos] dubitanter in commentario Fink: ] no[ Cugusi || 7  
][ . ] ci [ . ] . . [ Gilliam Fink: fe]licis[sim]um (fe]licis[s]im- dubitanter Gilliam) Marichal: [opto te ...  
fe]licis[sim]um Cugusi || 8 ]s us [ . . . ] r s[ Gilliam Fink: ]s ben[e ua]lere Marichal: [multis anni]s ben[e  
ua]lere dubitanter Cugusi

‘... to live most happily and healthily for many years’.

letter **yy**<sup>406</sup>

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> ]eo raras  
|<sup>2</sup> ] . ru-  
|<sup>3</sup> ]sse ita

<sup>406</sup> Marichal (*ChLA* VI: 42) suspected letters **yy**, **zz**, **aaa** belong to the same fragment; no decisive clue can be provided for these reconstructions.

|<sup>4</sup>        ] . o . [ . . ]  
 |<sup>5</sup>        ] s

1 ] eo . . . . [ Gilliam Fink || 2 ] . . [ Gilliam Fink Marichal: aru[ (dubitanter an aru[m) Cugusi || 3 ] . ecta  
 Gilliam Fink: ] . secta Marichal Cugusi || 4 ] o . [ . . . . ] Gilliam Fink: ] . [ Marichal: ] . o . [ Cugusi || 5 ] s edd.

1        The scribe has drawn the final *o* with a short circular stroke, which he prolonged after closing the circle, producing an oblique stroke which resembles an acute accent, but is more likely the consequence of ornamentation:

**Fig. 5.19**

See *P.Dura* 63 for a similar effect on letters *o* and *d*.

letter *zz*

---

|<sup>1</sup>        ] te, fr<a>ter, f[e]licis[simum]  
 |<sup>2</sup>        bene ualere

|<sup>3</sup>        ] . iofri . [  
 |<sup>4</sup>        d]omine [  
 |<sup>5</sup>        ] . te . i[ . ] . [  
 |<sup>6</sup>        ] . n . t . . . [  
 |<sup>7</sup>        ] d . o . . . [  
 ---

1 ] ef . ei . . . . Gilliam Fink: opto] te frater [fe]li- Marichal Cugusi || 2 ] . . . . ale . e Gilliam Fink: -cissumum  
 b]ene Marichal Cugusi || 3 ] . of . . [ Gilliam Fink: ] . offi[ Marichal: i]n offi[ . . . . ] Cugusi || 4 ] . . . . [ Gilliam Fink: ] . . . . [ Marichal Cugusi || 5 ] te . . . . [ Gilliam Fink Marichal: ] te . . . . [ Cugusi || 6 ] . . . . [ Gilliam Fink Cugusi: ] . . . . [ Marichal || 7 ] . . [ Gilliam Fink: ] . . ó . . [ Marichal Cugusi

‘... you, my brother, to live most happily and healthily’.

3–7        The greeting formula in ll. 1-2, the blank space after *bene ualere* (l. 2) and the use of *domine* in l. 4 all suggest that in these lines one can see an attached letter, which the sender, who signs in ll. 1-2, had copied or copied himself in the lower section of the sheet.

letter *aaa*

---

|<sup>1</sup>        ] . . [ . ] . l s . [  
 |<sup>2</sup>        ] ure . [ . ] . o . . . . ua[  
 |<sup>3</sup>        i]unxi et cust[od  
 |<sup>4</sup>        ] . en . m`u`[  
 |<sup>5</sup>        ] et m[  
 |<sup>6</sup>        ] . rb . [  
 |<sup>7</sup>        ] . . [  
 ---

1 ] . [ . ] . [ Gilliam Fink: ] . [ . ] l s . [ Marichal Cugusi || 2 ] . a . [ . ] ió . . . . [ Gilliam Fink: ] . re[ . ] uós . . . . [ Marichal Cugusi || 3 ] c . . [ Gilliam Fink Marichal: c . Cugusi || 4 ] . . . . [ Gilliam Fink: ] . . . . [ Marichal:

om. Cugusi || 5]...[ Gilliam Fink: ]...[ Marichal Cugusi || 6]...[ Gilliam Fink: ]...[ Marichal Cugusi || 7 omm. Gilliam Fink: ]...[ Marichal: ]...[u [ Cugusi

letter **bbb**<sup>407</sup>

---

|<sup>1</sup> ]...a...ere  
|<sup>2</sup> ]...[...i um  
|<sup>3</sup> ] sibi al[...r [...][  
|<sup>4</sup> co]hor XX mil [...][ls[  
|<sup>5</sup> ] quarum exem[pl  
|<sup>6</sup> ] su gossi[  
|<sup>7</sup> ] mu...[  
|<sup>8</sup> ] e[

---

1 ]e...e Gilliam Fink: ]e a...re[ (*dubitanter an ben]e ualere – quod si placet, b]ene ualere mallem –*)  
Marichal Cugusi || 2 ]...um Gilliam Fink: ]llum Marichal Cugusi || 3 ]...b al[...[ Gilliam Fink: ]  
sibi al[...r[ Marichal Cugusi || 4 fortasse co]h mil· [P]al(myrenorum) s[upra scriptae: ]...XX mil[...][  
Gilliam Fink: XX mil Marichal: ] r XX Cugusi || 5 exe [ Marichal || 6 ]...hos si[ Gilliam Fink: ]...  
Marichal Cugusi || 7 ]...[...][ Gilliam Fink: ]...[ Marichal Cugusi || 8 ]...e[ Gilliam Fink

letter **ccc**

---

|<sup>1</sup> ] habeat sci [- - -  
|<sup>2</sup> ]...tabul- [  
|<sup>3</sup> qua]esturas os[  
|<sup>4</sup> ]sultes [  
|<sup>5</sup> ]...[

---

1 ]...atsci [ Gilliam: at sci Fink: ] h[a]beat · sci [ (*dubitanter an scia[tis uel scir[e]*) Marichal Cugusi ||  
2 ] Gilliam Fink: ]t Marichal Cugusi | *dubitanter an tabul[a uel tabul[arius* Marichal || 3 ]stur...[ Gilliam  
(*dubitanter an quae]stura*) Fink: ]stur [...][ Marichal (*dubitanter an quae]sturas*) Cugusi || 4 ] ulte...[  
edd. || 5 ] [ Gilliam Fink

letter **ddd**

---

|<sup>1</sup> ] [...][  
|<sup>2</sup> ] ct re [...][entiret[...][  
|<sup>3</sup> t]ribuno coh [re]cipere eos fru[ment  
|<sup>4</sup> ]nte[...][l[...][e[...][itisui[  
|<sup>5</sup> ] [...][c[...][ro u [...][  
|<sup>6</sup> ] [...][

<sup>407</sup> Marichal (*ChLA* VI: 42) suspected letters **bbb**, **ccc**, **ddd** belong to the same fragment; no decisive clue can be provided for these reconstructions.





**1** One sees at l. 1 traces of capital writing. The fact that this is probably the *recto* of the sheet and that addressees of the letters on the *verso* are here normally written in cursive letters somehow ‘elevated’ to the rank of capital letters, one can determine this was not an addressee; perhaps the beginning of a section,<sup>408</sup> or of a personal name.

*fr. 6*

---  
|<sup>1</sup> ]iu . [  
---

*edidit Cugusi* (CEL I 192, 59 = *P.Dura 66ggg fr. c*) || **1** ] . pos[ (Pos[tum- Aurelian- dubitanter) *Cugusi*

*fr. 7*

---  
|<sup>1</sup> ] . m . b[  
|<sup>2</sup> coh] XX P[a]l[myr  
|<sup>3</sup> ] . [ . ] . [ . ] i[ . . . ] s . [  
|<sup>4</sup> ] t . [  
|<sup>5</sup> ] . [  
---

*edidi*

*fr. 8*

---  
|<sup>1</sup> ] . [  
|<sup>2</sup> ] eo[ . ] . [  
---

*edidit Cugusi* (CEL I 192, 59 = *P.Dura 66ggg fr. b*). *Lineam unam* (]iւş[si dubitanter) *recognovit Cugusi*

*fr. 9*

---  
|<sup>1</sup> ] . c . . [  
---

*edidi*

<sup>408</sup> See *P.Dura* 93, ll. 6-7; the papyrus is not a letter, but probably a list of *principales*. It is true, however, that such a list could have been attached to a letter, as might well be the case with *fr. 2*.

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 90–5 no. 6); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 353 (1975). TM 44830

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (25.5x28.8 cm); *e+b* (23.4x17.8cm); *c* (9.3x6.7 cm); *d* (9.4x6.6 cm)

The papyrus preserves twelve columns from a military roster. Some of the surviving columns are very fragmentary (fr. *a* col. V, fr. *e+b* coll. I–II, fr. *c*; *d*), others more fully preserved (fr. *a* coll. I–IV). From the material point of view, it consists of five fragments (*a* to *e*). Frr. *e* and *b* are clearly part of a single fragment on the account of their shape, and they have been considered as such by previous editors and in this edition as well. On the contrary, fr. *c* and *d*, though obviously to be aligned as their shapes are mirror-like, do not necessarily represent the lower portion of fr. *b* col. I and of a preceding column: nothing in their shapes suggests as much. In fr. *a* coll. I–IV and fr. *e+b* coll. I–III the upper margin is visible.

As customary in rosters, the list is divided in sub-sections, each referring to a century of the cohort, and containing names of the soldiers belonging to the relevant century. The names of the soldiers are preceded by their century's name; the sub-section of the list pertaining to each century is sealed by the total amount of men. Four centurions (*ordinati*) are mentioned: Iulius Marcus (fr. *a* col. II l. 22); Domitius Antoninus (fr. *a* col. IV l. 16); Seleucus (fr. *e+b* col. III l. 27); Malchus (fr. *d* l. 4). Seleucus and Marcus had already been seen a few years earlier in *P.Dura* 66. Fink has convincingly argued that Seleucus and Malchus were dead when the list was drawn up. According to him, using the adjectives in order to define the century (here, *Seleuciana* and *Malchiana*) instead of the genitives (*Seleuci* and *Malchi*) was a bureaucratic custom in Roman army to signal that the century was only nominally under the said centurions, who had very recently died, and were waiting for a replacement.<sup>409</sup> Dating formulae for the establishment of the centuries and the enlistment of the soldiers are also featured, the earliest being AD 193 (fr. *a* col. IV l. 18, the consulship of Erucius Clarus), the latest AD 217 (fr. *a* col. V l. 27, the second consulship of Extricatus). The dating of the papyrus indirectly relies on this evidence: AD 217 is a *terminus post quem*, while AD 218–9 has been called a *terminus ante*, since a soldier enlisted in 193 would in 218–9 be just in time for his honourable discharge (*honesta missio*), although this cannot be taken as absolute certainty.<sup>410</sup>

Notice the misspellings of the names – *Iarhaeus* (fr. *a* col. III l. 15) alternating with *Iaraeus* (everywhere else) and *Iarhaboles* (fr. *a* col. III l. 30) with *Iaraboles* (everywhere else); *Anullino* constantly written with only one *L*; always double *T* in *Domittius* – as well as genitives without *-s*: *Ermogeni* with omitted *H* (fr. *a* col. I l. 18) and *Diogeni* (fr. *a* col. IV l. 23). Abbreviations – *Ael(ius)*, *Aurel(ius)*, *Cl(audius)*, *co(n)s(ule)* and *c(on)s(ulibus)*, *Fl(auius)*, *Iul(ius)*, *ord(inatus)*, *Valer(ius)* – are frequent and unmarked. The word *centuria* has its customary symbol (℥).

fr. *a*  
col. I

|               |                     |
|---------------|---------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | An[toni]us Maximus  |
| <sup>2</sup>  | Anulino II cos      |
| <sup>3</sup>  | Aurel Faustus       |
| <sup>4</sup>  | Agrippas Themarsa   |
| <sup>5</sup>  | Muciano cos         |
| <sup>6</sup>  | Iadibelus Zebida    |
| <sup>7</sup>  | Iul Malchus         |
| <sup>8</sup>  | Theobolus Gadde     |
| <sup>9</sup>  | Zebidas Zebida      |
| <sup>10</sup> | Geta Seniore II cos |

col. II

|                     |
|---------------------|
| Themarsas [Iarhaei] |
| Zabdibolus T[he]mē  |
| Aurel Apol[lo]nius  |
| Laeto II cos        |
| Iul Bassus          |
| Aurel Marinus       |
| Aurel Bargas        |
| Aurel Demetrius     |
| Sabino II cos       |
| Aurel Malchus       |

<sup>409</sup> Fink (1953: 213–4).

<sup>410</sup> Cf. Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 303).

|    |                       |                     |
|----|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 11 | Mocimus Bolani        | Aurel Longinus      |
| 12 | Iul Antoninus         | Aurel Calpurnius    |
| 13 | Magnus Uabalathi      | Aurel Magnus        |
| 14 | Cl Zebida             | Aurel Malchus       |
| 15 | Cilone II cos         | Aurel Apollinarius  |
| 16 | Monimus Aufei         | Aurel Aprianus      |
| 17 | Abidsemias Pupli      | Bassus Gora         |
| 18 | Maximus Ermogeni      | Aurel Romanus       |
| 19 | Monimus Monimi        | Aurel Bassus        |
| 20 | Abbedas Nicaei        | Aurel Marinus       |
| 21 | Monimus Salluma       | LV                  |
| 22 | Charifas Iuli         | ⁂ Marci Muciano cos |
| 23 | Apro cos              | ord Iul Marcus      |
| 24 | Zebidas Barnaei       | Erucio Cl[aro co]s  |
| 25 | Seuerus Antonini      | Malchus E[          |
| 26 | Pompeiano cos         | Tert[ullo cos]      |
| 27 | Ael Heliodorus        | Barsemias Bub[      |
| 28 | Faustino cos          | Dextro II [cos]     |
| 29 | Ael Theodorus         | Abbas L . . [       |
| 30 | Bassus Tiberini       | Saturn[ino cos]     |
| 31 | [ . . ] . aeus Malchi | ]bas Barab[         |
| 32 | Messala cos           | ] . . . omo . [     |
| 33 | Mocimus Zebida        | - - -               |
| 34 | Iadibelus Ammaei      |                     |
| 35 | [B]arneus Iarab[ole]  |                     |
| 36 | Aurel Rom[            |                     |
| 37 | Moci[mus              |                     |

*fr. a col. I: 1* An[toniu]s *edd.* || **30** B]assus *edd.* || **31** *fortasse* [Iar]haeus: ] . aeus *edd.* || **35** *uel* Iarab[oles]: Iarab[ol- *edd.* || **36** Rom[anus *Fink*<sup>1</sup>

*fr. a col. II: 1* [Iaraei *edd.* || **2** Za[[d]]'b'dibolus *Marichal* | [Th]e[me] *edd.* || **3** Apol[lon]ius *edd.* || **22** co[s] *edd.* || **28** I[I *edd.* || **30** ] . . Saturn[ino *Fink*<sup>1</sup> *Marichal* || **31** ] . as *Fink*<sup>1</sup> *Marichal* || **32** *fortasse* [di]uo Comod[o - - - cos]: ]omo[ *edd.*

*fr. a col. I: '... Antonius Maximus.*  
 During the consulship of Anullinus:  
 Aurelius Faustus  
 Agrippas son of Themarsas  
 Under the consulship of Mucianus  
 Iadibelus son of Zebidas  
 Iulius Malchus  
 Theobolus son of Gaddes  
 Zebidas son of Zebida  
 Under the second consulship of the Elder Geta:  
 Mocimus son of Bolanus  
 Iulius Antoninus  
 Magnus son of Vabalathus  
 Claudius son of Zebidas  
 Under the second consulship of Cilo:  
 Monimus son of Aufeus  
 Abidsemias son of Publius  
 Maximus son of Hermogenes

Monimus son of Monimus  
 Abbedas son of Nicaeus  
 Monimus son of Sallumas  
 Charifas son of Iulius  
 Under the consulship of Aper:  
 Zebidas son of Barnaeus  
 Severus son of Antoninus  
 Under the consulship of Pompeianus:  
 Aelius Heliodorus  
 Under the consulship of Faustinus:  
 Aelius Theodorus  
 Bassus son of Tiberinus  
 ... son of Malchus  
 Under the consulship of Messala:  
 Mocimus son of Zebidas  
 Iadibelus son of Ammaeus  
 Barnaeus son of Iaraboles  
 Aurelius ...  
 Mocimus ...'

*fr. a col. II:* 'Themarsas son of Iarhaeus  
 Zabdibolus son of Themes  
 Aurelius Apollonius  
 Under the second consulship of Laetus:  
 Iulius Bassus  
 Aurelius Marinus  
 Aurelius Bargas  
 Aurelius Demetrius  
 Under the second consulship of Sabinus:  
 Aurelius Longinus  
 Aurelius Calpurnius  
 Aurelius Magnus  
 Aurelius Malchus  
 Aurelius Apollinarius  
 Aurelius Aprianus  
 Bassus son of Goras  
 Aurelius Romanus  
 Aurelius Bassus  
 Aurelius Marinus.  
 (Total): 55.

From Marcus' century, under the consulship of Mucianus:  
 centurion Iulius Marcus  
 Under the consulship of Erucius Clarus:  
 Malchus...  
 Under the consulship of Tertullus:  
 Barsemias...  
 Under the second consulship of Dexter:  
 Abbas ...  
 Under the consulship of Saturninus: ...'

*fr. a col. III*

|              |                  |
|--------------|------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | Domittius Salman |
| <sup>2</sup> | Abgarus Iaraei   |
| <sup>3</sup> | Marinus Seleuci  |
| <sup>4</sup> | Nisamsus Addei   |
| <sup>5</sup> | Aurel Barchalbas |
| <sup>6</sup> | Iaraeus Zebida   |
| <sup>7</sup> | Iul Salman       |

*fr. a col. IV*

|                      |
|----------------------|
| Aurel [              |
| Calpurnius Gaulianus |
| Mammeus Bibe [       |
| Aurel Ma[l]ch[u]s    |
| Sabino II cos        |
| Domittius Nicolaus   |
| Aurel Demetrius      |

|    |                        |                          |
|----|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 8  | Heliodorus Zebida      | Aurel Maximus            |
| 9  | Seuero III cos         | Aurel Domittius          |
| 10 | Iul Domittius          | Aurel Barlahas           |
| 11 | Iaraboles Themarsa     | Aurel Zabdas             |
| 12 | Geta seniore II cos    | Aurel Apollonius         |
| 13 | Marinus Barathe        | Aurel Bassus             |
| 14 | Salmanes Iamlichi      | Aurel Flavius            |
| 15 | Maris Iarhaei          | LII                      |
| 16 | Valer Malchi           | ⁄ Antonini Victorini cos |
| 17 | Cilone II cos          | ord Domittius Antoninus  |
| 18 | Iul Soemus             | Erucio Claro cos         |
| 19 | Mauelas Abidadadi      | Malchus Anani            |
| 20 | Antonino II cos        | Tertullo cos             |
| 21 | Zabdes Malchi          | Iul Barḥadadus           |
| 22 | Zabdibolus Hammae[     | Dextro I[I] ços          |
| 23 | Apro et Maxi[mo] ç[o]s | Malchus Diogeni          |
| 24 | Zenodorus Artemidoṛi   | Zabdaathes Mocimi        |
| 25 | Faustino cos           | Anulino cos              |
| 26 | Quintus Iulian[u]s     | Demetrius Bannaei        |
| 27 | Iul Menandrus          | Iul Apollonius           |
| 28 | duobus Aspris cos      | Victorino cos            |
| 29 | Cl Tiberinus           | ....um s[ ]oga           |
| 30 | Iarhaboles Udath[i]    | Muciano cos              |
| 31 | [i]Ulpus Anto[ninus]   | Mammeus B[e]lacabi       |
| 32 | Amae[us Zebida]        | Mabogeus [Zao]ra         |
| 33 |                        | ]s                       |

*fr. a col. III: 23* Max[imo co]s *edd.*

*fr. a col. IV: 2* Calpu[rn]ius *edd.* || **3** Marīnus *Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal: Mam[m]e[us] Fink<sup>2</sup> | Bōbe [ (dubitanter an Boba Fink<sup>2</sup>) edd.* || **4** Ma[h] s *Fink* || **5** I[I] *edd.* || **16** Victorino *legendum* || **21** Bar[h]adadus *edd.* || **29** . . . u . . . [ ] . [ ]ola *Fink<sup>1</sup>: [ ]s oga Fink<sup>2</sup>: [ ]s[ ]oga Marichal* || **32** Mabog[e]us *edd.* | Za]ora *edd.*

*fr. a col. III: 'Domitius son of Salmanes*

Abgarus son of Iarhaeus

Marinus son of Seleucus

Nisamsus son of Addeus

Aurelius Barchalbas

Iarhaeus son of Zebida

Iulius son of Salmanes

Heliodorus son of Zebidas

During the third consulship of Severus:

Iulius Domitius

Iarhaboles son of Themarsas

During the third consulship of the Elder Geta:

Marinus son of Barathes

Salmanes son of Iamlichus

Maris son of Iarhaeus

Valerius son of Malchus

During the second consulship of Cilo:

Iulius Soemus

Mauelas son of Abidadadus.

During the second consulship of Antoninus:

Zabdes son of Malchus  
 Zabdibolus son of ...  
 During the consulship of Aper and Maximus:  
 Zenodorus son of Artemidorus  
 During the consulship of Faustinus:  
 Quintus Iulianus  
 Iulius Menandrus  
 During the consulship of the two Aspri:  
 Claudius Tiberinus  
 Iarhaboles son of Udathus  
 Ulpus Antoninus  
 Amaeus son of Zebidas...'

*fr. a col. IV:* 'Aurelius...  
 Calpurnius Gaulianus  
 Mammaeus...  
 Aurelius Malchus  
 During the second consulship of Sabinus:  
 Domitius Nicolaus  
 Aurelius Demetrius  
 Aurelius Maximus  
 Aurelius Domitius  
 Aurelius Barlahas  
 Aurelius Zabdas  
 Aurelius Apollonius  
 Aurelius Bassus  
 Aurelius Flavius.  
 (Total): 52.

From Antoninus' century, under the consulship of Victorinus:  
 centurion Domitius Antoninus  
 During the consulship of Erucius Clarus:  
 Malchus son of Ananius  
 During the consulship of Tertullus:  
 Iulius Barhadadus  
 During the second consulship of Dexter:  
 Malchus son of Diogenes  
 Zabdaathes son of Mocimus  
 During the consulship of Anullinus:  
 Demetrius son of Bannaeus  
 Iulius Apollonius  
 During the consulship of Victorinus:  
 ...  
 During the consulship of Mucianus:  
 Mammaeus son of Belacabus  
 Mabogeus son of Zaoras...'

*fr. a col. V*

|               |       |  |      |
|---------------|-------|--|------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | [     |  |      |
| <sup>2</sup>  | [     |  |      |
| <sup>3</sup>  | [     |  |      |
| <sup>4</sup>  | [     |  |      |
| <sup>5</sup>  | [     |  |      |
| <sup>6</sup>  | Ba[   |  |      |
| <sup>7</sup>  | [     |  | cos] |
| <sup>8</sup>  | Anto[ |  |      |
| <sup>9</sup>  | [     |  |      |
| <sup>10</sup> | [     |  |      |

|<sup>11</sup> [   
 |<sup>12</sup> A[   
 |<sup>13</sup> Iul [   
 |<sup>14</sup> Aurel Germ[anus   
 |<sup>15</sup> Cocceius S . . [   
 |<sup>16</sup> Iul Hadr[ianus   
 |<sup>17</sup> Aurel Hadria[nus   
 |<sup>18</sup> Sabino I[I cos   
 |<sup>19</sup> Aurel Anton[   
 |<sup>20</sup> Aurel Cyrillus   
 |<sup>21</sup> Aurel Ma[ . . . ] . [   
 |<sup>22</sup> Aurel Iul[ianus   
 |<sup>23</sup> Aurel Ba[   
 |<sup>24</sup> Aurel Sal[m   
 |<sup>25</sup> A[ure]l . . . [   
 |<sup>26</sup> Aurel G[   
 |<sup>27</sup> Extri[cato II cos]   
 |<sup>28</sup> Abgarus T[hemarsa]   
 |<sup>29</sup> G[ad]de[s Bore]

*fr. a col. V: 11* [ *edd.* || *13 post Iul: B[ edd.* || *15 Cocceian[u]s* [ *Fink<sup>1</sup>: Cocceius S* [ *Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal* || *16*  
*Had* [ *edd.* || *21* ]i[ *Fink: ]s Marichal* || *22* . [ . ]i[ *edd.* || *24 Sa* [ *edd.* || *26 G* [ *Fink<sup>1</sup>: g* [ . ] [ *Fink<sup>2</sup>:* [ *Marichal*  
 || *28* [Themarsa *edd.* || *29* Gadde[s *edd.*

*fr. a col. V: ‘...  
 Aurelius Germanus  
 Cocceius...  
 Iulius Hadrianus  
 Aurelius Hadrianus  
 Under the second consulship of Sabinus:  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius Cyrillus  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius Iulianus  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Under the second consulship of Extricatus:  
 Abgarus son of Themarsas  
 Gaddes son of Bore...’*

*fr. e+b*

*col. I*

|<sup>1</sup> ]   
 |<sup>2</sup> ]   
 |<sup>3</sup> ]s   
 |<sup>4</sup> ] . . .   
 |<sup>5</sup> A]pri[ [co]s   
 |<sup>6</sup> ]ci   
 |<sup>7</sup> Bar]nei   
 |<sup>8</sup> ] cos   
 |<sup>9</sup>

*col. II*

]   
 ] cos   
 Salme[ . . . . . ] . . [ . . . ] .   
 Au[rel Co]ddeus   
 Abga[rus T]he[me]s   
 Ocbanes Abidla[h]a   
 Se[l]eus Malchi   
 ]as   
 ]



|    |                         |
|----|-------------------------|
| 10 | [Geta seni]ore II [co]s |
| 11 | Ma]lchi                 |
| 12 | ] Nisamsi               |
| 13 | T]hemarsa               |
| 14 | [Aurel A]ntiochus       |
| 15 | ]s Zebida               |
| 16 | [Cilo]ne II cos         |
| 17 | ]nariueus               |
| 18 | ] . nus                 |
| 19 | [Marinu]s Maximi        |
| 20 | [Cassiu]s Sacona        |
| 21 | [Marinu]s Luci          |
| 22 | [Anton]ino II cos       |
| 23 | [Hammaeus O]geli        |
| 24 | ] a[.]e . no cos        |
| 25 | B]arathe                |
| 26 | ] . . [                 |
| 27 | ] .                     |

- - -

*fr. e+b col. I: unam lineam deesse coniecerunt edd. || 3 ]ei Fink: ] Marichal || 4 ] Fink: ]ei[ Marichal || 5 ] . . [ . . ] Fink: ]s Marichal || 6 ]i edd. || 7 ]bei edd. || 8 ] cos Fink*

*fr. e+b col. II: 3 Salme[s ] . [ Fink: Salme[s . . . . . ] . [ Marichal | uestigium fine lineae recognoui || 5 Abgar[us edd. || 8–10 duas lineas vacuas hic vidit Marichal || 15 ] edd. || 18 ] us edd. || 23 O]geli[ edd. || 24 fortasse Ma[t]erno: Po]mpeiano edd.*

*fr. e+b col. I: ‘...'*

During the consulship of the two Aspri:

...

...son of Barnaeus

During the consulship ...’

*fr. e+b col. II: ‘...'*

During the consulship...

Salme...

Aurelius Coddeus

Abgarus son of Themes

Ocbanes son of Abidlahas

Seleus son of Malchus

...

During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:

... son of Malchus

... son of Nisamsus

... son of Themarsas

Aurelius Antiochus

... son of Zebidas

During the second consulship of Cilo:

...

Marinus son of Maximus

Cassius son of Saconas

Marinus son of Lucius

During the second consulship of Antoninus:

Hammaeus son of Ogelus...

During the consulship...

... son of Barathes ...’

fr. e+b

col. III

<sup>1</sup> Aurel Marinus  
<sup>2</sup> Aurel Flavius  
<sup>3</sup> Cl Hairan  
<sup>4</sup> Aurel Monimus  
<sup>5</sup> Iaraeus Abgari  
<sup>6</sup> Aurel Marinus  
<sup>7</sup> Iaraeus Theoboli  
<sup>8</sup> Laeto II cos  
<sup>9</sup> Aurel Apollonius Mesenus  
<sup>10</sup> Aurel Bassus  
<sup>11</sup> Sabino II cos  
<sup>12</sup> Aurel Mucia[n]us  
<sup>13</sup> Aurel Paulus  
<sup>14</sup> Aurel Alexandrus  
<sup>15</sup> Aurel Basileus  
<sup>16</sup> Aurel Zinne[ . ]s  
<sup>17</sup> Aurel Heliodorus  
<sup>18</sup> Aurel Antoninus  
<sup>19</sup> Aurel Livianus  
<sup>20</sup> Aurel Addeus  
<sup>21</sup> Aurel Marinus  
<sup>22</sup> alter Marinus  
<sup>23</sup> Aurel Barsemias  
<sup>24</sup> Extricato II cos  
<sup>25</sup> Aurel Zabdas  
<sup>26</sup> LVIII Tertullo cos  
<sup>27</sup> † Seleuciana [[Dextr[o] II cos]]  
<sup>28</sup> [Za]bdibolus Malacheli  
<sup>29</sup> [Zabdi]bolus Sad[ . ] i  
<sup>30</sup> ] A[nto]nino [I]I cos  
<sup>31</sup> ] [ . ]s  
<sup>32</sup>  
<sup>33</sup>  
<sup>35</sup>  
<sup>36</sup>  
<sup>37</sup>  
<sup>38</sup>

col. IV

Ulpius Seuerus  
 Iu[.]li[us] [Sa]lman  
 Cilone II cos  
 Abidmalchus Marosa[  
 Maximus [Ho]tarei  
 Iul Hel[.]iodor[us]  
 Iul Ab[ . . . . .]s  
 Baricbelus Bassi  
 Iade[u]s Them[a]rsa  
 diuo Antonino II cos  
 Iul Bassus  
 Aurel Mucianus  
 Bassus Barsimsi  
 Albino cos  
 Septimius Heliodori  
 Apro et Maxim[o cos]  
 Iul Romanus  
 Abbis Marona  
 Iaraeus Barnaei  
 Faustino cos  
 Iaraeus Zebida  
 duobus Aspris [cos]  
 Themarsas Nisamsi  
 Macrinus Maximi  
 Mocimus Antonini  
 Messala cos  
 Iaraboles Obean  
 Aurel Gai  
 Mocimus Anto[ni]  
 Aurel Seleuc[  
 Abdeus Zabb[  
 Aurel Barsims[us  
 Nisreus  
 Iaraeus [[ . . . . .]]  
 Fl Demetrius  
 Aurel B . . . . [  
 Aure[.]l  
 A[

fr. e+b col. III: **14** Alexa[nd]rus edd. || **27** [[Dextro II cos]] *Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal*: [[Dextr[o II] cos]] *Fink<sup>2</sup>* || **30** ] . [ . . . . s edd. || **31** ] . . [ edd.

fr. e+b col. IV: **2** I[ul]ius edd. || **15** Heliodor[us] *Fink<sup>1</sup>*: Heliodor[us] *Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal* || **29** Anto[n] *Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal*: Anto[ni- *Fink<sup>2</sup>* || **30** Seleuc[us] *Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal* || **33** Nisre[us] *correctum ex Nisaeu[s Fink<sup>1</sup>: Nisams[ correctum ex Nisrae[i Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal | medelam supra lineam recognoui*

*fr. e+b col. III:* ‘Aurelius Marinus  
 Aurelius Flavius  
 Claudius son of Hairanes  
 Aurelius Monimus  
 Iarhaeus son of Abgarus  
 Aurelius Marinus  
 Iarhaeus son of Theobolus  
 During the second consulship of Laetus  
 Aurelius Apollonius Mesenus  
 Aurelius Bassus  
 During the second consulship of Sabinus:  
 Aurelius Mucianus  
 Aurelius Paulus  
 Aurelius Alexandrus  
 Aurelius Basileus  
 Aurelius Zinne...  
 Aurelius Heliodorus  
 Aurelius Antoninus  
 Aurelius Livianus  
 Aurelius Addeus  
 Aurelius Marinus  
 Marinus the second  
 Aurelius Barsemias  
 During the second consulship of Extricatus:  
 Aurelius Zabdas.  
 (Total): 59.

From the century formerly of Seleucus [under the consulship of Tertullus (*erased*)] during the second consulship of Dexter:  
 Zabdibolus son of Malachelus  
 Zabdibolus...  
 During the second consulship of Antoninus...’

*fr. e+b col. IV:* ‘Ulpus Severus  
 Iulius son of Salmanes.  
 During the second consulship of Cilo:  
 Abidmalchus son of Marosa  
 Maximus son of Hotareus  
 Iulius Heliodorus  
 Iulius...  
 Baricbelus son of Bassus  
 Iadeus son of Themarsas  
 During the second consulship of Antoninus:  
 Iulius Bassus  
 Aurelius Mucianus  
 Bassus son of Barsimsus  
 During the consulship of Albinus  
 Septimius son of Heliodorus  
 During the consulship of Aper and Maximus  
 Iulius Romanus  
 Abbis son of Marona  
 Iarhaeus son of Barnaeus  
 During the consulship of Faustinus:  
 Iarhaeus son of Zebidas  
 During the consulship of the two Aspri:  
 Themarsas son of Nisamsus  
 Macrinus son of Maximus  
 Mocimus son of Antoninus  
 During the consulship of Messala:  
 Iarhaboles son of Obeanes

Aurelius son of Gaius  
 Mocimus son of Anton...  
 Aurelius (son of?) Seleucus  
 Abdelus...  
 Aurelius Barsimsus...  
 Iarhaeus Nisraeus (?)  
 Flavius Demetrius  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...'

9 The sequence 'Apollonius Mesenus' after Aurel *appears* to have been written by a different hand, or more likely in a different moment (and in distinctly smaller letters).

*fr. c*

*col. I*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> Malchus . . [  
 |<sup>2</sup> Faustino co[s  
 |<sup>3</sup> [Mo]cimus Salm[es  
 |<sup>4</sup> [duobu]s Aspris [co]s  
 |<sup>5</sup> ]s Zebida  
 |<sup>6</sup> ]di  
 |<sup>7</sup> ]us  
 |<sup>8</sup> ] o . [ . ]s  
 |<sup>9</sup> Messal[a] cos  
 |<sup>10</sup> ]a[ . ] ba[ . ] n  
 |<sup>11</sup> ] rus  
 |<sup>12</sup> ] The[m]arsa  
 |<sup>13</sup> ]s  
 ---

*fr. c col. I: 1* [M]alchus[ . . ] edd. || *2* Faustīn[o] edd. || *3* S . . . edd. || *8* ]o . [ . ] . ]s edd. || *10* ]a[ . ] . . a n edd. || *11* ] r[ . ]s edd.

*fr. c col. I: '... Malchus...  
 During the consulship of Faustinus:  
 Mocimus son of Salmes.  
 During the consulship of the two Aspri:  
 ...son of Zebidas  
 ...  
 During the consulship of Messala:  
 ...  
 ... son of Themarsas ...'*

*fr. c*

*col. II*

*fr. d (= col. III)*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]a  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]e  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] XL .  
 |<sup>4</sup> ʒ M]alchiana Anulino II [cos

|               |             |      |                              |
|---------------|-------------|------|------------------------------|
| <sup>5</sup>  |             |      | Rubathus S . . [             |
| <sup>6</sup>  |             |      | Tertullo co[s                |
| <sup>7</sup>  |             |      | Iaraeus Nisam[si             |
| <sup>8</sup>  | h[          |      | Salmanes Th[e]me             |
| <sup>9</sup>  | [           |      | Dextro II cos                |
| <sup>10</sup> | Themarsa[s  |      | Mari[nus] Themarsa[          |
| <sup>11</sup> | [           | co]s | Sa[tu]rnino cos              |
| <sup>12</sup> | Re[         |      | Thema[rs]a . [ . . . ] . . [ |
| <sup>13</sup> | L[          |      |                              |
| <sup>14</sup> | Zabdi[bolus |      |                              |
| <sup>15</sup> | I[          |      |                              |
|               | - - -       |      |                              |

*fr. c col. II: 12* Aur[el(ius) *Fink* || **13** 1 . [ (*dubitanter an* La[eto II cos) *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: lacunam statuit *Fink*<sup>2</sup>: . [ *Marichal* || **14** Zab . . [ *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: Zabdi[b]olus *Fink*<sup>2</sup>: Zab[di]b[olus *Marichal*

*fr. d (= col. III): 2 ]* . *edd.* || **3 ]XLV** *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || **4** [A]nolino *edd.* || **7 ]** . . . eus Nisams[ *edd.* || **8** Sal]manes *edd.*

*fr. c col. II: '... During the consulship of Tertullus*

...

Themarsas...

During the consulship of...

Zabdibolus ...'

*fr. d: 'From the century formerly of Malchus, during the second consulship of Anullinus:*

Rubathus...

Iarhaeus son of Nisamsus

Salmanes son of Themes.

During the second consulship of Dexter:

Marinus son of Themarsas.

During the consulship of Saturninus:

Themarsas...'

*P.Dura 55A* (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 105)

AD 218–20

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 380–2 no. 90); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VI 310 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 194 (1992). TM 44774

Frr. (papyrus sheet): *a* (14x21.2 cm); *b* (14.8x7.8 cm); *c* (3.8x4.7 cm); *d* (1.8x1.4 cm); *e* (2x1.9 cm); *f* (1x2.4 cm); *g* (3.8x3.2 cm); *h* (2.2x1.2 cm)

The original *P.Dura 55* contains fragments from a Latin (55A) and a Greek letter (55B), which were originally written in a single papyrus sheet.<sup>411</sup> The papyrus is one of the very few military papyri from Dura which was not found in room W13. Instead, it was found ‘in Wall Street, near the Main Gate’,<sup>412</sup> probably around blocks L7 and L8, in the western corner of the town.<sup>413</sup> The blank *verso*, which bears no name of a recipient, suggests that the letters were copies, presumably handed over to the recipient rather than actually sent.<sup>414</sup> The two letters did not end up in a *liber epistularum* such as *P.Dura 66* or that including *P.Dura 56, 59* etc. According to their current disposition in the glass frame, the undoubtedly Latin fragments (forming *P.Dura 55A*) are *a* to *h*. Some alterations have occurred in the disposition of the fragments, which I note below:

- fr. *h* has been reattached to fr. *c* after Marichal inspected it;
- fr. *d*, although published and mentioned by Gilliam, Fink and Marichal, has apparently vanished and does not appear in Cugusi’s edition; I was unable to find it in the frame;
- fr. *r*, *s* and *z* (which I publish here for the first time) are Latin and do not feature in the preceding editions; also fr. *p*, *t* might be Latin, but too little survives of their text, safely to determine it.

Both letters mention problems with the behaviour of the soldiers from the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort, who are described as going astray (fr. *a* col. I ll. 6–8) and in need of a restoration of discipline (fr. *b* ll. 3–5). Whereas the Latin portion appears to contain an order to the tribune of the *cohors*, to set things right, the Greek one might have been either a translation or ‘a memorandum addressed by local magistrates ... complaining of soldiers’ misbehaviour’.<sup>415</sup> As to the circumstances of the mischief, one may think either of an isolated event, or of troubles specifically related to the revolt against Macrinus and the elevation of Elagabalus; the cohort might have supported Macrinus and therefore the rioting after his murder in AD 218.<sup>416</sup>

fr. *a* col. I

|               |                                                   |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | [ . . . . . ] sem d' n' sanctissimo               |
| <sup>2</sup>  | [Imp] Marco Aurel· inuictō . . .                  |
| <sup>3</sup>  | [ . . . . . ] litteras suas quas                  |
| <sup>4</sup>  | cun[ . . . ] acit[ . . . ] ad[ . . . . . ]        |
| <sup>5</sup>  | uehementer n[ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] s           |
| <sup>6</sup>  | milites co[h] XX [Palm]yrenorum                   |
| <sup>7</sup>  | sublatis santis si[gni]s derelictis               |
| <sup>8</sup>  | castris[ . . . . . ] disciplina                   |
| <sup>9</sup>  | [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ] a Para[po]tamia |
| <sup>10</sup> | [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ]                       |

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fr. *a* col. I: 1 ] em (*dubitanter an de*]cem) Gilliam Fink Marichal: ]dem Cugusi || 2 [Imp(eratore)] Gilliam Martichal | Marcó edd. | inuictō [ . . . ] Fink: inu[ictō . . . ] Gilliam Cugusi: inu[ictō . . . ] Marichal || 2–3 *dubitanter an inu[ictō* Pio | Fel(ici) Aug(usto)] Gilliam Marichal Cugusi || 3 ] litteras Gilliam Marichal

<sup>411</sup> The scribe may be the same for the Latin and the Greek letter (*ChLA* VI: 11).

<sup>412</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 213).

<sup>413</sup> *ChLA* (VIII: 5).

<sup>414</sup> *ChLA* (VI: 11).

<sup>415</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 214); Gilliam, however, is skeptical about the former hypothesis.

<sup>416</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 213).

*Cugusi* || 4 . . . un . . . [ . . . ]scit[ . . . ] [ . . . . . . . . . . ] *Gilliam*: un . . . [ . . . ]asi . . . [ . . . ]s ad[ (dubitanter an ]adi . . . ]  
*Fink*: . . . un . . . [ . . . ]acit[ . . . ] [ . . . . . . . . . . ] *Marichal*: ]acit[ . . . ]s [ . . . ] *Cugusi* || 5 n[ *Gilliam* | [ . . . . . . . . . . ] *edd.* | . . . ]  
*Fink* || 6 coh( ) XX [Palm]yrenorum *Gilliam Fink*: co[h(ortis) XX Palm]yrenorum *Marichal Cugusi* || 7  
sanctis legendum || 7–8 sublat[ . . . ]s sa . . . . . . . . . . [ . . . ] derelictis castr[is] . . . . . . . . . . ] disciplina (dubitanter an  
sublat[i]s santis si[gni]s derelictis castr[is] soluta] disciplina) *Gilliam*: sublat[i]s sant . . . . . . . . . . [ . . . ]s derelictis  
castr[is] . . . . . . . . . . ] disciplina *Fink*: sublat[i]s santis si[gni]s derelictis castr[is] . . . . . . . . . . ] disciplina *Marichal*:  
sublatis santis si[gni]s derelictis castr[is] soluta] disciplina *Cugusi* || 9 [agant] dubitanter *Cugusi collato fr.*  
*b l. 5* | . . . ] *edd.* || 10 | . . . . . ] r . . . . . ] *Gilliam Fink Marichal*

*fr. a col. I*: ‘... to our lord, the most revered and undefeated Emperor Marcus Aurelius ... his letters, which ... strongly ... the soldiers of the 20<sup>th</sup> cohort of the Palmyrenes, having removed the holy ensigns, left the camp, ... the discipline ... Parapotamia...’

**1** The fragment contains portions of two columns, one Latin (col. I) and one Greek (col. II, which does not feature here). Since the upper margin of the Latin text is visible, but there is no greeting formula with sender, addressee and *salutem* – nor can we find any trace of the ‘*accepta* + date’ formula of inclusion within the *liber epistularum*, it is much likely that another Latin column preceded *fr. a*. The following *fr. b*, on the other hand, probably contained the end of the Latin letter.<sup>417</sup> Note the abbreviation *d(omino) n(ostro)*, signalled by two *apices* instead of the more common *interpuncta*.

**1–2** As in *P.Dura* 63, letter *o* in *sanctissimo* and *Marco* is made with a long ornamental stroke pointing upwards, which might be mistaken for an acute accent:

**Fig. 5.20**

Notice *Aurel*· for *Aurel(io)*.

**7** Notice the unit’s ‘holy standards’ (*sancta signa*), also in *ChLA* XI 487 *recto*, l. 2 *sanctis sig[nis]*.<sup>418</sup>

**9** The name *Parapotamia* is of Greek origin and appears in *PLIN. Nat.* 6, 131, where it is defined as a region close to Tigris (*proxima Tigri regio Parapotamia appellatur*); and 12, 133, where it is remembered as one of the geographical sources for the *oenanthe* (οἰνάνθη), the grape of the wild wine: *praecipua ex Parapotamia, secunda ab Antiochia atque Laudicea Syriae, tertia ex montibus Medicis; haec utilior medicinae* ‘the main variety comes from Parapotamia, the second from Antiochia and Laodicea in Syria, the third from the mountains of Media; this is the most useful in medicine’. Since *Dura* lay on the right bank of the Euphrates, it would have been located at the extreme south of the region; it was, anyway, the district to which the town belonged.<sup>419</sup> Lack of context prevents us from speculating on the reason for the presence of this word.

*fr. b*

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<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ] em Valeri C[o]mazonti[s . . . . . . . . . . ]  
<sup>2</sup> [a]uctoritate sacra de [ . . . . . . . . . . ]  
<sup>3</sup> te sine mora commilit[ones in castra]  
<sup>4</sup> sua inducere et de cetero [curare]  
<sup>5</sup> ut ex disciplina aga[nt.]

*fr. b: 1* ]em (fortasse et ]um) *Gilliam*: ] . . . um *Fink* | u em pr pr] vel in quo ex] e.g. *Gilliam* || 1–2 ex |  
a]uctoritate sacra dubitanter *Cugusi* || 2 dep[osc . . . . . ] *Gilliam*: dubitanter an dea[rmare *Marichal*

<sup>417</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 214); *CEL* (II: 277).

<sup>418</sup> TM 69977.

<sup>419</sup> See also Edwell (2007: 68).

*fr. b:* ‘... of Valerius Comazon... the sacred authority ... you (are ordered?) without delay, to bring your comrades in arms back in their camp and, as to the rest, see that they behave with discipline’.

**1** Along with Marius Maximus in *P.Dura* 56, Valerius Comazon is one of the few people mentioned in Dura papyri who were well known already from historical sources. A supporter of both Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, and involved in the revolt against Macrinus, Comazon enjoyed a prosperous career from relatively obscure birth.<sup>420</sup> His presence (whose reason is unfathomable, as the context is fragmentary) has led Gilliam to believe that he is the sender, or among the senders, of the letter(s); and to date the letter between AD 218, when Comazon was in charge of *legio II Parthica* in Apamea, and 220, when he was nominated *praefectus praetorio* and ‘had little connection with the East’.<sup>421</sup> Marichal, however, has pointed out that if the letter is, in fact, a *cahier des doléances* sent to a governor of Syria concerning unrest in the troops, Comazon would have produced it in the capacity of a *praefectus praetorio*, rather than as a *praefectus* of a legion which was never stationed in Dura. The sender would rather be, in his opinion, a local officer conveying orders from the provincial prefect.<sup>422</sup>

*fr. c+h*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ] . . ot [ . . . ] terarum Vale[ri  
|<sup>2</sup> ] nt e[ . ] quoda [ .  
|<sup>3</sup> co]h XX Palmyrenorum [ .  
|<sup>4</sup> ] tita[ . ] [ . ]

*fr. c+h: 1* Val[eri Gilliam Fink | Comazontis] *edd.* || **2** ] . . nt [ Gilliam (*dubitanter an m[ ]*) Fink: ] nt ad[ Marichal: *om. Cugusi* | *dubitanter an quod ad vel quodam Marichal* || **3** ] ta [ . ] Palmyreni [ Gilliam Fink: ] ta [ . ] XX Palmyrenorum [ Marichal: ] . [ . ] XX Cugusi || **4** ] . . [ Gilliam Fink Marichal: ] . . [ Cugusi

*fr. c+h:* ‘... the letters (?) of Valerius ... the 20<sup>th</sup> cohort of the Palmyrenes...’

*fr. e*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ] arios ei [ .  
|<sup>2</sup> ] [ . ] m des [ .  
---

*fr. e: 1* ] ariosei [ Gilliam: ] arios ei [ Fink: ] arios e [ Marichal Cugusi || **2** ] [ . ] m des [ Gilliam Fink

*fr. f*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ] s s u [ .  
|<sup>2</sup> ] exeue[ .  
---

<sup>420</sup> ‘Freedman who first appeared as a mime. Later a soldier in Thracia; transferred to the fleet as punishment by Claudius Attalus. How he succeeded in rising in the army cannot be precisely determined. In AD 218, he commanded a legion in Syria. Involved in the revolt against Macrinus. He was named *praefectus praetorio* by Elagabalus and received the *ornamenta consularia*; enrolled in the Senate; two or three times *praefectus urbi*; *cos. II ord.* in 220 together with Elagabalus. Also briefly active as *praefectus urbi* under Severus Alexander. His descendants are traceable to the end of the 3rd cent’ (*PIR*<sup>1</sup> V 42).

<sup>421</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 213).

<sup>422</sup> *ChLA* (VI: 11).



*fr. f. 1* ] s· s· u [ *edd.*: s(upra) s(criptis) *dubitanter Cugusi* || **2** exe [ *Gilliam Fink*: exeue[ *Marichal*: ex  
eue[ (*dubitanter an ex eue[ntu) Cugusi*

**2** Gilliam<sup>423</sup> has pointed out ‘an abbreviation mark or small *u* above the fourth letter’ of *fr. f.* The sign is so far unclear in nature and purpose.

*fr. g*  
- - -  
|<sup>1</sup> ...[  
|<sup>2</sup> -rige [   
|<sup>3</sup> leri [   
|<sup>4</sup> ..]qua[  
- - -

*fr. g: 1–2* fortasse Ho]rigen[es || **2** roge [ *edd.* || **3** fortasse ta[ *vel Valeri Ç[o]m[azontis*: ... [ *edd.* || **4** ] ma  
*Gilliam Fink*: ]qua[ *Marichal*: ] a[ *Cugusi*

*fr. r*  
- - -  
|<sup>1</sup> ]es rin [   
- - -

*fr. r: fortasse* princ[ipia *quolibet casu*

*fr. s*  
- - -  
|<sup>1</sup> ]res [   
- - -

*fr. z*  
- - -  
|<sup>1</sup> ]s s[   
|<sup>2</sup> ] isa[   
- - -

<sup>423</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 216).

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 18–51 no. 1); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VIII 355 (1976). TM 44832

Frr. (papyrus roll): frame 1 (coll. I-II: 13.5x22.5 cm; coll. III-V, frr. *a+b+c*: 7.7x7.3 cm; *d*: 3.7x2.2 cm; *e*: 4.4x2.2 cm; *f*: 5.4x2.7; *g*: 3.7x3.2; *h*: 4.3x4.4; *i*: 4.3x2.7 cm; *j*: 3.6x1.5 cm); 2 (coll. VI-VIII: 23.5x41.2 cm); 3 (coll. IX-XII: 24.2x45.9 cm); 4 (coll. XIII-XVI: 23.5x47.5 cm); 5 (coll. XVI-XIX 20.2x42.2 cm); 6 (coll. XX-XXII: 20.3x42.1 cm); 7 (coll. XXIII-XXV: 20.3x43 cm); 8 (coll. XXVI-XXVII: 22x28.5 cm); 9 (coll. XXVIII-XXIX: 24.7x27.7 cm); 10 (coll. XXX-XXXII: 37.8x25.3 cm); 11 (coll. XXXIII-XXXV: 25.5x37 cm); 12 (coll. XXXVI-XXXVIII: 25.5x36 cm); 13 (coll. XXXIX-XLI: 25x37.5 cm); 14 (coll. XLII-XLIV: 25x37 cm); frr. *a* (1.7x7.7 cm); *b* (1x3.7 cm); *c* (1.9x1.8 cm); *d* (3.5x1.9 cm); *e* (0.6x3.1 cm); *f* (1.5x2.2 cm); *g* (2.9x1.5 cm); *h* (8.9x1.2 cm); *i* (2.2x13.6 cm); *j* (3.2x10.9 cm); *k* (2.3x3.8 cm); *l* (3.8x5.5 cm); *m* (2.4x1.5 cm); *n* (2.8x2 cm); *o* (2.3x1.3 cm); *p* (3.3x4.3 cm); *q* (3.3x3 cm); *r* (4.1x2.2 cm); *s* (3.9x2.8 cm); *t* (3.8x7.8 cm); *u* (1.6x10.9 cm); *v* (1.4x16 cm); *w* (2x2.6 cm); *x* (1.1x1.2 cm); *y* (1.1x0.5 cm); *z* (1.50x26.2 cm)

The papyrus, so far the largest surviving item from the Durene papyrological collection (44 extant columns), is a roster, roughly complete; a list, that is, of all the soldiers of the 20<sup>th</sup> cohort of the Palmyrenes around AD 219. The list has been drawn up by a single hand throughout the whole papyrus; but in the marginal annotations Marichal has identified and carefully described at least fifteen hands.<sup>424</sup> The original document was probably 5.5 metres long, and when not in use, was rolled in the usual reading position; hence, the beginning of the roll has undergone damage in several places (coll. III to V survive in scraps), whereas the last columns are the better preserved. Small fragments and scraps are spread all over the remnants of the manuscript, which is currently preserved in 14 glass frames. Realignment of the fragments in the right way, as for *P.Dura* 66, was once again the work of Dr H. Ibscher.<sup>425</sup> Extant complete columns have 36 to 40 lines. The current disposition of the fragments in the frame have been in some instances slightly altered, causing confusion.<sup>426</sup>

The expected lay-out for rosters, as visible also in *P.Dura* 101 (and described in chapter 2.3.1.), is featured here. The names of the soldiers are listed according to their centuries and their *turmae*; the nouns *centuria* (Ϛ) and *turma* (ⱥ) have their customary symbols in Latin papyri. All six centuries are here attested for the first time: Septimius Danymus and Iulius Marcus, Domitius Antoninus, Castricius, Iulius Marianus and Malchus, who was probably dead or had been removed when the list was drawn up, as his century is marked with the adjective *Malchiana*.<sup>427</sup> Marcus and Antoninus are already attested in *P.Dura* 66 and 98, slightly earlier than this document. *P.Dura* 100, on the other hand, is the first Durene Latin papyrus where one notices the decurions (all five of them, in fact): Zebidas Iarhaei, (Themarsas) Tiberini, Ulpus Demetrius, Lucius Octavius, Ulpus Antoninus.<sup>428</sup> Within the single sub-unit, after the name of the centurion or the decurion, and their immediate inferiors in rank within the chain of command – *duplicarii* and/or *sesquuplicarii* – soldiers are grouped according to their date of enlistment, signalled by the consular dating formula, usually very short (only one consul almost always appears). The earliest dating formula – here, and overall in the Durene Latin papyri – is AD 192 (col. XXI l. 6 *Commodo VII cos*); the latest, AD 219 (col. XXXI ll. 14–15 *Imp Antonino Aug II | et Sacerdote II cos*) – hence, the proposed dating. At the end of the document, the camel-

<sup>424</sup> *ChLA* (VIII: 3–4).

<sup>425</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 308–9).

<sup>426</sup> In col. II the scrap in the right section of the reconstructed column is aligned slightly more downwards if compared to how it was in the photographs Marichal worked on; the same holds for the two highest scraps in col. VII. A small scrap at the very bottom of col. IX has been moved to the right portion of the frame, at the lower right portion of col. XI. The last scrap in the right side of col. XIX is in fact rotated 180° and is from the *verso*: it should be turned upside down in the glass. Scraps which Fink and Marichal could see are missing from the bottom right corner of coll. XXX and XXXI.

<sup>427</sup> Col. I begins introducing the *centuria Danymi*; one is not sure where the *centuria Marci* starts, as coll. II–V are fragmentary. Nevertheless, the *centuria Marci* was there, as it is featured in col. XLIII within the list of camel-drivers. As col. XI begins with Antoninus' century, at least coll. IX–X most likely belong to that of Marcus. Then one sees Antoninus (coll. XI–XVI), who will become Antoninus *Posterior* in *P.Dura* 101; Castricius (coll. XVI–XX); Marianus (coll. XXI–XXVI); and the *centuria Malchiana* (col. XXVI–XXXI). On the use of the adjective *Malchiana* instead of the genitive *Malchi*, see the introductory note to *P.Dura* 66. In col. XXVI ll. 13–4 a *singularis duplicarius*, whose name is almost entirely lost, is listed immediately under the name of the *centuria* and the enlistment date; he probably was the commanding officer while Malchus was being replaced.

<sup>428</sup> One can see Zebidas' *turma* listed in coll. XXXI–XXXIII; then that of Themarsas son of Tiberinus (coll. XXXIII–XXXV); that of Demetrius (coll. XXXVI–XXXVIII); Octavius (coll. XXXVIII–XLI); and Antoninus (coll. XLI–XLIII).

troopers (*dromadarii*) are listed separately, again according to their centuries (col. XLIII l. 18 – XLIV); contrariwise to Fink,<sup>429</sup> Dabrowa seems to think that camel-troopers had a *turma* of their own, with a *sesquiplicarius* in command.<sup>430</sup> At the end of each century, the total number of the men in that century is listed, usually with an explicit mention of the *duplicarii* (e.g. *in his dupl* and then a figure).

Kennedy has pointed out the oddity of a *cohors* supposedly *milliaria* (as the Palmyrene cohort includes a little less than a thousand men) which only has six centuries and five squadrons, instead of the expected 10 and 8. After taking into consideration Gilliam and Fink's opinion, according to which the apparently missing 4 centuries of the cohort were outside *Dura* in a detachment, he argues that the cohort was in fact *quingenaria*, and was artificially enlarged in about AD 170, when Avidius Cassius' rebellion forced Marcus Aurelius to enhance recruitment in the region, and enlarge the existing units.<sup>431</sup> Gilliam acknowledges a rise in the enrolment of soldiers in AD 214–6, which can be put in the context of Caracalla's campaign against the Parthians, then in preparation. He believes, however, that in the Palmyrene cohort, the cavalryman (*eques*) was in fact none other than a promoted and better paid infantryman (*pedes*), usually after ten years of service; there was, according to him, no such thing as separate career branches in the Roman army, but cavalrymen and infantrymen were different steps of the same career. This would explain why after AD 205 so few cavalrymen are actually enrolled, and why they end up being the oldest members of the cohort.<sup>432</sup>

In the left margins, the customary set of graphical devices<sup>433</sup> is to mark differences between the single soldiers: horizontal bars, very frequent and normally not matched with other specifications; oblique bars often combining with the horizontal ones to form an angle, with a rank inscribed in it; large, black dots, appearing either with or without the horizontal and oblique bars, and often joined by smaller dots at the left of the large ones. In some cases no less than four black dots (two small ones and then two large ones) appear.<sup>434</sup> Ranks and roles featured include:

- *cor* = *cornicularius* 'adjutant';<sup>435</sup>
- *dispos* (but *disposit* in col. XXXII l. 23; XXXV l. 28) = *dispositus*, probably meaning 'relay rider', usually associated with cavalrymen;<sup>436</sup>
- *explora* (but *explorato* in col. XXXII 38; *expl* col. XXXIX 12) = *explorator* 'scout';<sup>437</sup>
- *m e*, according to Marichal *m(issus) e(meritus)*; this is strongly likely, as all names after the notation *m e* are erased from the list through a horizontal stroke, as if they were no longer available for service (but no *theta nigrum* is to be found);<sup>438</sup>
- *ord* = *ordinatus* 'centurion';
- *singul* = *singularis*, a man selected for escorts or as a bodyguard;
- *singul cos* = *singularis consularis*, the same rank but in the governor's office;
- *sig* = *signifer*, 'standard-bearer';
- *trasl* = *translatus*, 'transferred'; one normally sees *in coh* = *in cohortem*, i.e. some other cohort in the vicinity; but in at least one case, the *legio IIII Scythica* might have been the final destination for the officer mentioned.<sup>439</sup>
- *uex* = *uexillarius*, the bearer of *uexilla*, another kind of standard. Marichal is perplexed by the presence of *uexillarri* among the infantry, as they would normally be cavalrymen.<sup>440</sup>

<sup>429</sup> '... when the cohort included *dromedarii*, these were not organized as a separate force, though they were accounted for separately in the records, but were attached individually to various centuries, possibly also to *turmae*' (Fink 1947, 170).

<sup>430</sup> Dabrowa (1991: 364–5); see *P.Dura* 88, l. 4.

<sup>431</sup> Kennedy (1994: 96–8).

<sup>432</sup> Gilliam (1965: 75–6).

<sup>433</sup> Overall described in chapter 2.3.1.

<sup>434</sup> More precisely, four dots for the *cornicularius* and two for *duplicarii*, *sesquiplicarii*, *decuriones* and other superior officers (*principales*). The dots are clearly connected with rank.

<sup>435</sup> See Albana (2013: 13–16) and Salati (2017: 146–7), both with attached bibliography.

<sup>436</sup> See Fink (1971: 15).

<sup>437</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>438</sup> See *P.Dura* 102, the introduction and and commentary *ad loc.* for this sign.

<sup>439</sup> Col. XXVII l. 21.

<sup>440</sup> *ChLA* (VIII: 10).

Many individual names are joined by a particular notation, concerning a mission or detachment in which the soldier was involved. Those notations include:

- *ad dom* (but *domin* in col. XXIX l. 6) *n* = *ad dominum nostrum*, probably an escort for a visiting Emperor (most likely *Elagabalus* in AD 218);<sup>441</sup>

- *ad equum probandum*, for those who undertook the examination and approval (*probatio*) of a horse;

- *ad hordeum*, for those sent to collect barley;

- *ad hostias*, for those who collected animals for the ritual sacrifices;

- *ad leones*, probably referring either to a place or to actual lions in Dura's amphitheatre, against which the soldiers had to fight (a disciplinary action?);<sup>442</sup> it may also be, that the soldiers thus marked were sent to provide lions, for unclear reasons.

- *ad opinio* (col. XLIII l. 29; *opinio* in col. XXVII l. 14; col. XXIX l. 3; col. XLI l. 25; *opin* in col. XXVIII l. 16; *op* in col. XXXI l. 8; col. XXXIX l. 28) *stipendii* = *ad opinionem stipendii* for those who were sent to the governor to provide an estimate of the salaries;<sup>443</sup>

- *ad penum comparandum*, for those who provided food;

- *ad praetor* = *ad praetorium* 'to the headquarters';

- *in proseq hord* = *in prosecutionem hordiatorum*, for those who escorted the *hordiatores*, sent to fetch barley;<sup>444</sup>

- *offic* (but *officio* unabridged in coll. VII l. 16; VIII l. 2; XXVIII l. 4, XXIX l. 1, XXXI l. 10, XXXV ll. 6; 13; XXXVI l. 24; XL ll. 12; 24; XLI l. 20; *offici* in col. XV l. 12) = *officio*, signalling that the man was serving as a clerk.

Not all of the notations in the roster have so far been understood. Uncertain notations are:

- *ad m / m amb / ambul*, probably concerning *ambulationes* (specific locations inside the town, near arches), or training or parade marches;<sup>445</sup>

- *ad sacrahim / ad sacrahimag*, which Davies reads as *ad sacra(s) {h}imag(ines)*, the busts and statues of the Emperor every unit in Roman army kept<sup>446</sup>; Marichal agreed, thinking of something like *ad sacra imag(inum)*,<sup>447</sup> while Fink preferred to construe it as the plural of a Semitic toponym: *ad Sacrahim ag(ens?)*;<sup>448</sup>

- *]emans extra*, perhaps connected with the verb *emansere* 'to stay away', 'to remain detached from something'.<sup>449</sup> The soldier concerned might have been away from Dura at that moment;

- *] [ . . ] nauem hor[d- and ]cum nauem*], probably connected with riverboats and storage and transportation of materials (including barley, since *hord-* seems to be mentioned). One might recall that *naues* are no total strangers to Dura papyri (*P.Dura* 81 l. 2 A]lexandria cum nauibus), and this makes sense, as the town of Dura was built on the banks of a river;

- *cum pe*], which Marichal tentatively interprets as *cum pe[coribus* (on the basis of *P.Dura* 66qq, l. 10 *]cum pecoribus esse* ]) or *cum pe[rfugis*.<sup>450</sup>

Many toponyms are to be found, probably destinations for detachments:<sup>451</sup>

<sup>441</sup> See Fink (1971: 13).

<sup>442</sup> Fink (1971: 14).

<sup>443</sup> Also found in *P.Dura* 95: a detailed explanation in Davies (1969: 117–8).

<sup>444</sup> Cf. Davies (1968: 32).

<sup>445</sup> See Fink (1971: 13–14); *ambulatio* would here mean not just 'promenade' or 'covered walk', but a particular location, perhaps a covered bazaar. Marichal further discusses the matter. According to him, while *man* must mean *man(um)*, and *ad man(um)* 'at the disposal of...' or 'to the squadron of...', the sort of service signalled by this notation had to be a very quick one; all the soldiers thus marked have both the horizontal bar and the black dot, meaning they were available again after only a little while. He dismisses Fink's idea of a training march, maintaining that the relevant soldiers are all cavalymen of camel-drivers (including a *uexillarius*) who would hardly be able to stay under arches. He prefers to think of *ambulatiua* 'processions'; the soldiers would have been involved in parades or training marches (see *ChLA* VIII: 10 and an attached textual parallel, *CIL* III 3438).

<sup>446</sup> Davies (1968: 31).

<sup>447</sup> The suggestion, as Marichal himself acknowledges, comes from Smith (1960: 264).

<sup>448</sup> See Fink (1971: 14).

<sup>449</sup> OLD (603) s.v. *emaneo*.

<sup>450</sup> *ChLA* (VIII: 10–11).

<sup>451</sup> 'Grace a des registres militaires trouves parmi ces archives, nous apprenons que la cohorte palmyrenienne envoyait des detachements en differents points du limes plus ou moins eloignes du Dura: Becchufreyn (*sic!*), Barbalissos, BIRTHA, Castellum Arabum, Chafer Avira, Magdala et Appadana' ('Thanks to military registers found among these archives, we learn that the Palmyrene cohort sent

- *Appada* = *Appadana* (*Appad* in col. XXXIX l. 15; *Appadan* col. XV l. 3, col. XXXIV ll. 11; 25, and *Appadana* unabridged in col. XXXVI l. 20), probably the same location mentioned in *P.Dura* 60 and 63 (see commentary *ad loc.*);

- *Becchuf* = *Becchufrayn*. The place (identified with the modern Kifrin) is remarkable for appearing very often, much more often than Appadana, indicating the large number of soldiers detached to it;<sup>452</sup>

- *Bartha*, *Birtha* (perhaps to be identified with another ancient location, Asporakos), *Chafer Auira* and *Magdal* (= *Magdala*), a fortified town within 300 km of Dura;<sup>453</sup>

- *castell/castel Ar/Ara/Arab*, i.e. perhaps *castellum Arabum* or *Arabionis*: again, probably a toponym;<sup>454</sup>

- *Parthia*. If this means the Parthian Empire, the annotation is surprisingly vague: where exactly in Parthia?

Eventually, a number of intercolumnar notes is visible in this document and nowhere else in Dura rosters. These notes normally consist of a single *p*, an abbreviated name – often in the ablative case – and sometimes medial dots. Fink believed *p* should be construed as *p(ro)*,<sup>455</sup> and Marichal, who takes pains to analyse every single case, suggests that the names point to replacements of some sort.<sup>456</sup> For instance, according to Marichal's reconstruction, in col. XXX l. 14 Bassus is replaced by Aurelius Ierhaeus, son of Theobolus, who was now available after having accomplished his mission: in col. XXV l. 7 Ierhaeus had been in fact marked with two black dots and horizontal bar, which signified his availability. However, despite Fink's and Marichal's efforts, the original pattern which regulated all the above mentioned associations or later additions of nouns, bars, and dots to the names of the soldiers, is still largely unfathomable.

Some orthographical peculiarities are the simplification of the diphthong *ae* in *e* and variations in double consonants (*-l-* instead of *-ll-*, *-tt-* instead of *-t-*), which appear now and then. *Emeliano* instead of *Aemiliano* can be seen in col. XXVIII l. 13; XLI l. 1. Despite a high rate of abbreviations, names Aelius and Iulius are never abbreviated. Other notable (and/or constant) abbreviations are *Cl(aro)* in *Erucio Claro cos*; *epis(tul(is))*; perhaps *pos(terior)*; and *reuer(sus)*. *Interpuncta* are irregularly used (and if used, also noted in the text).

#### col. I

|    |                    |                                 |
|----|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1  | ζ [D]anymi         | M[u]ciano et Fabiano cos        |
| 2  | Becchuf ord        | Aurel Septimius Danymus         |
| 3  |                    | Messala [et] Sabino co[s]       |
| 4  | ad sacrahim dupl   | Aurel Cocceius                  |
| 5  |                    | Tertul[l]o cps                  |
| 6  |                    | Appad Aurel Abedlah[a]s Buccaei |
| 7  |                    | Becchuf Aurel Mammaeus Au[i]da  |
| 8  | ]—————             | Aurel Aelius Marinus            |
| 9  |                    | D[ext]ro II cos                 |
| 10 | ] sign ————        | Aurel Fl[auiu]s Nicomachus      |
| 11 | ]—————             | Aurel A[e]lius Bassus           |
| 12 | offic              | Aurel Antonius Max[i]mus        |
| 13 |                    | La[te]rano cos                  |
| 14 | ] . . . . celarium | Aurel Ulpi[us S]iluanus         |
| 15 |                    | Anullin[o] II c[o]s             |
| 16 | [o]ffic            | A[ur]el Faustus                 |

detachments to different stations of the *limes* more or less far from Dura: Becchufrayn, Barbalissos, Birtha, Castellum Arabum, Chafer Avira, Magdala and Appadana', Chaumont 1987: 430).

<sup>452</sup> See Edwell (2007: 68–72); Gnoli (2007: 80), with bibliography attached.

<sup>453</sup> Again, Edwell (2007: 77–81); Gnoli (2007: 79–80).

<sup>454</sup> Also in *P.Dura* 94.

<sup>455</sup> Fink (1971: 13).

<sup>456</sup> *ChLA* (VIII: 5–6).

|17                   ] . . . . [ . . . . . ] Agr[i]ppas [Them]arsa  
 |18                                           Mu[ci]ano c[o]s  
 |19                                           ]la . [ . . ] Thema[rs]a  
 |20                                           ] I[a]d[ib]elus Z[ebida]

---

*col. I: 1* Dan[y]mi *Fink* | [Mu]ciano *edd.* || *2* Be[c]chuf *edd.* || *3* c[os] *edd.* || *5* Tert[u]llo *edd.* || *6* Abēdlaḥas *edd.* || *10* ] . . . [ . . . ] (*dubitanter an sig*) *Fink*<sup>1</sup> (*dubitanter an sig(nifer)*) *Marichal*: ] . . . (*dubitanter an sig(nifer)*) *Fink*<sup>2</sup> | F[lauius] *edd.* || *14* ] . c[ilariu]m *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: ] . c[ilariu]m *Fink*<sup>2</sup>: celariu]m (*dubitanter an [ad] cellarium*) *Marichal* || *17* fortasse of]fici[o:] ] . . . [ *edd.* | [Th]emarsa *edd.* || *19* ]la . [ . us] *Fink*: ]La . [ . u]s (*dubitanter an Lap[pu]s*) *Marichal* | Them[ars]a *Marichal* || *20* [Iadib]elu[s] *Marichal*

*col. I: 'Danymus' century. During the consulship of Mucianus and Fabianus:*

Aurelius Septimius Danymus, centurion (in Becchufrayn)

During the consulship of Messala and Sabinus:

Aurelius Cocceius (*duplicarius, ad sacrahim*)

During the consulship of Tertullus:

Aurelius Abedlahas son of Buccaeus (in Appadana)

Aurelius Mammaeus son of Auidas (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Aelius Marinus

During the consulship of Dexter:

Aurelius Flavius Nicomachus (ensign-bearer)

Aurelius Aelius Bassus

Aurelius Antonius Maximus (in the office)

During the consulship of Lateranus:

Aurelius Ulpius Silvanus (...)

During the second consulship of Anullinus :

Aurelius Faustus (in the office)

Agrippas son of Themarsas (...)

During the consulship of Mucianus:

...son of Themarsas

Iadibelus son of Zebidas ...'

*col. II*

|1                                           Aurel . [ . . . ]  
 |2                                           Aurel Iuliu[s]  
 |3                                           ●[ . . . ]  
 |4                                           [ . . . ]  
 |5                                           ad dom' n' Aurel Them[ars]  
 |6                                           ad dom' n' Aurel . [ . . ] [ . . . ]  
 |7                                           [of]fic A[u]rel Bassus  
 |8                                           offic Aurel Mon[imus]  
 |9                                           ●[ . . . ] Aurel A . . . [ . . . ]  
 |10                                           [[ . . . ]ab[ . . . ]aeus . ][ . . . ]e[ . . . ]  
 |11                                           ] . [ . . . ]

---

*de frustulis fragmenti huius aliter positus ab editoribus uide supra* || *col. II: 1* Aurel[us] . [ . . . ] *edd.* || *4* [Cilone II cos] *dubitanter Marichal* || *5* The[odorus] *edd.* || *6* [a]d *edd.* | A[u]rel[us] *Fink*: A[u]rel[us] . [ . . . ] *Marichal* | [ . . . ] *recognovi* || *8* A[u]rel *edd.* | Mon[imus] *Fink*<sup>2</sup> || *9* A . ea[ . . . ] *Fink*: A[ . . . ] *Marichal* | *post hanc lineam* Aur[e]l *edd.* || *10* ● [Iad] S[ac]rahim[us] *Fink*: ● [Iad] S[ac]rahim[us] *Marichal* | Aur[e]l *edd.* || *11* ]d[ . . . ] *edd.*

*col. II: 'Aurelius ...*

Aurelius Iulius...

...  
 Aurelius ... (to our lord)  
 Aurelius ... (to our lord)  
 Aurelius Bassus (in the office)  
 Aurelius Monimus (in the office)  
 Aurelius ...  
 ... (erased) ...'

*coll. III-V frr. a-c*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> Appa]da[n  
 |<sup>2</sup> ad] dom' n' [  
 |<sup>3</sup> Bec]chuf A[urel  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] Becchuf A[urel  
 |<sup>5</sup> ] Appadan[  
 |<sup>6</sup> ] Appad[an .....]s Zeb[ida  
 |<sup>7</sup> A]ppad[an Au]rel Th[eme]s Zeb[ida  
 |<sup>8</sup> Au]rel Iad[ib]elus Ba[  
 |<sup>9</sup> A]urel Aeli[u]s Bolan[  
 |<sup>10</sup> .....]ba[ .....] [  
 ---

*coll. III-V frr. a-c: 1* Appa]da[ *Fink* || *3* a[ *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || *4* a[ *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || *6* ] Zeb[ *edd.* || *7* Appad[ *Fink*<sup>1</sup> | Zeb[ *edd.* || *8* Ba[ *om. Fink* || *9* Au]rel *edd.*

*coll. III-V frr. a-c: '... (in Appadana)*  
 ... (to our lord)  
 Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)  
 Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)  
 ... (in Appadana)  
 ... son of Zebidas (in Appadana)  
 Aurelius Themes son of Zebidas (in Appadana)  
 Aurelius Iadibelus ...  
 Aurelius Aelius ...'

*fr. d*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]ui [  
 |<sup>2</sup> Aurelius] Di[u]s G[  
 |<sup>3</sup> Aur]elius Germa[nus  
 |<sup>4</sup> Aurelius] Them[  
 |<sup>5</sup> Aurelius] Ma . [  
 |<sup>6</sup> .....] . [  
 ---

*coll. III-V fr. d: 1* ] i [ *Marichal* || *2* Aurel *suppl. Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal* || *3* [G]erma[nus *Marichal* || *4, 5* Aurel *suppl. Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal*

*col. III-V, frr. d: 'Aurelius Dios ...*  
 Aurelius Germanus  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...'

---

*fr. e*


---

```

  ---
|1      ] . [
|2    Au]rel . [
|3    Au]re[l] . [
|4      ] Aurel [
|5      ] Aur[el
  ---

```

*coll. III–V fr. e: 2* . [ *recognovi* || **3** Au]ṛel[ ] O[ *edd.*

*col. III–V, fr. e: ‘Aurelius ...*  
*Aurelius ...*  
*Aurelius ...*  
*Aurelius ...’*

*fr. f*


---

```

  ---
|1      ]us Pa[
|2      ] . . al . an[
|3    Barba]essam[en
|4      ] . enus[
|5      ] An[t]oninus
|6      ]s Heliod[or-
|7      ]ed . [
  ---

```

*coll. III–V fr. f: 1* ] . [ *edd.* || **2** kaḷ ḷan possis: ] . . . ran (*dubitanter an ḷhaṣran Fink<sup>2</sup>*) *edd.* || **6** ] . *edd.* || **7** ed . [ ] . [ *edd.*

*col. III–V fr. f: ‘... Barbaessamen ...*  
*... Antoninus ...*  
*...(son of?) Heliodorus ...’*

*fr. g*


---

```

  ---
|1      ] . [
|2    ]———— A[u]r[el
|3      ]
|4    Ap]pada Aur[el
|5      Bec]ch A[
|6      ] . . [ . . . . ] . . [
  ---

```

*coll. III–V fr. g: 6 recognovi*

*col. III–V, fr. g: ‘Aurelius ...*  
*... Aurelius ... (in Appadana)*  
*... (in Becchufrayn)’*

---



*fr. h*

---

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] a[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] ad [  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] ad dom' n' A[urel  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] ad dom' n' A[urel  
 |<sup>5</sup> ] ad do[m'] n' [Au]rel [  
 ---

*coll. III–V fr. h: 3 A[ Fink<sup>1</sup> || 4 A[ Fink<sup>1</sup> || 5 a]d edd. | [Aur]el[ edd.*

*fr. h: '... (to ...)*

Aurelius ... (to our lord)  
 Aurelius ... (to our lord)  
 Aurelius ... (to our lord) ...'

*fr. i*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . [ . ] a . [  
 |<sup>2</sup> A]urel Ma . [  
 |<sup>3</sup> A]urel Marin[  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] Aurel Theo[  
 |<sup>5</sup> Au]rel Lon[  
 |<sup>6</sup> ] . ol . [  
 ---

*coll. III–V fr. i: 1 ] . a . [ edd. || 3 Au]rel edd. | Marin[us Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal || 4 A]urel edd. || 5 A]urel edd. | Lon[ginus dubitanter Fink<sup>2</sup> || 6 A]poll[inarius dubitanter Fink<sup>2</sup>*

*coll. III–V fr. i: '... Aurelius...*

Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...'

*fr. j*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]em[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]ma . [  
 |<sup>3</sup> ]ues[  
 |<sup>4</sup> A]pro [cos  
 ---

*coll. III–V fr. j: 'During the consulship of Aper ...'*

*col. VI*

|              |  |         |
|--------------|--|---------|
| <sup>1</sup> |  | ]       |
| <sup>2</sup> |  | ]       |
| <sup>3</sup> |  | Ze]bida |

4 ]o cos  
 5 ] son  
 6  
 7  
 8  
 9  
 10  
 11  
 12  
 13  
 14  
 15 ]sim[  
 16 ]mb[  
 17 ] ima [   
 18 ] d m[  
 19 ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ]  
 20 [[Au]re[l] Marr . . . ]  
 21 Au]rel Occha[  
 22 Aur]el Nisamsus Add[aei  
 23 A]urel Barchalb[as  
 24 . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . Ierhaeus Zebida [  
 25 ]— Au[r]e[l] Themarsa Barn . [  
 26 Becchu]f Aurel Aelius German[  
 27 ] Au[re]l Ba[r]naeus Zabdil . [  
 28 • [ Aurel Iulius Salman  
 29 —[ ] A[ur]el Heliodorus Zebida [  
 30 Seuero III cos  
 31 ]—— Au[r]el Iulius Dometius [  
 32 ]—— Aurel Ierabole Themarsa [  
 33 Geta Sen[ior]e II cos  
 34 ]n Aurel Seleucus Barbaessam[en  
 - - -

*col. VI: 3 ]bida edd. || 4 Lateran]o uel Saturnin]o uel Victorin]o dubitanter Marichal || 5 ]son edd. || 15 ]im[ Fink: ] . im[ Marichal || 16 ] mb[ Fink: ] mb[ Marichal || 17 ]ima [ edd. || 18 ]d [edd. || 19 ] [ . . . ] s[ Fink: ] [ . . . ] s[ Marichal || 24 ] [Aur]el edd. || 26 A[e]lius edd. | German[us Fink<sup>1</sup> || 28 Aure]l Marichal || 29 A[ure]l edd.*

*col. VI: ‘... son of Zebidas*  
*Under the ... consulship of ...*  
*...*  
*Aurelius ... (erased)*  
*Aurelius ...*  
*Aurelius Nisamsus son of Addaeus*  
*Aurelius Barchalbas*  
*... Ierhaeus son of Zebidas*  
*Aurelius Themarsas (son of?) ...*  
*Aurelius Aelius German... (in Becchufrayn)*  
*Aurelius Barnaeus ...*  
*Aurelius Iulius son of Salmanes*  
*Aurelius Heliodorus son of Zebidas*  
*Under the third consulship of Severus:*  
*Aurelius Iulius Dometius*



During the second consulship of Cilo:

... Bernicianus (son of?) Silvan...

... Iulius Soemus (in Appadana)

... Aurelius Barzas son of Mareas

Aurelius Priscus son of Abdonas

Aurelius Mauelas son of Abedadadus

Aurelius ... (in Appadana)

Aurelius Seleucus ... (in the office)

... Salmanes son of Signas

... Barnaeus ...

... Marinus ...

During the second consulship of Antoninus:

... Zabdes son of Malchus

... son of Malchus

...

... son of Malchus

... Serapion

During the consulship of Aper and Maximus: ...'

*col. VIII*

|    |                |                              |
|----|----------------|------------------------------|
| 1  | —              | Aurel Zenodor[us Artemidori] |
| 2  | officio        | Aurel Bass[us Diomedi]       |
| 3  | —              | Aurel P[ri]scus [            |
| 4  |                | Pomp[ei]ano cos]             |
| 5  | ] Appada       | Aurel A[b]das [Z]ebi[da]     |
| 6  |                | F[a]us[ti]no c[os]           |
| 7  | —              | Aurel [Quin]tus I[u]l[ianus] |
| 8  | —              | Aurel [Iuliu]s Menan[drus]   |
| 9  | Appa]da        | Aurel M[a]lchus Bel[         |
| 10 | ] Aurel        | Antonius Cle[men-            |
| 11 |                | duobus Aspr[is cos           |
| 12 | ] Aurel        | Claudius Tiberin[us]         |
| 13 | singu]l        | Aurel [Ier]ab[oles U]dath[i] |
| 14 | ] . . us       | Au[rel Ulp]iu]s Antonin[us]  |
| 15 |                | Aurel Mo]nimus Hia[          |
| 16 |                | A]maeus Zebida               |
| 17 | ●—[            |                              |
| 18 |                | [                            |
| 19 |                | . [                          |
| 20 |                | App[ad                       |
| 21 |                | Ap[pad                       |
| 22 |                | a[                           |
| 23 |                | b[                           |
| 24 |                | b[                           |
| 25 |                | ad op [stip                  |
| 26 |                | Becc[huf                     |
| 27 |                | [                            |
| 28 |                | Appa[d                       |
| 29 |                | App[ad                       |
| 30 | trasl· in coh[ |                              |
| 31 |                | Ap[pad                       |
| 32 |                | b[                           |

— — —

col. VIII: 1 Zenodorus edd. || 2 Bass[us Fink<sup>1</sup>: Bass[us Diomed] dubitanter edd. || 3 A[bbosa dubitanter edd. || 11 d[u]jobus edd. || 12 T[i]berin[us edd. || 13 ]a edd. || 14 ]s Au[rel edd. || 15 Anto]ninus Fink: M]onim[u]s Marichal || 18 [Messala cos] Marichal || 25 ad op[ Fink<sup>1</sup> || 27 .[.] [ Marichal || 30 co[h(ortem) edd.

col. VIII: ‘ Aurelius Zenodorus son of Artemidorus

Aurelius ... (in the office)

Aurelius Priscus...

During the consulship of Pompeianus:

Aurelius Abdas son of Zebidas (in Appadana)

During the consulship of Faustinus:

Aurelius Quintus Iulianus

Aurelius Iulius Menandrus

Aurelius Malchus (son of?) ... (in Appadana)

Aurelius Antonius Clemen...

During the consulship of the two Aspri:

Aurelius Claudius Tiberinus

Aurelius Ieraboles son of Udathus (*singularis*)

Aurelius Ulpius Antonius (...)

Aurelius Monimus son of Hias

... Amaeus son of Zebidas

...

... (in Appadana)

... (in Appadana)

...

... (to the estimate of salaries)

... (in Becchufrayn)

...

... (in Appadana)

... (in Appadana)

... (transferred to the cohort...)

... (in Appadana)’

col. IX

|               |                                     |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | Be[cchuf Aurel A]uidas              |
| <sup>2</sup>  | ad d[om’ n’ Bol]iadaeus Ierhaei     |
| <sup>3</sup>  | ad [dom’ n’] Azizus Aathibeli       |
| <sup>4</sup>  | ad [dom’ n’ I]erhaeus Zebida        |
| <sup>5</sup>  | ad dom’ [n’ Aurel Gai]us            |
| <sup>6</sup>  | ad [dom’ n’ .....]us Marini         |
| <sup>7</sup>  | ad d[om’ n’ Au]r[el Anti]gonus      |
| <sup>8</sup>  | ]— Aur[el .....]ius Valens          |
| <sup>9</sup>  | .[ ..... ] z.[                      |
| <sup>10</sup> | [.].[ ..... ]us                     |
| <sup>11</sup> | Au]rel .[                           |
| <sup>12</sup> | .[ ..... ] Aurel D[                 |
| <sup>13</sup> | • [ ..... ]— A[u]rel Vale[ ..... ]s |
| <sup>14</sup> | Au]r[el] Bar[                       |
| <sup>15</sup> | Aur]el [ ..... ] e .[               |
| <sup>16</sup> | ] Au[r]el Abba[                     |
| <sup>17</sup> | ] Aurel Bar[                        |
| <sup>18</sup> | [ad] do[m’ n’] Aurel Iulius .[      |

<sup>19</sup> [ad] dom' [n'] Aurel Ze[  
<sup>20</sup> [a]d dom' n' Aurel Dem[etrius  
<sup>21</sup> ad [dom'] n' Aurel Gaian[us  
<sup>22</sup> App[ada]n Aurel Malchus  
<sup>23</sup> s[ing]ul Aurel Dome[ti-  
<sup>24</sup> [Appa]dan Aurel Amr[  
<sup>25</sup> [Bec]chuf Aurel Valerius  
<sup>26</sup> [Be]cchuf Aurel Bass[  
<sup>27</sup> • [ ] • ——— Aurel Cal[  
<sup>28</sup> ~~Ma~~[gd]ala Aurel [ ]  
<sup>29</sup> Be[cchu]f Aurel [ ]  
<sup>30</sup> • [ ] — Aurel M[  
<sup>31</sup> cu[ . . . . . ] Aurel Ma[  
<sup>32</sup> ] — Aure[l] [ ]  
 - - -

*col. IX: 1 A*uidas *tantum Fink<sup>1</sup> || 5* us *Fink<sup>1</sup> || 6 a* [edd. | ]s *edd. || 7 A*[u]r[el] *edd. || 9 Aurel* *Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal*  
*| Z* [edd. || **10** [edd. || **12** ] A[u]rel *edd. || 14* [ ] Bar[edd. || **17** Aure[l] *edd. || 20 D* [edd. || **21** Gai[edd. || **23** Dome[tius *Fink<sup>1</sup> || 24* Amr[us *Fink<sup>1</sup> || 26* Bas[edd. || **27** Cal[purnius Galianus *dubitanter edd. ||*  
**28** [Ma[gd]ala] *Fink | [edd. || 29* B[ecchu]f *edd. || 31* cu[m] *dubitanter Marichal || 32 post hanc lineam*  
 ]—[ *in frustulo minimo recognouerunt edd., ob frustulum nunc deperditum nihil recognovi*

*col. IX: 'Aurelius Auidas (in Becchufrayn)*  
 Boliadaeus son of Ierhaeus (to our lord)  
 Azizus son of Aathibelus (to our lord)  
 Ierhaeus son of Zebidas (to our lord)  
 Aurelius Gaius (to our lords)  
 ... son of Marinus (to our lords)  
 Aurelius Antigonus (to our lords)  
 Aurelius ... Valens  
 ...  
 Aurelius...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius Iulius... (to our lord)  
 Aurelius ... (to our lord)  
 Aurelius Demetrius (to our lord)  
 Aurelius Gaianus (to our lord)  
 Aurelius Malchus (in Appadana)  
 Aurelius ... (*singularis*)  
 Aurelius ... (in Appadana)  
 Aurelius Valerius (in Becchufrayn)  
 Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ... (in Magdala)  
 Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ... (...)  
 Aurelius ...'

col. X

1 Laeto] II cos  
 2 ] A[urel . . . . .]s Occ[ . . .]msa  
 3 Sa]bino II [co]s  
 4 ]— A[urel Do]metius N[icola]us  
 5 Bec]chuf Aure[l] Quint[  
 6 Be]cchuf Aur[el] Bassus  
 7 ] . s Aur[el] Demet[rius  
 8 e]x [offi]cio A[urel] Maximus  
 9 Becch]uf A[urel] Philon[  
 10 ]— A[u]rel Dometius  
 11 ] Aurel Seleuc[u]s  
 12 ] Aurel Romanu[s  
 13 ] Aurel [  
 14 ] Aurel [  
 15 ]— Aurel P[ri]scian[us  
 16 ]— Aurel Barlahas  
 17 ]— A[u]rel [ . . . .]b[  
 18 Becchu]f Aur[el] ]s  
 19 Becchu]f Aurel [  
 20 ]— Aurel [ ]i  
 21 ]— A[urel] ] us  
 22 ] A[urel Ant]oni[ ]  
 23 ] A[urel] ] us  
 24 ]— A[urel Fl]auius  
 25 ] Aur[el] ]s  
 26 ] Aure[l] ]nus  
 27 A]ure[l . . .] . [ . . . .]s  
 28 CXL· i[n] dupl III·

col. X: 2 ]s edd. | a[ ]s Fink<sup>1</sup> || 4 a[ ] e ius [ . . . .]us[ (dubitanter an A[urel Do]metius N[icola]us) Fink<sup>1</sup> || 5 A[u]re[l] edd. || 8 ] [ ] io Fink<sup>1</sup> (dubitanter an i[n] [offi]cio) Marichal: ] [ . . .] io (dubitanter an o[ff]i]cio) Fink<sup>2</sup> || 10 [Au]rel edd. || 14 C[haeremon dubitanter edd. || 15 P[ri]scian[ Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 17 fortasse Za]b[da]s Fink<sup>1</sup> || 18 ] edd. || 19 Aure[l edd. || 20 ] [ edd. || 21 ] . rus edd. || 22 An]toni[ edd.

col. X: ‘During the second consulship of Laetus:

Aurelius ...

During the second consulship of Sabinus:

Aurelius Dometius Nicolaus

Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Bassus (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Demetrius (...)

Aurelius Maximus (from the office)

Aurelius Philon (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Dometius

Aurelius Seleucus

Aurelius Romanus

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius Priscianus

Aurelius Barlahas

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)  
 Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius Flavius  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 140, including 3 *duplicarii*'

col. XI

1                                    ʒ Ant[onini Victorino] cos  
 2                                    ]—— or[d Aurel Dometius] An[toninu]s  
 3                                    Apro et M]axi[mo cos  
 4                    • singul du[pl .....]s [                                    ]ino [cos  
 5                    • • ——— d[u]pl A[urel .....] es Salm[                                    Er]ucio Claro [cos  
 6                    • ———[                    ]—— A[urel Malch]us Anan[i-  
 7                    • ————— A[urel Iulius Ba]rha[dadus  
 8                    Be]cchuf Aure[l .....] I[e]raei  
 9                    [Dextro II] cos  
 10                    [ . . ] [ . . ] [ . . ] an Aurel [ ..... ] ces  
 11                    ]s [ . . ] Josef- Aure[l ..... ] aior  
 12                    [B]ecchuf Aure[l Malchus D]iogeni  
 13                    ]—[ A]urel [Zabdaath]es Mocimi  
 14                    Anulli]no II cos  
 15                    ] us Zabd[i]boli  
 16                    Demet]rius Bar[n]aei  
 17                    Iulius Apo]llonius  
 18                    ]no cos  
 19                    Thema]rsa [ . . . . ]ei  
 20                    ] [                                    ]n[ . . . . ]s  
 21                    Mammaeu]s Bela[ca]b[i  
 22                    Mambogeu]s Za[o]r[a  
 23                    Habibas N]ebudaei  
 24                    Haninas] Bellaei  
 25                    ]s  
 26                    Ze]bida  
 27                    ]  
 28                    ]  
 29                    ]us

col. XI: 1 An[tonini edd. || 2 • [Marichal | o]rd Fink | An[toninus Fink<sup>1</sup> || 4 ] [edd. | ] in fine lineae Fink<sup>2</sup>  
 Marichal || 6 dup]l Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal | A[                    ] es Fink<sup>1</sup> || 8 Malchu]s edd. || 11 Bec]chuf edd. || 13 ] [ . . ] n  
 (dubitanter an App]ad[a]n) edd. || 14 ]s [ . . ] om. Fink | ] s f edd. | si[n]gular]is c[o]s dubitanter Marichal |  
 Marcus M]aior dubitanter edd. || 18 Zabd[i]b[o]li edd. || 19 uel Ban[n]aei Fink Marichal || 21 Mucia]no



*Fink*<sup>1</sup> || 22 ] ua *edd.* || 25 Bela[ca]b[ *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || 28 Hanina] *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: Hanina-] *Marichal* || 30 ]bia[ *Fink*: ]bida  
*Marichal* || 33 ]uaç[ *Marichal*

*col. XI*: ‘Antoninus’ century. During the consulship of Victorinus:

Aurelius Dometius Antoninus, centurion.

During the consulship of Aper and Maximus:

... (*singularis, duplicarius*)

During the consulship of...

Aurelius ... (*duplicarius*)

During the consulship of Erucius Clarus:

Aurelius Malchus (son of?) ...

During the consulship of Tertullus:

Aurelius Iulius Barhadadus

Aurelius ... son of Ierhaeus (in Becchufrayn)

During the second consulship of Dexter:

Aurelius ... (...)

Aurelius ... (...)

Aurelius Malchus son of Diogenes (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Zabdaathes son of Mocimus

During the second consulship of Anullinus:

... son of Zabdibolus

Demetrius son of Barnaeus

Iulius Apollonius

During the consulship of ...

Themarsas son of ...

...

...

Mammaeus son of Belacabus

Mambogeus son of Zaoras

Habibas son of Nebudaeus

Haninas son of Bellaeus

...

... son of Zebidas’

*col. XII*

|    |                                                             |                                                  |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | ————                                                        | A[ur]el Ni[                                      |
| 2  |                                                             | a[d sacr]ahim A[ur]el [                          |
| 3  | p[ . . . ]h[ . ]ru . al . [ . ]n • ad m[ . ] u . ma . [ . ] | Aurel . [                                        |
| 4  |                                                             | ad dom’ n’ Aurel . [                             |
| 5  |                                                             | ad dom’ n’ Aurel[ . . ] . ua[                    |
| 6  |                                                             | Ci[lone II cos]                                  |
| 7  | • —————                                                     | A[ure]l Iulius [                                 |
| 8  | • —————                                                     | A[u]rel Ger[                                     |
| 9  |                                                             | [Bec]chuf Aurel Add[ . . . ]ndr[                 |
| 10 | • [ . . . ] ———                                             | A[ur]el Auidin . [ . . . ] . [                   |
| 11 |                                                             | [ad] dom’ n’ [Au]rel A[n]tonius                  |
| 12 |                                                             | [Becc]huf [ . . . . . ]s Aeli[u]s B[             |
| 13 |                                                             | ] . . [ . . . . . ] Aur]el Magnus [ . . . . . ]i |
| 14 |                                                             | . [ . . . . . ] Aur]el Monim[us                  |
| 15 |                                                             | ] . [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ]s               |
| 16 |                                                             |                                                  |
| 17 |                                                             |                                                  |
| 18 |                                                             |                                                  |
| 19 |                                                             |                                                  |

20  
 21                      •[                      ]— A[urel                      ]ei  
 22                      •[                      ]— A[urel  
 23                      •[                      ]— A[urel  
 24                      /                      co]s  
 25                      ..[.....]llione A[urel  
 26                      cum[  
 27                      [o[  
 28                      tr]asl ex coh I[  
 29                      ] [.]a[.] •[  
 ---

*col. XII: 1* A[u]r[el] Marichal || *2* A[u]r[el] Marichal || *3* p[.]h[.]arual[.] edd. | m[.]ma edd. | Aurel [Fink] || *5* Aurel[.] edd. || *6* co]s Fink<sup>2</sup> || *8* Ger[el]ius uel Ger[manus in commentario edd. || *9* Add[as Alexa]ndr[i Fink<sup>1</sup> || *11* Ant[o]n[ius edd. || *12* ]Aeli[u]s edd. || *13* ] edd. | ]i recognoui || *14* M[.]im[ Fink: M[.]im[ (dubitanter an Mo[c]im[us uel Mo[n]im[us potius quam Ma[x]im[us) Marichal || *15* ] s edd. || *21–3* A[ Fink<sup>1</sup> || *24* dubitanter an Apro et Maximo co]s Fink<sup>1</sup> || *25* fortasse cu[m po]llione: co[ edd. | ] liõne Fink | a[ Fink<sup>1</sup> || *26* ] [ in dimidia linea Fink || *27* rasuram recognoui || *28* tr]a(n)[s]l(atus) edd. | [ Marichal || *29* duas lineas ( [.]a[.] | •[ ] recognouerunt edd.

*col. XIII: 'Aurelius ...*

Aurelius ... (*ad sacrahim*)

Aurelius ... (...)

Aurelius ... (to our lord)

Aurelius ... (to our lord)

During the second consulship of Cilo:

Aurelius Iulius ...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius ...

Aurelius Antonius (to our lord)

... Aelius ... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Magnus ... (...)

Aurelius Monimus ...)

...

Aurelius

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ...

During the consulship of...

Aurelius ... (...)

...

... (transferred from the cohort ...)

*col. XIII*

1                      A[ppa]da Aurel A[bed]laha[s  
 2                      B[i]rtha A[u]rel[.]...[  
 3                      ad dom' n' Aurel Ogas[  
 4                      ] [.....] Aurel Claudius A[ntoninus  
 5                      diu[o] An[t]on[ino III cos  
 6                      p[.] [.....] • [Bir]tha Aurel Heliodor[us Apolloni  
 7                      adsacr[a]himag Aurel Antioch[ianus  
 8                      cumn[.] [.]eaelibes[.] Aurel Flavius Fla[uianus

9 trasl ex coh· I ascol· sin[gul A]urel Iulius Mar[c]i[anus  
 10 [Po]mpeiano cos  
 11 ex[plor A]urel A[g]rippas Them[  
 12 • ———[ A]urel [ . . . ]us [R]omanus  
 13 . . [ A]urel [ . . . ] Heraclida[s  
 14 Faus]tino cos  
 15 Be[cchuf Aurel ] d[ . ]s Helio[dor-  
 16 • . [   
 17 [   
 18 • ———[   
 19 Appa[da  
 20 Becc[huf  
 21 offic[  
 22 ad dom' [n' Au]rel . [   
 23 Appa[d Au]rel . [   
 24 • ———[ A]urel [   
 25 • [ ] ———[ A]urel [   
 26 • [•] ———[ ] Au[rel  
 27 • ———[   
 28 • ———[   
 29 • ———[   
 30 ]p[ ] • ———[   
 - - -

*col. XIII: 1 hanc lineam erasam putat Marichal || 2 Bi]rth[a] Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal: B[i]rth[a] Fink<sup>2</sup> | . [ . . ] . edd. || 4 ] [ . ] Aurel edd. || 8 cum M . eaelibes[ Fink: cum N . eaelibes Marichal || 12 [Iuli]us dubitanter edd. | [Ro]manus Marichal || 13 . [ edd. || 15 Helio[dorus Fink<sup>1</sup> || 16 . [ edd. || 21 offi[cio edd. || 24 A]urel edd. || 25 A]urel edd. || 30 • recognovit Marichal*

*col. XIII: 'Aurelius Abedlahas (in Appadana)*  
 Aurelius ... (in BIRTHA)  
 Aurelius Ogas ... (to our lord)  
 Aurelius Claudius Antoninus (...)  
 During the third consulship of the divine Antoninus:  
 Aurelius Heliodorus son of Apollonius (in BIRTHA) (...)  
 Aurelius Antiochianus (...)  
 Aurelius Flavius Flavianus (...)  
 During the consulship of Pompeianus:  
 Aurelius Agrippas son of Them... (in exploration)  
 Aurelius ... Romanus  
 Aurelius ... Heraclidas (...)  
 During the consulship of Faustinus:  
 Aurelius ... (in Becchufayn)  
 ...  
 ... (in Appadana)  
 ... (in Becchufayn)  
 ... (in the office)  
 Aurelius ... (to our lord)  
 Aurelius ... (in Appadana)  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...'

## col. XIV

|1                    Magda[la] Au]rel Barica[s] Ierh[a]e[i]  
 |2        ● ———[                    ] Aure[l] Za[b]dibo[us]  
 |3                    A[p]pada[n] Aurel Ierhae[us] Zebi[da]  
 |4        ● ———[                    ] A[u]r]e[l] Abedsalm[a]s Ierha[ei]  
 |5        ● ———[                    ] Aurel Mocimus  
 |6        ● ———[                    ] Aurel Mar[i]nus  
 |7                    Appada A[u]rel Abd[u]s  
 |8        ● ———[                    ] A[ur]e[l] Zabdes [Aua]da  
 |9        ● ———[                    ] A[urel] Nisr[aeu]s  
 |10                    [Ap]pada A[urel] Germ[a]nus  
 |11                    [ad] dom' n' A[urel] Abed[. . .]mra  
 |12                    [ad do]m' n' .[ . . . . .]ae[  
 |13                                    ] .[                                    ]anus  
 |14                                    [  
 |15                    [  
 |16                    [a]d dom' n' .[  
 |17                    [a]d dom' n' A[urel]  
 |18                    [a]d dom' n' A[urel]  
 |19                    [a]d dom' n' A[urel]  
 |20                    [ad] dom' n' A[urel] . . . ]an[  
 |21                    [ad do]m' n' A[urel] Ma[  
 |22                    [Becc]huf A[urel] Z]ebida[  
 |23                                    ] . . [                                    ] P[  
 |24                                                                                    [ ] Iuli[us]

- - -

col. XIV: 1 ]Magda[la edd. | Ier[haei edd. || 2 Za[b]dibo[l *Fink*<sup>l</sup> || 4 Aur]e[l edd. | Abedsalm[as] edd. || 5 Moc[i]mus edd. || 6 A]urel edd. | Mar[in]us edd. || 7 App[a]da[ edd. || 8 A[urel] edd. | Zabda[s edd. || 12 n [ edd. | || 16 [ad] edd. || 17–21 A[ *Fink*<sup>l</sup> || 20 fortasse A[urel] An[toninus | ] . . [ edd. || 24 [ ]iun[ ] edd. || post hanc lineam, lineam uacuam cum ●[ recognouit Marichal

col. XIV: 'Aurelius Baricas son of Ierhaeus (in Magdala)

Aurelius Zabdibolus

Aurelius Ierhaeus son of Zebidas (in Appadana)

Aurelius Abedsalmas son of Ierhaeus

Aurelius Mocimus

Aurelius Marinus

Aurelius Abdus (in Appadana)

Aurelius Zabdes son of Auadas

Aurelius Nisraeus

Aurelius Germanus (in Appadana)

Aurelius Abed... (to our lord)

... (to our lord)

...

... (to our lord)

Aurelius ... (to our lord)

Aurelius ... (to our lord)

Aurelius ... (to our lord)

Aurelius ... (to our lord)

...

Aurelius Zebidas... (in Becchufrayn)

...

... Iulius ... (*erased*)'

col. XV

|    |                   |                 |                                  |
|----|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| 1  |                   | Be[c]chuf       | Aurel A[eliu]s Hel[io]dorus      |
| 2  |                   |                 | La[eto] II cos                   |
| 3  |                   | [App]adan       | Aur[e]l D[o]metti[u]s            |
| 4  |                   |                 | Sa[bino II co]s                  |
| 5  |                   | [Bec]chuf       | Aure[l] N[eo]n                   |
| 6  |                   | [Becc]huf       | Aurel [ . . . ] .eus             |
| 7  |                   | [Bec]chuf       | Aurel A[po]ll[on]ius             |
| 8  |                   | ] [Bec]chuf     | Aurel [ . . . . . ]s             |
| 9  |                   | ]el[ . ] Bartha | Aurel A[ . . . . . ] .           |
| 10 | . . . . .         | un [[Appada     | Aurel A[ . . . . . ]]            |
| 11 | • —————           |                 | [Aurel] C[yrillus                |
| 12 |                   | offic           | Aur[el] G[ordius                 |
| 13 |                   | Becchuf         | Aurel [ . . ] .eu[ . . . . . ] . |
| 14 |                   | explora         | Aure[l                           |
| 15 | • <u>Magdal[a</u> |                 |                                  |
| 16 |                   | Becch[uf        |                                  |
| 17 |                   |                 | ] .e[                            |
| 18 | In[               |                 | Aur]el I[u]lius [                |
| 19 |                   |                 | Aur]el Ma[                       |
| 20 |                   |                 | Aur]el Mo[                       |
| 21 |                   |                 | Aure]l Ma [                      |
| 22 | .p.[              |                 | ] Barril [                       |
| 23 |                   |                 | ] Bars [                         |
| 24 |                   | Aurel]          | Longin[us                        |
| 25 |                   |                 | ]a[                              |

- - -

col. XV: **6** A[u]rel *edd.* || **8** ] [ *initio lineae edd.* || **9** cast]el(lum Arabum) *dubitanter Marichal* || **10** ] c [ . ] un *Fink:* ] *perfun* *Marichal* | ] *edd.* || **13** Aure[l] [ *edd.* || **14** Au[r]e[l] *edd.* || **15** [[Magdal]] *edd.* || **17** ] [ *edd.* || **22** ] . . . [ *edd.* | Bassil[ *vel* Bassil[ianus *uel similia dubitanter Marichal* || **24** ]Longin[ *Fink*<sup>1</sup> | *post hanc lineam tres lineas* ([ - - - ] . [ - - - - - ] . [ - - - - - ] . [ - - - ]) *Marichal*

col. XV: 'Aurelius Aelius Heliodorus (in Becchufrayn)

During the second consulship of Laetus:

Aurelius Domettius (in Appadana)

During the second consulship of Sabinus:

Aurelius Neon (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Apollonius (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius ... (in Bartha)

Aurelius ... (in Appadana) (*erased*)

Aurelius Cyrillus

Aurelius Gordius (in the office)

Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius ... (in exploration)

... (in Magdala)

... (in Becchufrayn)

...

Aurelius Iulius ... (...)

Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 ...  
 Aurelius Longinus'

col. XVI

|<sup>1</sup> Extr[i]çat[o II co]s  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]a Au[rel Ab]garus Them<sup>a</sup>[es][rs]a  
 |<sup>3</sup> ]— A[urel G]adde B[ore  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] . dupl IIII[  
 |<sup>5</sup> [  
 |<sup>6</sup> [  
 |<sup>7</sup> [  
 |<sup>8</sup> [ç] Cas[trici] Antonino II co[s]  
 |<sup>9</sup> [or]d A[urel . . .]ius Castricius [  
 |<sup>10</sup> ] . Antoni[ . . . . . ] . [  
 |<sup>11</sup> Cilone II cos  
 |<sup>12</sup> ad d[ ] Mocimus Themars[a  
 |<sup>13</sup> diuo Se[u]e[ro c]os  
 |<sup>14</sup> ] Aurel Marrius [ . ] [ . ]man[  
 |<sup>15</sup> Tertullo c[o]s  
 |<sup>16</sup> •[ ]— Aurel Zaidibolus M[alacheli  
 |<sup>17</sup> •[ ]— Aurel Iulius [  
 |<sup>18</sup> ]— Aurel Zaid[ibolus Sad . . . i]  
 |<sup>19</sup> ]— Aurel . [  
 |<sup>20</sup> c]os  
 |<sup>21</sup> ]— Aurel A]lexand[rus  
 |<sup>22</sup> ]— A[urel ] Malchi [  
 |<sup>23</sup> ]f- [ ]s Themarsa [  
 |<sup>24</sup> ]o cos  
 |<sup>25</sup> ]l A[urel Di]omedi  
 |<sup>26</sup> ]a Au[rel Z]ebida  
 |<sup>27</sup> ] n Aur[el ]le  
 |<sup>28</sup> ]s Au[rel Th]emarsa  
 |<sup>29</sup> ] . a Au[rel ] .  
 |<sup>30</sup> ]— A[urel  
 - - -

col. XVI: 4 III[ *edd.* || 9 *fortasse* Iul]ius *vel* Ael]ius: A]lexand[rus *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: D]ius *vel* Iul]ius *uel* Ael]ius *uel* A[urel]ius *dubitanter* *Fink*<sup>2</sup> || 10 ]p *edd.* | ] [ *recognoui* || 12 Themar[sa *edd.* || 14 [ . . ]man[ *edd.* || 18 Sad . . . i *suppl.* *Fink*<sup>1</sup> *Marichal* || 19 [ *recognovi* || 21 A]lexand[r- *edd.* || 23 ]s *recognoui* || 25 ]l . [ *Fink*<sup>1</sup> *Marichal* || 27 Au[rel Ma]le *Fink*: *et* Ierabo]le *dubitanter* *Fink*<sup>2</sup> || 28 A[ *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: A[urel *Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal* || 29 ] . A[ *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: A[urel *Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal*

col. XVI: 'During the second consulship of Extricatus:  
 Aurelius Abgarus son of Themarsas (...)  
 Aurelius Gaddes son of Bores  
 ... *duplicarii* 4 ...

Castricius' century. During the second consulship of Antoninus:  
Aurelius ... Castricius, centurion

...

During the second consulship of Cilo:

... Mocimus son of Themarsas (...)

During the consulship of the divine Severus:

Aurelius Marrius ...

During the consulship of Tertullus.

Aurelius Zaidibolus son of Malachelus

Aurelius Iulius ...

Aurelius Zaidibolus ...

Aurelius ...

During the consulship of ... .

Aurelius ... Alexandrus

Aurelius ... son of Malchus

... son of Themarsas (...)

During the consulship of ... :

Aurelius ... son of Diomedes (...)

Aurelius ... son of Zebidas (...)

Aurelius ... son of ... (...)

Aurelius ... son of Themarsas (...)

Aurelius ... (...)

Aurelius ...'

*col. XVII*

|               |                  |                       |
|---------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  |                  | Moci]m[us] Theme      |
| <sup>2</sup>  | ●[               | ]s [. ] [. . .]s      |
| <sup>3</sup>  | ●●[              | U]lpiu[s Severu]s     |
| <sup>4</sup>  | a[               |                       |
| <sup>5</sup>  | ./               | ] Iulius [Salman      |
| <sup>6</sup>  |                  | Cilon[e II cos        |
| <sup>7</sup>  | ———[             | ] Hala[s              |
| <sup>8</sup>  | ad dom' [n'      | ] Iulius [Marin]us    |
| <sup>9</sup>  | Appa[da          | ]d[ . ]a[nus] Gai     |
| <sup>10</sup> | officio [        | A]be[dmalchu]s Marosa |
| <sup>11</sup> | —————[           | Maximus] Hotaraei     |
| <sup>12</sup> | ● —————[         | Iulius] Heliodorus    |
| <sup>13</sup> | ad dom' n' [     | T]hemes Malchi        |
| <sup>14</sup> | —————[           | ]lius Puplianus       |
| <sup>15</sup> | Be[cc]huf [Aurel | ] Domnus              |
| <sup>16</sup> |                  | ] Priscus Annona      |
| <sup>17</sup> |                  | ] Baricbelus Bass[i   |
| <sup>18</sup> |                  | ] Didas Sal[man       |
| <sup>19</sup> |                  | ] Iadaeus [Themarsa   |
| <sup>20</sup> |                  | ] . [                 |
| <sup>21</sup> |                  | ]dius [               |
| <sup>22</sup> |                  | ]i[                   |
| <sup>23</sup> |                  | ] . [                 |
| <sup>24</sup> |                  | ]s . au . [           |
| <sup>25</sup> |                  | ] Mu[                 |
| <sup>26</sup> |                  | ] Iuliu[s             |
| <sup>27</sup> |                  | ] Iulius [            |

28 ]ab[  
29 ] . [

- - -

col. XVII: 3 ●● a[ (dubitanter an a[ctuarius) Fink | Ul]piu[s edd. || 5 . [ Aurel] Iulius Fink<sup>1</sup> || 8 n [ edd. || 9 Had[ri]a[nus] Gai dubitanter edd. || 14 Aurel suppl. Fink<sup>1</sup> | Ul]pius edd. || 15 Becchuf Fink || 19 ] Iadaeus edd. || 20 ] . a[ Fink<sup>1</sup>: Aurel] . a[ Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 24 ]s . au[ Fink || 25 Aurel suppl. Fink<sup>2</sup>

col. XVII: ‘... Mocimus son of Themes...

... Ulpius Severus

---

... Iulius son of Salmanes  
During the second consulship of Cilo:  
... Halas  
... Iulius Marinus (to our lord)  
... son of Gaius (in Appadana)  
... Abedmalchus son of Marosas (in the office)  
... Maximus son of Hotareus  
... Iulius Heliodorus  
... Themes son of Malchus (to our lord)  
... Puplianus  
Aurelius Domnus (in Becchufrayn)  
... Priscus son of Annonas  
... Barucbelus son of Bassus  
... Didas son of Salmanes  
... Iadaeus son of Themarsas  
...  
Iulius ...  
Iulius ...’

**15** Between *Aurelius* and *Domnus* one can a large blank space, perhaps to locate another name; alternatively, one might think that ‘Domnus’ was inserted later.

---

col. XVIII

|    |                                              |                              |
|----|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1  |                                              | ] . [ . ]nus                 |
| 2  |                                              | ]no [co]s                    |
| 3  | a[d] dom’ n’ [                               | ] . [                        |
| 4  |                                              | Fausti]no cos                |
| 5  | ●—————[                                      | Ierh]aeus Z[ebida]           |
| 6  | [Becc]huf A[urel                             | ] . eus[                     |
| 7  |                                              | duobus As]pris [cos          |
| 8  | [Appa]da Au[rel Art]em[idorus                |                              |
| 9  | A[pp]ada Au[rel The]mes [Zebida              |                              |
| 10 | p- . [ ] ● [Bir]tha Aurel [Themarsa Nisa]msi |                              |
| 11 | [o]ffi[c] Aurel [                            | ] . haei                     |
| 12 |                                              | ] . Aurel [Macrin]ius Maximi |
| 13 | ]— Aurel [Mocim]us Antonini                  |                              |
| 14 |                                              | M[essal]a cos                |
| 15 |                                              | Aur]e[l Ierab]ole Obean      |
| 16 |                                              | Aurel G]aius                 |
| 17 |                                              | Moci]mus Antoni[             |
| 18 |                                              | ]dalathu[s                   |
| 19 |                                              | ]gn[                         |
| 20 | . [                                          | ] . a . [                    |





|    |               |    |           |            |
|----|---------------|----|-----------|------------|
| 19 |               |    |           | [[] , a[]] |
| 20 |               |    |           |            |
| 21 |               |    |           |            |
| 22 |               | •[ |           |            |
| 23 |               | •[ | ]—[       |            |
| 24 |               |    | B]ecch[uf | ]i         |
| 25 | cum [n]auem [ |    |           | ] us       |
| 26 |               |    | ] sin[gul | ]s         |
| 27 |               |    |           | ]ba        |

col. XIX: **3** ● ● *recognovi* || **4** ] . nauem *edd.* | hor[d(e)ariam] *dubitanter Fink*<sup>2</sup> || **6** Ze. [ *edd.* || **8** L[ (dubitanter an L[onginus] Marichal || **9** ar. [ *edd.* || **13** P[o]s(terior) *dubitanter edd.* || **14** ] . [ ] . . . [ *edd.* || **16** ] . *edd.* || **17** ] s *edd.* || **19** *rasuram recognoui:* ] [ *edd.* || **24** ] *edd.* || **25** cum [ n]auem *edd.* || **27** ] a *edd.*

*col. XIX*: ‘Aurelius ... (in the office)  
... (in Becchufrayn)  
Aurelius ... (to Parthia)  
Aurelius ... (collecting barley) (... ship ...)  
Aurelius ... (to our lord)  
Aurelius Zebidas ... (to our lord)  
Aurelius Iulius ... (to our lord)  
Aurelius ... (to our lord)  
Aurelius ... (to our lord)  
Aurelius ... (to our lord)  
Aurelius Iulius Prior  
Aurelius Iulius Posterior  
Aurelius ...  
...  
... son of Ierhaeus  
...  
... (in Becchufrayn)  
... (when the ship ...?)  
... (*singularis*)’

col. XX

|    |                      |                                        |
|----|----------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1  | <del>Mag[d]ala</del> | Aurel Iul[ius] U[                      |
| 2  | si]ng[ul]            | Aurel M[                               |
| 3  |                      | Sa[bi]no II [cos]                      |
| 4  | • a . . . .          | [A]urel D[e]metri[us                   |
| 5  | [Becc]huf            | Aurel Pr[isc]us Ab[bosa                |
| 6  | [Becch]uf            | Aurel S[um]mares                       |
| 7  | • —[ ]—              | Aurel [ . . . . ]us                    |
| 8  |                      | A]urel An[toni]nus                     |
| 9  |                      | Aur]el He[l]io[dorus                   |
| 10 |                      | Aur]el [Bass]us                        |
| 11 |                      | Aur]el S[il]uanus                      |
| 12 | • • —[               | Aur]el [ . . . . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] ius |
| 13 |                      | Aurel Bas]sus                          |
| 14 |                      | Aurel Silu]anus                        |
| 15 |                      |                                        |
| 16 |                      |                                        |
| 17 | B]ecc[huf            |                                        |

<sup>18</sup> ]———[  
<sup>19</sup> ] Becch[uf  
<sup>20</sup> ad leone[s  
<sup>21</sup> explor[  
<sup>22</sup> ]————— [Au]rel [  
<sup>23</sup> Becchu[f A]urel [  
<sup>24</sup> Be[c]ch[uf A]urel [  
<sup>25</sup> ] Aure[l  
 - - -

col. XX: 1 [[Mag[d]al]] Fink | I . [ . . ] . [ edd. || 4 [[Māḡda[l]] Fink: Māḡda[l Marichal

col. XX: 'Aurelius Iulius ... (in Magdala)

Aurelius ... (*singularis*)

During the second consulship of Sabinus:

Aurelius Demetrius (...)

Aurelius Priscus, son of Abbosas (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Summares (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius ...

Aurelius Antoninus

Aurelius Heliodorus

Aurelius Bassus

Aurelius Silvanus

Aurelius ...

Aurelius Bassus

Aurelius Silvanus

...

... (in Becchufrayn)

...

... (in Becchufrayn)

... (to the lions)

... (in exploration)

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius ...'

col. XXI

<sup>1</sup> ♀ Ma[ri]ani diuo An[t]onino II [cos]  
<sup>2</sup> ad opin[i]on ord Aurel Iulius [Ma]ri[anus]  
<sup>3</sup> [ . . ] Geta S[enior]e II cos]  
<sup>4</sup> singul dupl Aurel Iulius [Ap]oli[narius]  
<sup>5</sup> Cilon[e I]I cos  
<sup>6</sup> Becchuf s[esq] Aurel Lucius [T]hema[rsa]  
<sup>7</sup> Comod[o VI]I cos  
<sup>8</sup> ad praetor [A]urel Abda[s T]hemarsa  
<sup>9</sup> Erucio [Clar]o cos  
<sup>10</sup> • ————[ ] Iadae[u]s [Ier]haei  
<sup>11</sup> ad sacr[ahim] ] th[ . . M]alchi  
<sup>12</sup> Te]rtu[llo] cos  
<sup>13</sup> Bec[chuf I]erh[aeu]s Barnaei  
<sup>14</sup> Sat[urnino] cos  
<sup>15</sup> • —[ Agripp]as Male

16 Anullino] II cos  
 17 • [  
 18 ] Aurel  
 19 ]—— Aurel  
 20  
 21 ] in Aurel  
 22 ]—— Aurel  
 23 ]—— Aurel I]erh[aeus  
 24 ]a\_ Aurel ]siur [  
 25 ]—— Aurel] Malc[hus  
 26 ] Zeb[  
 27 ]b[

— — —

*col. XXI: 1* An[to]nino *edd.* || *2* [o]p[ini]on *edd.* | Ma[r]ianus *Fink* || *3* ] [ ] [ ] *edd.* || *4* d[u]p[ ] *edd.* || *8*  
 Abd[as *edd.* | The]m[arsa] *Marichal* || *9* Eruci[o *edd.* || 11 fortasse Aurel Bar]ath[es | ]Malchi *edd.* || *13*  
 Bec[chuf *edd.* || *14* cos] *edd.* || *18–19* A[ *Fink* || *23* I]er [ ] *edd.* || *24* •[ *Marichal* | fortasse Magdal]a *vel*  
 Appad]a(na): ]a *recognoui* | ] siur [ *Fink*: ]saur [ *Marichal*

*col. XXI: 'Marianus' century. During the second consulship of the divine Antoninus:*

Aurelius Iulius Marianus, centurion (to the estimate of salaries)

During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:

Aurelius Iulius Apollinarius (*singularis, duplicarius*)

During the second consulship of Cilo:

Aurelius Lucius (son of?) Themarsas (*sesquiplicarius*, in Becchufrayn)

During the seventh consulship of Commodus:

Aurelius Abdas son of Themarsas (to the headquarters)

During the consulship of Erucius Clarus

... Iadaeus son of Ierhaeus

... son of Malchus (*ad sacrahim*)

During the consulship of Tertullus:

... Ierhaeus son of Barnaeus (in Becchufrayn)

During the consulship of Saturninus:

... Agrippas son of Males

During the second consulship of Anullinus:

...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ...

...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius Ierhaeus ...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius Malchus ...'

*col. XXII*

1 ad dom' [n'] Aurel Barla[has  
 2 Seuero [III cos]  
 3 P[art]hia Aurel Buccaeu[s  
 4 Geta S[eni]ore [II cos]  
 5 Be[cchu]f A[urel] Ulpius [ ]inus  
 6 • ———[ Aurel Aelius [H]eracl [  
 7 • ad le[ones Aurel Theme[s] Malchi  
 8 ]emans extra A[u]rel Iulius [ ]anus

9 Cil[one II c]os  
 10 • ———[ ] Mar[cus Vi]ctor  
 11 ] .[ A]bedla[ha]s Maximi  
 12 • ———[ Iul]ius [Ab]edsemia  
 13 • cast[el Arab ] a[.....] ei  
 14 Vareus Ba[r]si]msi  
 15 p' Helio' Max. • [ Maximu]s Zao[r]a  
 16 • [  
 17 ] . A[urel  
 18 ] offi[cio] A[urel  
 19 ] — Aur[el  
 20 App]ada Aur[el  
 21 [  
 22 ] . n Aure[l I]er . [  
 23 Becchu]f Aurel [Z]ebida[  
 24 ] . Aure[l] Hab[  
 25 A]ur[el] Abb[  
 26 ] d[

— — —

col. XXII: 1 [a]d edd. | post Barla[has, Iarhaei Fink<sup>1</sup>: Iarh- Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 5 [ ] Fink<sup>1</sup> || 7 Them[es] edd.  
 || 8 emans(it) dubitanter Fink<sup>2</sup> | ex era . [Au]r[el] edd. || 11 Ab]edla[ha]s edd. || 13 ]ei edd. || 15 p(ro)  
 Helio(doro) Max(im)i dubitanter Fink || 17–18 A[ Fink<sup>1</sup> || 22 ] . n edd. || 23 Aur[el] edd.

---

col. XXII: 'Aurelius Barlahas (to our lord)

During the third consulship of Severus:

Aurelius Buccaeus (in Parthia)

During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:

Aurelius Ulpius ... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Aelius ...

Aurelius Themes son of Malchus (to the lions)

Aurelius Iulius ... (... remained outside?)

During the second consulship of Cilo:

... Marcus Victor

... Abedlahas son of Maximus (...)

... Iulius son of Abedsemias

... son of ... (in *castellum Arabum*)

Vareus son of Barsimsus

Maximus son of Zao[r]as (instead of Heliodorus son of Maximus?)

...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ... (in the office)

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ... (in Appadana)

...

Aurelius ... (...)

Aurelius Zebidas ... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius ... (...)

Aurelius ...'

---

col. XXIII

<sup>1</sup> • [ ] — Aurel Ie[r]abol[es Bu]ccaei

<sup>2</sup> • [ ] — Aurel Iulius A[ . . . ]ni . [

3 ]—[ ]—— A[u]rel [A]bidse[ . . . ]ae[  
 4 diuo Ant[oni]no I[II] cos]  
 5 Be[cchu]f A[ur]e[l] Valerius [M]ucia[n-  
 6 Bec[chuf Au]rel Ulp[us] M[ari]nus  
 7 of[icio] A]urel Iulius M[a]ximus  
 8 singul [A]urel Ma[rinu]s  
 9 • ————[ Aurel] Rum[as  
 10 Pom]peia[no co]s  
 11 Appa[d A]elius [ . . . ]us  
 12 • • —[u]ex- [ ]ius M[a]rinus  
 13 Fa]ust[in]o cos  
 14 a[ ] Ad[daeus M]a[c]cae  
 15 ]nans • • Ap[pad ]damus  
 16 • —[ Iulius Th]emarsa  
 17  
 18 ]— A[urel  
 19 e]xplor A[urel  
 20 ]—— A[urel  
 21 [  
 22 ] Aure[l  
 23 castel] Arab Aure[l] Na . . [  
 24 ]—— Aure[l] Moci[mus]  
 25 ]—— Aure[l] Iulius  
 26 ] . [ . . ]ha[  
 27 ]de[

— — —

col. XXIII: 2 A[nto]n[in]us uel A[nto]n[in]i dubitanter Fink<sup>1</sup> || 3 B . . . ds . . . ]ae . . [ edd. || 5 Be[ . ]f edd. | . [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: A[urel] Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal | [M]ucia[nus Fink<sup>1</sup> || 6 Bec[ edd. || 9 Aurel suppl. Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 12 ue[x edd. | M[ . ]inus (dubitanter an M[ar]inus) Fink<sup>1</sup>: M[ar]inus Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 13 Fa]us[tin]o edd. || 14 a[ recognovi | ] . [ M]a[c]cae Fink<sup>1</sup> || 15 ]mans pro e]mans uel re]mans(it) dubitanter Marichal | da . nus edd. || 18–20 A[ Fink<sup>1</sup> || 23 Ap]pad edd. | ]nao . [ edd. || 24 Moci[m- Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 27 ] . [ edd.

col. XXIII: 'Aurelius Ieraboles son of Buccaeus

Aurelius Iulius ...

Aurelius ...

During the third consulship of the divine Antoninus:

Aurelius Valerius (son of?) ... (in Becchufayn)

Aurelius Ulp[us] Mar[us]inus (in Becchufayn)

Aurelius Iulius Maximus (in the office)

Aurelius Mar[us]inus (singularis)

Aurelius Ruma[s]

During the consulship of Pompeianus:

Aelius ... (in Appadana)

... Mar[us]inus (standard-bearer)

During the consulship of Faustinus:

... Addaeus son of Maccaeus (...)

... (in Appadana) (...)

... Iulius son of Themarsas

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ... (in exploration)

Aurelius ...

...

Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ... (in *castellum Arabum*)  
 Aurelius Mocimus  
 Aurelius Iulius'

col. XXIV

|<sup>1</sup> Appada Aurel Iuli[us] Mar[inus]  
 |<sup>2</sup> Be[cc]huf Aurel Ma[ ]us[ ]  
 |<sup>3</sup> Ap[p]ada Aurel Bassu[s N]as[sibeli  
 |<sup>4</sup> • ——— [ ] The[m]es H[eliodor-  
 |<sup>5</sup> • ——— [ ] Aurel Babuius  
 |<sup>6</sup> App[ada] Aurel Mucian[u]s  
 |<sup>7</sup> • ——— [ ] Aurel Aela[mis] Belsur  
 |<sup>8</sup> Appa[da] Aurel] M[ann]us  
 |<sup>9</sup> • ——— [ ] Iulius [He]racla[  
 |<sup>10</sup> ad do[m' n' Aurel] Nis[ra]eus  
 |<sup>11</sup> Becch[uf Aurel] Marinus  
 |<sup>12</sup> • Bartha [ ] Cla[u]d[ius] Sotericus  
 |<sup>13</sup> caste[l Arab [ ] [ ]s Zebida  
 |<sup>14</sup> b[ ]s Mar[ ]us  
 |<sup>15</sup> [ ]  
 |<sup>16</sup> • [ ] — Aur[elius]  
 |<sup>17</sup> ]d. b[ ] castel A]rab Aur[elius]  
 |<sup>18</sup> ] Bec[chuf ] n Aurel [ ]  
 |<sup>19</sup> ] — Aurel [ ]  
 |<sup>20</sup> ] — Aurel [ ]  
 |<sup>21</sup> ] Aurel M[ ]  
 |<sup>22</sup> ] Aurel [ ]  
 |<sup>23</sup> A]urel [ ]  
 |<sup>24</sup> ]ad [ ]  
 ---

col. XXIV: **2** Becchuf *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: [Becc]huf *Fink*<sup>2</sup> Marichal || **3** Ap[p]ada *Fink*: Appad[a] Marichal || **4** H[eliodori] *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || **8** Aurel *suppl.* *Fink*<sup>2</sup> Marichal || **9** [He]racla *edd.* || **10** add[ ] *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: ad d[om n] in *commentario* *Fink*<sup>2</sup> Marichal | Ni[ ]eus (*dubitanter an Nisreus*) *edd.* || **13** fortasse Aurelius] I[uliu]s: ] [ *recognoui* || **17** ]di b[ ] *edd.* || **18** ] be[ ] *Fink* || **24** ] [ ] *edd.*

col. XXIV: 'Aurelius Iulius Marinus (in Appadana)

Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)  
 Aurelius Bassus son of Nassibelus (in Appadana)  
 ... Themes (son of?) Heliodorus  
 Aurelius Babuius  
 Aurelius Mucianus (in Appadana)  
 Aurelius Aelamis son of Belsur  
 Aurelius Mannus (in Appadana)  
 ... Iulius ...  
 Aurelius Nisraeus (to our lord)  
 Aurelius Marinus (in Becchufrayn)  
 ... Claudius Sotericus (in Bartha)  
 ... son of Zebidas (in *castellum Arabum*)  
 ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ... (in *castellum Arabum*) (...)

Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn) (...)  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...

**5** In *Babuius*, the last letters (-uius) are corrected from -as.

col. XXV

|    |     |                                      |
|----|-----|--------------------------------------|
| 1  |     | ad dom' n' Aurel Sabi[nus            |
| 2  | •   | ----- Aurel Claudius                 |
| 3  |     | offi[cio] Aurel Iulius M[arc-        |
| 4  |     | cast[e]l A[rab] Aurel Mar [          |
| 5  | •   | ----- Aurel Rufus [                  |
| 6  |     | ----- Aurel Azizus [                 |
| 7  | • • | ----- Aurel [Bassu]s                 |
| 8  | •   | ----- Aurel T[hema]rsas Sa[lma]n     |
| 9  |     | ad [ Aur]el [ . . . . ] us           |
| 10 | •   | Mag[dala Aur]el M[ax]imus S[a]lm[an] |
| 11 | • • | [ Au]rel Priscus                     |
| 12 |     | Au]rel [ . ]b[ . . . ]s              |
| 13 | •   | [ ] Malchus                          |
| 14 |     | La]eto II cos                        |
| 15 |     | [                                    |
| 16 |     | [Ma]gdala [                          |
| 17 |     | Becchuf [                            |
| 18 |     | Becchuf [                            |
| 19 |     | Birtha [                             |
| 20 |     | ]-----[                              |
| 21 |     | singul [A]urel [                     |
| 22 |     | [B]ecchuf Aurel [                    |
| 23 |     | [sin]gu[l] cos Aurel [               |
| 24 |     | ] Aur[el                             |
|    |     | - - -                                |

col. XXV: **1** Sab[ . edd. || **2** fortasse cum cognomine || **4** cast[el] edd. || **9** [ . . . ]us edd. || **10** M[ . ]mus S[a]lm[an] (dubitanter an M[ax]imus Salman) Fink<sup>1</sup>: M[axi]mus Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal

col. XXV: 'Aurelius Sabinus (to our lord)

Aurelius Claudius  
 Aurelius Iulius (son of?) ... (in the office)  
 Aurelius ... (in *Castellum Arabum*)  
 Aurelius Rufus  
 Aurelius Azizus  
 Aurelius Bassus  
 Aurelius Themarsas son of Salmanes  
 Aurelius ... (...)  
 Aurelius Maximus son of Salmanes (in Magdala)  
 Aurelius Priscus  
 Aurelius ...



... Malchus  
During the second consulship of Laetus:

...  
... (in Magdala)  
... (in Becchufrayn)  
... (in Becchufrayn)  
... (in Birtha)  
...  
Aurelius ... (*singularis*)  
Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)  
Aurelius ... (*singularis consularis*)  
Aurelius ...'

col. XXVI

|               |               |                 |                                           |
|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | ] p· Au[r]eli | ● ● ———[        | Aurel Abbosas [                           |
| <sup>2</sup>  |               |                 | Be[c]chuf Aurel Siluan[us                 |
| <sup>3</sup>  |               | ● ————[         | A]urel Lic[in]ni[us                       |
| <sup>4</sup>  |               |                 | Bec[c]hu[f Aur]el Ge[r]manu[s             |
| <sup>5</sup>  | p· pa[        | ] ● ad leo[ne]s | Aurel Ieraboles [                         |
| <sup>6</sup>  | ] p· [        | ] ad leon[e]s   | Aurel D[o]metius                          |
| <sup>7</sup>  |               |                 | Becc[huf] Au[r]el C[ . . . ]us            |
| <sup>8</sup>  |               |                 | Birth[a Aur]el [ . . . ]us                |
| <sup>9</sup>  |               |                 | ]XLVI[ . . . i]n dupli [ . . ]I           |
| <sup>10</sup> |               |                 | [                                         |
| <sup>11</sup> |               |                 | [                                         |
| <sup>12</sup> |               |                 | [                                         |
| <sup>13</sup> |               |                 | Malchian[a] diuo Seue[ro] II cos [        |
| <sup>14</sup> |               |                 | si]ng[ul] d[u]pl Aurel[ . . . ]d[ . . ] [ |
| <sup>15</sup> |               |                 | [                                         |
| <sup>16</sup> |               | ● [●            | ] dupl Aur[el                             |
| <sup>17</sup> |               |                 | [                                         |
| <sup>18</sup> |               | explora         | A[ur]el [                                 |
| <sup>19</sup> |               | ] ————          | A[urel                                    |
| <sup>20</sup> |               |                 | [                                         |
| <sup>21</sup> |               | ] IIII Scy      | A[urel                                    |
| <sup>22</sup> |               | ] ————          | A[u]rel [                                 |
| <sup>23</sup> |               | [               |                                           |
| <sup>24</sup> |               | ] ————          | Aurel [                                   |
| <sup>25</sup> |               | ] —             | Aurel [                                   |

— — —

col. XXVI: **1** Au[r]eli – i.e. Au[r]eli(ano) – emendatum ab Au[r]eli[us] dubitanter Marichal || **2** B[ec]chuf edd. || **3** Lic[in]ni[ Fink<sup>1</sup> || **6** ] p· [ omisit Fink<sup>1</sup> || **7** Becchuf Fink<sup>1</sup> | Aurel Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal | C[ . . . ]us Fink<sup>1</sup> || **8** Birt[ha edd. || **9** C]XLVI Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || **15** cos] edd. || **18** A[ Fink<sup>1</sup> || **19** A[ Fink<sup>1</sup> || **21** trans(latus) in leg(ionem)] IIII Scy(thicam) dubitanter Fink | A[ Fink<sup>1</sup>: [A[urel Marichal || **25** post hanc lineam cos] suspicati sunt edd.

col. XXVI: 'Aurelius Abbosas ... (instead of ... ?)  
Aurelius Silvanus (in Becchufrayn)  
Aurelius Licinnius  
Aurelius Germanus (in Becchufrayn)  
Aurelius Ieraboles (to the lions) (...)

Aurelius Dometius (to the lions) (...)  
 Aurelius ... (in Becchufayn)  
 Aurelius ... (in Birtha)  
 ...46 (?) ... including *duplicarii* ...

Malchus' century. During the second consulship of Severus:

Aurelius ... (*duplicarius, singularis*)

Aurelius ... (*duplicarius*)

...

Aurelius ... (in exploration)

Aurelius ...

...

Aurelius ... (*IV Scythica* ...)

Aurelius ...

...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ...'

*col. XXVII*

|               |           |                                        |
|---------------|-----------|----------------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | ● ————    | Aurel Coddæus                          |
| <sup>2</sup>  | ] ————    | A[u]rel Abgaru[s] Th[em]e              |
| <sup>3</sup>  | ● ————    | A[urel] Ocbanes . . . . [              |
| <sup>4</sup>  | ] ————    | A[u]rel Seleus Ma[l]chi                |
| <sup>5</sup>  | ] ————    | Aurel Acibas Ginn[aei                  |
| <sup>6</sup>  |           | Seuero III cos                         |
| <sup>7</sup>  | ] sig.    | [Aur]el Aelius [Helio]dorus            |
| <sup>8</sup>  | ] ————    | A[urel] Zabdi[bolus] Theoboli          |
| <sup>9</sup>  |           | Geta Seni[ore II c]os                  |
| <sup>10</sup> | ● ————    | Aur[el] Iulius Ar[is]ton               |
| <sup>11</sup> |           | Becchuf Au[rel] Mombogeus              |
| <sup>12</sup> | ● ● ————  | Aur[el] Iaclubus Themarsa              |
| <sup>13</sup> | ● ————    | Aur[el] Zebidas Salman                 |
| <sup>14</sup> |           | ad opinio Au[rel] Abednabus Them[ars]a |
| <sup>15</sup> | ● ————    | Aure[l] Addas Malch[i]                 |
| <sup>16</sup> | ] .       | Aure[l] Themarsa Ma[                   |
| <sup>17</sup> | ]n        | Aurel Adda[s] Z[                       |
| <sup>18</sup> | ] ———     | Aurel Aelius Marcia[n-                 |
| <sup>19</sup> | ] ———     | Aurel [ . . . . .]eus Ni . [           |
| <sup>20</sup> | [Becc]huf | Aurel [                                |
| <sup>21</sup> | ] ———     | Aurel A[                               |
| <sup>22</sup> | ] ———     | Aurel Anti[ochus                       |
| <sup>23</sup> |           | A]urel Malc[h                          |
| <sup>24</sup> |           | Cilone I[I cos]                        |
| <sup>25</sup> |           | Aurel] Cassia[nus Ni-                  |
| <sup>26</sup> |           | ] . m[                                 |
| <sup>27</sup> | ] signif[ |                                        |
| <sup>28</sup> | [         |                                        |
| <sup>29</sup> | ● [       |                                        |
|               | - - -     |                                        |

*col. XXVII: 3* Ocbanes[ ] .aei[ *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: Ocbanes a[ ] .aei[ *Fink*<sup>2</sup>: Ocbanes [A]bidl[ah]a *Marichal* || **5**  
 [A]urel *edd.* || **12** The[m]arsa *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || **15** Malch[ *Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal* || **18** Marcia[nus *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || **19** fortasse

Niš[amsi *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || 23 Malc[hus Zebida *dubitanter Fink*<sup>1</sup> *Marichal* || 24 [II *edd.* || 25 Aurel *suppl. Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal* | Ni . . . *suppl. Fink*<sup>2</sup> || 26 ] a[ *edd.* || 27 ]sign .i[ (*dubitanter an ]signif*) *Fink*

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*col. XXVII:* ‘Aurelius Coddæus

Aurelius Abgarus son of Themes

Aurelius Ocbanes ...

Aurelius Seleus son of Malchus

Aurelius Acibas son of Ginnaeus

During the third consulship of Severus:

Aurelius Aelius Heliodoros (ensign-bearer)

Aurelius Zabdibolus son of Theobolus

During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:

Aurelius Iulius Ariston

Aurelius Mombogeus (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Iaquibus son of Themarsas

Aurelius Zebidas son of Salmanes

Aurelius Abednabus son of Themarsas (to the estimate of salaries)

Aurelius Addas son of Malchus

Aurelius Themarsas son of ...

Aurelius Addas son of ... (...)

Aurelius Aelius (son of?) ...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius ...

Aurelius Antiochus ...

Aurelius (son of?) ...

During the second consulship of Cilo:

Aurelius Cassianus ...

...

... (ensign-bearer)’

---

*col. XXVIII*

|               |                                     |                                   |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | cume . . . .                        | Aurel Marin[u]s Maximi            |
| <sup>2</sup>  | ● —————                             | Aurel Cassius Sacon[a             |
| <sup>3</sup>  | ad d[o]m’ n’                        | A[u]rel Iulius I[ . ]nu[ . . . ]s |
| <sup>4</sup>  | officio [Au]rel Marinus Lu[ci       |                                   |
| <sup>5</sup>  | Birtha Aurel Maxim[us] La[ . . . ]i |                                   |
| <sup>6</sup>  | ● —————                             | Aurel Iulius Maxim[u]s            |
| <sup>7</sup>  |                                     | diuo Antonino II cos              |
| <sup>8</sup>  | ● —————                             | Aurel Valeri[us F]irmus           |
| <sup>9</sup>  | ● —————                             | [Aur]el Iulius [Al]exandrus       |
| <sup>10</sup> | Bec[c]h[u]f                         | Aurel Iulius [Za]bde              |
| <sup>11</sup> | castel Arab                         | [Aur]el Mar[ . . . ] Salman       |
| <sup>12</sup> | ● —————                             | A[ure]l Hammaeus Ogel[i]          |
| <sup>13</sup> |                                     | Albino et Emeliano cos            |
| <sup>14</sup> | p· [He]l[i]odor·                    | ● ————— Aurel Iulius [M]arinus    |
| <sup>15</sup> | sig·                                | ● ————— [A]urel Titius Tiberius   |
| <sup>16</sup> | ad [o]pin                           | Aurel Abedmalchus                 |
| <sup>17</sup> | ad opinio                           | Aurel Iulius H[ . . . . ] [       |
| <sup>18</sup> |                                     | Aprou et Maxi[mo cos]             |
| <sup>19</sup> | ● [ . . . ] ———                     | Aurel Abedala[th-                 |
| <sup>20</sup> | ● [ . . . ] ———                     | Aurel Ae[l]ius Th[                |
| <sup>21</sup> | ● ● [ . . . ] ag·                   | A[urel M]azaba[nas                |
| <sup>22</sup> | ● —————                             | A[urel M]ocimu[s                  |

|  |    |                      |                                  |
|--|----|----------------------|----------------------------------|
|  | 23 |                      | ● ————— A[urel ] . a . [         |
|  | 24 |                      | s[in]gul Au[r]el [ . . . ] b . [ |
|  | 25 |                      | Po[mpeiano cos]                  |
|  | 26 |                      | Appa]da Aurel . [                |
|  | 27 |                      | ] Aurel [                        |
|  | 28 | p · pa . . . m · ● [ |                                  |
|  | 29 |                      | [                                |
|  | 30 |                      | [                                |
|  | 31 |                      | ● [                              |
|  | 32 |                      | [                                |
|  | 33 |                      | [                                |
|  | 34 |                      | ● [                              |

col. XXVIII: **1** e . . . n *Fink*: Emes (*dubitanter an cum Emes(enis)*) *Marichal* || **3** I[a]nu[ariu]s *dubitanter Fink* || **5** al[ . . . ]i (*dubitanter an M*)al[ch]i) *Fink*: ] a[ . . . ]i *Marichal* || **6** [[Magdala]] *Fink* | Max[imu]s *edd.* || **7** A[ntoni]no *edd.* || **8** Valer[ius] *edd.* || **10** Bec[c]huf *Marichal* | Aur[el] *edd.* || **11** Ma[ris] *Fink*<sup>1</sup> *Marichal* || *ad ll.* **12–3** in margine dextro uestigia litterarum recognouit *Marichal*: post Ogel[i] [ . . . ] , post cos [ . . . ] || **18** Max[imo] *edd.* || **19** Abedala[has *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: Abedala[ . . . ] [ *Marichal* || **20** Aelius *Fink* | Th [ *Marichal* || **21** im]ag(inifer) *dubitanter Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal* || **22** M]ocim[us *Fink*<sup>1</sup> *Marichal*: M]ocim[ *Fink*<sup>2</sup> || **28** fortasse partem: pac m· (*dubitanter an pac[h]om *Marichal*)* *edd.*

*col. XXVIII*: ‘Aurelius Marinus son of Maximus (...)’

Aurelius Cassius son of Saconas  
Aurelius Iulius ... (to our lord)  
Aurelius Marinus son of Lucius (in the office)  
Aurelius Maximus ... (in Birtha)  
Aurelius Iulius Maximus (in Magdala)  
During the second consulship of the divine Antoninus:  
Aurelius Valerius Firmus  
Aurelius Iulius Alexandrus  
Aurelius Iulius son of Zabdes (in Becchufrayn)  
Aurelius ... son of Salmanes (in castellum Arabum)  
Aurelius Hammaeus son of Ogelus  
During the consulship of Albinus and Aemilianus:  
Aurelius Iulius Marinus (instead of Heliodorus ?)  
Aurelius Titius Tiberius (ensign-bearer)  
Aurelius Abedmalchus (to the estimate of salaries)  
Aurelius Iulius ... (to the estimare of salaries)  
During the consulship of Aper and Maximus:  
Aurelius ...  
Aurelius Aelius ...  
Aurelius Mazanabas ... (...)  
Aurelius Mocimus ...  
Aurelius...  
Aurelius ... (*singularis*)  
During the consulship of Pompeianus:  
Aurelius ... (in Appadana)  
Aurelius ...'

*col. XXIX*

|              |                                   |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | officio Aurel Mocim[u]ş Zabd[     |
| <sup>2</sup> | Becchuf Aurel Cla[u]dius Antoni [ |

|3 ad opinio Aure[l] S[ . . . ]mius Leonides  
 |4 Becchuf Aurel Iad[ . . . ]eus Aithibeli  
 |5 [M]essala [c]os  
 |6 ad domin Aurel I[u]lius Bassus  
 |7 Appadan A[ur]e[l] Barga[  
 |8 • M[ag]dala A[ure]l Euxemon  
 |9 [Ap]padan A[urel] Iulius Flau[i]us  
 |10 [B]ecchuf A[urel] Addas Z[e]bida  
 |11 B[e]cchuf Aurel Mar[inu]s  
 |12 [o]fficio Au[r]el Malch[us Z]ebida  
 |13 A[p]padan Aur[e]l [ . ]tra [ . ]us  
 |14 A[p]padan Aurel Malchus  
 |15 A[p]padan Aurel A[nto]nius [B]assus  
 |16 • ————— Aurel A[ . . . . . ] manus  
 |17 • ————— Aurel [ . . . . . ] as Themarsa  
 |18 • ————— Aurel [ . . . . . ]em[  
 |19 • ————[ ]— Aur[el] [ . ]us[  
 |20 • ————[ ]— Au[rel]  
 |21 a[ . . . . . ] A[urel]  
 |22 Becchu[f] A[ . . . . . ]  
 |23 • • ————— [ . . . . . ]  
 |24 ]cum nauem[ . . . . . ]  
 |25 ]————[ . . . . . ]mius  
 |26 ]s  
 |27 ]i  
 |28 Ha]eran  
 |29 ]s  
 |30 ]s  
 |31 ]hus H[ae]ran  
 |32 D]emetrius  
 |33 ] . . s  
 ---

*col. XXIX: 1* Aur[e]l *edd.* | Mocim[us] *edd.* || **3** a[d] *edd.* | Aurel *edd.* | Leonid[ . ] *edd.* || **4** Iaddaeus *dubitanter*  
*Marichal* || **8** [ . ] [ . ] *Fink:* [ . ] [ . ] *Marichal* || **13** Aur[el] *edd.* | Tra[ . ] [ . ]us (*dubitanter an* Traia[n]us)  
*edd.* || **21** A[ . ] *Fink<sup>1</sup>* || **22** A[urel] *Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal* || **23** • *edd.* || **24** ] *recognovi* || **25** ] ius *Fink:* ]rius *Marichal*  
 || **33** fortasse Bar]ne[u]s uel ] ços: ] [ . ]s *edd.*

*col. XXIX:* ‘Aurelius Mocimus son of Zabdes (in the office)  
 Aelius Claudius (son of?) ... (in Becchufrayn)  
 Aurelius ... Leonides (to the estimate of salaries)  
 Aurelius ... son of Aithibelus (in Becchufrayn)  
 During the consulship of Messala:  
 Aurelius Iulius Bassus (to our lord)  
 Aurelius Barga ... (in Appadana)  
 Aurelius Euxemon (in Magdala)  
 Aurelius Iulius Flavius (in Appadana)  
 Aurelius Addas son of Zebidas (in Becchufrayn)  
 Aurelius Marinus (in Becchufrayn)  
 Aurelius Malchus son of Zebidas (in the office)  
 Aurelius ... (in Appadana)  
 Aurelius Malchus (in Appadana)

Aurelius Antonius Bassus (in Appadana)

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ... son of Themarsas

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ... (...)

... (in Becchufrayn)

...

... (...)

...

... (son of Haeranes)

...

... (son of Haeranes)

... Demetrius ...'

col. XXX

|    |              |                                            |
|----|--------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1  |              | ad dom' n' Aurel Erenn[                    |
| 2  |              | ad dom' n' Aurel Malchus T[hemar]sa        |
| 3  |              | ad dom' n' Au[rel] Malchu[s                |
| 4  |              | ad dom' n' Aur[el] Siluanus                |
| 5  |              | ad dom' n' Aurel Erennius Marinus          |
| 6  |              | ad dom' n' Aurel Andronicus                |
| 7  |              | ad dom' n' Aurel Siluanus                  |
| 8  |              | ad dom' [n'] Aurel Silu[a]nus alter        |
| 9  |              | Parthi[a] Aurel Themarsa                   |
| 10 |              | Bec[c]huf Aurel Ieraboles                  |
| 11 |              | Appad[an] Aurel An[to]ninus                |
| 12 |              | ]———— Aurel Ier[ha]e[u]s Abgari            |
| 13 | •            | ———— Aurel Hadrianus                       |
| 14 | p. Basso • • | ca[st]ell Arab Aurel Ierhaeus Theoboli     |
| 15 |              | Appadan Aurel Demetrius                    |
| 16 |              | [L]aet[o II] cos                           |
| 17 |              | Parthia Aur[el] Apollo[n]ius Mesenus       |
| 18 |              | in proseq hord Aur[el] [. . . Bas]sus      |
| 19 |              | [Sabi]no II cos                            |
| 20 | •            | ———— Aur[el] ] as                          |
| 21 |              | Bec[c]huf Aurel [. . . . .] [. . . . .]eus |
| 22 |              | Be[cc]huf Aurel [ ]s[ ]sci                 |
| 23 |              | Becchuf Aurel [                            |
| 24 | •            | <del>Magdala</del> Aurel [                 |
| 25 | •            | —[ ] Aurel [                               |
| 26 |              | Bec[chuf Au]rel [                          |
| 27 |              | Bec[chuf Au]rel [                          |
| 28 |              | ]——[ ]— Aur[el Ale]xandrus                 |
| 29 |              | ]a Aur[el ]belus                           |
| 30 |              | ] Aur[el ]es                               |
| 31 |              | Aurel Basi]]eus                            |
| 32 |              | Aurel Helio]dor[u]s                        |
| 33 |              | ]l[ ]cus                                   |
| 34 |              | ]u n[u]s                                   |
| 35 |              | ]ole                                       |

|<sup>36</sup>

]li[

- - -

col. XXX: 1 Erenn[ius Fink<sup>1</sup>: Erenn (*dubitanter an* Erenn[ianus) Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 7 [n'] edd. || 8 n' edd. || 14 Baršo Fink<sup>1</sup> | ca[st]ell edd. || 18 ] [ recognovi || 21 ] . . edd. || 22 ] . [ . ]sci edd. || 24 [[Magdala]] Fink || 26 Be[cchuf edd. || 27 Be[cchuf Aur]el edd. || 29 Iadi]belus Fink<sup>1</sup> || 30 Au]r[el edd. || 31 ] . eus Fink<sup>1</sup> || 32 Aurel suppl. Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 34 fortasse Sil]uan[u]s: ]u]n[ . ]s edd. || 36 ] . [ . ] [ . ] . . . edd.

col. XXX: 'Aurelius ... (to our lord)

Aurelius Malchus son of Themarsas (to our lord)

Aurelius Malchus ... (to our lord)

Aurelius Silvanus (to our lord)

Aurelius Erennius Marinus (to our lord)

Aurelius Andronicus (to our lord)

Aurelius Silvanus (to our lord)

Aurelius Silvanus the second (to our lord)

Aurelius Themarsas (in Parthia)

Aurelius Ieraboles (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Antoninus (in Appadana)

Aurelius Ierhaeus son of Abgarus

Aurelius Hadrianus

Aurelius Ierhaeus son of Theobolus (in castellum Arabum) (instead of Bassus?)

Aurelius Demetrius (in Appadana)

During the second consulship of Laetus:

Aurelius Apollonius Mesenus (in Parthia)

Aurelius ... Bassus (escorting barley-collectors)

During the second consulship of Sabinus:

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius ... (in Magdala)

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Alexandrus

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius Basileus

Aurelius Heliodorus ...'

col. XXXI

|               |   |                    |                              |
|---------------|---|--------------------|------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  |   | Becchuf            | Aurel B[a]rsim[              |
| <sup>2</sup>  | ● | —————              | Aurel Liuian[us              |
| <sup>3</sup>  |   | ad leones          | Aurel Addaeus [              |
| <sup>4</sup>  |   | ]—————             | Aur[el] Marinus [            |
| <sup>5</sup>  |   | Becchuf            | Aur[el] Barhadad[us          |
| <sup>6</sup>  |   | Becchuf            | A[u]rel Dometius Marci[a]nus |
| <sup>7</sup>  | ● | —Magdala           | Aurel Zebinnus               |
| <sup>8</sup>  |   | ad op stip         | Aurel Barnaeus               |
| <sup>9</sup>  |   | trasl in coh [ . ] | [[Aurel Alexandrus]]         |
| <sup>10</sup> |   | offi[cio]          | Aurel Marinus                |
| <sup>11</sup> | ● | <u>Magdala</u>     | Aurel Barsemia cato          |
| <sup>12</sup> |   |                    | [[D]]extr[[o]]i II cos       |
| <sup>13</sup> | ● | —————              | Aurel Zabde                  |

14 Imp Antonino Aug II  
 15 et Sacerdote II cos  
 16 • ————— Aurel Seleucus  
 17 • ————— Aurel Gaius Germanus  
 18 ]c[ . . ]l in dupl V  
 19 [   
 20 [   
 21 F Zebida Anul[lin]o [II cos]  
 22 • • • • — dec — Aurel Zeb[id]as Ierha[e]i  
 23 co]s  
 24 • • • • — dupl — A[ur]el M[ . . . . . ] ma[  
 25 di[uo Seuer]o III c[os]  
 26 Appadan dupl Aurel Ad[ . . . . . ]gn[ . . . ]i  
 27 E[rucio] Cl c[os]  
 28 • ————— [Aur]el . . [ . . . . . ] . n  
 29 ] . [   
 30 • ————— A[urelius] ]dadus Mombogei  
 31 ] ————— A[urel] ]hus Themarsa  
 32 ] ————— A[urel] ]as Hala  
 33 s[in]gul A[urel] ] Antoninus  
 34 co]s  
 35 A]elami  
 36 ] cos  
 37 Barhadadu]s Heran[  
 38 Iarhaboles The]marsa  
 39 Ulpus Mena]ndr[us]  
 40 ]h[

— — —

col. XXXI: 1 B[a]rsim[ edd. || 5 Barhadad[ edd. || 7 [Magdala] Fink || 18 ]CL[ Marichal || 22 Ierh[ae]i edd.  
 || 23 [ edd. || 26 ]gn[ . . . ] [ Marichal || 28 ] n edd. || 30 A[ Fink<sup>1</sup> | ] . adus Fink || 31 A[ Fink<sup>1</sup> | ] . us edd. ||  
 32 A[ Fink<sup>1</sup> || 34 Dextro I]I cos edd. || 35 esur]us [A]elami edd. || 36 Anullin]o [II] cos edd. || 37 ]sus  
 (dubitanter an Barsim]sus) Fink<sup>1</sup>: Barhada]dus Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 38 Ieraboles T]hemarsa Fink: Ierabole]s  
 Th[e]marsa [ Marichal || 39 M]enandr[u]s edd. || 40 ]h[ (dubitanter an Belaacabus] H[ala] Fink: ]al[  
 Marichal

col. XXXI: \*Aurelius Barsim... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Livianus

Aurelius Addaeus (to the lions)

Aurelius Marinus

Aurelius Barhadadus (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Dometius Marcianus (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Zebinnus (in Magdala)

Aurelius Barnaeus (to the estimate of salaries)

[Aurelius Alexander (erased)] (transferred to the ... cohort)

Aurelius Marinus (in the office)

Aurelius Barsemias (in Magdala)

Under the second consulship of Extricatus:

Aurelius Zabdes

Under the second consulship of Emperor Antoninus Augustus and the second of Sacerdos:

Aurelius Seleucus

Aurelius Gaius Germanus

... including 5 *duplicarii*.



Zebidas' squadron. Under the second consulship of Anullinus:

Aurelius Zebidas son of Iarhaeus (decurion)

Under the consulship of ...

Aurelius ... (*duplicarius*)

Under the third consulship of the divine Severus:

Aurelius ... (*duplicarius*, in Appadana)

Under the consulship of Erucius Clarus:

Aurelius ...

...

Aurelius ... son of Mombogeus

Aurelius ... son of Themarsas

Aurelius ... son of Halas

Aurelius ... Antoninus (*singularis*)

Under the consulship of...

... son of Aelamis

Under the consulship of ...

... Barhadadus (son of?) Heranes

... Ieraboles son of Themarsas

... Ulpus Menandrus'

col. XXXII

|    |              |                 |                                      |
|----|--------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1  |              | Becchuf         | Aurel Bores [Nisa]msi                |
| 2  |              |                 | Victori[no cos]                      |
| 3  |              | explorato       | Aurel Nahes[tabus The]marsa          |
| 4  |              |                 | Mucia[no cos]                        |
| 5  |              | Becchuf         | Aurel Hagus [Mal]chi                 |
| 6  | •            | —[ ]            | Aurel Abianes M[acc]hana             |
| 7  | •            | —[ ]            | Aurel Themarsa [Ha]eran              |
| 8  | •            | —[ ]            | Aurel Aelius B[o]la[n]us             |
| 9  | p Marino • • | disp[o]s        | Aurel Themarsa [Ab]gari              |
| 10 |              | Bec[ch]uf       | Aurel Ierabole Add[a]ei              |
| 11 | •            | —[ ]—           | Aurel Iulius Themarsa                |
| 12 |              | ad sacr[ahi]mag | Aurel Bassus Tiberini                |
| 13 |              | Becchuf         | Aurel I[u]lius Marinus               |
| 14 | •            | —               | Aurel Iulius Marinus alter           |
| 15 | •            | —               | Aurel Male Macchana                  |
| 16 | • •          | sig             | Aurel Flavius Euclides               |
| 17 | •            | —               | Aurel Ie[r]haeus Themarsa            |
| 18 |              |                 | diuo Seuero III cos                  |
| 19 | •            | —               | A[urel H]eliodorus Seleuci           |
| 20 | •            | —               | Aure[l Mal]chus Momb[o]gei           |
| 21 | • •          | uex             | Aure[l Ba]rath[es Malc]hi            |
| 22 | •            | —               | Aurel [ . ]al [ . ]bius [Silu]ani    |
| 23 | •            | disposit        | Aurel [ . . ]ius Marinus             |
| 24 |              |                 | G[et]a Sen[ior]e [II] c[o]s          |
| 25 | •            | —               | Aure[l] Va[l]erius M[o]n[i]mus       |
| 26 | •            | —               | Aurel I[uliu]s Sat[urnilu]s          |
| 27 |              | Becchuf         | Aurel Ie[rha]eus Belaa[cab]i         |
| 28 |              | officio         | Aur[el] I[ulius] Ma[xi]mus           |
| 29 | • • • •      | cor             | Aure[l Alexa]nd[ru]s Antonini        |
| 30 | •            | —               | A[ure]l [ . . . ] a . . . [I]amlichi |

|               |         |                             |
|---------------|---------|-----------------------------|
| <sup>31</sup> | ● ————— | Aurel [Aeliu]s Heliodorus   |
| <sup>32</sup> | ● ————— | Aur[el Bar]b[a]essamen Male |
| <sup>33</sup> |         | [Cilone II] cos             |
| <sup>34</sup> | ● —[ ]  | Au[r]e[l Fronton] Mare[a    |
| <sup>35</sup> | ]—[ ]   | Aelius Al]exandr[us         |
| <sup>36</sup> | ]—[ ]   | Iulius Cassi]anus [         |
| <sup>37</sup> | ]—[ ]   | Abe]dlaḥ[in                 |
| <sup>38</sup> |         | explorator [                |

— — —

col. XXXII: **1** Aure[l] edd. || **4** ] cos *Marichal* || **6** M[att]ḥana *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || **9** Marinus *Fink*: Marin· *Marichal* |  
 [[dis[po]s] *Fink*: dis[po]s *Marichal* || **15** Matḥana *Fink* || **21** ]aath[ *Fink*<sup>1</sup> | ] i edd. || **27** Belac[ab]i  
*dubitanter Fink* || **30** fortasse ]banis (*pro* -banes?) [I]amlichi: [ . . . ] a . . . [ . I]amlichi edd. || **32** Mal[e edd.  
 || **34** A[ur]e[l edd. | M[a]re[a *Marichal* || **38** exploratum *dubitanter Fink*

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col. XXXII: ‘Aurelius Bores son of Nisamsus:

Under the consulship of Victorinus:

Aurelius Nahestabus son of Themarsas (in exploration)

During the consulship of Mucianus:

Aurelius Hagus son of Malchus (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Abianes son of Macchanas

Aurelius Themarsas son of Haeranes

Aurelius Aelius Bolanus

Aurelius Themarsas son of Abgarus (*dispositus*) (instead of Marinus?)

Aurelius Ieraboles son of Addaeus (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Iulius son of Themarsas

Aurelius Bassus son of Tiberinus (*ad sacrahimag*)

Aurelius Iulius Marinus (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Iulius Marinus the second

Aurelius Males son of Macchanas

Aurelius Flavius Euclides (ensign-bearer)

Aurelius Ierhaeus son of Themarsas

During the third consulship of the divine Severus:

Aurelius Heliodorus son of Seleucus

Aurelius Malchus son of Mombogeus

Aurelius Barathes son of Malchus (standard-bearer)

Aurelius ... son of Silvanus

Aurelius ... Marinus (*dispositus*)

During the third consulship of the Elder Geta:

Aurelius Valerius Monimus

Aurelius Iulius Saturnilus

Aurelius Ierhaeus son of Belaacabus (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Iulius Maximus (in the office)

Aurelius Alexandrus son of Antoninus (adjutant)

Aurelius ... son of Iamlichus

Aurelius Aelius Heliodorus

Aurelius Barbaessamen son of Males

During the second consulship of Cilo:

Aurelius Fronto son of Mareas

... Aelius Alexandrus

... Iulius Cassianus

... (in exploration)’

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col. XXXIII

|<sup>1</sup>

diu[o Antonin]o II cos

|    |            |                      |                                  |
|----|------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 2  | •          | <u>ad m° ambul</u>   | Aurel Valer[ius Firmu]s          |
| 3  |            | ex[plo]ra            | Aurel Iulius [Bassus]            |
| 4  | •          | -----                | Aurel Vabala[th . . .]z[ . . .]i |
| 5  | •          | -----                | Aurel Zabdibol[us Sal]man        |
| 6  |            | Appad[ ]             | Aurel Mocimus Z[e]bida           |
| 7  | •          | -----                | Aurel Ierhaeus M[a]rea           |
| 8  | •          | -----                | Aurel Zebidas Ierhaei            |
| 9  | •          | -----                | Aurel Gabrion [O]bean            |
| 10 | p Barotaro | • • -----            | Aurel Azizus Antonini            |
| 11 |            | sin[gu]l cos         | Aurel Mocimus Mocimi             |
| 12 |            |                      | Apro et Maximo cos               |
| 13 |            | Becchuf              | Aurelius Dometius Antoninus      |
| 14 | • •        | -----                | Aurel Iulius Iulianus            |
| 15 |            |                      | Pompeiano cos                    |
| 16 | •          | -----                | Aurel Flavius Demetrius          |
| 17 | •          | -----                | Aurel Aelius Licinnius           |
| 18 |            |                      | duob[u]s Aspris cos              |
| 19 | •          | <u>ad man' ambul</u> | Au[rel] Iul[i]us Alexa[n]drus    |
| 20 |            |                      | CXL[ . . ] i[n] dupl V           |
| 21 |            |                      | [ ]                              |
| 22 |            |                      | [ ]                              |
| 23 |            |                      | T Tiberini Apro et Maxim[o co]s  |
| 24 | • •        | dec                  | Aurel Themars[a] T[i]berini      |
| 25 |            |                      | Geta Se[niore] II cos            |
| 26 |            | ad hordeum dupl      | Aurel Iulius Antoninus           |
| 27 |            |                      | Apro et Maximo cos               |
| 28 |            | Becchuf dupl         | A[urel A]el[i]us Barnaeus        |
| 29 |            |                      | Albin[o co]s                     |
| 30 | • •        | sesq                 | A[urel] Flau[i]us Demetri[us]    |
| 31 |            |                      | Erucio Cl cos                    |
| 32 | •          | -----                | A[urel] [ ]e Themar[sa]          |
| 33 | •          | [ ]                  | [ . . ]sth[ ]                    |
| 34 | •          | [ ]                  | jeus [ ]                         |
| 35 |            | [ ]                  | Tert]ullo cos                    |
| 36 | •          | —[ ]                 | ]it [ ]                          |
| 37 |            | ]-----[ ]            | ]de [ ]                          |
| 38 | •          | -----[ ]             |                                  |

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col. XXXIII: 3 Iuliu[s Marichal || 20 CX[ Marichal | d]upl edd. || in vacua linea sub l. 20 [ . . . ] Marichal  
|| 30 Demetri[ edd. || 31 Eruc]io edd. || 32 ]e edd. || 33 ] . l st[ edd. || 35 Tertu]llo edd. || 36 ] . t [ edd.

col. XXXIII: 'During the second consulship of the divine Antoninus:

Aurelius Valerius Firmus (*ad m ambul*)

Aurelius Iulius Bassus (in exploration)

Aurelius ...

Aurelius Zabdibolus son of Salmanes

Aurelius Mocimus son of Zebidas (in Appadana)

Aurelius Ierhaeus son of Mareas

Aurelius Zebidas son of Ierhaeus

Aurelius Gabrion son of Obeanes

Aurelius Azizus son of Antoninus (instead of Barotarus?)  
 Aurelius Mocimus son of Mocimi (*singularis consularis*)  
 During the consulship of Aper and Maximus:  
 Aurelius Dometius Antoninus (in Becchufrayn)  
 Aurelius Iulius Iulianus  
 During the consulship of Pompeianus:  
 Aurelius Flavius Demetrius  
 Aurelius Aelius Licinnius  
 During the consulship of the two Aspri:  
 Aurelius Iulius Alexander (*ad man ambul*)  
 140... including 5 *duplicarii* ...

Tiberinus' squadron. During the consulship of Aper and Maximus:  
 Aurelius Themarsas son of Tiberinus (decurion)  
 During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:  
 Aurelius Iulius Antoninus (*duplicarius*, collecting barley)  
 During the consulship of Aper and Maximus:  
 Aurelius Aelius Barnaeus (*duplicarius*, in Becchufrayn)  
 During the consulship of Albinus:  
 Aurelius Flavius Demetrius (*sesquuplicarius*)  
 During the consulship of Erucius Clarus  
 Aurelius ... son of Themarsas  
 ...  
 During the consulship of Tertullus:'

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col. XXXIV

|    |                                     |                                     |
|----|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1  | • —————                             | Aurel [Iadi]belus Malchi            |
| 2  | • —————                             | Aurel U[ . . . . . ] Mo]mbogeus     |
| 3  | • —————                             | Aurel [ . . . . . ] Maccae          |
| 4  | • • <u>ad man' amb</u>              | Aurel D[i]us Ierhaei                |
| 5  | • —————                             | Au[r]el Barn[a]eus Zebida           |
| 6  | • —————                             | Aurel Anton[inu]s Marinus           |
| 7  |                                     | Becchuf A[u]rel Th[e]m[ar]sa Addaei |
| 8  |                                     | Dext[ro] II cos                     |
| 9  | • <u>dispos</u>                     | Aurel Sim[a]ones Auidalathi         |
| 10 | • <u>ad man' amb</u>                | Aurel Maronas Gadde                 |
| 11 |                                     | Appadan Aurel Valeras Quirini       |
| 12 |                                     | Saturnino [II] cos                  |
| 13 | • —————                             | Au[r]el Barathes Zebida             |
| 14 |                                     | Anullino II cos                     |
| 15 | • —————                             | Aurel Maesomas Aciba                |
| 16 |                                     | Victorino cos                       |
| 17 |                                     | Appadan Aur[el] Gaianus Themarsa    |
| 18 | • —————                             | Au[rel] Bolaeus Mocimi              |
| 19 | p· frater • • —————                 | A[urel] Ierhaeu[s] Themarsa         |
| 20 |                                     | Mucia[no] cos                       |
| 21 | • —————                             | [ . . . . . ] Ma[r]cus maior        |
| 22 | • —————                             | Au[rel] Malch[us] Themarsa          |
| 23 | p Raibelo • <u>disposi[ . . . ]</u> | A[urel] Ulp[us] Demetrius           |
| 24 | • • <u>ad man-a[mb]</u>             | Aur[el] Bela[acab]us Abgari         |
| 25 | <del>Appadan</del>                  | Aur[el] Iulius [Sc]aurianus         |
| 26 | p· Raibelo • <del>chafer aur</del>  | Aurel Flau[ius] Monimus             |

27 [diuo Seuer]o III cos  
 28 Becch[uf Do]metius Barnaei  
 29 • ——— [ ]mus Marini  
 30 p sign • ad leones [.....] [.....] Barbae[ssamen]  
 31 cum pe ... [ ] [ ]s The[  
 32 [G]e[ta Se]niore [II cos]  
 33 • [ ] [.....]us The[  
 34 ] sa [ ]  
 35 ]bus [ ]  
 36 ] disp[o]s[ ]e [ ]  
 37 ]—————[ ]  
 - - -

col. XXXIV: 2 U[lp]ius *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || 5 A[u]rel *edd.* || 9 A[u]rel *edd.* || 17 Au[rel] *edd.* || 19 fra ... *Fink* || 23 dispos[ ] [ ] Ulp[us] *edd.* || 25 [Appadan] *Fink* || 28 Bec[c]h[uf] *edd.* || 30 sing(-) *Fink*<sup>2</sup> | leones [ ] Barbae[ssamen] *edd.* || 31 *fortasse* pen(ore) A[urel] | The[me] *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || 33 [ ] [ ]s The[me] *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: [ ] [ ]s Th[ ] *Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal* || 34 [ ] sa [ ] *edd.* || 36 dis[po]s[ ] *edd.* | ]e [ ] *recognoui*

col. XXXIV: 'Aurelius Iadibelus son of Malchus  
 Aurelius ... Mombogeus  
 Aurelius ... son of Maccaeus  
 Aurelius Dius son of Ierhaeus (*ad man ambul*)  
 Aurelius Barnaeus son of Zebidas  
 Aurelius Antoninus Marinus  
 Aurelius Themarsas son of Addaeus (Becchufrayn)  
 During the second consulship of Dexter:  
 Aurelius Simaones son of Auidalathus (*dispositus*)  
 Aurelius Maronas son of Gaddes (*ad man ambul*)  
 Aurelius Valeras son of Quirinus  
 During the second (*erased*) consulship of Saturninus:  
 Aurelius Barathes son of Zebidas  
 During the second consulship of Anullinus:  
 Aurelius Maesomas son of Acibas  
 During the consulship of Victorinus:  
 Aurelius Gaianus son of Themarsas (in Appadana)  
 Aurelius Bolaeus son of Mocimus  
 Aurelius Ierhaeus son of Themarsas (instead of Frater?)  
 During the consulship of Mucianus:  
 ... Marcus the elder  
 Aurelius Malchus son of Themarsas  
 Aurelius Ulp[us] Demetrius (*dispositus*) (instead of Raibelus)  
 Aurelius Belaacabus son of Abgarus (*ad man amb*)  
 Aurelius Iulius Scaurianus (in Appadana)  
 Aurelius Flauius Monimus (in *Chafer Auira*) (instead of Raibelus)  
 During the third consulship of the divine Severus:  
 ... Dometius son of Barnaeus (in Becchufrayn)  
 ... son of Marinus  
 ... Barbaessamen (to the lions) (instead of Sign...)  
 ...  
 During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:  
 ...  
 ... (*dispositus*)'

col. XXXV

|<sup>1</sup> Appadan Au[rel] Isidorus [ ]sidon

|    |              |                         |                               |
|----|--------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 2  |              | Becuf                   | Au[rel Za]bdibo[lu]s Themarsa |
| 3  | p· Natali·   | <u>ad man· ambul</u>    | Au[rel Gem]ellus Themarsa     |
| 4  |              | ]————                   | A[urel] Barathes Hagus        |
| 5  |              |                         | Cilone II cos                 |
| 6  |              | [o]fficio               | Aurel U[l]pius Barsimsus      |
| 7  |              | ● —————                 | Aurel M[a]lchus Bode          |
| 8  |              | ● —————                 | Aurel [ ] bolianus            |
| 9  |              | ● —————                 | Iulius Priscus                |
| 10 |              | Appadan                 | Aurel [Ul]pius Marcellus      |
| 11 |              | ● —————                 | Aurel Antoninus               |
| 12 |              |                         | diuo Antonino II cos          |
| 13 |              | officio                 | Aurel Ierhaeus Bora           |
| 14 | p· Addaa ·I· | ● <del>disposit</del> — | Aurel Iaquibus Zebida         |
| 15 |              | Becchuf                 | Aurel Iul Maximus             |
| 16 |              | ● —————                 | Aurel Mocimus Simon           |
| 17 | ζ            | <u>Chafer A[u]ir</u>    | Aurel Germanus                |
| 18 |              | ● —————                 | Aurel Flavius Marinus         |
| 19 |              | ● —[                    | A]urel Mocimus Theme          |
| 20 |              |                         | Apr[o] et Maximo cos          |
| 21 |              | explo[r                 | A]ure[l] Sa[m]mas Gai         |
| 22 |              | Appadan                 | [A]ure[l] Agr[ipp]as Male     |
| 23 |              |                         | P[ompei]ano cos               |
| 24 |              | ex[plo]r                | [A]urel A[zizu]s Zaora        |
| 25 |              |                         | du[obu]s Aspris cos           |
| 26 |              | ● —————                 | A[ur]el M[a]ximus Seleuci     |
| 27 |              | ● —————                 | [Aur]el [Ier]haeus Malchi     |
| 28 |              | ● <del>disposit</del> — | The]marsa Buzi                |
| 29 |              | A[                      | ]ius Mocimus                  |
| 30 |              | ● —[                    | Va]balathus Hanina            |
| 31 |              |                         | [Mes]sala cos                 |
| 32 |              | ● <del>disp[os</del>    | Th]emarsa [Mocimi]            |
| 33 |              |                         | ] CXXX[                       |

col. XXXV: **1** Isidor[u]s . . . sidon *edd.* || **2** *scil.* Bec<ch>uf || **8** ]bolianus *edd.* || **9** ]aristus *edd.* || **14** p(ro) Adda{a}(eo) I(er)haei) *dubitanter Marichal* | [[disposit] *Fink* || **17** ζ(ήτει) *uel* ζ(ητητέον) *edd.* | Chafer A[ui]r *Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal*: [[Chafer A[u]ir] *Fink<sup>2</sup>* || **21** explor[ *Fink* || **28** [[disp[o]sit[]] *Fink*: disp[o]sit[ *Marichal* || **29** [ *edd.* || **32** [[disp[os] *Fink* || **33** in dupl. *suppl. edd.*

col. XXXV: 'Aurelius Isidorus ... (in Appadana)

Aurelius Zabdibolus son of Themarsas (in Becchufayn)

Aurelius Gemellus son of Themarsas (*ad man ambul*) (instead of Natalis?)

Aurelius Barathes (son of?) Hagus

During the second consulship of Cilo:

Aurelius Ulpus Barsimsus (in the office)

Aurelius Malchus son of Bodes

Aurelius ...

Iulius ...

Aurelius Ulpus Marcellus (in Appadana)

Aurelius Antoninus

During the second consulship of the divine Antoninus:

Aurelius Ierhaeus son of Boras

Aurelius Iaquibus son of Zebidas (dispositus) (instead of Addaeus son of Ierhaeus?)

Aurelius Iulius Maximus (in Becchufayn)

Aurelius Mocimus son of Simon (?)

Aurelius Germanus (in *Chafer Auira*) (mark that?)

Aurelius Flavius Marinus

Aurelius Mocimus son of Themes

During the consulship of Aper and Maximus:

Aurelius Sammas son of Gaius (in exploration)

Aurelius Agrippas son of Males (in Appadana)

During the consulship of Pompeianus:

Aurelius Azizus son of Zaoras (in exploration)

During the consulship of the two Aspri:

Aurelius Maximus son of Seleucus

Aurelius Ierhaeus son of Malchus

... Themarsas son of Buzus (*dispositus*)

... Mocimus

... Vabalathus son of Haninas

During the consulship of Messala:

... Themarsas son of Mocimus (*dispositus*)

... 130...'

**9** The name of Iulius Priscus has been inserted in the interlinear space, in slightly smaller letters. It may be the same Priscus in *P.Dura 66p*, requesting a new horse.

**15** *Iul* has been added with another pen (not necessarily by another hand) and much thicker ink in the narrow blank space between *Aurel* and *Maximus*

col. XXXVI

|    |           |       |                |                               |
|----|-----------|-------|----------------|-------------------------------|
| 1  |           |       | F [D]emetri    | [Vic]torino cos               |
| 2  |           | • •   | m am[bul d]ec  | Aurel Ulpus Demetrius         |
| 3  |           |       |                | Erucio Cl cos                 |
| 4  |           | • •   | —[ dup]l—      | Aurel Claudius Mombog[eu]s    |
| 5  |           |       |                | Cilone II cos                 |
| 6  |           |       | sesq           | Aurel Prisc[u]s Gai           |
| 7  |           |       | ad praetor     | Erucio Cl cos                 |
| 8  |           | •     | —————          | Aurel Salm[e] Marini          |
| 9  | p. [ ]    | •     | ad leo[nes]    | Aurel Lucianus Thema[rsa]     |
| 10 |           |       | [ad] horde[u]m | Aurel Mucianus Zabdi[bo]l[u]s |
| 11 |           | •     | —————          | Aurel Abdasthor Mocimi        |
| 12 |           | • •   | m' ambul       | Aurel Aelius Fronton          |
| 13 |           |       |                | Seuero II cos                 |
| 14 |           | •     | —————          | Aurel Lucius Aurelius         |
| 15 | p Sorecho | • •   | —————          | Aurel Lucius Salme            |
| 16 |           |       |                | Tert[u]llo cos                |
| 17 |           |       | offic          | Aurel Malchus Theme           |
| 18 |           | • •   | u[e]x          | Aurel Barathes Abgari         |
| 19 |           |       | ad dom' n'     | Aurel Acrabanes Simon         |
| 20 |           |       | A[pp]adana     | Aurel Salmanes Naamaei        |
| 21 |           | • [ ] | —————          | A[ur]el Heranes Aithibeli     |
| 22 |           | • •   | [ad h]estia[s] | A[urel] Ulpus Marea           |
| 23 | p Natales | • •   | —————          | Au[rel] Hagus Salme           |
| 24 |           |       | [offi]cio      | A[ure]l Aelius Gaius          |
| 25 |           |       |                | Saturnino cos                 |
| 26 |           |       | a[d-ho]stias   | A[ur]el Iadibelus Ierhaei     |
| 27 |           |       |                | Anullino I[I] cos             |
| 28 |           | • •   | dis[po]sit     | [Au]rel Salmanes Maccaei      |

|    |            |                |                              |
|----|------------|----------------|------------------------------|
| 29 |            | • • — di[posit | A]urel Nisamsus Zabdiboli    |
| 30 |            |                | ] Aurel Victor Heran         |
| 31 |            |                | Victorino cos                |
| 32 | p Antiochi | • [            | A]urel Ma[cc]aeus Thema[r]sa |
| 33 |            |                | M[uciano co]s                |
| 34 |            | • [            | Au]rel A[ Z]ebida            |
| 35 |            |                | A[u]rel [ Ab]gari            |
| 36 |            |                | Aure[l                       |
| 37 |            |                | Aurel [ ]te [                |
| 38 |            |                | A]ure[l Ze]bida [            |
| 39 |            |                | A]bgari                      |

- - -

col. XXXVI: 4 Mombogeus *Fink* || 6 Gai *Fink* | punctum post Gai perperam posuisse scribam monet Marichal || 9 p. [ Marichal | Themar[sa edd. || 10 ] hord[ *Fink* | Zabdi[bo]l. [ *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: Zabdi[bo]l[u]s Marichal || 22 ] hosti[as edd. || 23 Natales edd. || 26 a]d [ho]stias sine linea *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: cum obliqua linea *Fink*<sup>2</sup> || 28 [[dis[po]sit] *Fink* || 29 [[di[posit] *Fink* || 32 Antiochi(ano) dubitanter Marichal || 34 Au]rel [ edd. || 35 ], initio lineae edd.

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col. XXXVI: 'Demetrius' squadron. During the consulship of Victorinus:

Aurelius Ulpus Demetrius (decurion, *m ambul*)

During the consulship of Erucius Clarus:

Aurelius Claudius Mombogeus (*duplicarius*)

During the second consulship of Cilo:

Aurelius Priscus son of Gaius (*sesquiplicarius*, to the headquarters)

During the consulship of Erucius Clarus:

Aurelius Salmes son of Marinus

Aurelius Lucianus son of Themarsas (providing lions)

Aurelius Mucianus Zabdibolus (providing wheat)

Aurelius Abdasthor son of Mocimus

Aurelius Aelius Fronto (*m ambul*)

During the second consulship of Severus:

Aurelius Lucius Aurelius

Aurelius Lucius son of Salmes (instead of Sorechus)

During the consulship of Tertullus:

Aurelius Malchus son of Themes (in the office)

Aurelius Barathes son of Abgarus (standard-bearer)

Aurelius Acrabanes son of Simon (to our lord)

Aurelius Salmanes son of Naamaeus (in Appadana)

Aurelius Heranes son of Aithibelus

Aurelius Ulpus son of Mareas (providing sacrificial animals)

Aurelius Hagus son of Salmes (instead of Natalis?)

Aurelius Aelius Gaius (in the office)

During the consulship of Saturninus:

Aurelius Iadibelus son of Ierhaeus (providing sacrificial animals)

During the second consulship of Anullinus

Aurelius Salmanes son of Maccaeus (*dispositus*)

Aurelius Nisamsus son of Maccaeus (*dispositus*)

Aurelius Victor son of Heranes

During the consulship of Victorinus:

Aurelius Maccaeus son of Themarsas (instead of Antiochus?)

During the consulship of Mucianus:

Aurelius ... son of Zebidas

Aurelius ... son of Abgarus

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ... son of Zebidas

... son of Abgarus'

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col. XXXVII

|    |             |                   |                                        |
|----|-------------|-------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1  |             | Appa[d]           | Aurel Mocimus Ierhaei                  |
| 2  | •           | _____             | Aurel Marimelus Reibeli                |
| 3  | •           | [.] [.] mos . . . | Aurel Ulpus Marinus                    |
| 4  |             | explora           | Aurel Didas Coccei                     |
| 5  | •           | _____             | Aurel Goremis Iadaei                   |
| 6  | p· N[a]tal· | •                 | Aurel Ierhaeu[s T]hemarsa              |
| 7  | ] . . . [.] | • •               | disposit A[u]rel Zabbae[us Ba]rchalba  |
| 8  |             |                   | Seuero III c[o]s                       |
| 9  |             | Ap[p]adan         | Aure[l] Iulius Germanus                |
| 10 |             |                   | Geta Seniore II cos                    |
| 11 | •           | _____             | Aurel Iulius Gorippus                  |
| 12 | •           | _____             | A[u]rel Zabbaeus Malchi                |
| 13 | p· Nisamso  | •                 | disposit Aurel Barathes Buccaei        |
| 14 |             | singul·           | A[ur]el Longinus Nume[i]               |
| 15 | p· Hammeo   | •                 | disposit Aurel Iamlichus Mocimi        |
| 16 |             | • •               | Aurel Iulius Germanus                  |
| 17 |             |                   | Cilone II cos                          |
| 18 | • •         | _____             | Aurel Marinus Hotaraei                 |
| 19 | • •         | _____             | Aurel Malchus Muc[iani]                |
| 20 |             | e[xp]lora         | Aurel Mar[i]s Themarsa                 |
| 21 |             | Appadan           | Aurel Signas Matrhaei                  |
| 22 | •           | _____             | Aurel Iulius Maximus                   |
| 23 | •           | _____             | Aurel Ierhaeus Barnaei                 |
| 24 | •           | [m] ambul         | Aurel [Z]ebidas Maccae                 |
| 25 | •           | _____             | Aurel [V]alerius Maximus               |
| 26 |             | [a]d dom' n'      | Aurel Amrus Milens                     |
| 27 |             | ]_____            | Aurel Ulpus Marinus                    |
| 28 |             |                   | diuo Antonino II cos                   |
| 29 |             | m' ambul          | Aure[l] Claud[iu]s Natalius            |
| 30 |             | [m] ambul         | [Au]r[el] Ierabole Luci                |
| 31 |             | offi[c]           | ] Demetrius Z. [.] [.] [.] [.] [.] [.] |
| 32 |             | sin[gul]          | Cl]audius Siluan[u]s                   |
| 33 | •           | —[                | Iul]ius Anto[ni]n[                     |
| 34 |             | ]m· a[mbul        | ] [                                    |
| 35 |             | ] o[fficio        | ] Iul[ius . . . ] [                    |
| 36 |             |                   | ]qu [.] [.] [.] [.] [.] [.]            |
| 37 |             |                   | ] Iulius Lo [.] [.] [.] [.] [.] [.]    |
| 38 |             |                   | ] Aelius [A]nton[ini]us                |

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col. XXXVII: 3 [B]e[c]h offic sine puncto Fink: • [.] [.] of Marichal || 7 ] . r [ Fink: [p Nat[.] ] Marichal | [disposit] Fink || 9 A[pp]a[d]an edd. || 13 [disposit] Fink || 15 [disposit] Fink || 20 Mar[i]s Marichal || 21 Matrhae[i] Marichal || 31 offic[ Fink | ]n [ edd. || 33 Anto[ni]n[us Fink<sup>1</sup> || 34 ] [ recognovi || 35 o[fficio recognovi | ] [ (dubitanter an Ma]ri[nus) edd. || 36 ]usius[ Marichal || 37 Lo[.] [.] [.] [.] [.] [.] edd. || 38 [A]nto[ninus edd.

col. XXXVII: 'Aurelius Mocimus son of Ierhaeus (in Appadana)

Aurelius Marimelus son of Reibelus

Aurelius Ulpius Marinus (...)  
 Aurelius Didas son of Cocceius (in exploration)  
 Aurelius Goremis son of Iadaeus  
 Aurelius Ierhaeus son of Themarsas (instead of Natalius?)  
 Aurelius Zabbaeus son of Barchalbas (*dispositus*)  
 During the third consulship of the divine Severus:  
 Aurelius Iulius Germanus (in Appadana)  
 During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:  
 Aurelius Iulius Gorippus  
 Aurelius Zabbaeus son of Malchus  
 Aurelius Barathes son of Buccaeus (*dispositus, singularis*, instead of Nisamsus)  
 Aurelius Iamlichus son of Mocimus (*dispositus*, instead of Hammaeus)  
 Aurelius Iulius Germanus  
 During the second consulship of Cilo:  
 Aurelius Marinus son of Hotareus  
 Aurelius Malchus son of Mucianus  
 Aurelius Maris son of Themarsas (in exploration)  
 Aurelius Signas son of Matrhaeus (in Appadana)  
 Aurelius Iulius Maximus  
 Aurelius Ierhaeus son of Barnaeus  
 Aurelius Zebidas son of Maccaeus (*m ambul*)  
 Aurelius Valerius Maximus  
 Aurelius Amrus Milens (to our lord)  
 Aurelius Ulpius Marinus  
 During the second consulship of the divine Antoninus:  
 Aurelius Claudius Natalius (*m ambul*)  
 Aurelius Ieraboles son of Lucius (*m ambul*)  
 ... Demetrius ... (in the office)  
 ... Claudius Silvanus (*singularis*)  
 ... Iulius (son of?) Antoninus  
 ... (*m ambul*)  
 ... Iulius ... (in the office)  
 ...  
 ... Iulius ...  
 ... Aelius Antoninus'

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col. XXXVIII

|    |                           |                                       |
|----|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1  |                           | ] <u>dispos</u> Aurel Addaeus Ierhaei |
| 2  |                           | Albino et Emiliano c[os]              |
| 3  |                           | singul cos Aurel Aelius Marcellus     |
| 4  |                           | Becchuf Aurel Bar[n]aeus Themarsa     |
| 5  |                           | Apro et Maximo cos                    |
| 6  | • • —————                 | Aure[l] Iulius Belacabus              |
| 7  |                           | duobus Aspris cos                     |
| 8  |                           | singul A[urel] Abednamareš Marona     |
| 9  |                           | CXX[ . ]I in dupl III                 |
| 10 |                           |                                       |
| 11 |                           | T Octavi Muciano cos                  |
| 12 | • • • ———                 | <u>dec</u> Aurel Luci[u]s Octavius    |
| 13 | • • ———                   | <u>dupl</u> Aurel Sal[m]anes Zebida   |
| 14 |                           | Com[o]do VII cos                      |
| 15 |                           | m e [sesq Aurel Romanus Allaei]       |
| 16 |                           | Erucio Cl cos                         |
| 17 | • —————                   | Aurel Amaeus Iadibeli                 |
| 18 |                           | ad equum prob Aurel Saedus Magdae     |
| 19 | • <u>Chaf</u> <u>Aura</u> | Aurel Ma[lc]hus Nisamsi               |

|    |                |             |                                      |
|----|----------------|-------------|--------------------------------------|
| 20 |                |             | diuo [S]euero II cos                 |
| 21 |                | Becch[e]uf  | Aurel Iuli[us] Iulianus              |
| 22 |                |             | Tertullo cos                         |
| 23 | • •            | uex         | Aurel Bassus Salm[a]n                |
| 24 | •              |             | Aurel I[u]l[i]us Romanus             |
| 25 | •              |             | Aurel Ie . . . [ . ] ene . nis       |
| 26 | •              | m[a]mbul    | Aurel Malc[hu]s Abgari               |
| 27 | p· Ia[ . . ] o | • • m āmbul | Aurel Hia . [ . . ] . [ . . ] n      |
| 28 | ] itio . .     | • • m āmbul | Aurel Si . ba . [ . . ] us Vabalathi |
| 29 |                |             | Dextro [II co]s                      |
| 30 | •              |             | A[u]rel Fl[au]i[us] [M]a[r]inus      |
| 31 | • [•           | ]—          | A[urel] Ber[o]sa[s] Va[l]ens         |
| 32 |                |             | Anu[ll]in[o I]I cos                  |
| 33 |                | ] .         | Aurel Iul[ius] An[t]on[i]nus         |
| 34 | ]oni . tio[    | ]—          | [Aur]el [M]arinus                    |
| 35 |                |             | ] . nisa[                            |
| 36 |                | ]—          | [Au]rel [ . ] amal[                  |
| 37 |                | ]—          | Au[r]el [Ulp]ius Ba[rn]eb-           |
| 38 |                | ]—          | Aurel U[lpius Ap]o[llona-            |
| 39 |                | ]—          | A[ur]el [ . ]                        |

col. XXXVIII: 3 ] . singul edd. || 8 Abednama[r]es edd. || 15 [ . ]e (dubitanter an m(issus) e(meritus)) Fink<sup>1</sup>  
 || 25 Ie . [ . . ] ene . nis edd. || 27 p· . [ . ] o Fink || 28 ] . p . edd. | āmbul edd. | Sibbar[ae]us Feissel et  
 Gascou (1995: 101 fn. 149) || 32 c[o]s edd. || 33 ] . Fink: ]l• (dubitanter an ad man ambu)l) Marichal || 34  
 ] . i . tio[ Fink: ]o . . . tio[ Marichal | Marinus Fink<sup>1</sup> || 37 Ba[rn]ebus Fink<sup>1</sup> || 38 Ap]o[llonas Fink<sup>1</sup>

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col. XXXVIII: 'Aurelius Addaeus son of Ierhaeus (*dispositus*)

During the consulship of Albinus and Aemilianus:

Aurelius Aelius Marcellus (*singularis consularis*)

Aurelius Barnaeus son of Themarsas (in Becchufrayn)

During the consulship of Aper and Maximus:

Aurelius Iulius Belacabus

During the consulship of the two Aspri:

Aurelius Abednamares son of Maronas (*singularis*)

12.../13... (?) including 3 *duplicarii*.

Octavius' squadron. During the consulship of Mucianus:

Aurelius Lucius Octavius (decurion)

Aurelius Salmanes son of Zebidas (*duplicarius*)

During the seventh consulship of Commodus.

[Aurelius Romanus son of Allaeus (*sesquiplicarius*) (*erased*)] (honourably discharged?)

During the consulship of Erucius Clarus.

Aurelius Amaeus son of Iadibelus

Aurelius Saedus son of Magdaeus (to the estimate of a horse)

Aurelius Malchus son of Nisamsus (in *Chafer Auira*)

During the second consulship of the divine Severus:

Aurelius Iulius Iulianus (in Becchufrayn)

During the consulship of Tertullus:

Aurelius Bassus son of Salmanes (standard-bearer)

Aurelius Iulius Romanus

Aurelius ...

Aurelius Malchus son of Abgarus (m ambul)

Aurelius ... (...) (instead of... ?)

Aurelius ... son of Vabalathus (...)

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During the second consulship of Dexter:  
 Aurelius Flavius Marinus  
 Aurelius Berosas Valens  
 During the second consulship of Anullinus:  
 Aurelius Iulius Antoninus  
 Aurelius Marinus (...)  
 ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius Ulpius (son of?) Barnebus  
 Aurelius Ulpius (son of?) ...  
 Aurelius ...'

col. XXXIX

|    |                     |                                                  |                                    |
|----|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1  |                     | Becchuf                                          | Aurel Alexa[ndrus] Antonini        |
| 2  | • •                 | <del>m ambul</del>                               | Aurel Moci[mus B]arlaha            |
| 3  |                     |                                                  | Victo[rino c]os                    |
| 4  | •                   | -----                                            | Aurel Iulius A[nton]inus           |
| 5  |                     | offic                                            | Aurel Iulius A[nt]oni[nu]s al[te]r |
| 6  |                     |                                                  | Mucian[o] c[o]s                    |
| 7  | •                   | -----                                            | Aurel Malchus Mac[c]aei            |
| 8  |                     | App[ad]a                                         | Aurel Marcell[u]s                  |
| 9  |                     | <del>] uex</del>                                 | Aurel Zebida Egla                  |
| 10 | •                   | -----                                            | Aurel Abedsalmas Thema[rsa]        |
| 11 | p[ ] nt             | • <del>m ambul</del>                             | Aurel Malchus Heran                |
| 12 |                     | expl                                             | Aurelius Iulius Salman             |
| 13 | • •                 | <del>uex</del>                                   | Aurel Themarsa U [                 |
| 14 | p[ ] . [ ] . . uani | • •                                              | Aurel Themarsa [C]haseti           |
| 15 |                     | Appad                                            | Aurel Malchu[s] Ierhae[i]          |
| 16 | • •                 | Chaf[er] Au[i]r                                  | Aurel Zabathes [Ma]lchi            |
| 17 |                     | <del>uex</del>                                   |                                    |
| 18 | •                   | -----                                            | Aurel Bolanus Bolani               |
| 19 | •                   | -----                                            | Aurel Themes Salman                |
| 20 | •                   | -----                                            | Aurel Gaius Abif[u]r               |
| 21 | •                   | -----                                            | Aurel Seleucus Ier[h]aei           |
| 22 |                     | Appad                                            | Aurel Mazabanas Belacabi           |
| 23 | •                   | -----                                            | Aurel Zebidas Iadaei               |
| 24 |                     | ] -----                                          | Aurel Barhadad[us] Abifur          |
| 25 |                     | <del>Appadana</del>                              | Aurel Iulius Marin[u]s             |
| 26 |                     | explora                                          | A[u]re[l] Zebidas Ier[h]aei        |
| 27 |                     | Becchuf                                          | A[ur]e[l] Iulius Barlaḥa           |
| 28 | • •                 | -----                                            | Aurel Ierhaeus Zab[ ]ua            |
| 29 |                     | ad op[ ] . . . . ]                               | A[u]rel Mannas The[m]arsa          |
| 30 | • •                 | [Chaf]er Auira A[u]re[l] Iulius [ ] . . . . . ]s |                                    |
| 31 |                     | ad dom' [n']                                     | A[ur]e[l] Barb[ae]ssom]en Ierhaei  |
| 32 | •                   | -----                                            | Aur]el Zeb[ ] . . . . . ] i        |
| 33 |                     |                                                  | S[euero III cos]                   |
| 34 |                     |                                                  | Au]rel M[ ] . . . mus Iar] [       |
| 35 |                     |                                                  | Au]rel I[ulius Anto]n[i-           |
| 36 |                     |                                                  | Aur]el [Alexandrus T]heo[fili      |

|<sup>37</sup>

Geta Seniore II] cos

- - -

col. XXXIX: 2 [m ambul] Fink || 7 punctum despexit Fink || 11 • • Fink || 13 • Fink || 16 aua pro au[i]r  
 dubitanter Fink<sup>1</sup> || 22 post Appad punctum uidit Marichal || 25 [Appadana] Fink || 27 Aurel edd. | Barla[h]a  
 Marichal || 28 • Fink || 29 [stip] Fink: op[. . .] (dubitanter an op [stip] uel op[inio]) Marichal || 30 • Fink  
 | Aui[r]a edd. | [Longinu]s dubitanter Marichal || 31 Bar [. . . . .] Ierhaei edd. || 32 ]ai Fink || 35 Anto]n[  
 Fink<sup>1</sup> || 36 T]heo[fili dubitanter Fink<sup>1</sup>: T]heo[fil- Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal

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col. XXXIX: 'Aurelius Alexandrus son of Antoninus (in Becchufayn)

Aurelius Mocimus son of Barlahas (*m ambul*)

During the consulship of Victorinus:

Aurelius Iulius Antoninus

Aurelius Iulius Antoninus the second (in the office)

During the consulship of Mucianus:

Aurelius Malchus son of Maccaheus

Aurelius Marcellus (in Appadana)

Aurelius Zebidas son of Eglas (standard-bearer)

Aurelius Abedsalmas son of Themarsas

Aurelius Malchus son of Heranes (*m ambul*) (...)

Aurelius Iulius son of Salmanes (in exploration)

Aurelius Themarsas ... (standard-bearer)

Aurelius Themarsas son of Chasetus (...)

Aurelius Malchus son of Ierhaeus (in Appadana)

Aurelius Zabathes son of Malchus (standard-bearer, in *Chafer Auir*)

Aurelius Bolanus son of Bolanus

Aurelius Themes son of Salmanes

Aurelius Gaius son of Abifur

Aurelius Seleucus son of Ierhaeus

Aurelius Mazabanas son of Belacabus (in Appadana)

Aurelius Zebidas son of Iadaeus

Aurelius Barhadadus son of Abiufur

Aurelius Iulius Marinus (in Appadana)

Aurelius Zebidas son of Ierhaeus (in exploration)

Aurelius Iulius son of Barlahas (in Becchufayn)

Aurelius Ierhaeus son of ...

Aurelius Mannas son of Themarsas (to the estimate of salaries)

Aurelius Iulius ... (in *Chafer Auira*)

Aurelius Barbaessomen son of Ierhaeus (to our lord)

Aurelius ...

During the third consulship of Severus:

Aurelius ...

Aurelius Iulius (son of?) ...

Aurelius Alexandris (son of?) Theofilus

During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:'

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col. XL

|               |             |          |                                    |
|---------------|-------------|----------|------------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  |             | Par[thia | A]urel Ulpus Siluanus              |
| <sup>2</sup>  |             | Be[cchuf | A]urel Themarsa Ierhaei            |
| <sup>3</sup>  | • ———[      |          | Aur]el [O]gelus Vabal[a]thi        |
| <sup>4</sup>  | • ———[      |          | Aur]el [ . . . . . ]es [Za]bdiboli |
| <sup>5</sup>  | • —————     |          | A[ur]el B[                         |
| <sup>6</sup>  |             |          | C[ilone II cos]                    |
| <sup>7</sup>  |             | singul   | A[ur]el S[iluanus Moci]mi          |
| <sup>8</sup>  | — Chaferi — |          | A[urel Maron]as [Di]naei           |
| <sup>9</sup>  | • • —————   |          | A[urel Gorip]pus Valenti           |
| <sup>10</sup> |             | Becchuf  | Aur]el Rabbu]as Ba[ssi]            |

|    |             |           |                                  |
|----|-------------|-----------|----------------------------------|
| 11 |             | singul·   | Aure[1 . . . . .]bibi[           |
| 12 |             | offici[o] | Aur[el Do]metius P[r]oclus       |
| 13 |             | ● —————   | Aurel A[b]edmalch[us] Authaei    |
| 14 |             |           | [di]uo Antonino II cos           |
| 15 | p· fratr[.] | ● ● ————— | A[ur]el [Flauiu]s Sil[ua]nus     |
| 16 |             | ● —————   | A[ur]el A[eliu]s F[.]o[r]tunatus |
| 17 |             | Becchuf   | A[ur]el Iu[li]us Mar[i]nus       |
| 18 |             |           | A[p]r[o et] Maximo cos           |
| 19 |             | ● ● sig·  | Aurel Lu[c]ius Valerianus        |
| 20 |             |           | duo[bu]s Aspris cos              |
| 21 |             | ● —————   | A[u]rel Og[a]s Hanina            |
| 22 |             |           | M[ess]ala cos                    |
| 23 |             | ● —————   | A[u]rel [.] [.]s Gaia[n]us       |
| 24 |             | officio   | A[u]rel V[al]ens                 |
| 25 |             |           | CXX[ ] in du[p]l VI              |

col. XL: 3 Vabala[t]hi Fink: Uabalathi Marichal || 4 ] [ Za]bdiboli edd. || 5 [ edd. || 8 [Chaferi] Fink || 11 ] bida[ Fink: ] Bibi[ Marichal || 15 p· fra Fink | Aur]el Fink

col. XL: 'Aurelius Ulpus Silvanus (in Parthia)  
Aurelius Themarsas son of Ierhaeus (in Becchufrayn)  
Aurelius Ogelus son of vabalathus  
Aurelius ... son of Zabdibolus  
Aurelius ...  
During the second consulship of Cilo:  
Aurelius Silvanus son of Mocimus (*singularis*)  
Aurelius Maronas son of Dinaeus (in *Chaferi*)  
Aurelius Gorippus son of Valens (?)  
Aurelius Rabbuas son of Bassus (in Becchufrayn)  
Aurelius ... (*singularis*)  
Aurelius Dometius Proclus (in the office)  
Aurelius Abedmalchus son of Authaeus  
During the second consulship of the divine Antoninus:  
Aurelius Flavius Silvanus (instead of ...)  
Aurelius Aelius Fortunatus  
Aurelius Iulius Marinus (in Becchufrayn)  
During the consulship of Aper and Maximus:  
Aurelius Lucius Valerianus (ensign-bearer)  
During the consulship of the two Aspri:  
Aurelius Ogas son of Haninas  
During the consulship of Messala:  
Aurelius ... Gaianus  
Aurelius Valens (in the office)  
... including 6 *duplicarii*'

|          |  |                |                           |
|----------|--|----------------|---------------------------|
| col. XLI |  |                |                           |
| 1        |  | F Antonini     | Al[bino et A]emeliano cos |
| 2        |  | ● ● ad hor dec | Aurel Ul[p]ius An]toninus |
| 3        |  |                | co]s                      |
| 4        |  | ● ● — d[upl]   | A[ur]e[l Alexand]r[us] [  |
| 5        |  |                | ]m[                       |

|    |                   |                                       |                                      |
|----|-------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 6  |                   | • [•                                  | ] ... [                              |
| 7  |                   |                                       | diuo Seue]ro [III cos                |
| 8  |                   | • [•                                  | ] ... [ ] Aur[el Iulianu]s Them[arsa |
| 9  |                   |                                       | Como]do VII cos                      |
| 10 |                   | ]m' e' [A[urel] Salmanes Za[ ]        |                                      |
| 11 |                   | ]m' e' [Aur[el S]adalathu[s .....] i] |                                      |
| 12 |                   |                                       | Erucio C[l cos]                      |
| 13 |                   | ]—— Aurel Aem. [ .....] i             |                                      |
| 14 | p· C[.]nina[      | ]—— Aurel Amaeus Za[b]dibo]li         |                                      |
| 15 | p· a[.]b· b[      | ]—— Aurel Bolia[d]aeus Z[a]ora        |                                      |
| 16 |                   |                                       | Tertu[llo cos]                       |
| 17 |                   | ] ad ma[n a]mb                        | Aurel Zebi[da]s Salman               |
| 18 |                   | Becchuf                               | Aurel Bassus Malchi                  |
|    |                   |                                       | Barsimsi                             |
| 19 |                   | ]m· amal[ ]                           | Aurel Hadadsabus [ ] [ ] aei]        |
| 20 |                   |                                       | officio Aurel Asadus Thema[rs]a      |
| 21 |                   |                                       | Dextro II cos                        |
| 22 |                   | singul [c]os                          | Aurel Valerius Va[l]entinus          |
| 23 |                   | ]————                                 | Aurel Ierab[us] Ebuc[a]ei            |
| 24 |                   |                                       | Saturnino cos                        |
| 25 |                   | ad opinio                             | Aurel Themarsas Zeb[id]a             |
| 26 |                   |                                       | Anullino II [cos]                    |
| 27 |                   | • —————                               | Aurel Barhotarus Auidalathi          |
| 28 | p· Mal· Siluan[.] | • • —————                             | Aurel Guris Nisamsi                  |
| 29 |                   | • —————                               | Aurel Bassus Monta[n-                |
| 30 |                   |                                       | Vic[tor]ino cos                      |
| 31 |                   | B[ec]c[h]uf                           | Aurel Th[emars]a Dinaei              |
| 32 |                   | • [ ]m[ ]                             | Aurel D[emetri]us Macc[ae]i          |
| 33 |                   |                                       | Muci[ano cos]                        |
| 34 |                   | ]—                                    | Aur[el O]ge[lus] [ ] [ ] boli        |
| 35 |                   | ]—[                                   | Ael [ ]sab [ ] [ ]sius               |
| 36 |                   |                                       | Theodo]rus Z[ebi]da                  |

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col. XLI: 1 ] Emeliano edd. || 2 hor(deum) uel hor(reum) dubitanter Marichal || 3 co]s Fink: co]s Marichal || 4 • [• edd. || 5 ] [ (dubitanter an Po)m[peiano cos] edd. || 8 s[es]q[ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ]s[e]s[q] Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 11 fortasse ]hi: Sadalath [ Fink<sup>1</sup> || 13 fortasse ]hi || 14 u[ Fink || 19 fortasse ambul legendum: amal[.] Fink<sup>1</sup>: amaul Fink<sup>2</sup>: ambul[.] Marichal | fortasse ]a[r]haei uel ]e[r]haei: [.] aei edd. || 28 Mal(cho) Siluan[i] dubitanter Marichal || 32 • [ ]m[ Fink (dubitanter an m a]m[bul) Marichal || 34 Gaddiboli dubitanter Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 35 ]sa [.]sius edd.

col. XLI: 'Antoninus' squadron. During the consulship of Albinus and Aemilianus:

Aurelius Ulpius Antoninus (decurion, to the ...)

During the consulship of ...

Aurelius Alexandrus ... (duplicarius)

...

During the third consulship of the divine Severus:

Aurelius Iulianus son of Themarsas

During the seventh consulship of Commodus:

Aurelius Salmanes son of ... (erased) (honourably discharged?)

Aurelius Sadalathus son of ... (erased) (honourably discharged?)

During the consulship of Erucius Clarus:

Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius Amaeus son of Zabdibolus (instead of ...)  
 Aurelius Boliadaeus son of Zaoras (instead of...)  
 During the consulship of Tertullus:  
 Aurelius Zebidas son of Salmanes (*ad man ambul*)  
 Aurelius Bassus son of Malchus (in Becchufrayn)  
 Aurelius Hadadsabus son of ... (*erased*) Barsimsus (*added*)  
 Aurelius Asadus son of Themarsas (in the office)  
 During the second consulship of Dexter:  
 Aurelius Valerius Valentinus (*singularis consularis*)  
 Aurelius Ierabus son of Ebucaeus  
 During the consulship of Saturninus:  
 Aurelius Themarsas son of Zebidas (to the estimate of salaries)  
 During the second consulship of Anullinus:  
 Aurelius Barhotarus son of Auidalathus  
 Aurelius Guris son of Nisamsus (instead of Malchus son of Silvanus?)  
 Aurelius Bassis (son of?) ...  
 During the consulship of Victorinus:  
 Aurelius Themarsas son of Dinaeus (in Becchufrayn)  
 Aurelius Demetrius son of Maccaeus (...)  
 During the consulship of Mucianus:  
 Aurelius Ogelus son of ...  
 ...  
 ... Theodorus son of Zebidas'

---

col. XLII

|    |           |                       |                             |                      |
|----|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| 1  | p Cassia· | • [                   | ]o[.]s                      | Aurel Belacabus Z. [ |
| 2  |           | • [                   | ]—                          | Aurel Salmes Zebid[a |
| 3  | p Iar· [  |                       | ] Aurel Bassus Ant[onini]   |                      |
| 4  |           |                       | ] Sele[uc]us A[ntonin-      |                      |
| 5  |           | ]                     |                             |                      |
| 6  |           | ]                     | A[urel                      |                      |
| 7  |           | ]—[                   |                             |                      |
| 8  |           | a]mbul[               | ] M[ocimus                  |                      |
| 9  |           | A[p]pad[              | ] A[b]bas [Zebida           |                      |
| 10 |           | • —[                  | ] Iul[i]us M[agn-           |                      |
| 11 |           |                       | ] Iulius M[arinus           |                      |
| 12 |           | • —[                  | Aur]el Ab[d]aeus Baraei     |                      |
| 13 |           | • —————               | Aurel Antonius Bassus       |                      |
| 14 |           |                       | Seuero III cos              |                      |
| 15 |           | Appa[d]               | A[u]rel Se[l]eucus Barathe  |                      |
| 16 |           | singul·               | Aurel Timon Marini          |                      |
| 17 |           |                       | Ge[t]a Se[ni]o[r]e [I]I cos |                      |
| 18 |           | non reuer             | Aurel Heranes I[e]rbole     |                      |
| 19 |           | • —————               | Aurel H[a]gus Ierhaei       |                      |
| 20 |           | A[p]pad               | Aurel Barnaeus Ierhaei      |                      |
| 21 |           | [o]ffic               | A[u]rel Iuli[u]s Salman     |                      |
| 22 |           | • • —————             | Aurel Afr[a]nes Bassi       |                      |
| 23 |           | • ——— ad hostias· ——— | Aurel Aeli[u]s Longinus     |                      |
| 24 |           | • —————               | A[u]rel Barathes Abgari     |                      |
| 25 |           | • ——— m· ambul ———    | Aurel Zebidas Malchi        |                      |
| 26 |           |                       | Cilone II cos               |                      |
| 27 |           | • • —————             | Au[r]el Neb[u]daes Themarsa |                      |



|    |         |                             |
|----|---------|-----------------------------|
| 28 | ● ————— | Aurel Zabdibolus Gora       |
| 29 | ● ————— | Aurel Themarsa Nisams[i]    |
| 30 | b. [    | Aur]el Garmelus Be[l]iabi [ |
| 31 | ]       | Aurel Lucius Cas[sianus     |
| 32 |         | A]ure[l ] . . [             |
| 33 |         | Au]re[l                     |

- - -

col. XLII: 1 p. asser Fink | ●[● edd. | ] — Fink || 2 ●[● edd. || 3 Iarhaeus in margine dubitanter Marichal | Ant[onini Fink<sup>1</sup> || 4 A[ntonini dubitanter edd. || 6 ]a[ Fink<sup>1</sup> || 8 ]m[ Fink<sup>1</sup> || 10 M[agnus Fink<sup>1</sup> || 22 Afa[r]nes (dubitanter an Afr[a]nes) Fink<sup>1</sup> Fink<sup>2</sup>: Afr[a]nes Marichal || 23 [[ad hostias] Fink: ad hostias Marichal || 24 A[u]rel edd. || 29 [A]urel edd. || 30 fortasse Be[cchuf(rayn)

---

col. XLII: 'Aurelius Belacabus son of ... (...) (instead of Cassianus?)

Aurelius Salmes son of Zebidas

Aurelius Bassus (son of?) Antoninus (instead of ...?)

... Seleucus son of Antonini

...

Aurelius ...

...

... Mocimus (... *ambul*)

... Abbas son of Zebidas (in Appadana)

... Iulius (son of?) Magnus

... Iulius Marinus

Aurelius Abdaeus son of Baraeus

Aurelius Antonius Bassus

During the third consulship of Severus:

Aurelius Seleucus son of Barathes (in Appadana)

Aurelius Timon son of Marinus (*singularis*)

During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:

Aurelius Heranes son of Ieraboles (not returned)

Aurelius Hagus son of Ierhaeus

Aurelius Barnaeus son of Ierhaei (in Appadana)

Aurelius Iulius son of Salmanes (in the office)

Aurelius Afranes son of Bassus

Aurelius Aelius Longinus (providing sacrificial animals)

Aurelius Barathes son of Abgarus

Aurelius Zebidas son of Malchus (*m ambul*)

During the second consulship of Cilo:

Aurelius Nebudaes son of Themarsas

Aurelius Zabdibolus son of Goras

Aurelius Themarsas son of Nisamsus

Aurelius Garmelus son of Beliabus

Aurelius Lucius Cassianus

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ...'

---

col. XLIII

|   |        |                              |
|---|--------|------------------------------|
| 1 | ● ———  | ] Boliadaeus Zebida          |
| 2 | ● ———[ | ] Mocimus Zaora              |
| 3 | ● ———[ | A]chilleus Malch[i]          |
| 4 |        | [diuo Antoni]no I[- - - cos] |
| 5 |        |                              |
| 6 |        |                              |
| 7 |        |                              |



During the consulship of Tertullus:  
 Aurelius Azizus son of Salamalathus  
 During the consulship of Mucianus:  
 Aurelius Aelius Antoninus (to the estimate of salaries)  
 Antoninus' century. During the consulship of Tertullus:  
 Aurelius Males son of Mannaesus  
 During the second consulship of Anullinus:  
 ... Iulius Bassus'

col. XLIV

|    |   |                                        |                         |
|----|---|----------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1  |   | ζ Castrici                             | . [ . . . . . ] cos     |
| 2  |   | cum epis<u>l Aure[l                    | ] Heliodorus            |
| 3  | ● | ----- [                                | ]das Runnaei            |
| 4  |   |                                        |                         |
| 5  |   |                                        |                         |
| 6  |   |                                        |                         |
| 7  |   |                                        |                         |
| 8  |   |                                        |                         |
| 9  |   |                                        |                         |
| 10 |   | [ζ] Mal[chiana                         | Dextro II] c[os]        |
| 11 |   | ----- A[urel Themarsas] Buccaei        |                         |
| 12 |   | ----- A[urel -dalathu]s Theoboli       |                         |
| 13 |   | ] m. amb. Aur[el Iarhabol]e Zebida     |                         |
| 14 |   | ]----- Aure[l                          | G]abrion                |
| 15 |   |                                        | [Cilon]e II cos         |
| 16 | ● | ----- Au[r]el [                        | M]onimi                 |
| 17 |   |                                        | Imp A]n[tonino Aug] II  |
| 18 |   |                                        | [e]t Sa[cerdote II c]os |
| 19 | ● | ----- G[ . . . . ]eu [ . . . . . ] . [ |                         |

col. XLIV: 1 cum epis<u>l(is) *Fink*<sup>2</sup>: cum episul *edd.* || 12 Abedalathus *uel* Auidalathus *uel* Sadalathus *dubitanter Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal* || 13 bol]e *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: Ierabol]e *Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal* || 14 -es G]abrion *Marichal*

col. XLIV: 'Castricius' century. During the consulship of ...  
 Aurelius ... Heliodorus (with letters?)  
 ... son of Runnaeus

The century formerly of Malchus. During the second consulship of Dexter:  
 Aurelius Themarsas son of Buccaeus  
 Aurelius ... son of Theobolus  
 Aurelius Iarhaboles son of Zebidas (m amb)  
 Aurelius ... (son of?) Gabrion  
 During the second consulship of Cilo:  
 Aurelius ... son of Monimus  
 During the second consulship of the Emperor Antoninus Augustus and the second of Sacerdos: ...'

fr. a

|   |  |                         |
|---|--|-------------------------|
| 1 |  | ]----- A[urel] i[       |
| 2 |  | ] . [ . . ] . [ . ] . [ |
|   |  | - - -                   |

*fr. b*

<sup>1</sup> ]—— A.[ . . . . ]ath.[  
<sup>2</sup> Aurel The]marsa A.[  
<sup>3</sup> ].[  
 - - -

*fr. b: 1* Az[izus A]athi[beli *uel* A[urel A]athi[belus || *2* Ab[gari *uel* Ad[daci

---

*fr. c*

<sup>1</sup> ] . ————[  
<sup>2</sup> ] Appad[  
 - - -

*fr. d*

<sup>1</sup> ] . [ . . ]ei  
<sup>2</sup> ]s  
<sup>3</sup> ]ni  
<sup>4</sup> ]cus  
<sup>5</sup> ] ada . [

*fr. d: 1* fortasse Ba]r[na]ei || *5* fortasse Bar]hadad[-

---

*fr. f*

<sup>1</sup> • . [

*fr. g*

<sup>1</sup> ] ob[  
<sup>2</sup> ] Malchi  
<sup>3</sup> ] . [ . ] . . . . [

*fr. i*

<sup>1</sup> ] . . [ . . ] . [

<sup>2</sup> Becchufrayn [[ . . ]ma hus] [ . . ]——[ ]sus . . [

<sup>3</sup> ]——[ . . eb . . [ . . ]——[ ]-a[

*fr. i: 3* fortasse Ae]l Zebid[as *potius quam* [Aure]l Zebid[as

---

*fr. j*

---

|<sup>1</sup> A[  
 |<sup>2</sup> Adda[eus  
 |<sup>3</sup> ]b[ ]\_[ ]n\_[

---

*fr. k*

---

|<sup>1</sup> Cl]audiu[s  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]\_[...]...[

---

*fr. l*

---

|<sup>1</sup> S. [ ]\_em[  
 |<sup>2</sup> A. [ ]\_us[  
 |<sup>3</sup> .. [ ]e\_[ ]ius  
 |<sup>4</sup> H. [ ]\_nus[ ]s  
 |<sup>5</sup> Ier[

---

*fr. m*

---

|<sup>1</sup> Becc[h  
 |<sup>2</sup> \_\_\_\_\_[  
 |<sup>3</sup> Becchuf [

---

*fr. n*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ] Kal Sep[tembr-  
 |<sup>2</sup> K]al Septem[br-  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] Ianu[ar-

*fr. o*

---

|<sup>1</sup> Au[rel]  
 |<sup>2</sup> A[u]rel [  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] Aurel [  
 |<sup>4</sup> Aur]e[l

---

*fr. p*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ]m omnes [ .  
 |<sup>2</sup> p]reposit[ .  
 |<sup>3</sup> ]l[ . . . . ]bus  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] . . . . [ .  
 |<sup>5</sup> ]ei XX[ .  
 - - -

*fr. q*  
 - - -

|<sup>1</sup> ]salp . . [ .

*fr. r*  
 - - -

|<sup>1</sup> ] . in . [ .  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] . . [ . . . ] . . [ .  
 - - -

*fr. s*  
 - - -

|<sup>1</sup> ] . . [ .  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]manton . . [ .  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] . oninor . [ .  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] . . . . [ .  
 |<sup>5</sup> ] . . [ . . . ] . [ .  
 - - -

*fr. t*  
 - - -

|              |       |              |           |
|--------------|-------|--------------|-----------|
| <sup>1</sup> | . [ . | ] . . [ .    | ]s        |
| <sup>2</sup> |       | ] Ba[ .      | ] . asius |
| <sup>3</sup> |       | ] . [ .      | ]s        |
| <sup>4</sup> |       | ] . en . [ . | ]us       |

- - -

*fr. w*  
 - - -

|<sup>1</sup> Aur]el [Iul]ius B[ .  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] A . . o[ . ]sia[ .  
 - - -

*fr. x*  
 - - -

|<sup>1</sup> ] . [ .  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] . . e . . . [ .

|<sup>3</sup>            ]s.[  
 ---

*fr. y*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup>            ].[  
 |<sup>2</sup>            ].c..[  
 ---

Welles, Fink, and Gilliam (1959) *descr.*; Fink (1971: 413 no. 108 *descr.*); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VI 317 *descr.* (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 193 *descr.* (1992); Iovine (2018a). TM 44788

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (3.4x6.3 cm); *b* (3.4x6.1 cm); *c* (2.2x3.6 cm); *d* (3.4x5.5 cm); *1* (7x4.1 cm); *2* (4.2x5 cm); *3* (3.3x3.8 cm); *4* (3x2.8 cm); *5* (1x1.2 cm); *6* (9x1.2 cm); *7* (1.8x1.6 cm); *8* (2.2x2.5 cm); *9* (2.3x2.3 cm); *10* (1.6x2.5 cm); *11* (4.7x3.3 cm); *12* (1.8x3.2 cm); *13* (3.1x2.5 cm); *14* (2.4x3.2 cm); *15* (1.5x4 cm); *16* (1.4x3.3 cm); *17* (1.8x2 cm); *18* (2.5x2.4 cm); *19* (1.9x2.2 cm); *20* (2x1.6 cm); *21* (1.1x1.6 cm); *22* (1.6x1.5 cm); *23* (0.7x1.6 cm); *24* (1.1x3 cm); *25* (1.6x0.3 cm); *26* (1.7x3.2 cm)

The papyrus is dramatically fragmentary, numbering 30 fragments which in most cases are no more than scraps. Frr. *a–d*, contained in frame 1, are written in a neat and fairly recognizable epistolary hands, whereas frr. *1–26*, contained in frame 2, which were added to *a–d* by Dr R. Duttonhöfer, contain some scattered names in a coarser hand. The side written along the fibres (→) is here treated as the *recto*; on the *verso*, written against the fibres (↓), are scanty traces of a different Latin document. Not all the fragments are featured here: the unreadable ones have been ruled out.<sup>457</sup> Palaeographical considerations suggest that the fragment on the *recto* once belonged to an official letter (represented by frr. *a–d*) mentioning a detachment of soldiers employed for a particular chore or mission, and a list of soldiers attached in a following column (frr. *1–26*). The official letter would order a detachment of soldiers to be employed for an unspecified errand; and would have been augmented with a list of those selfsame soldiers. The dating is on palaeographical grounds.

*fr. a*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]d[  
 |<sup>2</sup> dd[  
 |<sup>3</sup> d[  
 |<sup>4</sup> su[  
 |<sup>5</sup> ]t[  
 ---

*fr. a: 1 fortasse dar[ || 2 fortasse d(ominos) vel d(ominorum) || 5 [ . . ] [ Iovine (2018a)*

*fr. b*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ][  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] x hor[  
 |<sup>3</sup> ]ma dies[  
 |<sup>4</sup> ]o[ . . ][  
 ---

*fr. b: 2 fortasse ex | fortasse hora: Hora[tianus, hor[eis, hor(reis) ] vel similia || 3 dies Gilliam*

*fr. c*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]ol[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]min[  
 |<sup>3</sup> ]nost[

<sup>457</sup> A full survey of every fragment, including misplacements and editorial history, is in Iovine (2018a).



---

*fr. c: 2* co]s noste[r dubitanter Gilliam

*fr. d*

---

|<sup>1</sup>        ]s  
|<sup>2</sup>        ]min  
|<sup>3</sup>        ] . nn  
-----

*fr. d: 2* ] in Iovine (2018a) || **3** fortasse nn(-) id est n(ostrorum): ] . . . Iovine (2018a)

*fr. 1*

---

|<sup>1</sup>        ]sus . [   
|<sup>2</sup>        ]sub as[   
|<sup>3</sup>        ] . [ ] . [   
-----

*fr. 1: 2* fortasse ] sub eas

*fr. 2*

|<sup>1</sup>        a . [   
-----

*fr. 3*

---

|<sup>1</sup>        ] d . . . [   
|<sup>2</sup>        Ge]rmanus H . . . [   
|<sup>3</sup>        ] . [ ] . as[   
-----

*fr. 3: 1* fortasse enn[ vel erin[ vel inn[ || **2** fortasse Hanin[as || **3** ] . [ ] . as[ Iovine (2018a)

*fr. 4*

---

|<sup>1</sup>        ] . [   
|<sup>2</sup>        ]nis Antoni[   
|<sup>3</sup>        ]ep Marinu[s   
|<sup>4</sup>        ] . [   
-----

*fr. 4: 2* fortasse legio]nis | Antoni[us vel Antoni[nus || **3** fortasse pra]ep(ositus)

*fr. 5*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] .us.  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] .  
 ---

*fr. 6*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] .sus.  
 ---

*fr. 7*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]l[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] .h . . .  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] .  
 ---

*fr. 7: 2 fortasse c]oh(ortis) XX P[almyrenorum*

*fr. 8*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] .us[  
 |<sup>2</sup> .  
 |<sup>3</sup> .  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] .os ei.  
 ---

*fr. 8: ] .os .i. [ Iovine (2018a)*

*fr. 10*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] .[ .]s[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]t .  
 ---

*fr. 11*

*col. I*

*col. II*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] .[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] .us[  
 |<sup>3</sup> ]ilo[  
 |<sup>4</sup> Cassianus [  
 |<sup>5</sup> ] .us .[ . . . . ] . . . .  
 |<sup>6</sup> ]us

---

*fr. 19*

---

|<sup>1</sup>                    ] . [   
 |<sup>2</sup>            ] . . . dar[   
 ---

*fr. 19: 2* fortasse ] XVI dar[i uel dar[e, vel ] (centuria) Dar[

*fr. 21*

---

|<sup>1</sup>            ] . [   
 ---

*fr. 22*

---

|<sup>1</sup>            ]em[   
 ---

*fr. 23*

---

|<sup>1</sup>            ]te[   
 ---

*fr. 25*

---

|<sup>1</sup>            ]co[   
 |<sup>2</sup>            ]cl . [   
 ---

*fr. 25: 2* fortasse Cla[udius quolibet casu vel Cl(audius) . [

*P.Dura 73* (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 42)

AD 210–20 (c.)

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 412 no. 106); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 328 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 181 (1992). TM 44802

Frr. (papyrus roll): *f* (1.8x1.4 cm) + *a* (3.5x3.7 cm) + *k* (0.8x1.4 cm); *b* (3.8x2.4 cm) + *h* (3.5x0.9 cm); *c* (3.5x2.1 cm); *d* (3.8x2 cm); *e* (1.8x1.7 cm); *g* (1.7x1.7 cm)

Given their characteristic script, these fragments might have come from an official letter, perhaps sent from the provincial chancery to the commanding officer(s) of the Palmyrene cohort. Almost nothing survives from the text: fr. *h verso* probably preserves the remnants of the addressee's name. The dating has been proposed by Gilliam through a comparison between the scripts on *P.Dura* 56 and 61;<sup>458</sup> Marichal has pointed out, however, the high degree of standardization of such writing typologies.<sup>459</sup> A very close parallel is also *P.Dura* 59, which comes from Attius Rufinus' provincial chancery. The papyrus consists of nine fragments (*a* to *h* and *k*) of light brown colour. The *verso*, but for fr. *h*, is blank; illegible traces can be seen in fr. *h verso*. The order of the fragments here presented follows their current disposition in the frame, after a reassessment made in the early Nineties by Dr R. Duttonhöfer. A full survey of the alterations in the order and numbering of the fragments is in the following table:

**Table 5.9** – The fragments in *P.Dura* 73

| Gilliam      | Marichal             | Current disposition                          |
|--------------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| fr. <i>a</i> | fr. <i>a</i>         | joins fr. <i>f</i> , <i>k</i>                |
| fr. <i>b</i> | fr. <i>b</i>         | joins fr. <i>h</i> (in Marichal's reckoning) |
| fr. <i>c</i> | fr. <i>c</i>         | Missing                                      |
| fr. <i>d</i> | fr. <i>d</i>         | fr. <i>d</i>                                 |
| fr. <i>e</i> | fr. <i>e</i>         | fr. <i>e</i>                                 |
| fr. <i>f</i> | fr. <i>f</i>         | joins fr. <i>a</i> , <i>k</i>                |
| fr. <i>g</i> | fr. <i>g</i>         | fr. <i>g</i>                                 |
| fr. <i>h</i> | becomes fr. <i>i</i> | becomes again fr. <i>h</i>                   |
| -            | fr. <i>j</i>         | missing                                      |
| -            | fr. <i>h</i>         | joins fr. <i>b</i>                           |
| -            | fr. <i>k</i>         | joins fr. <i>a</i> , <i>f</i>                |

As can be seen from the table, some fragments published by previous editors (frr. *c*, *j* in Marichal's reckoning) cannot be found in the frame.

fr. *f+a+k*  
 - - -  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . . un . . [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] scias s . [  
 - - -

fr. *f+a+k*: 1 *vestigia edd.* || 2 ] . assa . [ Gilliam Fink Marichal: ] assa . [ Cugusi

fr. *b+h*  
 - - -  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] erede[

<sup>458</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 265).

<sup>459</sup> *ChLA* (VII: 14).

|<sup>2</sup>        ] .ered . . . [   
 - - -

*fr. b+h: 1* ]ere de[ *potius quam* ]erəd . [ (*dubitanter an heres vel hereditas uel similia Fink*) *edd. || 2* ]erəd . [ *edd.*

*fr. d*

|<sup>1</sup>        ]eu . . [   
 |<sup>2</sup>        ]esc . [   
 - - -

*fr. d: 1* fortasse pa[, ca[, pr[, cr[: ] . . [ *edd. || 2* ] . sc . [ *edd.*

*fr. e*

|<sup>1</sup>        ]um . [   
 - - -

*fr. e: 1* ]um[ *Gilliam Fink:* ]em[ *Marichal:* ] . m[ *Cugusi*

*fr. g*

|<sup>1</sup>        ]iu[   
 - - -

*fr. h recto*

|<sup>1</sup>        ] . . c . [   
 |<sup>2</sup>        ] . . [   
 - - -

*fr. h: 1* ] . c[ *edd. || 2 omm. edd.*

*P.Dura 75* (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 28)

AD 210–20 (c.)

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959) *descr.*; Fink (1971: 413 no. 107 *descr.*); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 330 (1976); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 190 (1992). TM 44804

Frr. (papyrus sheets): *a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h* (2.5x3.6 cm); *i* (2.5x6.6 cm); *j, k, l, m, n, o, p* (2.1x3.3 cm); *q* (1.3x3.1 cm); *r, s, t, w* (2.5x5 cm); *u, v* (1.5x1.5 cm); *x, y, z, aa, bb, cc, dd, ee, hh* (1.5x0.5 cm); *ff, gg* (2x1.2 cm)

Given their characteristic script, these 34 fragments belong to a group of at least two (and probably more) official letters. The fragments are small and hardly any complete word is extant. It is impossible to determine the exact number of letters, and to which letter every fragment belonged. One can suppose there were at least two letters, because the closing greeting formula (*opto ... bene valere*), typical of Roman epistolary tradition, can be twice seen in frr. *b, g*. The double formula may suggest *P.Dura* 63 and 64 as parallels for this papyrus: two (or more) letters, each subscribed by a further, smaller and coarser hand with a greeting formula such as *opto te, domine, felicissimum multos annos bene ualere* or the like; and to be eventually included in a *liber epistularum*. The verb *mittere*, or some cognate form, and twice in the subjunctive, can be seen in frr. *d, e, h*. Part of the letter(s) might have been in Greek, as frr. *v* and *z* are in the Greek language. Some remarks: on frr. *q, x, aa-hh* nothing can be read; fr. *a* and part of fr. *i* are published by Marichal upside down; in fr. *w* there may be traces of two columns; and fr. *z* is also currently placed upside down.

In Gilliam's *editio princeps*, allegedly counting 44 fragments, only a few particulars are given of the document, from which almost nothing could be gathered. That these fragments originally belonged to a *single* document, and to the same portion of the original roll, is clearly revealed by their shapes; at least three recurring forms can be seen. When Marichal published all the fragments in 1976, they are re-joined in larger groups according to their shapes (frr. *a* to *p*); he probably was not the author of such re-joinings,<sup>460</sup> and they have been definitely dismissed later, as may be seen from the online images, which feature 34 fragments (*a* to *z, aa* to *hh*). The table below attempts at clarifying the incongruities with catalogue numbers.

**Table 5.10** – The fragments in *P.Dura 75*

| Online images (taken <i>after</i> 1976) | Marichal (1976)                                                       |
|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Fr. <i>a</i>                            | Fr. <b>d</b> (= fr. <i>a</i> + <i>k</i> )                             |
| Fr. <i>b</i>                            | Fr. <b>a</b> (= fr. <i>b</i> + <i>q</i> )                             |
| Fr. <i>c</i>                            | Fr. <b>g</b> (= fr. <i>c</i> + <i>o</i> )                             |
| Fr. <i>d</i>                            | Fr. <b>e</b> (= fr. <i>d</i> + <i>l</i> )                             |
| Fr. <i>e</i>                            | Fr. <b>f</b> (= fr. <i>e</i> + <i>n</i> )                             |
| Fr. <i>f</i>                            | Fr. <b>b</b> (= fr. <i>f</i> + <i>j</i> )                             |
| Fr. <i>g</i>                            | Fr. <b>c</b> (= fr. <i>g</i> + <i>p</i> )                             |
| Fr. <i>h</i>                            | Fr. <b>h</b> (= fr. <i>h</i> + <i>m</i> )                             |
| Fr. <i>i</i>                            | Fr. <b>i</b>                                                          |
| Fr. <i>j</i>                            | → Fr. <b>b</b>                                                        |
| Fr. <i>k</i>                            | → Fr. <b>d</b>                                                        |
| Fr. <i>l</i>                            | → Fr. <b>e</b>                                                        |
| Fr. <i>m</i>                            | → Fr. <b>h</b>                                                        |
| Fr. <i>n</i>                            | → Fr. <b>f</b>                                                        |
| Fr. <i>o</i>                            | → Fr. <b>g</b>                                                        |
| Fr. <i>p</i>                            | → Fr. <b>c</b>                                                        |
| Fr. <i>q</i>                            | → Fr. <b>a</b>                                                        |
| Fr. <i>r</i>                            | Fr. <b>l</b> (= fr. <i>r</i> + <i>cc</i> )                            |
| Fr. <i>s</i>                            | Fr. <b>k</b> (= fr. <i>s</i> + <i>dd</i> [+ <i>ff</i> + <i>gg</i> ?]) |
| Fr. <i>t</i>                            | Fr. <b>j</b> (= fr. <i>t</i> + <i>ee</i> )                            |
| Fr. <i>u</i>                            | Fr. <b>o</b> (= fr. <i>aa</i> + <i>u</i> + <i>bb</i> )                |

<sup>460</sup> 'Ont été groupés' (*ap. ChLA* VII: 18).

|        |                          |
|--------|--------------------------|
| Fr. v  | Fr. n (= fr. hh + v + z) |
| Fr. w  | Fr. m (= fr. w + x)      |
| Fr. x  | → Fr. m                  |
| Fr. y  | Fr. p                    |
| Fr. z  | → Fr. n                  |
| Fr. aa | → Fr. o                  |
| Fr. bb | → Fr. o                  |
| Fr. cc | → Fr. l                  |
| Fr. dd | → Fr. k                  |
| Fr. ee | → Fr. j                  |
| Fr. ff | → Fr. k                  |
| Fr. gg | → Fr. k                  |
| Fr. hh | → Fr. n                  |

Whoever joined these scraps in the form Marichal encountered while producing his edition, the methodology he/she employed was not incorrect. It is clear from fr. *r*, *s*, *t* and *w* what the original shape of the fragments was when they were separated from the original roll, a shape then later fragmented into three parts

**Table 5.11** – Shapes of the fragments in *P.Dura 75*

| Fig. 5.21<br>Fr. <i>s</i><br>(the same shape is featured in fr. <i>r</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>w</i> )                                                                              |                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                          |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Fig. 5.22<br>Fr. <i>aa</i>                                                                                                                                                    | Fig. 5.23<br>Fr. <i>a</i>                                                                                                   | Fig. 5.24<br>Fr. <i>n</i>                                                                                |
| <b>Form 1:</b> a small scrap to the left of the fragment. This is the form of fr. <i>x</i> to <i>z</i> , <i>aa</i> to <i>ee</i> , and is included in fr. <i>i</i> to <i>p</i> | <b>Form 2:</b> an elliptical shape. This is the form of fr. <i>a</i> to <i>h</i> and is included in fr. <i>i</i> , <i>m</i> | <b>Form 3:</b> a trapezoid. This is the form of fr. <i>j</i> to <i>p</i> and is included in fr. <i>i</i> |

Fr. *a* to *p* in Marichal's edition are arranged according to this clue, associating scraps of the three abovementioned forms with larger fragments. However, the criterion according to which the single scrap is associated with a particular fragment (and not to any other of the same, matching form) has not been openly stated in bibliography; and since there is no material junction nor any other clue, it must remain hypothetical. This may be the reason because of which this disposition has been dismissed after Marichal's edition, and the fragments have been separated.

fr. *a*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup>     ] n[  
 |<sup>2</sup>     ] su[  
 |<sup>3</sup>     ] . . . . [  
 ---  
 fr. *a*: **1**] . . . . [ edd. || **2**] . c . . [ edd. || **3**] . [ edd.

fr. *b*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup>     ] i[  
 |<sup>2</sup>     ] feliciss[imūm

|<sup>3</sup>        b]ene ualere [  
 - - -

*fr. b: 1 uidi || 2–3 opto te] feliciss[imum b]ene ualere [ Cugusi*

**2–3**        As usual, the greeting formula has been evidently added by another hand.

*fr. c*  
 - - -  
 |<sup>1</sup>        ] . . i . [  
 |<sup>2</sup>        ] . quinqu . [  
 - - -

*fr. c: 1 ] . . . [ edd. || 2 fortasse quinquaginta uel quinquies . ] . quinginta [ Marichal: ] . quinquā Cugusi*

*fr. d*  
 - - -  
 |<sup>1</sup>        ] . [  
 |<sup>2</sup>        ] mittas . [  
 - - -

*fr. d: 2 ]mittas[ edd.*

*fr. e*  
 - - -  
 |<sup>1</sup>        ] mitt[  
 |<sup>2</sup>        ] . [ . ] u . [  
 - - -

*fr. e: 1 ]mitt[ ] . . . [ edd. || 2 ] . . . [ . ] . XX[ edd.*

*fr. f*  
 - - -  
 |<sup>1</sup>        ]erio . . . [  
 |<sup>2</sup>        ] . e . . t[  
 - - -

*fr. f: 1 fortasse Val]erio: ]elio edd. || 2 fortasse ]cepit[: ] . . . t[ edd.*

*fr. g*  
 - - -  
 |<sup>1</sup>        fel]icissim[um  
 |<sup>2</sup>        ben]e ualere [  
 - - -

*fr. g: 1–2 opto te fel]icissim[um ben]e ualere [ Cugusi*



*fr. h*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]mittas [  
 ---

*fr. i*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] [. ] . . . [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]sum[ ]mae .g. . . [  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] . [  
 ---

*fr. i: 1* ] . . . . [ *edd.* || *2 fortasse* sum]mae uel tur]mae Eglā[e: ]raese . [ ] . um[ *edd.* || *3 recognoui*

*fr. j*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . . . . [ . ] . [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] . i . . . [  
 ---

*fr. j: 1* ] . . . . [ *edd.* || *2* ] . . . . [ *edd.*

*fr. k*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . . . . [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] . ue . . . [  
 ---

*fr. k: 1* ]u . [ *edd.*

*fr. l*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . . . [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]ter . [  
 ---

*fr. l: 1* ] . [ *edd.* || *2* ] . ter . [ *edd.*

*fr. m*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . . . [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]rasiti[  
 ---

*fr. m: 1 recognoui* || *2* ] . . . . . [ *Marichal:* ]a . . . . . [ *Cugusi*

*fr. n*

$\begin{array}{c} |^1 \\ |^2 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} ] [. ] [. ] [. \\ ] \text{XX} [ \end{array}$

*fr. n: 1 ] . . . [ edd.**fr. o*

$\begin{array}{c} |^1 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} ] \text{nta} [ \end{array}$

*fr. o: [gi]nta [ Cugusi**fr. p*

$\begin{array}{c} |^1 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} ] [. \end{array}$

*fr. r*

$\begin{array}{c} |^1 \\ |^2 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} ] . . [ . . . ] [. \\ ] \text{to habe} [ \end{array}$

*fr. r: 1 ] . . [ ] . . [ edd. || 2 fortasse habes uel haber[e uel habea[s: ]to haber[e edd.**fr. s*

$\begin{array}{c} |^1 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} ] [. \end{array}$

*fr. t*

$\begin{array}{c} |^1 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} ] \text{g} [ \end{array}$

*fr. t: uestigia edd.**fr. u*

$\begin{array}{c} |^1 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} ] \text{eone} [ \end{array}$

*fr. u: 1 ]one [ edd.*

*fr. v*  
- - -

|              |                     |
|--------------|---------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | ] . [ . . . . ] . [ |
| <sup>2</sup> | ] και του . [       |
| <sup>3</sup> | ] . ε . . . . [     |

- - -

*fr. v: 1 ] . . . [ edd. || 2 ] . αι . ου edd. || 3 ] . cu . edd.*

*fr. w*  
- - -

|              |     |    |
|--------------|-----|----|
| <sup>1</sup> | ] . |    |
| <sup>2</sup> | ] . | a[ |
| <sup>3</sup> | ]ra | b[ |

- - -

*fr. w: uestigia edd.*

*fr. y*  
- - -

|              |         |
|--------------|---------|
| <sup>1</sup> | ] . ta[ |
|--------------|---------|

- - -

*fr. y: ] . . . [ Marichial: uestigia Cugusi*

*fr. z*  
- - -

|              |        |
|--------------|--------|
| <sup>1</sup> | ] . v[ |
| <sup>2</sup> | ] . [  |

- - -

*P.Dura 76* (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 37)

AD 210–20 (c.)

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 393 no. 93); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 331 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 182 (1992). TM 44806

Frr. (papyrus sheet): *a* (7.3x5.9 cm); *b* (9.6x8 cm); *c* (5x5.8 cm); *d* (3.4x1.9 cm)

The papyrus consists of four fragments ridden with holes; the *verso* is blank. It hosts the remnants of one (or more) official letters,<sup>461</sup> perhaps addressed to the commanding officer of the Palmyrene cohort; the hand is evidently the same, at least in the main text, for all the fragments. Clues to this identification include: the imperatives ]*scribe* (fr. *a* l. 2) and ]*mitte* (fr. *b* l. 1); the closing greeting formula in fr. *b* ll. 3–4 (the remnants of *opto te... bene valere*). Different hands have added a closing greeting formula at the bottom of fr. *b*, and probably a subscription of some sort at the bottom of fr. *c*. Holes in frr. *a*–*b* suggest that the two fragments were aligned in the original sheet or roll; given the greeting formula in fr. *b*, the fragment probably lay to the right of fr. *a*.<sup>462</sup> The lower margin might be visible in frr. *b* and *c*. The dating is on palaeographical grounds; the letter might be a copy.<sup>463</sup>

fr. *a*

---  
|<sup>1</sup> ]scumque ad te[  
|<sup>2</sup> ]scribe m[  
---

fr. *a*: 1 ] . cumque edd. | ad te [peruenerit dubitanter Cugusi || 2 scribere uel scribem Gilliam | . [ Gilliam Fink (m[ uel re[ fortasse Gilliam: m[hi fortasse Fink): m[hi Cugusi

fr. *b*

---  
|<sup>1</sup> ]mitte qui petat qu . [ .  
|<sup>2</sup> ] . [ . . . ] . e eius m[ . ] . [ .  
  
|<sup>3</sup> ] ualer[e]  
|<sup>4</sup> feli]cissimum [  
---

fr. *b*: 1 qu [ Gilliam Fink Marichal || 2 ] . e eius m [ tantum edd. || 3–4 [opto te bene u]aler[e uel u]alea[s, felicis]simu[m uel felicis]simu[s dubitanter Cugusi: ] . . [ / ] . . mu[ Gilliam Fink Marichal

**2–3** Another hand has probably inserted the closing greeting formula here, in a smaller and more informal script. Notably, *felicissimum* appears to have been placed after *ualere*, contrariwise to the expected order *opto te ... felicissimum bene ualere*.<sup>464</sup>

fr. *c*

---  
|<sup>1</sup> ] . Aurel . . . [ .  
|<sup>2</sup> ] s mi[l] coh s[s[ .

<sup>461</sup> Perhaps copies, according to Marichal (*ChLA* VII: 20).

<sup>462</sup> See Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 267); *ChLA* (VII: 20). Marichal doubts Gilliam's proposed alignment of *b* after *a*, on account of the closing greeting formula, which appears on *b* but not on *a*; however, in the Durene corpus, the *bene ualere* formula (identified by Cugusi: see *CEL* II: 241) is almost always on the right side of the writing frame. See also Iovine (2021: 183–5).

<sup>463</sup> See *ChLA* (VII: 20).

<sup>464</sup> See Cugusi in *CEL* (II: 241).

|<sup>3</sup>        ] . [ . ] . . upu . obtul  
 - - -

*fr. c: 1* ] . . . [ . ] . . . a . . . [ *Gilliam Fink: ] Aur[ . ] . . . a . . . [ Marichal Cugusi qui dubitanter coniecerunt  
 ] Aur[e]lianum[ || 2 ] . . [ . ] Gilliam Fink Marichal: ] u[ . ] Cugusi || 3 ante hanc lineam aliam lineam  
 ( ] . [ . ] . uac.) Gilliam Fink Cugusi | ] . . . . b . [ . ] Gilliam Fink: ] . . . . obt[ . ] Marichal Cugusi: Lupus  
 obtul(i) dubitanter Iovine (2021: 184)*

*fr. c:* ‘... a soldier of the aforementioned cohort ...’

**2** Notice the customary abbreviations *mil* and *coh(ortis)*. The abbreviation *s(upra)s(criptae)* is marked by medial dots after both *s*’s (the second dot is probably in lacuna).

*fr. d*  
 - - -  
 |<sup>1</sup>        ] . . . [  
 |<sup>2</sup>        ] . etd[  
 |<sup>3</sup>        ] . [  
 - - -

*fr. d: 1* ] . [ *Gilliam Fink Marichal: ] . [ Cugusi || 2 ] . et d[ Cugusi*

**P.Dura 99** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 55)

AD 210–35 (c.)

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 96 no. 7); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 354 (1975). TM 44831

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (3.2x1.7 cm); *b* (2.8x1.8 cm); *c* (1.7x1.4 cm); *d* (1.5x1.5 cm); *e* (0.9x0.5 cm); *f* (0.6x0.5 cm)

No more than four small written scraps, plus two blank ones, survive from the original document, which might have been a list of soldiers, or a military roster. Previous editors mention only four scraps, *a* to *d*, *d* being blank. After Dr Duttonhöfer's reassessment, frr. *e* and *f* have been added, *f* being blank; *e* clearly belongs to the same portion of the roll that contained *a* and *b*, because of its shape, which matches (in a mirror-like way) the left lower portion of the larger scraps. The *verso* is blank. It has been argued that the scraps belong to *P.Dura* 98,<sup>465</sup> but there is no decisive clue in this respect.

*fr. a*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup>           ] . [  
 |<sup>2</sup>           ] Zebida . [  
 |<sup>3</sup>           ] . sala . o[  
 |<sup>4</sup>           ] . im . . . [  
 |<sup>5</sup>           ] . . [  
 ---

*fr. a recto*: **1** uidi || **3** M]esala co[s *Gilliam*: ] me[sala co[s *Fink*: M]esala cos(ule) [ *Marichal* || **4** ] . . . . [  
*Gilliam Fink*: ]rimeli [ *Marichal* || **5** omm. *Gilliam Fink*

*fr. b*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup>           ] . us  
 |<sup>2</sup>           ] naei  
 |<sup>3</sup>           ] . . es  
 |<sup>4</sup>           ] . ri . [  
 ---

*fr. b*: **1** ] . . s *Gilliam Fink* || **2** fortasse Bar]naei: ] . aei *Gilliam Fink*: ]r]naei *Marichal* || **4** fortasse Val]eriu[s:  
 ]ri[ *Gilliam Fink*

*fr. c*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup>           ] . .  
 ---

*fr. c*: fortasse ]V] uel ]? vel ]li: ] . i edd.

*fr. e*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup>           ] . [  
 ---

<sup>465</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 308); *ChLA* (VII: 83).

|<sup>2</sup>      ]s.[  
 - - -

*fr. e: edidi*

**P.Dura 61** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 18)

AD 216 (c.)

Literature: Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959, fr. *a* and *b*); Fink (1971: 407–8 no. 101, fr. *a* and *b*); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VI 316 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 192 (1992). TM 44786

Frr. (*liber epistularum*): *a* (16x25 cm); *b* (3.8x3.5 cm); *c* (3.8x3.5 cm); *d* (4.5x3 cm); *e* (3.5x5.2 cm); *f* (4.7x2.1 cm); *g* (5.2x7.2 cm); *h* (7.6x1.8 cm); *i* (2.2x2.5 cm); *j* (3.2x1.6 cm); *k* (4.6x4 cm)

*P.Dura* 61 consists of 11 fragments (*a–k*), written on the *recto*; their *verso* is blank. Only fr. *a–b* have been published by Gilliam and Fink, while Marichal provided an edition for all of them. Fr. *k* is unreadable and is not published here. The fragments are overall in bad condition and ridden with holes; the only fragment yielding some relevant information is fr. *a*, which contains the remnants of two columns. Disposition and names of the fragments featured here are those currently represented in the glass frames. Frr. *f* and *j* have been considered as belonging to the same portion of the document, as Marichal did. The lower portion of fr. *h* was instead considered by Marichal to be the upper portion of fr. *k*. To the right side of fr. *b* lie two smaller scraps, belonging to *b* but detached from the main fragment, which, though appearing in Marichal's photograph, have been published only now. Fr. *i* is placed upside down in the online images, but Marichal published it in its correct position. A summary of all the alterations the order and numbering of the fragments underwent is in the table below:

| Online images                  | Gilliam            | Marichal                                                     |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>a</b> , col. I              | <b>a</b> , col. I  | <b>a</b> , col. I                                            |
| <b>a</b> , col. II             | <b>a</b> , col. II | <b>a</b> , col. II                                           |
| <b>b</b> (l. 2 ]ut frume[nt-)  | <b>b</b>           | <b>b</b>                                                     |
| <b>c</b> (l. 2 ala[)           | -                  | <b>i</b>                                                     |
| <b>d</b> (l. 2 ] en [)         | -                  | <b>g</b>                                                     |
| <b>e</b> (l. 1 ] ria . . . [)  | -                  | <b>h</b>                                                     |
| <b>f</b> (l. 1 ]uari [)        | -                  | Joins fr. <b>j</b> in forming <b>e</b> (l. 1 ] ad [ ]uari [) |
| <b>g</b> (one line, illegible) | -                  | <b>c</b>                                                     |
| <b>h</b> (]iux [)              | -                  | <b>d</b>                                                     |
| <b>i</b> (l. 1 ] [)            | -                  | <b>k</b>                                                     |
| <b>j</b> (l. 1 ] ad [)         | -                  | Joins fr. <b>f</b> in forming <b>e</b> (l. 1 ] ad [ ]uari [) |
| <b>k</b> (l. 1 ] . . [)        | -                  | <b>f</b>                                                     |

Moreover, two small scraps are visible on the right of fr. *b* ll. 7–8, detached by the main fragment and – although visible also in Marichal's edition – apparently unheeded by him. They are published here.

**Fig. 5.25**

Fr. *a* is the largest among those preserved under the label of *P.Dura* 61, and contains two official letters (*A* in col. I, and *B* in col. II) focusing on rules and prescribing equipment for *frumentatio* 'foraging'. The other fragments probably came from letters associated with those on fr. *a* in a *liber epistularum* on this very topic. The 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort is explicitly mentioned in fr. *a* col. I ll. 5–6. According to Marichal,<sup>466</sup> the document should be dated around AD 216 on textual and palaeographical grounds; it certainly belongs to the reign of Caracalla, as the imperial cognomen *Antoniniana* shows (fr. *a* col. I l. 6). The script on fr. *a* col. I is much larger than in col. II; despite this fact, Gilliam is convinced that fr. *a* features two sections of the same text.<sup>467</sup> One can see in fr. *a* col. I a large bureaucratic script, with no ligatures and some

<sup>466</sup> See *ChLA* (VI: 30).

<sup>467</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 226).







*Fink* (dubitanter an im[ et ]rd in commentario) *Marichal*: ] in[ ]ad[ ] Cugusi || 7 ]c[ ib[ ] (dubitanter an ]cribra an ]cribaria) *Gilliam Fink*: ] b[ ] *Marichal*: ] Cugusi || 8 ] [ ] *Gilliam Fink*: ] [ ] *Marichal Cugusi* || 9–13 om. *Cugusi* || 9 ] [ edd. || 10 ] [ edd. || 11 fortasse axes: ] [ edd. || 13 ] [ edd. || 14 ]me[ ] [ ] [ edd. || 15 ] [ edd.

**2–3** Once again, as in the preceding two letters, *frumentum* or *frumentatio* might be spotted, as well as the verb *suggerere*.

**5** *sesq* is for *sesquiplicarius*. Perhaps before the pay-grade (much more attested in rosters and acta diurna: see *P.Dura* 100 and 82 with attached commentary) lay a personal name.

*fr. c*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup>     ] [   
 |<sup>2</sup>     ] Fla[ui-  
 |<sup>3</sup>     ] c[ ]  
 ---

*fr. c*: 1 ] [ *Marichal*: om. *Cugusi* || 2 ]ala[ *Marichal Cugusi* || 3 ]c[ *Marichal*: om. *Cugusi*

*fr. d*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup>     ] c[  
 |<sup>2</sup>     ] em[ ]  
 |<sup>3</sup>     ] [  
 ---

om. *Cugusi*: *fr. d*: 1 ] [ *Marichal* || 2 ]en[ *Marichal* || 3 uidi

*fr. e*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup>     ] [ ] iri erit[  
 |<sup>2</sup>     ] s r[ ]  
 ---

om. *Cugusi*: *fr. e*: 1 ] r[ ] [ *Marichal* || 2 ] [ *Marichal*

*fr. j+f*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup>     ]eredi[     ]uari[  
 |<sup>2</sup>     ]ern[     ]afri[  
 ---

*fr. j+f*: 1 ] uari[ (dubitanter an ad]iuvvari) *Marichal Cugusi* || 2 ] [ *Marichal*: om. *Cugusi*

*fr. g*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup>     ] [ ] ssi[ ]

*fr. g*: fortasse m]issici[i: ] [ ] [ *Marichal*: om. *Cugusi*

*fr. h*  
- - -  
|<sup>1</sup> ] .uxu[  
|<sup>2</sup> ] .tul[  
|<sup>3</sup>  
|<sup>4</sup>  
|<sup>5</sup> ] .i . .[  
- - -

*fr. h: 1* ]iux . [ *Marichal:* ]iuxta[ *Cugusi* || **2** ] . . . [ *Marichal: om. Cugusi* || **3–5** *recognoui*

*fr. i*  
- - -  
|<sup>1</sup> ] .r .[  
|<sup>2</sup> ] .n .[  
- - -

*om. Cugusi: fr. i: 1* ] . [ *Marichal* || **2** ] . . . [ *Marichal*

*P.Dura* 71 (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 47)

AD 219 (c.)

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 412 no. 105); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 326 (1976); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 195 (1992). TM 44800

Fr. (papyrus sheet): 6x9 cm

The papyrus preserves only part of the *praescriptum* from an official letter, presumably sent to a commanding officer of the Palmyrene cohort. It is written on the *recto* along the fibres. The *verso* is blank. The addressee's name in dative case (*Artemidoro*) and *salutem* are extant. The hand is so elaborate as to suggest that the letter is not a copy, but the original product of a high provincial chancery.<sup>469</sup> Above *Artemidoro*, in the upper margin, a second hand has written another name, again in dative case, which is only partially preserved (*]elio*). This addition may point to a similar situation to what happened for *P.Dura* 63. *P.Dura* 71, that is, may have contained the copy of an official letter sent to *Artemidorus*, a letter which the same sender sends now to *]elius*. Cugusi thinks rather of a chronological or topographical note left there by a clerk in the Palmyrene office, perhaps for internal purposes:<sup>470</sup> this would perhaps be the case of *Ulpio* in *P.Dura* 56 letter *A*. Despite the impossibility of a certain dating, Marichal is most likely right in identifying *]elius* as the commanding officer of the cohort, and in locating his tenure in AD 219 (c.), between Postumius Aurelianus (*P.Dura* 66, explicitly dated AD 216) and Aurelius Intenianus (*P.Dura* 58, AD ca. 225–35).<sup>471</sup>

|              |   |                |
|--------------|---|----------------|
|              | ] | elio           |
| <sup>1</sup> | ] | Artemidoro suo |
| <sup>2</sup> |   | [s]alut[em]    |
|              | - | -              |
|              | - | -              |

1 Ar[te]midoro *edd.*

<sup>469</sup> See 4.1.1. and *CEL* (II: 280).

<sup>470</sup> *CEL* (II: 280).

<sup>471</sup> *ChLA* (VII: 12; IX: 11).

***P.Dura* 131** (= P. CtYBR inv. DPm 2)

AD 219–25 (c.)

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink, and Gilliam (1959); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 385 (1977). TM 44864

Fr. (leather): 6.5x13.5 cm

The fragment is broken on the edges and darkened; it originally consisted of only one line. The back side is blank. It was probably put over or attached to some equipment, whose owner had written his own name on the leather, making it some sort of label. The dating is partly on palaeographical, partly on prosopographical, grounds. The *turma* of the cavalryman Zebidas Iarhaei is attested from *P.Dura* 100 (AD 219) to *P.Dura* 67 (AD 222–5). Incidentally, in that *turma* there is a Iulius Iulianus (*P.Dura* 100 col. XXXIII l. 14; 101 col. XXXIII l. 29) who might be concealed under *Iul(ius) I* .<sup>472</sup>

|<sup>1</sup>      Ꝥ Zibida Iul I . [- - -]*fortasse* Zebida *legendum* | *fortasse* Iu[lianus, I] [Gilliam I. [Marichal

---

<sup>472</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 405).

**5.3. AD 220–30**

**P.Dura 136** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 78)

AD 219–33 (c.)

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 433 no. 122); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 389 (1977). TM 78177

Fr. (papyrus roll): 5.3x3.3 cm

The fragment, ragged and with no visible margins, is written on the *recto* along the fibres, has a blank *verso*, and is among those very few Latin papyri concerning the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort that were not found in room W13; its provenance is unclear.<sup>473</sup> It reports name and probably ranks (at least a pay-grade, *sesquiplicarius*, at l. 5), and it might come from a roster or from any sort of list of soldiers. If the *Marianus* at l. 4 (in genitive case, which suggests a *ŷ* = *centuria* before him) is the centurion attested also in *P.Dura* 100 col. XXI ll. 1–2 (219), 101 col. XVI ll. 9–10 (222), 82 (223–32 c.) and 115 fr. *a* col. I l. 2 (232),<sup>474</sup> AD 219–33 is by and large an acceptable chronological fork for this document, as *Marianus* does not seem to appear in earlier or later papyri from the Durene collection.<sup>475</sup> It may be added, that the hand – informal, but not abundant in ligatures – bears more similarities with papyri dated at the end of the Roman period, like *P.Dura* 81 (240–50) or 96 (250–60) – rather than with other hands in rosters and morning reports; notice the letter *r*, which is drawn in a characteristic way, with a long upright and then a curved stroke at the top.

**Fig. 5.27**

```

- - -
|1    ] no[ ] [
|2    ] isor [
|3    ] enarius s [
|4    ] Mariani [
|5    ] s ses[q
|6    ] esarm [
|7    ] [ ] eos ri[
- - -

```

**1** ] [ ] [ *edd.* || **2** ] uisorum[ *edd.* || **3** fortasse duc]enarius uel tric]enarius: ]e ari s [ *Gilliam Fink:*  
 ]erarius s [ *Marichal* || **5** ] s [ *edd.* || **6** fortasse ] es armor[um custos: ] esar [ *Gilliam Fink:*  
 ] esar [ *Marichal* || **7** ] eosri[ *Gilliam Fink:* ] eos ri[ *Marichal*

‘... (from) *Marianus*’ (century):  
 ... *sesquiplicarius*’

<sup>473</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 7).

<sup>474</sup> See details in 3.2.2.

<sup>475</sup> See also Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 408).



**P.Dura 134** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 50)

AD 220–22 (c.)

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 431 no. 118); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 387 (1976). TM 78175

Fr. (papyrus roll): 3.7x8 cm

Very little remains of this document. On the *recto* some dating formulae seem to appear (ll. 1–3), as well as the genitive of a name followed by a number (l. 6). The presence of Valerius Comazon, probably in consular dating formulae, allows the manuscript to be dated around AD 220–2. Comazon was consul with Elagabalus<sup>476</sup> (who was then in his third consulship, and styled ‘Aurelius Antoninus’) in AD 220; a number of such dating formulae featuring him and Elagabalus probably refer to the latter’s reign, therefore providing a *terminus ante quem* in 222, when Elagabalus died. One also ought to notice a reference to Septimius Severus and Caracalla in ll. 5–6. Valerius Comazon also appears in *P.Dura* 55A fr. *b* and in the more fragmentary P.CtYBR inv. *s.n.* (box 3 folder 1). The *verso* is published here for the first time, and probably comes from a list of soldiers; so little remains of it, that it did not seem appropriate to separate it from the *recto* or attempt a dating. Instead of *Palmyrenorum*, the scribe has written *Palmurenorum* in *recto* l. 4.

*recto*

---

|<sup>1</sup> Com]azo[nte  
|<sup>2</sup> ] Comazonte . [  
|<sup>3</sup> ] et Comazonte [  
|<sup>4</sup> P]almuren[o]rum  
|<sup>5</sup> ] Septimio Se[  
|<sup>6</sup> An]tonini VII . [  
|<sup>7</sup> ] . . . .

---

*verso*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ]  
|<sup>2</sup> ]rius H[  
|<sup>3</sup> Z]ebida[ . . ]e . [  
---

*recto*: **3** [II cos dubitanter edd. || **4** coh XX P]almuren[o]r[um edd. || **5** Septimi . . . ] (*dubitanter an* Septimio) Gilliam: ] Septim . . . ] Fink | Se[uero dubitanter Gilliam || **6** An]tonini . . . [ edd. || **7** uidi

*verso*: edidi || **3** fortasse Z]ebida[s I]er[haei

<sup>476</sup> Sources are not consistent on Comazon’s consulship with Elagabalus; in some inscriptions it is the second (e.g. *CIL* XIV 2809, col. II *dedik(ata) VIII Kal(endas) Iul(ias) | Imp(eratore) M(arco) Aurelio A[n]to[ni]no Pio Felic(e) Aug(usto) [III] / P(ublio) Valerio Comazonte | II co(n)s(ulibus) | cur(atoribus) Abudio Prisco Cassidario | Demetrio et Celerino Statieno | Clementiano* ‘... dedicated eight days before the Calends of July during the third consulship of Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus and the second of Publius Valerius Comazon, under the care of Abudius Priscus Cassidarius Demetrius and Celerinus Statienus Clementianus’: Gabii, AD 220); in others the first – and only (e.g. *CIL* XIII 6688, ll. 8–11 *Imp(eratore) [[M(arco) Aurelio Anton]i[no] Pio | Felice Aug(usto) III]] et Coma|zonte | co(n)s(ulibus)* ‘during the third consulship of Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus and that of Comazon’: Mogontiacum, AD 220). Papyri only have one consulship: *ChLA* XI 447 *recto* col. II l. 12 *Valerio Coma(zonte) co(n)s(ule)* (AD 220–2, TM 69983); *P.Dura* 102 col. IX l. 24 *C]omazon[t]e [co(n)s(ule)*; *P.Oslo* III 122, l. 3 *t(urmae) Quintiani Val(erio) Comaz[o]nte co(n)s(ule)* (AD 238–42, TM 21553).

Gilliam (1957); J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 383–6 no. 91); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VI 319 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 199 (1992); Iovine (2021 – fr. *b*; *c*; *d*; *f*). TM 44792

Fr. (*tomos synkollesimos*): *a* (60x22 cm), *b* (5.1x4.8 cm), *c* (1.6x2.8 cm), *d* (7.5x7.7 cm), *e* (60x22 cm), *f* (1.6x2 cm)

The papyrus consists of six fragments. In their current location at the Beinecke Library, they are thus distributed in their glass frames:

- in frame A, a large fragment and three smaller ones are located.
- in frame B, one sees a large fragment and a smaller one.

For the sake of clarity, I have re-numbered the fragments in progressive order: *a* (the large fragment in frame A), *b*, *c*, *d* (the scraps in the same frame); *e* (the large fragment in frame B); and *f* (the scrap in the same frame). Each of the two larger fragments, *a* and *e*, is large enough to feature two columns, hosts one official letter, and has been written on the *verso* too. The red strokes of ink on the right edge of fr. *a* and the left of fr. *e* have been drawn, according to Marichal, right after the excavation of the manuscripts, probably to signal that although they were detached, they originally belonged to the same *liber epistularum*.<sup>477</sup> The remaining fragments are too small to yield significant text, and their belonging to one or the other official letter is far from being obvious, particularly if one considers them from a paleographical point of view (see below). They resurfaced after the first edition of the larger ones was completed; their editorial history has been discussed in Iovine (2021).<sup>478</sup>

Since I am unable to establish the exact provenance of the smaller scraps, in this edition I have chosen to alter the disposition of the fragments and of the texts from that visible now in the frames – in roughly the same way as I have adopted in the re-edition of this papyrus for the *CLTP*. The following table provides a rationale for the order and numbering of the fragments:

**Table 5.13** – The fragments in *P.Dura 64*

| New numbering | Current edition                                             | Frames and <i>CLTP</i> |
|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Fr. <i>a</i>  | letter <i>A</i> (2 columns, <i>recto</i> and <i>verso</i> ) | Frame A, fr. <i>a</i>  |
| Fr. <i>b</i>  | Fr. <i>b</i>                                                | Frame A, fr. <i>b</i>  |
| Fr. <i>c</i>  | Fr. <i>c</i>                                                | Frame A, fr. <i>c</i>  |
| Fr. <i>d</i>  | Fr. <i>d</i>                                                | Frame A, fr. <i>d</i>  |
| Fr. <i>e</i>  | letter <i>B</i> (2 columns, <i>recto</i> and <i>verso</i> ) | Frame B, fr. <i>a</i>  |
| Fr. <i>f</i>  | Fr. <i>f</i>                                                | Frame B, fr. <i>b</i>  |

Both the extant letters in fr. *a* and *e* (letters *A* and *B*) share the typical features of their typology: the customary formula *accepta* + date of inclusion in the *liber*, normally accommodated between the two portions of the *praescriptum* (letter *A*) or below it (letter *B*); the sender (Aurelius Rufinus) and the addressee (Iustillus) are the same for both letters; the hand seems to be the same; and in both letters the sender, after issuing orders for Iustillus, attaches the letter of a *uir clarissimus* and *consularis*, i.e. the provincial governor Antonius Seleucus.<sup>479</sup> On the *verso* of both letters, the sender and addressee's name are written, so these documents are most likely originals.

When Rufinus' letter ends, and the copy of Seleucus' letter appears on the papyrus sheet (letter *A* col. II; letter *B* col. I l. 11 – col. II), the handwriting is smaller and coarser than before, as if the copies had been drawn up by a different scribe. Moreover, fr. *b*, *c*, *d* and *f* may show a

<sup>477</sup> '[...] il semble qu'ils n'aient été séparés que lors de leur mise sous verre, car le bord droit de **A** et le bord gauche de **B** se raccordent exactement et les deux traits horizontaux que l'on voit sur chacun des bords et qui sont à l'encre rouge et modernes paraissent avoir été placés comme repères' ('they seem to have been separated only when they were put under glass, because the right edge of **A** and the left edge of **B** connect exactly, and the two horizontal lines that can be seen on each of the edges and which are in red and modern ink seem to have been placed as markers', *ChLA* VI: 34).

<sup>478</sup> Iovine (2021: 175–8).

<sup>479</sup> He has been tentatively identified with Iulius Antonius Seleucus, governor of *Moesia Inferior* under Elagabalus (Rostovtzeff 1934: 302).

further hand, smaller than the one in col. I of letters *A* and *B*, and drawn with a less blunt pen than in col. II; therefore, it is impossible to ascertain whether they belonged or not to the letters contained in the larger fragments. Eventually, one can see further hands in the *accepta* + date formula, and in the greeting formula *opto te domine* (letter *B* ll. 8–9), drawn in a very informal hand, perhaps by Rufinus himself; both those hands are more informal and cramped than the others, and produce thicker letters. Notably, this greeting formula appears between Rufinus' letter and the beginning of the copy of Seleucus' letter, signalled by *e e = e(xemplum) e(pistulae)*.

Aurelius Rufinus styles himself *praep praetent*, which has been construed as *praepositus praetenturae* 'overseer of the *praetentura*', and *procurator Augustorum* (namely, Elagabalus and Severus Alexander). Iustillus, whom Rufinus addresses, is the tribune of the Palmyrene cohort (as seems to be clear from both the available *verso*'s): he is unattested elsewhere. The rank of *praepositus praetenturae* has been thoroughly discussed by commentators. The name *praetentura* appears in a few different contexts: often in Ammianus, twice in inscriptions,<sup>480</sup> twice in the Durene papyri,<sup>481</sup> and twice in the Euphrates papyri.<sup>482</sup> Everywhere it is somehow connected with the imperial border,<sup>483</sup> and the *praepositus praetenturae* must therefore have been an officer charged with civil and/or military power on a section of the *limes*. Particularly in *P.Euphr.* 3 and 4 the *πρεπόσιτος πρετεντούρης* seems to be able to enforce law, or at least to exercise some sort of *ius coercendi* on single individuals.<sup>484</sup> However, in *P.Dura* 64, as noted by Merola – and despite Gnoli's opinion<sup>485</sup> – the *praepositus* has no such power, and probably belongs to a different branch of provincial administration than the tribune of the Palmyrenes – which suggests that he might have used the governor's letters he attaches to his own, as the safest way to force the tribune himself to do his bidding. In a way, he seems to need the governor's approval to exercise *any* authority, both on the tribune and – as we shall see – on an otherwise unknown imperial freedman.<sup>486</sup>

In letter *A*, Rufinus asks Iustillus to order an imperial freedman (*libertum Augustorum nostrorum*) to provide food (barley) for cavalymen and muleteers stationed in a detachment at Appadana (*uexillatio Appadanensis*), probably on the *procurator*'s command;<sup>487</sup> almost nothing remains of the governor's letter he attaches. In letter *B*, Rufinus orders Iustillus to force Sozon, *librarius* of the 16<sup>th</sup> legion *Flauia Firma*, to 'give satisfaction' to a Haninas;<sup>488</sup> one cannot know the nature of this 'satisfaction', which might have been pecuniary. Again, almost nothing remains from the governor's letter. One ought to remark the oddity of Rufinus asking Iustillus, apparently the tribune of the Palmyrene cohort, to solicit a legionary (Sozon) to make amends (?) with a Haninas who in all likelihood is a local soldier, and a member of the cohort itself.<sup>489</sup> The tribune of the *XX Palmyrenorum* would in all likelihood have been asked to do the opposite, i.e. force a member of his own unit to settle a quarrel with the soldier of another unit. The lack of context, however, prevents one from further guesswork; it is also possible that Haninas was serving under Rufinus, and/or that Sozon was at the moment detached away from the *Flauia Firma*, or under Iustillus' orders (this according to Gilliam).<sup>490</sup> Davies has argued, quite convincingly, that the

<sup>480</sup> Generally speaking, for a survey on attestations and meanings of *praetentura*, see Merola (2012: 146–8) and attached bibliography and references. The passages of Ammianus include 14 3,2; 25 4,11; 31 8,5 etc., all associating *praetentura* with *statio*, as if it were an outpost of some sort. From inscriptions we know of a *praetentura Italiae ad Alpium* (AE 1995, 198), a *praetentura Mauretaniae* (CIL VIII 22611; AE 1892, 116), and the word is perhaps attested in the provinces of *Britannia* (CIL VII 634) and *Germania Superior* (AE 1912, 124). In the last two cases one might as well be witnessing *praet[ensio]* instead of *praet[entura]*.

<sup>481</sup> Here and probably in *P.Dura* 66uu *verso* (see commentary *ad loc.*)

<sup>482</sup> *P.Euphr.* 3 *recto*, ll. 1–2 'Ιουλίῳ Πρόκλῳ ἐπάρχῳ πρεποσίτῳ | πρετεντούρης (AD 252–256, TM 23923); 4 *recto*, ll. 1–2 'Ιουλίῳ Πρόκλῳ ἐπάρχῳ πρεποσίτῳ πρετεντούρης (AD 252–6, TM 23924).

<sup>483</sup> On the meaning of the word *praetentura* see Gnoli (2000: 119–23), with attached bibliography and references.

<sup>484</sup> On the *praepositus praetenturae*, see Gnoli (2000: 112–23); Gnoli (2007); Merola (2012: 145–63). Both scholars take into account also the shady rank of *dux ripae* and try to put both ranks in the wider context of Roman administration on the middle Euphrates.

<sup>485</sup> The *praepositus praetenturae*, according to him, would be the immediate superior officer ('*diretto superiore*') of the tribune of the Palmyrene cohort (Gnoli 2000: 115).

<sup>486</sup> Gilliam (1957: 51; 56).

<sup>487</sup> Gilliam (1957: 54).

<sup>488</sup> See *P.Dura* 101 col. XXVII l. 16.

<sup>489</sup> There is, for instance, a Hanina (Haninas?) Bellaei in *P.Dura* 100 col. XI.

<sup>490</sup> 'Further, it is somewhat uncertain why the procurator should choose to obtain the actions he desires through the tribune. While the librarius quite possibly was under the command of the tribune, one would not assume that the freedman was ordinarily subject to his orders' (Welles, Fink and Gilliam 1959: 230).

*uexillatio* in Appadana consisted in personnel working for the *cursus publicus*, the official mail service of the Empire; more generally, that both letters were concerned with civil and military personnel working for the *cursus*.<sup>491</sup>

letter A (= P.Dura 64a = fr. a)

*recto*

*col. I*

|<sup>1</sup> [Aurel Rufinus Iustillo suo  
ac[c . . . ] . . .  
Grat[o et Se]leu[co co]s  
|<sup>2</sup> s]a[lute]m  
|<sup>3</sup> Quid mihi scriber[e] dignat[us] sit  
|<sup>4</sup> Antonius Seleucus u· c· cōs noster  
|<sup>5</sup> domine fili ut scires subieci  
|<sup>6</sup> et peto compellas ordinatum Augg  
|<sup>7</sup> n' n' lib equitibus siu[e] mulionib[us] qui  
|<sup>8</sup> in uexill Appadanens[i] deg hordeum  
|<sup>9</sup> ex praedi[i]s fiscalibus dare secun-  
|<sup>10</sup> [-dum . . . ] . . . [ ±12 ] . . . . .  
- - -

*col. II*

|<sup>1</sup> h[ord]eum [ .  
|<sup>2</sup> Appada[n-  
|<sup>3</sup> dari praedi . [ .  
|<sup>4</sup> -mem

*recto col. I: 2* [salutem] *Marichal:* [salute]m *Cugusi* || **3** scriber[et] . . . i . . . . . *Gilliam* || **4** c[o]s *edd.* || **7** n(oztrorum) (duorum) *Gilliam*<sup>1</sup> | si[ue] *Cugusi* | q[u]i *Gilliam Fink Marichal* || **8** d]eg(unt) *Marichal Cugusi* | horde[u]m *Gilliam:* hord[e]um *Fink:* hord[eu]m *Marichal Cugusi* || **10** ] [±17] . . . . . *Gilliam:* ] . . . . . *Fink:* [±14] . . . . . *Marichal Cugusi* || **9–10** dubitanter an secun[dum mor]e[m] (*quod si placet, mo]re[m] malle*) *Gilliam*<sup>2</sup> | post hanc lineam ] . . . *Gilliam:* ] . . . *Fink*

*col. II: 1* . . . . . [ *Gilliam* || **2** . . . . . [ (*dubitanter an Appada[n-]*) *Gilliam Marichal:* a . . . . . [ *Fink Cugusi* || **3** prae . . . [ (*dubitanter an praedi[ ]*) *Gilliam Fink Marichal:* prae . i[ ] *Cugusi*

*recto col. I:* ‘Aurelius Rufinus to his Iustillus, greetings. My lord son, I have sent you for your information what our Antonius Seleucus, most distinguished man and former consul, has descended to write to me; I ask you to compel the appointed (?) freedman of our Emperors to give barley from the imperial treasury’s estate to the cavalrymen and the muleteers who are stationed in the Appadanian detachment, according to ...’

*col. II:* ‘... barley ... be given ...’

**4** *u(ir) c(larissimus)* also in *P.Dura* 89 col. I l. 14, *P.Dura* 121, l. 10 and *P.Dura* 95, fr. b col. I l. 5; there it always designates, together with *co(n)s(ularis)*, the provincial governor.

<sup>491</sup> Davies (1967: 70–1).

5 The vocative *domine* (κύριε in Greek papyri from the Roman period) is typical of Roman forms of address, and conveys polite deference.<sup>492</sup> As far as *fili* is concerned, almost always in papyrus letters kinship terms are used without any actual reference to biological reality.<sup>493</sup> The use of *fili* after *domine* may point out, according to Gilliam, that Iustillus is inferior in age, rather than rank.<sup>494</sup>

6–7 At first sight, the name of the imperial freedman does not appear: one only sees *ordinatum lib*, which might be solved as *ordinatum lib(ertum)* ‘the appointed freedman’. Other possibilities include: *ordinatum* as the personal name of the freedman (‘Ordinatus the freedman’);<sup>495</sup> *ordinatum lib(erti)*, the freedman’s appointed’ (*scil. centurionem*).<sup>496</sup>

8 Since the great rosters more chronologically close to this letter, *P.Dura* 100 and 101, feature a remarkable quantity of soldiers stationed in Appadana, it is possible that they manned the *uexillatio Appadanensis* mentioned here. After *Appadanens[i]* editors read *deg*, abbreviated for *degunt*: *dēgere* ‘to spend one’s life / one’s time, to carry on’<sup>497</sup> is a typical verb for military units stationing somewhere.<sup>498</sup> Yet, from a palaeographical point of view, *deg* is hard. *D* is fine; *g* is very oddly drawn, with a top stroke, which seems unnecessary to *g* itself; and the middle letter looks more like a *u*. For it to be an *e*, one should assume the upper and lower strokes to have vanished, and only the middle, curved stroke to have survived.

**Table 5.14** – Uncertain letters in *P.Dura* 64 letter *A*

| Fig. 5.28                                                                                                                       |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| for this to be an <i>e</i> , much must have been vanished<br>the upper stroke seems almost detached from the body of the letter |

The context, however, strongly calls for *deg*, and I have no better solution to propose. One might resort to a scribal mistake while drawing the letters.

9–10 The letter refers to imperial estates (*praedia fiscalia*) along the Euphrates, from which grain was regularly taken for the necessities of the soldiers.<sup>499</sup> The *equites* ‘cavalrymen’ and *muliones* ‘muleteers’ mentioned here might be under Rufinus’ orders, as he seems personally to be taking care for their animals to be fed; otherwise, Rufinus might be temporarily in charge for the *praedia fiscalia* and allowing Iustillus to share their resources for his own cavalrymen and muleteers.

10 The copy of Seleucus’ letter must have begun in the lacuna after col. I l. 10, and ended in col. II. It is impossible to gather the actual number of lines for this column. What was considered l. 11 in letter *A* by previous editors has been considered here part of l. 10.

verso

|<sup>1</sup> ] [. . ]ETIO IUSTILLO T[RIB COH

<sup>492</sup> ‘This explains why *domine* as an address, far from being gradually weakened, seems in its earliest occurrences to be only mildly polite: it entered the general system of Roman addresses as a familial term, not a servile one, and it reflects the ‘householder’ meaning of *dominus* rather than its ‘slave-master’ sense, thus indicating not that the addressee has absolute power over the speaker, but that he is a man of some property and social standing who is being honoured like a relative’ (Dickey 2001: 3); ‘as we have seen, Latin *domine* was used in a fashion very similar to κύριε, as a courteous but not especially subservient address to close relatives, friends, and others to whom the speaker wished to be polite’ (*ibidem*: 10).

<sup>493</sup> Dickey (2004a: 131–4; but the whole article is devoted to this topic).

<sup>494</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 231). See also Dickey (2002: 126–8); (2004b: 511–6).

<sup>495</sup> Gilliam had already thought (although half-heartedly) of it: ‘it is somewhat strange that the procurator does not give the freedman’s name, but one would desire other examples before accepting *Ordinatus* as a personal name’ (Welles, Fink and Gilliam 1959: 232); see Fink (1971: 385) and P. Cugusi in *CEL* (II: 284).

<sup>496</sup> See Rea (1980: 219).

<sup>497</sup> See *ThLL* V.1 384–5 s.v. *dego* 1 a.

<sup>498</sup> See *ChLA* XI 501, l. 7 *ex ala · Apr(iana) · deg* (TM 69987, AD 48–52); *P.Abinn.* 1, ll. 4–5 *in uexillatione Parthusagittariorum | degentium Diospoli prouincia[e] Thebaidos superioris* (AD 340–342, TM 10014); *P.Ryl.* IV 609, ll. 1–2 ‘*Fl(auius)*’ ... | *u(iro) d(euotissimo) trib(un) Hermupoli deg(enti)* (AD 505, TM 17309).

<sup>499</sup> See also Haynes (2013: 177–8).

|<sup>2</sup> Aur]el Rufinus proc Aug n  
|<sup>3</sup> praep praetent

verso: **1** fortasse A]etio: ] [. ] .io Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: ] [. ] .io Gilliam<sup>2</sup> Fink: ] [. ] .o (dubitanter an ]tio vel ]ito)  
Marichal Cugusi

verso: 'To ... Iustillus, tribune of the cohort, Aurelius Rufinus, procurator of our Emperors and *praepositus praetenturae*'.

letter **B** (= P.Dura 64b = fr. e)

recto

col. I

|<sup>1</sup> Au[rel Rufinus Iustill]o s[uo]  
|<sup>2</sup> salutem  
acc [ ±15 ] br  
Gra[to et Seleuco cos]  
|<sup>3</sup> Quid mihi scri[ps]erit Antonius  
|<sup>4</sup> Seleucus u· c· cos n domin[e] fili ut  
|<sup>5</sup> scires subieci, et peto compellas  
|<sup>6</sup> Sozontem librari[u]m leg XVI F F Antoni-  
|<sup>7</sup> -nianaē satisfacere Ha[ni]nae. An-  
|<sup>8</sup> -tonius Seleucus u· c[·] cos n [ . . . . . ] pr[ae]cipere  
|<sup>9</sup> dignatus est opto te domine fili [feli]ciss[i]m[um]  
|<sup>9a</sup> multis annis bene uale[r]e  
|<sup>10</sup> e e  
|<sup>11</sup> ] el s[ . . . . . ] exus[  
|<sup>12</sup> ] ae q[  
|<sup>13</sup> ]l a ad me[

- - -

col. II

|<sup>1</sup> [  
|<sup>2</sup> [  
|<sup>3</sup> [ . ] [  
|<sup>4</sup> . . . . . on . . . [  
|<sup>5</sup> collegame . . [  
|<sup>6</sup> -sente eo[ . . ] . . [  
|<sup>7</sup> poterit des . . . [  
|<sup>8</sup> aestimaturum

recto col. I: **1** . . . [ Fink: aur[ Marichal: A[u]r[el(ius) Cugusi | Iustillo suo] (dubitanter an s[u]o) Gilliam<sup>1</sup>  
Marichal Cugusi: ]pal (dubitanter an Ruf[inus Iustillo trib coh xx] pal[m] Fink || **2** salut[e]m Gilliam Fink:  
s[alute]m Cugusi || **3** qui[d] edd. | scri[b]eret Gilliam: scrip[s]erit dubitanter Gilliam Fink || **4** Se[l]eucus  
edd. | [u(ir)] edd. | [do]min[e] edd. | fi[l]i Gilliam: [f]i[l]i Fink Marichal Cugusi || **5** pet[o] edd. | compel[l]as  
edd. || **6-7** [F(irmae) An]tonin[i]anae Marichal Cugusi | h[ . . ] nae (dubitanter an Ha[ni]nae) Gilliam<sup>1</sup> || **8**  
fortasse n[obis] uel m[ihi] pr[ae]cipere: [ . . . . . ] e e (dubitanter an -ere) Gilliam: [ . . . . . ] e  
(dubitanter an m[ihi] dicere) Fink: [ . . . . . ] ci[ ] ere (dubitanter an s[ic de]ci[d]ere) Marichal Cugusi || **9**  
d . . . a . . . scit (dubitanter an dici vel adici a te scit) Gilliam || **10** [ . . ] [ Gilliam: ] . . [ Fink (dubitanter an

ex(emplum) uel exemplum) Marichal: ]ex[ ] [ Cugusi || 11 ]el [ Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: [±10]el [±10] . . . [ . . . ] Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: ]el· s[±11] [ (dubitanter an Aur]el(-) S[ozon] Fink Marichal Cugusi || 12, fortasse ]niae vel ]nae vel ]aiae: ] ae [ Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: [±8] ae [±15] Gilliam<sup>2</sup> || 13 ]l[ ] ad me[ Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: ]l[ ]a ad me[ Fink: [±6]l[ ] ad me [±15] Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: ] a ad me[ Marichal Cugusi || post hanc lineam ] [ Cugusi

ad ll. 2–3: F]ēbr(uarias) potius quam ]mbr: ] [ (Nouem]br(es) vel Decem]br(es) e.g. Gilliam<sup>1</sup>) Gilliam Fink: ]br Marichal Cugusi

ll. 9–9a: op[t]o t[e d]omine Marichal Cugusi | [felicissimum] edd. | mul[t]is Fink: mul[tis] Marichal: mul[tis] Cugusi | be[n]e Marichal Cugusi | ualere Gilliam: ualer[e] Marichal Cugusi

col. II: 2 ] [ Fink || 3 ] [ ]e [ Fink: [ Marichal Cugusi || 4 fortasse pote: . . . . . [ edd. || 5 collegam [ Gilliam Fink Marichal || 6 sente eo [ Gilliam: -sente eo h[a]n[ina (dubitanter an prae)]sente vel ab]]sente) Fink: sente eo [ Marichal Cugusi || 7 de [ Gilliam: de [ (dubitanter an decer[nere) Fink Marichal Cugusi || 8 aestima m (dubitanter an aestimarem) Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: aestima m u[ Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: aestima curam Fink: aestimaturam Marichal: aestimaturum [ (uel aestimatur um) Cugusi

recto col. I: ‘Aurelius Rufinus to his Iustillus, greetings. My lord son, I sent you for your information what our Antonius Seleucus, most distinguished man and former consul, has written to me; I ask you to compel Sozon, librarius of the 16<sup>th</sup> legion Flavia Firma Antoniniana, to give satisfaction to Haninas. Our Antonius Seleucus, most distinguished man and former consul, has condescended ... to order ...’

col. II: ‘... colleague ... him ... he could ... he will assess ...’

**1–5** The first lines of the second letter are almost identical to those in the first, revealing a strongly crafted formulaic structure. There is no way to know the time elapsed between this letter and the preceding one; only the year is certain.

**5–7** It is inferred from these lines, that at least a detachment, if not the whole legion *Flauia Firma*, was in the neighbourhood of Dura in AD 222;<sup>500</sup> and that all, or part of it, was temporarily under Rufinus’ command.

**7–9** The formulaic structure apparently introduces Seleucus’ letter with a further sentence (*Antonius ... praecipere dignatus est*), although the letter itself had been announced earlier (*quod mihi scripserit... ut scires subieci*). One might have here *n[obis]* or, less likely, *m[ihi] pr[ae]cipere | dignatus est* ‘he deigned (thus) to instruct us/me’. Rufinus has probably inserted the greeting formula himself where he was allowed to by the layout.

**11** The copy of Seleucus’ letter started in col. I 11 after the annotation ‘copy’ – *e(xemplum) e(pistulae)* – at l. 10, and continued in col. II.

**II 5** If a *collega* is here featured, he may be either a *collega* of Seleucus (but would another provincial governor be mentioned here...?) or of an inferior in rank to him, perhaps of Rufinus himself: *collega(m) meum* or *collegam eum*, are both possible.

**II 8** The participle *aestimaturum* may be relevant. One finds the verb *aestimare* in *P.Dura* 97, l. 15, where a horse is evaluated (*aestimatum*) by a *procurator Augustorum* and *uir egregius*, an otherwise unattested Pomponius Letianus. *Aestimare*, *probare* and *signare* are all verbs appearing in that papyrus and signalling some sort of assessment and evaluation, from a top-ranking army officer, of a horse or a mare. Seleucus’ letter might have been a *probatoria equorum*, or have concerned a *probatio* at any rate. It must be noticed, however, that such being the case one would expect *probaturum*,<sup>501</sup> since the sender is a provincial governor and *uir clarissimus*, not an *egregius* like Letianus.

verso

<sup>500</sup> On the legions mentioned in the Durene papyri, see 1.

<sup>501</sup> See *P.Dura* 97 for a full discussion. Whenever a provincial governor is involved, *probare* is the verb employed, while *aestimare* and *signare* seem specific to lower branches of the army (a *procurator Augustorum*, a *dux*, etc.)

|<sup>1</sup> ] . [ ] IO IUSTILLO TR[IB COH  
 |<sup>2</sup> Aurel] Rufinus procurator Augg n  
 |<sup>3</sup> praep praetent

verso: **1** ] Iustillo *Gilliam Fink Marichal* || **2** [Aurel(ius)] *non suppleuit Fink* | Rūfin . us *Gilliam*<sup>1</sup>:  
 Rufinus{us} *Cugusi* | n(ostrorum) (duorum) *Gilliam*<sup>1</sup>

verso : ‘To Iustillus, tribune of the cohort, Aurelius Rufinus, procurator of our Emperors and praepositus praetenturae.’

*Further fragments (fr. b, c, d, f)*

*fr. b*

- - -  
 |<sup>1</sup> dumta-]  
 |<sup>2</sup> -xat se . . . [  
 |<sup>3</sup> ueſe . [  
 - - -

*fr. b: supplevit Iovine (2021) || 1 fortasse -ue sex[ vel seſ[quiplicar-*

*fr. c*

- - -  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . . [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] . mar[ . ] . [  
 - - -

*fr. c: supplevit Iovine 2021*

*fr. d*

- - -  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . . n . [ . ] i . it . [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] . [ . ] quaerenda ab [ . . ] . [  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] . . . eri dignat[us [ . ] . [  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] . [  
 - - -

*fr. d: 1 fortasse [m]ilitu[m: ] . . . [ . ] . . . [ Marichal Cugusi || 2 q]uaerenda ab [ Marichal Cugusi || 3  
 fortasse prae]cipere pro prae]cipere L. Colella per litteras: ] . . eri Marichal: ] . aeri Cugusi | dign[atu]s . [ Marichal Cugusi*

*fr. f*

- - -  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] s[  
 - - -



**P.Dura 65** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 23)

AD 221

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 414 no. 109); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VI 320 (1976); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 198 (1992). TM 44794

Fr. (papyrus sheet): 6.1x6.7 cm

The fragment comes from a letter, whose content is lost. Only the sender's *nomen* (Flavius) is preserved. One can only suppose that it was sent to the commanding officer of the Palmyrene cohort, or forwarded to him. It probably was glued together with other letters in a *liber epistularum*: the reception formula '*accepta* + consular date' is visible below l. 1. The docket, as usual, was written by a second hand; letters appear to be smaller and drawn in thicker ink.

|              |                          |
|--------------|--------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | Fla[ui]us [              |
|              | acc . . . [              |
|              | Gr[at]t[o et Seleuco cos |
| <sup>2</sup> | salutem.]                |
| <sup>3</sup> | . . . . . [              |
| <sup>4</sup> | [ . . . ] . . [          |
|              | - - -                    |

**1** Fl[avius] *Gilliam Marichal*: Fl[ui] *Fink*: Fl[a(uius)] *Cugusi* || **2–4** *recognoui*

*ad ll. 1–2*: acc(epta) *Gilliam Fink Cugusi*: acc(epta) . . . [Marichal | Gr[at]o e[t Gilliam Marichal

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 156–7 no. 31); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 375 (1977). TM 44852

Fr. (papyrus roll): 10x11 cm

The papyrus is ridden with holes; whereas the first column is still quite legible, the second has lost massive quantities of ink and its fibres are severely torn and misplaced. There may be traces of yet another column before the first, as the letters on the border of the left lacuna seem to suggest. The *recto* is *P.Dura* 81. The manuscript contains a list of soldiers, grouped together according to the century and dating formulae. The purpose of this specific list is unknown. The formulae are of two distinct types:

- the shorter – and more customary – one, appearing only once in col. I l. 4 (*Laeto II cos*), immediately after the centurion's name. The position is typical of dating formulae in rosters, and signals that the three men listed below it belong to Antoninus' century and enlisted in 215.

- the longer, more detailed one: it also contains day and month, and is frequently used all over the fragment (coll. I ll. 3; 8–9; 11–2; II ll. 3–4). No mention of the century is given. It probably signals a particular event concerning the soldiers listed below it: perhaps a transfer to or from the cohort (as in *P.Dura* 118) or a promotion.

The same double set of dating formulae is found in *P.Dura* 95, and there too it is unclear why the scribes employ it, unless for marking a particular event which befell the soldiers listed in the document(s). At any rate, the use of *dominus noster* for the Emperor dates the papyrus to the reign of Severus Alexander. The list has been dated AD 222 because after that year, the centurion Antoninus (col. I l. 4) would have been marked with adjectives such as *Prior* or *Posterior*, as can be seen in *P.Dura* 101.<sup>502</sup>

*col. I*

---

|               |         |                                         |
|---------------|---------|-----------------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  |         | ]. [                                    |
| <sup>2</sup>  |         | ] . . . . [ . . . . ] s . [ . . ] u . [ |
| <sup>3</sup>  |         | d n Ale[xandr]o Au[g cos]               |
| <sup>4</sup>  |         | Antonini Laeto II cos                   |
| <sup>5</sup>  |         | Aurel Antoninus                         |
| <sup>6</sup>  |         | Aurel Siluanus                          |
| <sup>7</sup>  |         | Aurel Siluanus alter                    |
| <sup>8</sup>  | ] g . . | III Kal Nou                             |
| <sup>9</sup>  | ] s     | Extricato II cos                        |
| <sup>10</sup> | ] s     | Aurel Domitius                          |
| <sup>11</sup> |         | X I Kal Augustas                        |
| <sup>12</sup> |         | d n Alexand[ro] Aug [cos]               |

---

*col. II*

---

|              |  |                               |
|--------------|--|-------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> |  | ] . [                         |
| <sup>2</sup> |  | Aurel Gratus                  |
| <sup>3</sup> |  | III Kal O[ct]                 |
| <sup>4</sup> |  | d n Alexand[ro] Aug cos]      |
| <sup>5</sup> |  | ] . . . . [ . ] . o . . . . [ |

<sup>502</sup> Fink (1971: 156); *ChLA* (IX: 64)

<sup>6</sup> Aurel Danu[mus  
<sup>7</sup> ] in [   
<sup>8</sup> ] [   
<sup>9</sup> d n [Alexandro Aug ... cos]  
 - - -

col. I: 1 ] [ Fink: ] ... [ Marichal || 2 ] [ ] [ ] [ Fink: ] ... [ ] [ ] [ Marichal || 3 ] n ... [ ] u [ edd. || 7 Siluanu[s] edd. || 8 ] a Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal: ]ga Fink<sup>2</sup> || 11 XII vel XVI: X ... edd.

col. II: 4 Alexand[ro edd. || 5 ] [ ] [ Fink: ] ... [ ] [ Marichal || 6 uacuum Fink: ] ... [ Marichal || 7 fortasse Al]bino [cos: ] ... [ Fink: ] ... [ Marichal || 8 ] [ edd. || 9 uidi: fortasse Aug cos vel II cos vel III cos]

col. I: '... During the consulship of our lord the Emperor Alexander.  
 From Antoninus' century, during the second consulship of Laetus:  
 Aurelius Antoninus  
 Aurelius Silvanus  
 Aurelius Silvanus (another)  
 29 October, during the second consulship of Extricatus:  
 Aurelius Domitius  
 17/22 July, during the consulship of our lord the Emperor Alexander ...'

col. II: '... Aurelius Gratus  
 29 September, during the consulship of our lord the Emperor Alexander:  
 ...  
 Aurelius Danymus  
 ...  
 During the (?) consulship of our lord the Emperor Alexander...'

**I 6–7** Notably, since two soldiers in Antoninus' century bear the same name, the second is marked with *alter* (col. I l. 7), as also occurs, e.g., for Flavius Demetrius in *P.Dura* 89 col. I l. 3.

**9–10** The scanty letters that can be read in the left portion of the papyrus might be in fact the last remnants of a preceding column; the length of the intercolumnium is not fixed in such documents and there may be room enough to the left of col. I to read the right edge of another column. The two *s*'s at ll. 9–10 might well be the end of a dating formula (*co*)]s) or of a soldier's rank, his name lying in the preceding lacuna. It is worth noticing how at l. 8 one could read ]ga, but also ]git, which may well match with *sa*]git(*tarius*); or, less likely, ]osit, which could as well stand for *disp*]osit(*us*). The main problem in this reconstruction lies in the fact that notations of ranks concerning the individual soldier are in lists of personnel normally located to the *left* of the names, not to the right; there is no evidence that this particular list should behave otherwise.

**II 7** Since this line is in fact separated from l. 9 (where a dating formula is probably located) by a blank line, another dating formula might be supposed: *Al*]bino [cos], 227, very close to all three consulships of Alexander.

**9** This line can be filled with yet another instance of Severus Alexander's consulship, either the first (222), second (226) or third (229): *d(omino) n(ostro) [Alexandro Aug(usto) ... co(n)s(ule)]*. Before *in* one can in fact see the top of a slightly oblique stroke, pointing upwards and hooked at the top, which does not go lower than the middle of the writing line, and might be the traces of the second stroke of *b*.

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 52–81 no. 2); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VIII 356 (1976). TM 44833

Frr. (papyrus roll): frame 1 (coll. I-II: 13.5x22.5 cm; coll. III-V, frr. *a+b+c*: 7.7x7.3 cm; *d*: 3.7x2.2 cm; *e*: 4.4x2.2 cm; *f*: 5.4x2.7; *g*: 3.7x3.2; *h*: 4.3x4.4; *i*: 4.3x2.7 cm; *j*: 3.6x1.5 cm); 2 (coll. VI-VIII: 23.5x41.2 cm); 3 (coll. IX-XII: 24.2x45.9 cm); 4 (coll. XIII-XVI: 23.5x47.5 cm); 5 (coll. XVI-XIX 20.2x42.2 cm); 6 (coll. XX-XXII: 20.3x42.1 cm); 7 (coll. XXIII-XXV: 20.3x43 cm); 8 (coll. XXVI-XXVII: 22x28.5 cm); 9 (coll. XXVIII-XXIX: 24.7x27.7 cm); 10 (coll. XXX-XXXII: 37.8x25.3 cm); 11 (coll. XXXIII-XXXV: 25.5x37 cm); 12 (coll. XXXVI-XXXVIII: 25.5x36 cm); 13 (coll. XXXIX-XLI: 25x37.5 cm); 14 (coll. XLII-XLIV: 25x37 cm); frr. *a* (1.7x7.7 cm); *b* (1x3.7 cm); *c* (1.9x1.8 cm); *d* (3.5x1.9 cm); *e* (0.6x3.1 cm); *f* (1.5x2.2 cm); *g* (2.9x1.5 cm); *h* (8.9x1.2 cm); *i* (2.2x13.6 cm); *j* (3.2x10.9 cm); *k* (2.3x3.8 cm); *l* (3.8x5.5 cm); *m* (2.4x1.5 cm); *n* (2.8x2 cm); *o* (2.3x1.3 cm); *p* (3.3x4.3 cm); *q* (3.3x3 cm); *r* (4.1x2.2 cm); *s* (3.9x2.8 cm); *t* (3.8x7.8 cm); *u* (1.6x10.9 cm); *v* (1.4x16 cm); *w* (2x2.6 cm); *x* (1.1x1.2 cm); *y* (1.1x0.5 cm); *z* (1.50x26.2 cm)

The document has been written on the *verso* of *P.Dura 100*, which was turned over on a horizontal axis about three years after the *recto* had been written (see below). As with the document on the *recto*, here too the beginning of the roster has undergone the worst damage; that section of the roll is the most fragmentary, whereas the more we go to the end of the roster, the better preserved we find the papyrus. The ink is likewise well preserved and legible, even more than in *P.Dura 100*; details of the conservation of the papyrus are the same than those described for that papyrus. Among the tiniest fragments, published here for the first time, frr. *c*, *f*, *g*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *q*, *r*, *s*, *w*, *x*, *y* are blank; frr. *u*, *v*, *z* consist of tiny scraps where only single letters or very fragmentary names can be read, and there is no clue as to the distance between the scraps themselves. Two hands can be identified at work on this manuscript, in chronological order: the first wrote the names and the marginal notations; the second added the horizontal and angular bars.<sup>503</sup> These hands are slightly more informal than those visible on the twin roster: *z* must be remarked upon for its very developed ornamentation; when at the beginning of the word, *u* is rather large and bears a cup-like opening.

As the *recto*, also *P.Dura 101* is a roster. It contains 45 columns instead of 44, and every column has between 25 and 30 lines; the layout and the organization of the names is the same as that of *P.Dura 100*, including the separation of the *dromadarii* from the main body of the men and their location at the end of the document. The earliest recruitment date is AD 196 (*Dextro II cos*); the latest is 222 (*diuo Antonino IIII cos*); hence the proposed dating of the manuscript. Oddly enough, this roster lacks the complexity in marginal and accessory signs featured in *P.Dura 100*: one can only see the horizontal bars, normally provided with a short oblique stroke, pointing upwards, at their beginning; and the oblique bars, occasionally joining them. It is noteworthy that the scribe, while drawing the horizontal lines, produces an initial stroke which is inorganic to the line itself, but probably helped him in keeping a straight line:

Fig. 5.29

As specified in 3.1., the superfluous ‘Aurelius’ before names who were not Aurelii already has been completely dropped by scribes: Aurelius Iarhaboles Udathi (*P.Dura 100*, col. VIII l. 13) becomes Iarhaboles Udathi in *P.Dura 101*, col. XIII l. 25. As in the twin roster, many marginal notations can be found associated with the horizontal lines, or by themselves: ranks and roles, such as *buc(inator)* ‘trumpeter’; *cor(nicularius)* ‘adjutant’; *dispositus*, probably meaning ‘relay’; *duplicarius*, a soldier doubly paid; *explorator* ‘scout’; *ordinatus* ‘centurion’; *recuperator* ‘assessor’ (perhaps destined to provide legal assistance in trials); *sesquiplicarius*, a soldier paid six times more; *signifer* ‘standard-bearer’; *singularis*, a man selected for escorts or as a bodyguard; missions and duties, such as *ad frumentum* (those sent to collect wheat); *ad hordeum* (the same, but for barley); *ad leones* (probably referring either to a place or to actual lions in Dura’s amphitheatre); *ad manum* (perhaps sent to a particular unit); *ad opinionem stipendii* (those sent for the evaluation of salaries, also found in *P.Dura 95* and 100);<sup>504</sup> *ad penum*

<sup>503</sup> *ChLA* (VIII: 3).

<sup>504</sup> Cf. Davies (1969: 117–8)

*comparandum* (for those who provided food); *ad praetorium* (those sent to unspecified headquarters); *missus* or *missi quaverendum* (the object of the request is unclear); *non reuersus* (perhaps ‘not returned’); names of places, like *Appadana*, *Barbal(issus)*, *Becchufrayn*, *Birtha*, *Castello* / *Castel(-)* *Ara(b-)* / *Ar(ab-)*, i.e. *Castellum Arabum* or *Arabionis*; *Chafer Auir* – sometimes spelt in different ways, like [c]apera[ in col. XIX l. 17 or *Caper Auir* in col. XXXIII l. 31; *Magdala*. The meaning of some annotations is still uncertain:<sup>505</sup> col. XXI l. 3 perhaps *a]d custod[iam*; col. XXXI l. 6 *ad naues df*, perhaps *d(iscens) f(abrum)*; col. XXIV l. 18 perhaps *Alexan[dria ad] na[ues*; col. X l. 21 *]ndra* might mean *ad ma]ndra* ‘to the cattle’; col. XL l. 19 perhaps *cum albos* instead of *albis* (thus Fink; Marichal is less certain); col. XIV l. 20 *cum p[*, perhaps the same as *cum pe[* in *P.Dura* 100, col. XXXIV l. 31, which Marichal tentatively construes *cum p[ecoribus* or *cum p[erfugis*; col. XXVIII l. 1, perhaps *cum Emes[enis*; col. XXXVIII l. 11 *e{s}* or *ex singul(ari)*, tentatively interpreted by Marichal as ‘old *singularis*’.

|               |                                  |  |
|---------------|----------------------------------|--|
|               | <i>col. I</i>                    |  |
|               | ---                              |  |
| <sup>1</sup>  | ad] op stip [                    |  |
| <sup>2</sup>  | ] [                              |  |
| <sup>3</sup>  | ----- A. [                       |  |
| <sup>4</sup>  | ] [                              |  |
| <sup>5</sup>  | ----- . . [                      |  |
| <sup>6</sup>  | ----- A[ ] . . [                 |  |
| <sup>7</sup>  | ----- Abg[arus] Them[e]s         |  |
| <sup>8</sup>  | officio Ocban[es Abid]lah[a]     |  |
| <sup>9</sup>  | ----- Seleus [M]alç[hi]          |  |
| <sup>10</sup> | ----- Acibas [ ] [ ] in [ ] i    |  |
| <sup>11</sup> | [Se]uer[o] I[II] cos             |  |
| <sup>12</sup> | s[i]gnif Aeliu[s He]l[i]odor[us] |  |
| <sup>13</sup> | Birtha Zabdi[bolus] Theob[o]l[i] |  |
| <sup>14</sup> | [Geta Se]niore I[I] cos          |  |
| <sup>15</sup> | Birtha Iuliu[s Ari]ston          |  |

*col. I: 2–4 nomina consulum suspicati sunt edd. || 5 . . [ edd. || 6 A[urel] Coddeus dubitanter Marichal | . . [ edd. || 10 [G]innei edd. || 12 He]l[i]odor[us] Fink<sup>l</sup> || 13 Theob[o]l[i] Fink*

*col. I: ‘... (for the estimate of the salary)*

...

Abgarus son of Themes

Ocbanes son of Abidlahas (in the office)

Seleucus son of Malchus

Acibas son of...

During the third consulship of Severus:

Aelius Heliodorus (ensign-bearer)

Zabdibolus son of Theobolus (in Birtha)

During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:

Iulius Ariston (in Birtha)’

*coll. II-IV fr. a*

---

|              |                   |  |
|--------------|-------------------|--|
| <sup>1</sup> | ] . . [           |  |
| <sup>2</sup> | ] . . [ ] . . [   |  |
| <sup>3</sup> | Aurel A]ntioc[hus |  |

<sup>505</sup> All these annotations can be found in *ChLA* (VIII: 10–11).

|<sup>4</sup>                   Cil]one II cos [  
 |<sup>5</sup>       Aurel Cas]sianus [  
 |<sup>6</sup>                               ]nus[  
 |<sup>7</sup>                               ] . . [  
 |<sup>8</sup>                               ] . . [  
       - - -

*coll. II-IV fr. a: 3, 5 Aurel suppl. Fink<sup>2</sup> || 8 om. Marichal*

*col. II-IV fr. a: 'Aurelius Antiochus*  
*During the second consulship of Cilo:*  
*Aurelius Cassianus ...'*

*coll. II-IV fr. d*  
 - - -  
 |<sup>1</sup>       ———[  
 |<sup>2</sup>       ———[  
       - - -

*coll. II-IV, fr. f*  
 - - -  
 |<sup>1</sup>       ] fl[ . . ] . [  
 |<sup>2</sup>       S]eleucus [  
 |<sup>3</sup>       Ia]qubus L[  
 |<sup>4</sup>                   ] nus [  
 |<sup>5</sup>       ]ius [Th]emes [  
 |<sup>6</sup>       ] Iadib[el-  
 |<sup>7</sup>       ] . . . . [  
       - - -

*coll. II-IV fr. f: 2 S]eleucu[s edd. || 3 . [ edd. || 5 ] . . [ . . ] . nes edd.*

*col. II-IV fr. f: 'Seleucus...*  
*Iaqubus...*  
 ...  
 ... (son of?) Themes'

*coll. II-IV fr. g*  
 - - -  
 |<sup>1</sup>       ] . [  
 |<sup>2</sup>       ]rea  
 |<sup>3</sup>       ]ba . na  
 |<sup>4</sup>       ]has[  
       - - -

*coll. II-IV fr. g: 2 ] . ea edd.*

*coll. II-IV fr. h*  
 - - -

|<sup>1</sup>                   ] . . [ . . ] . . [  
|<sup>2</sup>           ]an Zebida  
|<sup>3</sup>           ] Auid[a]lathi  
|<sup>4</sup>           ]s Zabdiḃ[  
|<sup>5</sup>           ] . . [  
- - -

*coll. II-IV fr. h: 2 ] . . edd. || 4 fortasse Zabdiḃ[olus: ] . Zabdiḃ[ edd.*

*col. II-IV fr. h: '... son of Zebidas  
... son of Avidalathus  
... (son of?) Zabdiḃolus'*

*col. V*

- - -  
|<sup>1</sup>                                           ] . . i  
|<sup>2</sup>                                           ]  
|<sup>3</sup>                   Extric]ato I[I c]os  
|<sup>4</sup>                                           ]e . [  
|<sup>5</sup>  
|<sup>6</sup>  
|<sup>7</sup>  
|<sup>8</sup>  
|<sup>9</sup>                   ]as[  
|<sup>10</sup>                ] Aure[l  
|<sup>11</sup>                ] Au[rel  
|<sup>12</sup>                ] Aurel [  
|<sup>13</sup>                ] Au[r]el [  
|<sup>14</sup>                ] A[u]re[l  
|<sup>15</sup>                ] Au[r]e[l  
- - -

*col. V: 1 ] . meṣ Fink: ] . . [ . ]s Marichal || 3 ]ato[ . . . ] . . [ Marichal || 9 ] . . . [ edd. || 14 ] Aure[l Marichal ||  
15 ] . . [ . ] [ Fink: ] . . . [ Marichal*

*col. V: 'During the second consulship of Extricatus:*

...  
Aurelius...  
Aurelius...  
Aurelius...  
Aurelius...  
Aurelius...  
Aurelius...'

*col. VI*

|<sup>1</sup>                                           officio . [  
|<sup>2</sup>                                           \_\_\_\_\_ A[  
|<sup>3</sup>                                           Barb[al-  
|<sup>4</sup>                                           [  
|<sup>5</sup>                                           \_\_\_\_\_ [





2 ] Iadibelus Zebida  
 3 ] Theobolus Gadde  
 4 ] Meheridates Barginnaia  
 5 ]— Babuiu[s M]ocim[  
 6 ]— [Ze]bid[as] Zebida  
 7 [A]ppa[d . . .] iu . [ . ] gaani  
 8 [Seuero] III cos  
 9 ]—[ ] rini  
 10 ] sin[gul ]llus Theod[o]r[i]  
 11 [G]eta [Se]niore II cos  
 12 ] . . [ . . ] . . . [ . . . ]  
 13 ] . . [ . . ] Malchi  
 14 ]b[ . . ] as Themarsa  
 15 ] A[nto]ninus  
 16 ] Zabdib[o]li  
 17 Be[ ] Salm[e]s  
 18 —[ ] nus  
 19 —[ ]  
 20 ]mper[ . . ] [ Ma]rinus  
 21 ]—[ ]us  
 22 ]—[ ]lus  
 23 ] [ ] cos  
 24 Bec]chu[f  
 25 [ ]  
 26 [ ]  
 27 ] . th[  
 28 ]— Bass[us  
 29 ] . [ .  
 30 ]a[  
 31 ]seiu[  
 32 ] . ma[  
 33 ]b[

— — —

*col. VII: 9 ] rini . . . Marichal || 16 Be[ ] Zabdib[o]li Fink: Be[ cum ] Zabdib[o]li in sequenti linea Marichal || 17 —[—] Salm[e]s edd. || 19 spatium uacuum in hac linea recognoui || 20 ]mpe . [ edd., Marichal in l. 18 posuit || 23 Cilone II suppl. edd. || 24 Be]cch[uf Fink: Bec]ch[uf Marichal || 27 ] . . . [ edd. || 31 ]s . . . Fink: ] . . . [ Marichal*

*col. VII: '... son of Themarsas*  
 Iadibelus son of Zebidas  
 Theobolus son of Gaddes  
 Meheridates son of Barginnaias  
 Babuius (son of?) Mocimus  
 Zebidas son of Zebidas  
 ... (in Appadana)  
 During the third consulship of Severus:  
 ...  
 ... son of Theodorus (*singularis*)  
 During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:  
 ...

... son of Malchus  
 ... son of Themarsas  
 ... Antoninus  
 ... son of Zabdibolus  
 ... Salmes  
 ...  
 ... Marinus  
 ...  
 During the ... consulship of...  
 ... (in Becchufrayn)  
 ...  
 Bassus ...'

col. VIII

|    |                |                    |
|----|----------------|--------------------|
| 1  |                | ]                  |
| 2  |                | ]                  |
| 3  |                | Antoni]no II [cos] |
| 4  |                | ]ebu[              |
| 5  |                | ]nus               |
| 6  |                | Ma]xi[m            |
| 7  |                | ]r[                |
| 8  |                |                    |
| 9  |                |                    |
| 10 |                | ] [.]anus          |
| 11 |                | ]                  |
| 12 |                | ]ns                |
| 13 |                | ]Antonin[          |
| 14 | ş[i]ng[u]l [   | ]llaē[u]s          |
| 15 | singul Fl [    | ]sus               |
| 16 |                | Pompei]ano co[s    |
| 17 | ] [.....]a M [ | ]ei                |
| 18 | ———— A [       | ]nus               |
| 19 |                | ]...[...co]s       |
| 20 | ————[          | ]th[...s           |
| 21 | ]————[         | ] b [              |
| 22 | —[ ]————[      | ] [.....] Salm[    |
| 23 | —[ ]————[      | ]s Vabal[lath-     |
| 24 | ————[          | ] b [              |
| 25 | ma[            | ]s [               |
| 26 |                | ]e[                |
| 27 |                | ]a [               |

col. VIII: ll. 1 recognouit Marichal || 2 ] [ Marichal | diuo suppl. Marichal || 4 fortasse ] Nebu[marius || 13 A]ntonin[us Fink<sup>1</sup>: A]ntonin[ Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 14 ş[i]ng[u]l [ ] [ Marichal | ]llaēus Marichal || 17 ] M [ Fink: ] M[ Marichal || 19 duobus co]s Fink: co]s Marichal || inter 19–20 ] [ ] aliam lineam recognouit Fink || 20 ] [ ]ş edd. || 23 ]Vabal[lath- edd. || 24–5 lineam (—[— ] [ ] inter has lineas recognouit Fink || 24 ] b [ Marichal || 25 par[ cum obliqua linea Fink || 26 ] [ edd. || 27 Messal]a c[os dubitanter edd.

col. VIII: 'During the second consulship of Antoninus:

...

... (*singularis*)

... (*singularis*)

During the consulship of Pompeianus:'

col. IX

|    |   |   |   |   |                                                 |
|----|---|---|---|---|-------------------------------------------------|
| 1  |   | ] | — | [ |                                                 |
| 2  |   | [ |   |   |                                                 |
| 3  | — | — | — | — | [                                               |
| 4  |   |   |   |   | [[App[ad                                        |
| 5  |   |   |   |   | ]                                               |
| 6  | — | — | — | — | [                                               |
| 7  |   |   |   |   | Appa[d                                          |
| 8  |   |   |   |   | Appad[                                          |
| 9  |   |   |   |   | Appa[d                                          |
| 10 |   |   |   |   | App[ad                                          |
| 11 | — | — | — | — | [                                               |
| 12 |   |   |   |   | Becc[hu                                         |
| 13 |   |   |   |   | Becchu[f                                        |
| 14 |   |   |   |   | exp[l                                           |
| 15 |   |   |   |   | ad op s[tip                                     |
| 16 | — | — | — | — | [                                               |
| 17 | — | — | — | — | [                                               |
| 18 |   |   |   |   | [A]ppa[d                                        |
| 19 |   |   |   |   | [A]ppa[d                      ]a[.]us           |
| 20 |   |   |   |   | Beç[chu    Au]rel [                      A]nton |
| 21 | — | — | — | — | [    I]arhe[us] Themarsa                        |
| 22 |   |   |   |   | m[                      ]Mocim[us] Barne[       |
| 23 |   |   |   |   | m[                      A]urel Barathe          |
| 24 |   |   |   |   | ]l Aurel Demetriu[s                             |
| 25 |   |   |   |   | [Appa]da Aurel Bassus                           |
| 26 |   |   |   |   | ]— Aurel [So]ssian[us                           |
| 27 |   |   |   |   | ]— Dius [.]g[.]us                               |
| 28 |   |   |   |   | [Ma]gdal Aurel G[er]man[us]                     |
| 29 |   |   |   |   | off Aurel Th[e]m[                               |
| 30 |   |   |   |   | explor Aurel Mar[.]                             |
| 31 | — | — | — | — | Aurel Ba[                                       |
| 32 |   |   |   |   | ]— Aurel Sopa[                                  |
| 33 |   |   |   |   | [Ba]rbal Aurel Filon                            |

col. IX: **1** post hanc lineam lineam aliam cum parte horizontalis lineae recognouerunt edd. || **5** ad r[.] [ Fink: a[.] [ Marichal || **13** Becc[hu] [ Marichal || **20** ]nion (dubitanter an Cro]nion) Fink || **24** fortasse singu]l(aris) || **27** fortasse G[.]us : [.]g[.]us edd. || **29** [Becc]huf edd. | Th[e]m[.] [ Fink<sup>2</sup> || **30** fortasse Mari[nus]: Ma[.] [ edd. || **32** Soa[.] [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: Sopa[]tros dubitanter Fink<sup>2</sup> || **33** lo[.] (dubitanter an Halon) Fink<sup>1</sup>: Filo[.]s (dubitanter an Filotas) Fink<sup>2</sup>

col. IX: '...

... (in Appadana) (erased)

...

... (in Appadana)  
 ... (in Appadana)  
 ... (in Appadana)  
 ... (in Appadana)  
 ...  
 ... (in Becchufrayn)  
 ... (in Becchufrayn)  
 ... (in exploration)  
 ... (to the estimate of salaries)  
 ...  
 ... (in Appadana)  
 Aurelius ... (in Becchufrayn)  
 Iarhaeus son of Themarsas  
 Mocimus son of Barnaeus ...  
 Aurelius son of Barathes ...  
 Aurelius Demetrius  
 Aurelius Bassus (in Appadana)  
 Aurelius Sossianus  
 Dius ...  
 Aurelius Germanus (in Magdala)  
 Aurelius ... (in the office)  
 Aurelius ... (in exploration)  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius Filon (in Barbalissus)'

**28** This name has been inserted between the preceding and the following line: it is written in distinctly smaller characters and lighter ink.

*col. X*

|               |      |                               |
|---------------|------|-------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  |      | Th]e[marsas] Iarhei[          |
| <sup>2</sup>  |      | ]— Zabd[ibolus] Theme         |
| <sup>3</sup>  |      | ]— Muc[ianus] Zabbei          |
| <sup>4</sup>  |      | <u>] [ ] Aurel Apollonius</u> |
| <sup>5</sup>  |      | [A]ppa[d] ... [ ] ius Marinus |
| <sup>6</sup>  |      | [M]agdal The[m]arsas Barnebus |
| <sup>7</sup>  |      | ]—[ ] Zabdibolus              |
| <sup>8</sup>  |      | ]—[ ] Antoninus               |
| <sup>9</sup>  |      | L[ae]to II cos                |
| <sup>10</sup> |      | ]—[ ] [ ] orinus              |
| <sup>11</sup> |      | ]—[ Aurel] Demetrius          |
| <sup>12</sup> |      | App[ad] us Antiochus          |
| <sup>13</sup> |      | sin[gul] ndon                 |
| <sup>14</sup> |      | [Sabi]no II c[os]             |
| <sup>15</sup> | ———— | A[urel Ma]lch[u]s             |
| <sup>16</sup> | ———— | A[u]rel [ ] nus               |
| <sup>17</sup> |      | Becch A[ur]e[l                |
| <sup>18</sup> |      | p]rosec .[                    |
| <sup>19</sup> |      | ] diat[                       |
| <sup>20</sup> |      | ]— Aurel .[                   |
| <sup>21</sup> |      | ]ndra A[u]rel . .[            |

|<sup>22</sup> Be[c]ch Aurel Māx[i]m[u]s  
 |<sup>23</sup> Ap[pa]d Aurel [ . . . ] .  
 |<sup>24</sup> ———[ Aurel Lo[  
 |<sup>25</sup> ———[ Aurel [Apo]ll[inarius  
 |<sup>26</sup> ] Bass[us G]ora  
 |<sup>27</sup> . [ ] Aure[l . . . ]u[  
 |<sup>28</sup> b[ Aur]el [B]assus  
 |<sup>29</sup> b[ Au]rel Mucia[nu]s  
 |<sup>30</sup> ma[ Au]rel . [ . ] . . . [

*col. X: 2* ]uș *Marichal* || **5** A[u]re[l Fla]uius *uix possis* || **12** ] s *edd.* || **17** A[ur]el *Marichal* || **18** ]posus *Fink*  
 || **19** ] diat . [ *Marichal* || **18–9** *fortasse* in p]rosec(utionem) / h[o]rdiat[or(um)]: ] ad iat[r *dubitanter Fink*:  
 ho]rdiato[r *dubitanter Marichal* || **21** ad ma]ndra *dubitanter Fink* || **22** M . . . .s[ *edd.* || **29** Muci[anu]s *edd.*

*col. X:* ‘Themarsas son of Iarhaeus

Zabdibolus son of Themes

Mucianus son of Zabbaeus

Aurelius Apollonius

... Marinus (in Appadana)

Themarsas Barnebus (in Magdala)

... Zabdibolus

... Antoninus

...

During the second consulship of Laetus:

...

Aurelius Demetrius

... Antiochus (in Appadana)

... (*singularis*)

During the second consulship of Sabinus:

Aurelius Malchus

Aurelius...

Aurelius... (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius... (escorting barley collectors)

Aurelius...

Aurelius Maximus (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius ... (in Appadana)

Aurelius...

Aurelius Apollinarius

Bassus son of Goras

Aurelius...

Aurelius Bassus

Aurelius Mucianus

Aurelius...’

*col. XI*

|<sup>1</sup> ] .  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] .  
 |<sup>3</sup> [ ]  
 |<sup>4</sup> [ ]  
 |<sup>5</sup> [ ]  
 |<sup>6</sup> [ ]  
 |<sup>7</sup> ]s  
 |<sup>8</sup> . . m[ Alexan]drus  
 |<sup>9</sup>  
 |<sup>10</sup>



|    |                  |                         |
|----|------------------|-------------------------|
| 7  | Birtha           | [H]eliodo[rus Zebida]   |
| 8  |                  | Seu[ero III cos]        |
| 9  | -----[           | Iuliu]s Dom[itius]      |
| 10 | ad op stip       | [Iar]habol[es Themarsa] |
| 11 |                  | [G]e[ta Seniore II cos] |
| 12 | -----[           |                         |
| 13 | Barba[l          |                         |
| 14 | -----[           |                         |
| 15 | -----[           |                         |
| 16 | -----[           |                         |
| 17 | -----[           | ]u [                    |
| 18 | [non re]uersu[s  | ] . nus                 |
| 19 | -----[           | Val]er [Malc]hi         |
| 20 |                  | [Cilo]ne [I]I c[o]s     |
| 21 | App[ad           | Iuli]us [Cri]spinus     |
| 22 | singul           | [ . . . ]us I[u]lianus  |
| 23 | -----            | [B]ernicianus Silua[ni] |
| 24 | [o]fficio        | Iulius So[e]mus         |
| 25 | Bec[c]h          | Barzas [Ma]rea          |
| 26 | [Ap]pad          | Priscus Abd[o]na        |
| 27 | -----            | Gerelius Ascl[epiades]  |
| 28 | miss [a]d queren | Mauelas Abid[adadi]     |
| 29 | cum re[c]uper    |                         |
| 30 | App[ad           | Se]leucus M[            |
| 31 | [Ap]pa           | Salmanes Signa[         |

col. XII: **10** [Iar]habol[- *Marichal* || **23** Silua[n- *Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal* || **26** Abdonas *Fink* || **28** fortasse miss(us) [a]d qu(a)eren(dum): mis- [a]d quere *edd.*: [ . ]dquere *Fink*<sup>2</sup> || **29** cum re[c]uper(atore) uel re[c]uper(atoribus): cum[ . ]e upe [ *Fink*: cum [r]e[c]uper[ . . . ] *Marichal*

col. XII: '... (in Birtha)

...

... (in Becchufrayn)

Iulius Salmanes

Heliodorus son of Zebidas (in Birtha)

During the third consulship of Severus:

Iulius Domitius

Iarhaboles son of Themarsas (to the estimate of salaries)

During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:

...

... (in Barbalissus)

...

... (not come back)

Valerius son of Malchus

During the second consulship of Cilo:

...

Iulius Crispinus (in Appadana)

... Iulianus (*singularis*)

Bernicianus son of Silvanus

Iulius Soemus (in the office)

Barzas son of Mareas (in Becchufrayn)

Priscus son of Abdonas (in Appadana)

Gerelius Asclepiades

Mauelas son of Abidadadus (sent to ask for...? with assessors)  
 Seleucus ... (in Appadana)  
 Salmanes ... (in Appadana)'

col. XIII

---

|               |            |              |              |                |                          |                   |                  |               |
|---------------|------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | ]          | —            | [            |                | ]                        | .                 | .                | [             |
| <sup>2</sup>  | [B]ecch[   |              |              |                | ] Barne[us               |                   |                  |               |
| <sup>3</sup>  | šin[gul    |              |              |                | ] Marinus                |                   |                  |               |
| <sup>4</sup>  |            |              |              |                | [diu]ō Antoni[no II cos] |                   |                  |               |
| <sup>5</sup>  | —————      | Zab[d]eš     | Malc[hi]     |                |                          |                   |                  |               |
| <sup>6</sup>  | ad le[o]n[ | .            | ]            | u[             | .                        | .                 | .                | ]lus Malch[i] |
| <sup>7</sup>  | —————      | Z[a]bdibolus | Hamm[ae-     |                |                          |                   |                  |               |
| <sup>8</sup>  | ]          | —            | —            | [              |                          | ]hes              | Malchi           |               |
| <sup>9</sup>  | —          | —            | —            | [              |                          | ]rus              | Serap[ion        |               |
| <sup>10</sup> |            |              |              |                |                          | [A]lbino          | cos              |               |
| <sup>11</sup> | šin        | gul          | Aur[el]      | Priscus        |                          |                   |                  |               |
| <sup>12</sup> |            |              | Apro         | cos            |                          |                   |                  |               |
| <sup>13</sup> | [B]ec[ch   |              | Z[e[nodo]rus | Artem[i]d[ori] |                          |                   |                  |               |
| <sup>14</sup> | —          | —            | [            | Bassus]        | Diomedi                  |                   |                  |               |
| <sup>15</sup> | —          | —            | [            | Priscu]s       | Aḫboša                   |                   |                  |               |
| <sup>16</sup> |            |              |              |                | Pomp[ē]ia[no cos]        |                   |                  |               |
| <sup>17</sup> | Appad      | Ab[da]s      | Zebid[a]     |                |                          |                   |                  |               |
| <sup>18</sup> |            |              | [Faust]ino   | [cos]          |                          |                   |                  |               |
| <sup>19</sup> | —————      | Qui[ntus]    | Iulian[us]   |                |                          |                   |                  |               |
| <sup>20</sup> | —          | —            | —            | [              | Iulius]                  | Menand[rus]       |                  |               |
| <sup>21</sup> | šin        | gul          | [co]s        | Ant[oniu]s     | Cleme[n-                 |                   |                  |               |
| <sup>22</sup> |            | šin          | gul          | Aurelius       | Iulius                   |                   |                  |               |
| <sup>23</sup> |            |              |              | duobus         | Aspri[s                  | [cos]             |                  |               |
| <sup>24</sup> | —          | [            |              | ]              | —                        | Claudi[us]        | Tiberin[us]      |               |
| <sup>25</sup> | —          | [            |              | ]              | —                        | Iarhab[ol]es      | [U]dathi         |               |
| <sup>26</sup> | ad         | [            |              | ]              | Ulp[ius]                 | Ant[on]inus       |                  |               |
| <sup>27</sup> | —          | [            |              | ]              | —                        | Mon[im]us         | [. . .]h[. . .]a |               |
| <sup>28</sup> |            |              |              |                | ]l                       | Ama[eus]          | Zeb[i]da         |               |
| <sup>29</sup> |            |              |              |                | ]ḡ                       | Iuli[u]s          | Antōnin[u]s      |               |
| <sup>30</sup> |            |              |              |                |                          | Mesa[la co]s      |                  |               |
| <sup>31</sup> | —          | —            | —            | —              | buc                      | Au[r]el Pri[scus] |                  |               |

col. XIII: 1 ] [ edd. || 6 Malch[us] Fink<sup>l</sup> || 9 ] rus edd. | Serap[ Fink<sup>l</sup> || 14 Bassus] in commentario Fink  
 suppl. Marichal || 15 ]s Fink: Priscu]s in commentario Fink Marichal | A[b]oša Marichal || 17 Zēbi[da] edd.  
 || 23 Aspri[s edd. || 27 [ ] . a Fink: [Hia] . . a Marichal || 29 ] Marichal

col. XIII: '... Barnaeus (in Becchufrayn)  
 ... Marinus (*singularis*)  
 During the second consulship of the divine Antoninus:  
 Zabdes son of Malchus  
 ... son of Malchus (to the lions)  
 Zabdibolus (son of?) Hammaeus  
 ... son of Malchus  
 ... Serapion



During the consulship of Albinus:  
 Aurelius Priscus (*singularis*)  
 During the consulship of Aper:  
 Zenodorus son of Artemidorus (in Becchufrayn)  
 Bassus son of Diomedes  
 Priscus son of Abbosas  
 During the consulship of Pompeianus:  
 Abdas son of Zebidas (in Appadana)  
 During the consulship of Faustinus:  
 Quintus Iulianus  
 Iulius Menandrus  
 Antonius ... (*singularis* of the former consul)  
 Aurelius Iulius (*singularis*)  
 During the consulship of the two Aspri:  
 Claudius Tiberinus  
 Iarhaboles son of Udathus  
 Ulpius Antoninus  
 Monimus ...  
 Amaeus son of Zebidas  
 Iulius Antoninus  
 During the consulship of Messala:  
 Aurelius Priscus (trumpeter)'

col. XIV

- - -

|    |              |                          |
|----|--------------|--------------------------|
| 1  |              | ]zen[                    |
| 2  |              | ]sa[                     |
| 3  |              | ]l[.]e[                  |
| 4  |              | ]ss[.]                   |
| 5  |              | ]sas da[                 |
| 6  |              | ]Bassu[.]                |
| 7  |              | ]b[                      |
| 8  |              | ]l[                      |
| 9  |              | ]bar[                    |
| 10 |              | Belac]abus [I]arh[aei]   |
| 11 |              | ]Salman[                 |
| 12 |              | Aurel] Auidas[           |
| 13 |              | [.]i [Bolia]deus Iarhaei |
| 15 | ad leon      | [Iarheu]s Zebida         |
| 16 | -----        | [Aurel] Gaius            |
| 17 | -----        | A[.....] Marini          |
| 18 | -----        | A[urel A]ntigonu[s]      |
| 19 | cum p[.....] | ]es Ze[                  |
| 20 | offi[c       | ]c[.....]s               |
| 21 | ---[         | ]ma[.....]s              |
| 22 | ]---[        | ]Dem[etruis]             |
| 23 | ---[         | ]Ba[.]                   |
| 24 | ---[         | ]G[.....]s               |
| 25 |              | ]Ba[ssu]s                |
| 26 | ..[          | ]Zenobi[u]s              |
| 27 |              | ]Ha[e]ran                |

*col. XIV: 3*] [e [ . . . ] [ *edd. || 4* ] ss . . . [ . . . ] [ *edd. || 5* d [ *Fink || 6* ] bars [ *edd. || 10* Belaca] bus *edd. || 12, 16* Aurel *suppl. Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 13* Bol] i[a] deus *Fink | . . . ] i cum [Azizus] Aethibeli et idem in sequentibus lineis edd. || 17* A[ uidi || **19** [ *edd. || 22* De [ *edd. || 24* ] D[ *Fink<sup>1</sup>:* ] G[ . . . ] [ *Fink<sup>2</sup>:* ] G[ *Marichal || 26* fortasse Ap[ pad | Zenobi *Fink: Zenobius Marichal*

*col. XIV: '... Bassus*

...

Belacabus son of Iarhaeus

... Salmanes

Aurelius Auidas

Boliadaeus son of Iarhaeus

Azizus son of Aethibelus

Iarhaeus son of Zebidas (to the lions)

Aurelius Gaius

... son of Marinus

Aurelius Antigonus

...

... (in the office)

...

... Demetrius

...

... Bassus

... Zenobius

... Haeran'

*col. XV*

- - -

|               |                                      |                  |
|---------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | ] [ . . . ] Barba[ [                 |                  |
| <sup>2</sup>  | —[ ] ——— A[                          |                  |
| <sup>3</sup>  | [                                    |                  |
| <sup>4</sup>  | B[ec]ch B[                           |                  |
| <sup>5</sup>  | [sing]ul A[                          |                  |
| <sup>6</sup>  | [                                    | ]                |
| <sup>7</sup>  | [                                    | ]                |
| <sup>8</sup>  | [                                    | ]                |
| <sup>9</sup>  | [                                    | ]                |
| <sup>10</sup> | [                                    | ]                |
| <sup>11</sup> | [                                    | ]                |
| <sup>12</sup> |                                      | Aurel Phi]lo[n   |
| <sup>13</sup> |                                      | Aurel] Seleu[cus |
| <sup>14</sup> | [Bec]ch [Aure]l Roma[nus             |                  |
| <sup>15</sup> | ] ——— A[ure]l Diodo[rus              |                  |
| <sup>16</sup> | ] ——— C[ha]eremon Se [ . . . . . ] . |                  |
| <sup>17</sup> | [Be]cch A[ur]el De [                 |                  |
| <sup>18</sup> | ] ——— Au[re]l M[                     |                  |
| <sup>19</sup> | ad leon A[ur]el Ba[                  |                  |
| <sup>20</sup> | Becch A[u]rel [                      |                  |
| <sup>21</sup> | ————— A[u]rel [                      |                  |
| <sup>22</sup> | Becch[a] Aurel [                     |                  |
| <sup>23</sup> | A[p]pada Aurel [                     |                  |
| <sup>24</sup> | ————— Aurel [                        |                  |



Aurelius ... (*singularis*)  
 ... (*singularis*)  
 Iulius ... (*singularis*)

The century of Marianus. During the second consulship of the divine Antoninus:  
 Iulius Marianus (centurion, sent to collect barley)  
 During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:  
 Iulius Apollinarius (*singularis*, *duplicarius*)  
 During the consulship of Saturninus:  
 Agrippas son of Males  
 During the second consulship of Anullinus:  
 Apollonius ...'

col. XVII

- - -

|    |      |       |                     |                           |
|----|------|-------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 1  | .    | [     |                     |                           |
| 2  | b    | [     |                     |                           |
| 3  |      | ]—    | [                   |                           |
| 4  | b    | .     | [                   | T]hemars[a                |
| 5  | App  | [ad   |                     | ] Marini                  |
| 6  | ———— | [     |                     | ]es Iarhe[                |
| 7  |      |       |                     | ] Nisams[                 |
| 8  |      |       |                     | ]es Them[                 |
| 9  |      |       | Barla]              | has [I]arh[               |
| 10 |      |       |                     | [di]uo Seuer[o III cos]   |
| 11 | ———— | [     | Aurel Buccaeus]     |                           |
| 12 |      |       |                     | [Geta Seniore II cos]     |
| 13 |      | Becch | Ul[pius . . . inus] |                           |
| 14 | ———— |       | Aelius H[erac]      | l-                        |
| 15 | ———— |       | Theme[s] Mal[chi]   |                           |
| 16 |      |       |                     | [Ci]lon[e II cos]         |
| 17 |      | ]—    | ————                | Marcus Vi[ctor-           |
| 18 | —    | [     | ]—                  | Abidlahas [Maximi]        |
| 19 | —    | [     | ]—                  | Iulius A[bidsemi]as       |
| 20 | —    | [     | ]—                  | Vareus B[arsi]msi         |
| 21 | —    | [     | ]—                  | Maximus [Zao]ra           |
| 22 | —    | [     | ]—                  | Alexan[d]rus [ . . . ] us |
| 23 | —    | [     | ]—                  | Marin[u]s [ . . ] ron     |
| 24 | —    | [     | ]—                  | Iuli[us] M[ . . ] nus     |
| 25 | —    | [     | ]—                  | [ . . ] anus [ . . ] mni  |
| 26 | ———— |       |                     | [Aci]bas B[or]a           |

col. XVII: 9 [I]arh[ei] *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || 13 . . . inus *suppl. Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal* || 23 Mari[n]us *edd.* | *fortasse* Maron(a):  
 H[i]eron *dubitanter Fink* || 24 M[ . . ]nus (*dubitanter an* M[ag]nus uel M[ari]nus) *edd.* || 25 *fortasse*  
 M[ar]ianus: S[i]l]uanus [Do]mni *dubitanter Fink*

col. XVII: '... (son of?) Themarsas  
 ... son of Marinus (in Appadana)  
 ... (son of?) Iarhaeus  
 ... (son of?) Nisamsus  
 ... (son of?) ...  
 Barlahas (son of?) ...  
 During the third consulship of the divine Severus:

Aurelius Buccaeus  
 During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:  
 Ulpius ... (in Becchufayn)  
 Aurelius ...  
 Themes son of Malchus  
 During the second consulship of Cilo:  
 Marcus Victor ...  
 Abidlahas son of Maximus  
 Iulius Abidsemias  
 Vareus son of Barsimsus  
 Maximus son of Zaoras  
 Alexandrus ...  
 Marinus ...  
 Iulius ...  
 ...  
 Acibas son of Boras'

*col. XVIII*

---

|    |  |  |         |          |            |           |                    |        |   |
|----|--|--|---------|----------|------------|-----------|--------------------|--------|---|
| 1  |  |  |         | ]        | .          | .         | [                  |        |   |
| 2  |  |  |         | ]        | .          | us        | [                  |        |   |
| 3  |  |  |         | ]        | Ga         | [         |                    |        |   |
| 4  |  |  |         | [A]      | pro        | co[s]     |                    |        |   |
| 5  |  |  |         |          | ]          | ban       | .                  | [      |   |
| 6  |  |  | [       |          |            |           |                    | ]      |   |
| 7  |  |  | [       |          |            |           |                    | ]      |   |
| 8  |  |  |         |          | ]          | .         | [                  |        |   |
| 9  |  |  |         | [d]      | i          | uo        | [Antonino III cos] |        |   |
| 10 |  |  |         | Valeri]  | us         | Mu[cianus |                    |        |   |
| 11 |  |  |         | Ulpus]   | Marin[us   |           |                    |        |   |
| 12 |  |  |         | Iulius]  | Maxim[us   |           |                    |        |   |
| 13 |  |  |         | Aurel]   | Marinus    |           |                    |        |   |
| 14 |  |  | ]       | -----    | A[urel]    | Rumas     |                    |        |   |
| 15 |  |  | singul  | [        |            | ]         | Marinus            |        |   |
| 16 |  |  | singul  | [        |            | P]        | hilotas            |        |   |
| 17 |  |  |         |          | [Pomp]     | e[i]ano   | cos                |        |   |
| 18 |  |  | Appad   | [        |            |           | ]                  | s      |   |
| 19 |  |  | ue[xill |          | ....       | ius]      | M[arinu]           | s      |   |
| 20 |  |  |         |          |            | [Fa]      | us[tino cos]       |        |   |
| 21 |  |  | Magd[al | Addaeus] | M[accacaei |           |                    |        |   |
| 22 |  |  | -----   | A[       | .....]     | s         | [                  | .....] | s |
| 23 |  |  | -----   | [        | Iuli]      | us        | Th[emars]          | as     |   |
| 24 |  |  | -----   | [        | Malc]      | hus       | [Vabala]           | thi    |   |
| 25 |  |  | -----   | [        | Siluan]    | us        | S[adala]           | thi    |   |
| 26 |  |  |         |          |            | F]        | irmus              |        |   |

*col. XVIII: 5* Bannae- vel Ocbane- dubitanter Fink<sup>2</sup> || **19** ]m[  
*Marichal* || **22** A[ *recognoui*

] s | Fink<sup>1</sup> | || | **21** | Addaeus | suppl. | Fink<sup>2</sup> |

*col. XVIII: 'During the consulship of Aper:*

...  
 During the third consulship of the divine Antoninus:  
 Valerius Mucianus  
 Ulpius Marinus

Iulius Maximus  
 Aurelius Marinus  
 Aurelius Rumas  
 ... Marinus (*singularis*)  
 ... Philotas (*singularis*)  
 During the consulship of Pompeianus:  
 ... (in Appadana)  
 ... Marinus (ensign-bearer)  
 During the consulship of Faustinus:  
 Addaeus son of Maccaeus (in Magdala)  
 ...  
 Iulius Themarsas  
 Malchus son of Vabalathus  
 Silvanus son of Sadalathus  
 ... Firmus'

*col. XIX*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]—[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] [   
 |<sup>3</sup> [Ap]padan[  
 |<sup>4</sup> [ad] op stip [   
 |<sup>5</sup> ]—[  
 |<sup>6</sup> co]s  
 |<sup>7</sup>  
 |<sup>8</sup>  
 |<sup>9</sup>  
 |<sup>10</sup> [ ]  
 |<sup>11</sup> ] . [   
 |<sup>12</sup> B]assus Nassi[beli]  
 |<sup>13</sup> T]hemes He[liodor-  
 |<sup>14</sup> ]—[ Aure]l Babu[ius]  
 |<sup>15</sup> [A]ppad[an] Aurel Muci[anus]  
 |<sup>16</sup> [C]apera Aelamis Bel[ur]  
 |<sup>17</sup> Appad [A]urel . [   
 |<sup>18</sup> offic Au]rel M[  
 |<sup>19</sup> ———[ C]laudius S[otericus]  
 |<sup>20</sup> castel Ar[ab Barne[  
 |<sup>21</sup> Appa[d] Iulius [   
 |<sup>22</sup> Appa[d] Ant[  
 |<sup>23</sup> App[ad] A[  
 |<sup>24</sup> ———[ . ] . [   
 |<sup>25</sup> ———[ . . ]l[

*col. XIX: 2 cos]* in fine lineae edd. || **3** Ap]padan[ edd. || **4** sti[p edd. || **6** recognoui || **13** He[liodori *Fink*<sup>l</sup> || **16** Bel[asur *Fink*<sup>l</sup> || **23** . [ *Fink*: App[ad tantum *Marichal* || **24** ———[—— *Marichal*

*col. XIX:* '... (in Appadana)  
 ... (to the estimate of salaries)  
 ...  
 During the consulship of ...  
 ...  
 Bassus son of Nassibelus  
 Themes (son of?) Heliodorus

Aurelius Babuius  
 Aurelius Mucianus (in Appadana)  
 Aelamis Belsur (in Chafer Auira)  
 Aurelius ... (in Appadana)  
 Aurelius ... (in the office)  
 Claudius Sotericus  
 ... (in Chafer Auira)  
 Iulius ... (in Appadana)  
 ... (in Appadana)  
 ... (in Appadana)'

col. XX

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|               |       |                              |                   |
|---------------|-------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  |       |                              | ]a .[             |
| <sup>2</sup>  |       | ] Iulius Marc .[             |                   |
| <sup>3</sup>  |       | ] Aurel Mar .[               |                   |
| <sup>4</sup>  |       | ] Aurel Bas[sus              |                   |
| <sup>5</sup>  |       | ]— The[marsas Salman]        |                   |
| <sup>6</sup>  |       | ]— Aurel [ . . . us]         |                   |
| <sup>7</sup>  |       | ]— Max[imus Salman]          |                   |
| <sup>8</sup>  |       | ]— Aur[el                    |                   |
| <sup>9</sup>  |       | ] .[                         |                   |
| <sup>10</sup> | [     |                              | ]                 |
| <sup>11</sup> | [     |                              | ]                 |
| <sup>12</sup> | [     |                              | ]                 |
| <sup>13</sup> |       | sing[ul                      | ]ra .[            |
| <sup>14</sup> |       | ———[                         | ] ur .[           |
| <sup>15</sup> |       |                              | [Sabi]no II [co]s |
| <sup>16</sup> |       | singul [                     | ] Neote[riu]s     |
| <sup>17</sup> |       | Magda[l                      | ]s The[mars]a     |
| <sup>18</sup> |       | Becch [Aur]el Iarhe[us       |                   |
| <sup>19</sup> |       | Barbal [Aur]el Roman[us      |                   |
| <sup>20</sup> | ————— | A[urel] Abidl[ah]as          |                   |
| <sup>21</sup> |       | si[ng]ul A[ure]l Bass[u]s    |                   |
| <sup>22</sup> |       | exp[l]or [Au]rel Luc[ius]    |                   |
| <sup>23</sup> |       | singul M[a]rinus Heli[od]ori |                   |

col. XX: **5** The[ *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || **6** . . . us suppl. *Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal* || **7** Ma .[ *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || **20** Abidlahas *Fink* || **22** ex .[ . ] . .  
 (dubitanter an explorator *Fink*<sup>2</sup>) edd. || **23** [ . ]asmus (dubitanter an E[r]asmus) *Fink*<sup>1</sup>

col. XX: 'Iulius ...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius Bassus

Themarsas (son of?) Salmanes

Aurelius...

Maximus (son of?) Salmanes

Aurelius

...

... (*singularis*)

...

During the second consulship of Sabinus (?)

... Neoterius (*singularis*)

... son of Themarsas (in Magdala)  
 Aurelius Iarhaeus (in Becchufrayn)  
 Aurelius Romanus (in Barbalissus)  
 Aurelius Abidlahas  
 Aurelius Bassus (*singularis*)  
 Aurelius Lucius (in exploration)  
 Marinus son of Heliodorus (*singularis*)'

col. XXI

- - -

|               |                             |
|---------------|-----------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | si[ngul                     |
| <sup>2</sup>  | sing[ul                     |
| <sup>3</sup>  | ] custod[ ] [. . . ]s       |
| <sup>4</sup>  | Bec[ch Aurel Ab]bosas       |
| <sup>5</sup>  | —[ Aurel S]iluanus          |
| <sup>6</sup>  | Aurel] Licinni[us]          |
| <sup>7</sup>  | ] . [ Aurel] German[us]     |
| <sup>8</sup>  | ]m[ Aurel] Iarhabo[les]     |
| <sup>9</sup>  | Mag[da]l Aurel] Domit[tius] |
| <sup>10</sup> | officio [ ] . [             |
| <sup>11</sup> | [                           |
| <sup>12</sup> | singul Aurel]               |
| <sup>13</sup> | singul Aurel [              |
| <sup>14</sup> | Gra[to cos]                 |
| <sup>15</sup> | singul Iulius Th[           |
| <sup>16</sup> | si[n]gul Aurel [            |

col. XXI: '... (*singularis*)

... (*singularis*)

... (custody?)

Aurelius Abbosas (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Silvanus

Aurelius Licinnius

Aurelius Germanus

Aurelius Iarhaboles

Aurelius Domitius (in Magdala)

... (in the office)

Aurelius ... (*singularis*)

Aurelius ... (*singularis*)

During the consulship of Gratus:

Iulius ... (*singularis*)

Aurelius ... (*singularis*)'

col. XXII

- - -

|              |                             |
|--------------|-----------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | ]— [                        |
| <sup>2</sup> | ] [                         |
| <sup>3</sup> | ]— [ . . . . . Diom]edi     |
| <sup>4</sup> | ]— A[ . . . . . Zeb]ida     |
| <sup>5</sup> | Birtha [ . . . . . D]omitti |



|    |                                |                           |
|----|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 6  |                                | H]aeran                   |
| 7  | ]—[                            | ] Zabbei                  |
| 8  | [si]ng[ul                      | ] nnosa                   |
| 9  |                                | [diuo S]eue[r]o III [cos] |
| 10 | [cast]ello Ara A[u]r[el        | .....]ei                  |
| 11 |                                | [Geta Seniore II consule] |
| 12 | [cas]telo Ar Mocim[us Theme    |                           |
| 13 | —]actua                        | Ulp[us] [Seuerus]         |
| 14 | —]——                           | Iulius Salm[an]           |
| 15 |                                | Cilon[e II consule]       |
| 16 | ]ag—                           | Halas [                   |
| 17 |                                | Iu]li[u]s Mari[nus]       |
| 18 |                                | ]anus Ga[i-               |
| 19 | [Be]cch [Abi]dmalchus M[arosa] |                           |
| 20 | ]—[                            | Ma]xim[us] Hot[arei]      |
| 21 | ]o [                           | Iuli]us Heli[odor]us      |
| 22 | Becc[h                         | Ulp[us] Pupl[ianu]s       |
| 23 | Bec[ch                         | Aure]l Do[m]nu[s]         |
| 24 | ]—[                            | Pri]scus [An]nona         |
| 25 | ]—[                            | Bari]cbe[l]us Bas[s]i     |
| 26 | [Bi]rtha                       | Didas Salm[a]n            |
| 27 | [o]ffi[c]                      | Iadeus [T]hem[ars]a       |

col. XXII: 3 ] di Fink<sup>1</sup> || 4 ]ida Fink<sup>1</sup> || 10 [cast]ello Fink || 13 fortasse actuar(ius) Fink: ] . tua [ Fink: a]ctua Marichal || 14 S[a]lm[an edd. || 16 ] g. Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] ag. Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] ag— Marichal || 22 Pupl[ianus Fink || 25 Ba[s]s[i] edd. || 26 [Bi]rth[a] edd. || 27 [of]fi[c] edd. | uestigia sub hac linea ] [.] [ recognouit Marichal

col. XXII: ‘... son of Diomedes

... son of Zebidas

... son of Domittius (in BIRTHA)

... Haeran

... son of Zabbeus

... (*singularis*)

During the third consulship of the divine Severus:

Aurelius ... (in *Castellum Arabum*)

During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:

Mocimus son of Themes (in *Castellum Arabum*)

Ulp[us] Severus (...)

Iulius (son of?) Salmanes

During the second consulship of Cilo:

Halas ...

Iulius Marinus

... son of (?) Gaius

Abidmalchus son of Marosas (in Becchufayn)

Maximus son of Hotareus

Iulius Heliodorus

Ulp[us] Puplianus (in Becchufayn)

Aurelius Domnus (in Becchufayn)

Priscus son of Annonas

Baricbelus son of Bassus

Didas son of Salmanes (BIRTHA)

Iadaeus son of Themarsas (in the office)’

13 The notation ]*actua* – very likely pointing to the rank of *actuar(ius)* – was clearly written by a different hand.

col. XXIII

---

1 ] p[  
 2 ] a[  
 3 ] .[  
 4 A]bbo[sa  
 5 ]— Bass[us Barsimsi  
 6 [Albino et Aemiliano c]os  
 7 ]— Sep[timius Heliodor-  
 8 [Apro et Maximo co]s  
 9 ] .n[ Abbas Maron]a  
 10 ] .[ Iarhaeus Barn]ei  
 11 [sin]gul [ ]nus  
 12 ]—— Iuli[us ]us  
 13 d[iuo Antonino III cos]  
 14 [si]ngul Iulius F[  
 15 Pomp[eiano cos]  
 16 ]—— Iulius Roman[us  
 17 [sin]gul Aurel Anto[n-  
 18 Fa[u]s[ti]n[o cos]  
 19 Za]bd[i]bolus Mal[  
 20 Iar]heus Zebida  
 21 [Bec]ch [ . . . . . ]us Haera[n]  
 22 [sin]gul [ . . . . . ]thus M[  
 23 [du]obus cos  
 24 Appad [Aure]l Arte[mid]o[ru]s  
 25 Appa[d Th]emes Z[e]bida  
 26 [Bi]rthā [The]marsa [N]isamsi  
 27 ]—— [ . . . . . ] .n .s[ . . ] aath[  
 28 M[es]ala cos  
 29 ]—— Flau[i]us . . ]erni[a]nus

col. XXIII: 1 ] .[ *edd.* || 4 ab]bo[sa *Fink*<sup>2</sup> || 7 Heliodorus *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || 9 ]a *Fink*: Abbis Maron]a *Marichal* || 10 Iarhaeus Barn]ei *Marichal* || 18 Fa]ustino *edd.* || 19 Mal[chi *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || 20 Zebid[a *Marichal* || 24 Arte[mid]o[ru]s *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || 26 The]marsa[s *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || 29 [Mat]ernianus *uel* [Pat]ernianus *Fink*<sup>1</sup>

col. XXIII: ‘Abbosas...

Bassus son of Barsimsus

During the consulship of Albinus et Aemilianus:

Septimius (son of?) Heliodorus

During the consulship of Aper and Maximus:

Abbas son of Maronas

Iarhaeus son of Barnaeus

... (*singularis*)  
 Iulius ...  
 During the second consulship of the divine Antoninus:  
 Iulius ... (*singularis*)  
 During the consulship of Pompeianus:  
 Iulius Romanus  
 Aurelius ... (*singularis*)  
 During the consulship of Faustinus:  
 Zabdibolus ...  
 Iarhaeus son of Zebidas  
 ... Haeran (in Becchufrayn)  
 ... (*singularis*)  
 During the consulship of the two...  
 Aurelius Artemidorus (in Appadana)  
 Themes son of Zebidas (in Appadana)  
 Themarsas son of Nisamsus (in Birtha)  
 ...  
 During the consulship of Messala:  
 Flavius ...'

*col. XXIV*

---

|     |                        |                     |                |
|-----|------------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| 1   |                        | ]b[                 |                |
| 2   |                        | ]mar[               |                |
| 3   |                        | ]on[                |                |
| 4   |                        | ]conon[             |                |
| 5   |                        | A]eliu[s            | .....].n       |
| 6   |                        |                     | [Laeto II cos] |
| 7   |                        |                     | ].             |
| 8   |                        | ] [                 |                |
| 9   |                        | ]— [                | ]li            |
| 10  |                        | ]— I[u]l[ius        | .....]us       |
| 11  |                        | ]— Aurel [          | .....]as       |
| 12  |                        | [Ap]pad Aurel [     |                |
| 13  |                        | ]— Aurel Qu [       |                |
| 14  |                        | [Mag]dal Aurel Zo [ |                |
| 15  |                        | ]l Iulius Bass[u]s  |                |
| 16  | -----                  | Aurel Longi[n       |                |
| 17  | -----                  | A[ur]el Ba          | .....[         |
| 18  | Alexan[                | ] Zabbeus           |                |
| 18a | na [                   |                     |                |
| 19  | ]— A[                  | .....] Mannus       |                |
| 20  | ]— R[                  | .....] Malchus      |                |
| 21  | ]al A[                 | .....] Sabinus [    | .....]s        |
| 22  | ]— A[                  | .....] Malch[       |                |
| 23  | ]— Au[rel] Zabae[u]s   |                     |                |
| 24  | ]— A[                  | .....]es Sius[      |                |
| 25  | ]— Az[i]zus Z[e]b[i]da |                     |                |
| 26  | ] Ael[i]us Ger[ma]nus  |                     |                |

*col. XXIV: 1 ]ba[ Fink || 17 Bar . . [ edd. || 18a m [ Fink: na[ Marichal*

*col. XXIV*: ‘Aelius...

During the second consulship of Laetus:

...

Iulius ...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius... (in Appadana)

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ... (in Magdala)

Iulius Bassus

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ...

... Zabbeus (in Alexandria...?)

... Mannus

... Malchus

... Sabinus

... (son of?) Malchus

Aurelius Zabaeus

... Sius

Azizus son of Zebidas

Aelius Germanus’

*col. XXV*

---

|               |              |                             |
|---------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  |              | ] . [                       |
| <sup>2</sup>  |              | ] A . [                     |
| <sup>3</sup>  |              | ] Ab . [                    |
| <sup>4</sup>  | ]—           | A[                          |
| <sup>5</sup>  | ] .          | Iarh[                       |
| <sup>6</sup>  | ]—           | Aur[el                      |
| <sup>7</sup>  |              |                             |
| <sup>8</sup>  |              | ] Ul[ ..... ]s              |
| <sup>9</sup>  |              | ] Ma[                       |
| <sup>10</sup> |              | ] Aurel . [                 |
| <sup>11</sup> | ]—           | A[u]rel [                   |
| <sup>12</sup> | ]—           | Aurel P[u]pl[               |
| <sup>13</sup> |              | Sabin[o II cos]             |
| <sup>14</sup> | m[ ..... ]   | Aurel Demet[rius]           |
| <sup>15</sup> | b[ ..... ]   | Priscus Abbosa [            |
| <sup>16</sup> | —[ ..... ]   | Aure[l] Summares[           |
| <sup>17</sup> | b[ ..... ]   | Aurel] Antoninus [          |
| <sup>18</sup> | cum[ ..... ] | Aurel] Heliodorus [         |
| <sup>19</sup> |              | ] Aur[el] Bassus            |
| <sup>20</sup> |              | ] Aur[el Si]lvanus          |
| <sup>21</sup> |              | ] Aur[el B]assus            |
| <sup>22</sup> | [Bec]ch      | Aur[el Si]lvanus            |
| <sup>23</sup> | ]l           | Au[rel A]bidma[lch]us       |
| <sup>24</sup> | ]—           | Aur[e]l Mar[ui]s            |
| <sup>25</sup> |              | ] Aurel Dem[et]rius         |
| <sup>26</sup> |              | ] Au[r]e[l] Ha . [ . . . ]s |

*col. XXV*: **2** ]A . [ *edd.* || **6** ] *edd.* || **17, 18** Aurel *suppl.* Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || **20** Sil]uanus *edd.*

*col. XXV:* ‘Aurelius...

Aurelius...

Aurelius ...

During the second consulship of Sabinus:

Aurelius Demetrius

Priscus son of Abbosas

Aurelius Antoninus

Aurelius Heliodorus

Aurelius Bassus

Aurelius Silvanus

Aurelius Bassus

Aurelius Silvanus (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Abidmalchus

Aurelius Marinus

Aurelius Demetrius

Aurelius ...’

*col. XXVI*

- - -

|               |                             |                           |
|---------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  |                             | ].                        |
| <sup>2</sup>  |                             | ]                         |
| <sup>3</sup>  |                             | ]os                       |
| <sup>4</sup>  | Au]re[                      |                           |
| <sup>5</sup>  | Au]re[                      |                           |
| <sup>6</sup>  |                             | Gra[to cos]               |
| <sup>7</sup>  | ] Flavius [                 |                           |
| <sup>8</sup>  | ] Aurel Theo[               |                           |
| <sup>9</sup>  | sin[gul] Iulius Gaiu[s      |                           |
| <sup>10</sup> |                             | d’ n’ Alexandro [Aug cos] |
| <sup>11</sup> | si[ngul] Aurelius Dionusius |                           |
| <sup>12</sup> | si[ngul] Fla[ui]us Numeri[  |                           |

*col. XXVI: 3 ] . [ Fink: ]ri[ Marichal*

*col. XXVI:* ‘Aurelius ...

Aurelius ...

During the consulship of Gratus:

Flavius ...

Aurelius ...

Iulius Gaius (*singularis*)

During the consulship of our lord Alexander Augustus:

Aurelius Dionusius (*singularis*)

Flavius ... (*singularis*)’

*col. XXVII*

- - -

|              |               |                    |
|--------------|---------------|--------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | [Becc]h du[pl |                    |
| <sup>2</sup> |               | [Dextro II cos]    |
| <sup>3</sup> | [A]ppad [     | ].                 |
| <sup>4</sup> |               | Malchus Dio]geni   |
| <sup>5</sup> |               | Zabdaat]hes Mocimi |

|    |                   |                                  |
|----|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| 6  |                   | [Anul]l[i]no II cos              |
| 7  |                   | ]s Zabd[i]b[oli]                 |
| 8  | —[                | Iulius] Apoł[nius                |
| 9  |                   | Vict[o]rin[o cos                 |
| 10 | —[                | ]tius Ant[o]nin[                 |
| 11 |                   | Birtha [ . . . um . . . ]s [O]ga |
| 12 |                   | [Mucia]no cos                    |
| 13 | ————              | Ma[mm]eus [B]el[a]ačab[i]        |
| 14 | ————              | Mam[bogeus Z]aora                |
| 15 | ————              | Habiba[s Ne]budai                |
| 16 |                   | Appad Hani[nas B]elei            |
| 17 |                   | diuo S[euero II]I cos            |
| 18 | ]—[               | ]— Malchus [                     |
| 19 | —[                | ]— Bareus [Ma]lchi               |
| 20 |                   | ]a Iulius [ . . . ]entianus      |
| 21 | . [ . . . . . ] . | Aurel Sabinus                    |
| 22 |                   | G[eta] Seniore II [co]s          |
| 23 | ]——               | Ael[i]us H[e]rennians            |
| 24 | ]——               | Bu[ . ]ran[ . . ] us Maccei      |
| 25 |                   | expl[o]rat Audas Zebida          |

col. XXVII: **10** fortasse Domit]tius Ant[o]nin[us: ]cius (*dubitanter an ]cius vel ]tius Fink*) edd. || **11** o]la Fink<sup>1</sup> || **13** Bel[a]cab[i Fink<sup>1</sup> || **17** III] edd. || **19** ]chi (*uel ]thi*) Fink: ]thi Marichal || **20** [Ter]entianus *dubitanter Fink<sup>2</sup>* || **24** Bu[c]ranius *dubitanter Fink<sup>2</sup>* (p. 465)

col. XXVII: ‘... (*duplicarius*, in Becchufrayn)

During the second consulship of Dexter:

... (in Appadana)

Malchus son of Diogenes

Zabdaathes son of Mocimus

During the second consulship of Anullinus:

... of Zabdibolus

Iulius Apollonius

During the consulship of Victorinus:

...

... son of Ogas (in Birtha)

During the consulship of Mucianus:

Mammeus son of Belaacabus

Mombogeus son of Zaoras

Habibas son of Nebudaus

Haninas son of Beleus (in Appadana)

During the third consulship of the divine Severus:

Malchus ...

Bareus son of Malchus ...

Iulius ...

Aurelius Sabinus

During the second consulship of the elder Geta:

Aelius Herennianus

... son of Macceus

Audas son of Zebidas (in exploration)’

col. XXVIII

- - -

|    |      |                                 |                              |
|----|------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1  |      | ]—[                             |                              |
| 2  |      | ]—[                             |                              |
| 3  |      | offic                           |                              |
| 4  |      | ]—[                             | ]nus                         |
| 5  |      |                                 | ]onimi                       |
| 6  |      |                                 | ] Valens                     |
| 7  |      |                                 | [di]uo Antonino [II consule] |
| 8  | —[   | ] Abgar[u]s                     |                              |
| 9  | —[   | ]s Vabala[th-                   |                              |
| 10 |      | Barba]esamen                    | [                            |
| 11 | —[   | ] [ . . . . . ]s Maxim[u]s      |                              |
| 12 |      |                                 | [Al]bino co[s]               |
| 13 |      | offic [ . . . . ]               | [A]riston                    |
| 14 |      | Barbal A[urel] Mar[i]nus        |                              |
| 15 |      | singul A[u]rel Bas[su]s         |                              |
| 16 |      |                                 | Apro c[o]s                   |
| 17 | ———— | Macceus H[ae]ran                |                              |
| 18 |      | Becch Mocimus M[                |                              |
| 19 |      | Appa Malchus Vabal[a]thi        |                              |
| 20 | ———— | Claudius [Anto]ninus            |                              |
| 21 |      |                                 | diu[o An]tonino I[II cos]    |
| 22 |      | [singul] cos Aurel Antoninus    |                              |
| 23 |      | ] a Heliodorus Apolloni         |                              |
| 24 |      | ] Aurel Ant[i]ochianus          |                              |
| 25 |      | ]p Fla[u]sius Flau[i]anus       |                              |
| 26 |      | [sing]ul cos Iul[iu]s Marcianus |                              |
| 27 |      | singul Lucilius Luci            |                              |
| 28 |      |                                 | P[o]mpeiano c[o]s            |

col. XXVIII: 5 ]nini Fink: ] . nimi Marichal || 10 ]esamen Fink<sup>1</sup>

col. XXVIII: ‘... (in the office)

...

... Valens

During the second consulship of the divine Antoninus:

... Abgarus

... (son of?) Vabalathus

... Barbaessamen

... Maximus

During the consulship of Albinus:

... Ariston (in the office)

Aurelius Marinus (in Barbalissus)

Aurelius Bassus (*singularis*)

During the consulship of Aper:

Macceus son of Haeran

Mocimus ... (in Becchufrayn)

Malchus son of Vabalathus (in Appadana)

Claudius Antoninus

During the third consulship of the divine Antoninus:

Aurelius Antoninus (*singularis* of the former consul)

Heliodorus son of Apollonius

Aurelius Antiochianus

Flavius Flavianus

Iulius Marcianus (*singularis* of the former consul)  
 Lucilius son of Lucius (*singularis*)  
 During the consulship of Pompeianus:’

col. XXIX

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> .[  
 |<sup>2</sup> si[ngul  
 |<sup>3</sup> [  
 |<sup>4</sup> —[  
 |<sup>5</sup> ]al[  
 |<sup>6</sup> ]i[ ] .[  
 |<sup>7</sup> —[ ] Deme[trius  
 |<sup>8</sup> duobus cos  
 |<sup>9</sup> ——— G[ ]sc[es Maxim[  
 |<sup>10</sup> App[a] Septimius He[liodor-  
 |<sup>11</sup> ——— Bachareu[  
 |<sup>12</sup> ——— Iulius I[ulian]us  
 |<sup>13</sup> Me[ ]a[ ]l[ ]a co]s  
 |<sup>14</sup> Ap[pa] Aurel Iaqu[ ]b[u]s  
 |<sup>15</sup> ——— Seleuc[u]s The[m]e  
 |<sup>16</sup> ——— Antonius Zabbei  
 |<sup>17</sup> Magdal [I]arhe[us] Them[ar]sa  
 |<sup>18</sup> ——— Aurel Romanus  
 |<sup>19</sup> ——— Zebi[da]s Salman  
 |<sup>20</sup> ——— Seleucus Cassi  
 |<sup>21</sup> Magdal Zabd[i]b[o]l[us] Mazd[ ]  
 |<sup>22</sup> ——— Ia[r]h[ ]eus] Barnei  
 |<sup>23</sup> Magdal Bari[ ]cas I]arhei  
 |<sup>24</sup> ad op stip Aure[ ]l] Zabdibol[us]  
 |<sup>25</sup> ——— Aure[ ]l] Mocimus  
 |<sup>26</sup> explor Aure[ ]l] Marinus  
 |<sup>27</sup> Appad Aurel Abdus  
 |<sup>28</sup> ——— Zabd[es] Auada  
 |<sup>29</sup> ——— Aurel Nisreus  
 |<sup>30</sup> ——— Abgellus Bassi  
 |<sup>31</sup> ———[ ] Aurel Anton[i]n[u]s

col. XXIX: **6** ] [ edd. || **7** Dem[ ] [ edd. || **9** B[ ] uel D[ ] etiam legi posse monet Fink: G[au]sc[es] pro Goces dubitanter Marichal || **10** ] esur mius He[ ] edd. || **12** [ ]us[ ] edd. || **16** [ ] ante Antonius recognouerunt edd. || **24** Zabdibol[ ] Fink' || **28** Zabd[as] edd.

col. XXIX: ‘... (*singularis*)

...  
 ... Demetrius  
 During the consulship of the two...  
 ...  
 Septimius (son of?) Heliodorus (in Appadana)  
 ...  
 Iulius Iulianus



During the consulship of Messala:

Aurelius Iaclubus  
 Seleucus son of Themes  
 Antonius son of Zabbeus  
 Iarhaeus son of Themarsas (in Magdala)  
 Aurelius Romanus  
 Zebidas son of Salmanes...  
 Seleucus son of Cassius (?)  
 Zabdibolus ... (in Magdala)  
 Iarhaeus son of Barnaeus  
 Baricas son of Iarhaeus (in Magdala)  
 Aurelius Zabdibolus (to the estimate of salaries)  
 Aurelius Mocimus  
 Aurelius Marinus (in exploration)  
 Aurelius Abdus (in Appadana)  
 Zabdas son of Auadas  
 Aurelius Nisreus  
 Abgellus son of Bassus  
 Aurelius Antoninus'

col. XXX

|    |            |                                       |
|----|------------|---------------------------------------|
|    | - - -      |                                       |
| 1  | —[         |                                       |
| 2  | —[         |                                       |
| 3  | —[         |                                       |
| 4  | —[         |                                       |
| 5  | —[         | ] [                                   |
| 6  | offi[c     | ] Pa[                                 |
| 7  |            | [Ni]sreus Vab[                        |
| 8  | App[a ]    | Aurel Mar[                            |
| 9  | sin[gul]   | Aurel A[ . . ]cio[                    |
| 10 | Appad      | Habibas [ . . . ]ma[                  |
| 11 | Becch      | Aelius [Hel]iodor[us]                 |
| 12 |            | Laeto II cos                          |
| 13 | sin[gul]   | . . . raa . . [ . ]uas Bar[ . ] . . [ |
| 14 | —————      | Aurel Demetr[iu]s                     |
| 15 | sin[g]ul   | Aurel Domitti[u]s                     |
| 16 | —————      | Aurel Munnis                          |
| 17 |            | Sabino II cos                         |
| 18 | —————      | Aur[e]l Neon[                         |
| 19 | Bec{h}ch   | Aur[el] Apollonius                    |
| 20 | —————      | Au[rel] Roma[nu]s                     |
| 21 | singul     | A[ure]l Germ[a]nus                    |
| 22 | singul     | Iu[lius] Mari[nu]s                    |
| 23 | —————      | Aurel Curill[u]s                      |
| 24 | ad op stip | Aurel Gordius                         |
| 25 | —————      | Ulpus Marin[                          |
| 26 | Becch      | Aur[el] Roman[u]s                     |
| 27 | —————      | Aurel Iulius                          |
| 28 | Bec[c]h    | Antonius Barlaha                      |
| 29 | Bec[c]h    | Aurel Siluanus                        |

col. XXX: **9** [            ]a[     ] io[ *edd.* || **10** Habiba[s            ] .m [ *edd.* || **13** raammas *Fink:* Arraas (*dubitanter an Arranuas*) *Marichal* || **21** [            ] Germ[a]nus *edd.*

*col. XXX: '... (in the office)*

Nisreus ...

Aurelius ... (in Appadana)

Aurelius ... (*singularis*)

Habibas ... (in Appadana)

Aelius Heliodorus (in Becchufrayn)

During the second consulship of Laetus:

... (*singularis*)

Aurelius Demetrius

Aurelius Domittius

Aurelius Munnis

During the second consulship of Sabinus:

Aurelius ...

Aurelius Apollonius (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Romanus

Aurelius Germanus (*singularis*)

Julius Marinus (*singularis*)

Aurelius Curillus

Aurelius Gordius (to the estimate of salaries)

Ulpius ...

Aurelius Romanus (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Iulius

Antonius son of Barlahas (in Becchufrayn)

Aurelius Silvanus (in Becchufrayn)'

**13** This line has been added between the upper and lower one with a different pen, and the ink is almost completely vanished.

*col. XXXI*

— — —

1 ]ugñ[  
2 ] Aurel [ . . . ]ma[  
3 ]l Aurel [  
4 s[i]ngul Aurel [  
5 ----- Aurel U[  
6 ad naves df Au[rel] Gr . . . [  
7 Appada Au[rel A]ntioc[h-  
8 Becch Aur[e]l Malch[u]s  
9 Becch Aurel Longin[us  
10 [M]agdal Aurel Apoll[o]ni[  
11 [B]ecch A[ur]el Zenobiu[s]  
12 ----- A[ur]el Malchus  
13 singul A[u]rel Castor  
14 Extricatō II cos  
15 ----- Abgarus Them[ē]arsa  
16 ----- [Ga]ddes Bore  
17 Sace[r]dote II cos  
18 off[ic] A]urel Her[mo]genes  
19 offi[c] Au]rel An[to]ninus  
20 d n Al[exa]ndro Aug' c[os]

|               |                                  |
|---------------|----------------------------------|
| <sup>21</sup> | singuḷ Cḷ Iuḷ Marinus         |
| <sup>22</sup> | singuḷ Cḷ Iuḷ Secundus        |
| <sup>23</sup> | singuḷ Flauiuṣ Rōmaṇ[u]s      |
| <sup>24</sup> | singuḷ Aureḷ Se[ḷ]euc̣[us]    |
| <sup>25</sup> | s[i]nguḷ Apollinariuṣ G[ai]ani |

col. XXXI: 2 A]ureḷ Fink<sup>2</sup> || 6 Gr[ Fink || 7 ]eutio [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] nsio[ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] nsi [ (dubitanter an ] nsibi[ Marichal || 10 ]adā (dubitanter an M]a<g>da] uel ad Al(exandriam)) Marichal | Apoll[. ]n [ edd. || 12 Aurel Fink<sup>2</sup> || 13 ----- A[u]reḷ Fink<sup>2</sup> || 14 Extric[a]tō edd.

col. XXXI: 'Aurelius ...  
Aurelius ...  
Aurelius ... (*singularis*)  
Aurelius ...  
Aurelius ... (to the ships?)  
Aurelius ... (in Appadana)  
Aurelius Malchus (in Becchufrayn)  
Aurelius Longinus (in Becchufrayn)  
Aurelius ... (in Magdala)  
Aurelius Zenobius (in Becchufrayn)  
Aurelius Malchus  
Aurelius Castor (*singularis*)  
During the second consulship of Extricatus:  
Abgarus son of Themarsas  
Gaddes son of Bores  
During the second consulship of Sacerdos:  
Aurelius Hermogenes (in the office)  
Aurelius Antoninus (in the office)  
During the consulship of our lord Alexander Augustus:  
Claudius Iulius Marinus (*singularis*)  
Claudius Iulius Secundus (*singularis*)  
Flavius Romanus (*singularis*)  
Aurelius Seleucus (*singularis*)  
Apollinarius son of Gaianus (*singularis*)'

col. XXXII

- - -

|               |                           |                          |
|---------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  |                           | ]                        |
| <sup>2</sup>  |                           | ]                        |
| <sup>3</sup>  | du[p]ḷ [                 | ]ḷ                      |
| <sup>4</sup>  |                           | ] . dupḷ Rom[ ..... ]ni |
| <sup>5</sup>  |                           | ] cos                    |
| <sup>6</sup>  | aḍ manum sesq̣ [ ..... ] |                          |
| <sup>7</sup>  |                           | Dex[tro II c]o[s]        |
| <sup>8</sup>  | -----                     | .. [ . ] esurus [Aelam]i |
| <sup>9</sup>  |                           | An[ullino II co]s        |
| <sup>10</sup> | -----                     | Barh[a]da[dus Haeran]    |
| <sup>11</sup> | -----                     | Iarhaboles [T]hemarsa    |
| <sup>12</sup> | -----                     | Ulp̄ius M[enan]dr̄[u]s   |
| <sup>13</sup> | -----                     | Belaac[a]b[us H]ala      |
| <sup>14</sup> | Becch̄                    | Bores[ ... Nis]amsi      |
| <sup>15</sup> |                           | V[i]ctorino c[o]s        |
| <sup>16</sup> | -----                     | Nahestabus Themarsa      |

|    |            |                            |
|----|------------|----------------------------|
| 17 |            | Muciano cos                |
| 18 | -----      | Hagus Malchi               |
| 19 | -----      | Abianes M[a]cchana         |
| 20 | ad manum   | Themarsas Haeran           |
| 21 | -----      | [Ae]lius Bolanus           |
| 22 | disposi    | Themarsa[s] Abgari         |
| 23 | -----      | [I]arhaboles A[[bba]]ddei  |
| 24 | -----      | Bas[s]us Tiberini          |
| 25 | disposi    | I[u]liu[s] Marinus         |
| 26 | ad op stip | [Iu]liu[s] Marinus al[ter] |
|    |            | [e]us                      |
| 27 | -----      | Iarha[[boles T[hemarsa]]]  |
| 28 |            | Seue[ro] III cos           |

col. XXXII: 1 [(turma) Zebida Anulli]nō [II consule] *Fink*<sup>2</sup>: [(turma) Zebida Anullino II c]os *Marichal* |  
 post hanc lineam duas lineas deperditas *Fink*<sup>2</sup> || 2 om. *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: ] [ *Fink*<sup>2</sup>: [dec Zebidas Iarhaei] *Marichal* |  
 post hanc lineam [- - - cos] *Marichal* || 3 dū[p]l in frustulo nuper addito recognoui | om. *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: ] [ *Fink*<sup>2</sup>:  
 dupl]l[ ] . . . *Marichal* || 4 b[ ] . . . p[ ] i Rom[ ] ni *Fink*: ] . . . dupl Rom[ . . . . . gn . . . . . ] ni *Marichal* |  
 supra dupl, .m.' *Marichal* || 5 [ initio lineae edd. || 6 mamm *Fink* | sesq[ ] [ *Marichal* || 7 cos] *Fink*: c]os  
*Marichal* || 10 Bar[ ] . . . [ *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || 14 fortasse Bores Nisamsi cum spatia vacuo inter nomina, uel Bores  
 [[ ] Nis]amsi || 19 m[a]tthana *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || 20 mamma *Fink* || 25 dispos *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || 27 Iarh[e]us[[aboles]]  
 T[hemarsa] edd.

col. XXXII: '... (duplicarius)

During the ... consulship of ... :

... (to the squadron, *sesquuplicarius*)

During the second consulship of Dexter:

... son of Aelamis

During the second consulship of Anullinus:

Barhadadus son of Haeran

Iarhaboles son of Themarsas

Ulpus Menandrus

Belaacabus son of Halas

Bores... (?) son of Nisamsus

During the consulship of Victorinus:

Nahestabus son of Themarsas

During the consulship of Mucianus:

Hagus son of Malchus

Abianes son of Macchanas

Themarsas son of Haeran (to the squadron)

Aelius Bolanus

Themarsas son of Abgarus (*dispositus*)

Iarhaboles son of Addaeus

Bassus son of Tiberinus

Iulius Marinus (*dispositus*)

Iulius Marinus II (to the estimate of salaries)

Iarhaeus son of Themarsas

During the third consulship of Severus:'

col. XXXIII

- - -

|   |       |                          |
|---|-------|--------------------------|
| 1 | ----- |                          |
| 2 | ----- | Malchus M]ambo[gei]      |
| 3 | ----- | . . al . . bius Si]luani |
| 4 |       | -ius Ma]rinus            |

|    |                  |                                  |
|----|------------------|----------------------------------|
| 5  |                  | [Geta S]enior[e II cos]          |
| 6  | -----            | V[alerius] Monimus               |
| 7  | -----            | [I]ul[ius] Saturnilus            |
| 8  | ad man[u]m       | [Iarhae]us Be[l]aacabi           |
| 9  | <del>-----</del> | <del>Iu[lius M]a[xi]mus</del>    |
| 10 | cor              | Ale[xan]dr[us A]ntonini          |
| 11 | ad pretori       | Aeliu[s] Helio[doru]s            |
| 12 | ad manum         | B[ar]b[ae]sam[en] Ma[le]         |
| 13 |                  | C[i]l[one] II cōs                |
| 14 | ad manum         | Fron[to]n Ma[r]ea                |
| 15 | ad pen com       | Ae[li]u[s] Alex[andr]us          |
| 16 | -----            | Iu[lius] Cassianus               |
| 17 | -----            | [ . . . . . ] Ab[i]dlahin        |
| 18 |                  | diuo Anto[ni]no II cos           |
| 19 | -----            | Valerius Firmus                  |
| 20 | -----            | Iulius Bassus                    |
| 21 | in perfunc       | [[Zabdibolus Salman]]            |
| 22 | -----            | Mocimus Zebida                   |
| 23 | Chaf[e]r A       | Iarheus Marea                    |
| 24 | -----            | Zebidas Iarhei                   |
| 25 | -----            | Gabrion [O]bean                  |
| 26 | -----            | Azizus Antonini                  |
| 27 | sin[gu]l         | Mocimus M[o]c[i]mi               |
| 28 |                  | Apro [cos]                       |
| 29 | -----            | [I]ulius Iul[ianu]s              |
| 30 |                  | duo[bus cos]                     |
| 31 |                  | Caper Auir Iul[iu]s Al[exandr]us |

col. XXXIII: 3 al . . . bius suppl. *Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal* || 4 -ius suppl. *Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal* || 8 mamm *Fink* || 9 ras . . .  
*Fink*<sup>1</sup>: pas 9 [ *Fink*<sup>2</sup>: . . . [ ] *Marichal* || 11 praetori- *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || 12 mamm *Fink* || 14 mamm *Fink* | Ma[r]e[a]  
*Fink*<sup>1</sup> *Marichal* || 21 perfunc(tionem) *Fink* || 25 O[b]ean edd. || 26 Anto[n]ini edd. || 29 Iu[lianus] edd.

col. XXXIII: 'Malchus son of Mambogeus

... son of Silvanus

... Marinus

During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:

Valerius Monimus

Iulius Saturnilus

Iarhaeus son of Belaacabus (to the squadron)

Iulius Maximus (...?)

Alexandrus son of Antoninus (adjutant)

Aelius Heliodorus (to the headquarters)

Barbaesamen son of Males (to the squadron)

During the second consulship of Cilo:

Fronton son of Mareas (to the squadron)

Aelius Alexandrus (to provide food)

Iulius Cassianus

... son of Abidlahin

During the second consulship of the divine Antoninus:

Valerius Firmus

Iulius Bassus

Zabdibolus son of Salman (carrying out his duty?) (*erased*)

Mocimus son of Zebidas  
 Iarhaeus son of Mareas (in *Chafer Auira*)  
 Zebidas son of Iarheus  
 Gabrion son of Obeanes  
 Azizus son of Antoninus  
 Mocimus son of Mocimus (*singularis*)  
 During the consulship of Aper:  
 Iulius Iulianus  
 During the consulship of the two:  
 Iulius Alexandrus (in *Chafer Auira*)'

col. XXXIV

|    |                      |                                   |
|----|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1  |                      | [F Tiberini] Apr[o et Maxi]mo cos |
| 2  |                      | [dec] Th[e]ma[rsas Tiberi]ni      |
| 3  |                      | G[eta Seniore II c]os             |
| 4  | . [ . . . . dupl]    | I[ul]ius [Anto]ninus              |
| 5  |                      | A[pro et] Maximo cos              |
| 6  | sing[u]l             | Aelius [Barn]eus                  |
| 7  |                      | De[xtro II] cos                   |
| 8  | . [ . . . . ] [ . ]  | Simaones Auidalathi               |
| 9  |                      | ]l Maronas Gadde                  |
| 10 |                      | Saturnino cos                     |
| 11 | —————                | B[ar]athes Zebida                 |
| 12 |                      | Anulino II cos                    |
| 13 | —————                | Maesamas Aciba                    |
| 14 |                      | Victorino cos                     |
| 15 | Appa[d]              | Ga[ia]nus Themarsa                |
| 16 | —————                | Bolae[u]s Mocimi                  |
| 17 | ad op stipen         | Iarheus Themarsa                  |
| 18 |                      | Muciano cos                       |
| 19 | —————                | Marcus Maior                      |
| 20 | —————                | Malchus Themarsa                  |
| 21 | —————                | Males Macchana                    |
| 22 | disposit             | Belaacabus Abgari                 |
| 23 | Appad                | [I]ulius Scaurianus               |
| 24 | in proseq[ . ] [ . ] | [F]lavius Monimus                 |
| 25 |                      | diuo Seüero III cos               |
| 26 | —————                | [D]omittius Barnei                |
| 27 | —————                | [Mo]c[i]mus Barnei                |
| 28 | ad le[ones           | . . . . . ] Barbaesamen           |
| 29 |                      | Geta Seniore II cos               |

col. XXXIV: 4 dupl] *Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal* || 6 dupl *edd.* || 8 *fortasse* C[hafer] A[u]: ] [ . ] *edd.* || 9 ]l *recognoui* || 21 *Matthana Fink*<sup>1</sup> || 24 *fortasse* proseq(utionem) [h]o[r]d(iatorum): in proseq[ . ] *Fink*: in proseq[ . ] (dubitanter an proseq h[o]r) *Marichal*

col. XXXIV: 'Tiberinus' squadron. During the consulship of Aper and Maximus:  
 Themarsas son of Tiberinus (decurion)  
 During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:  
 Iulius Antoninus (*duplicarius*)

During the consulship of Aper and Maximus:  
 Aelius Barneus (*singularis*)  
 During the second consulship of Dexter:  
 Simaones son of Auidalathus  
 Maronas son of Gaddes  
 During the consulship of Saturninus:  
 Barathes son of Zebidas  
 During the second consulship of Anullinus:  
 Maesamas son of Acibas  
 During the consulship of Victorinus:  
 Gaianus son of Themarsas (in Appadana)  
 Bolaeus son of Mocimus  
 Iarhaeus son of Themarsas (to the estimate of salaries)  
 During the consulship of Mucianus:  
 Marcus Maior  
 Malchus son of Themarsas  
 Males son of Macchanas  
 Belaacabus son of Abgarus (*dispositus*)  
 Iulius Scaurianus (in Appadana)  
 Flavius Monimus (escorting...)  
 During the third consulship of the divine Severus:  
 Domittius son of Barnaeus  
 Mocimus son of Barnaeus  
 ... (son of?) Barbaesamen (to the lions)  
 During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:'

col. XXXV

---

|    |               |                               |
|----|---------------|-------------------------------|
| 1  |               | Ia]rhei                       |
| 2  |               | ]..[.....]me                  |
| 3  |               | ]— G[.....Apo]llo[            |
| 4  |               | [o]ffi I[sidorus ...s]ido[n   |
| 5  | ————          | Z[abdibol]us Them[arsa]       |
| 6  |               | [di]sposi Ge[mellus] Themarsa |
| 7  | ————          | Bar[athes] Hag[u]s            |
| 8  | ————          | Hagus Iarhei                  |
| 9  |               | Cilone II cos                 |
| 10 | offi          | Ulpus Barsumius               |
| 11 | ————          | Malchus Bode                  |
| 12 | App[a]d       | Ulpus Marcellus               |
| 13 |               | diuo Antonino II cos          |
| 14 | ————          | [I]arheus Bora                |
| 15 | [d]ispos[.]ad | [I]aqubus Zebida              |
| 16 | o[f]fici[o]   | [I]ulius Maximus              |
| 17 | ] ad queren   | Mocimus Simaoni               |
| 18 | ————          | Aurel Germanus                |
| 19 | ad pen comp   | Flavius Marinus               |
| 20 | ————          | Mocimus Theme                 |
| 21 |               | Apro et Maximo cos            |
| 22 | explor        | Sammass Gai                   |
| 23 | ————          | Agrippas Male                 |
| 24 | ad op stip    | Domittius Antoninus           |
| 24 |               | Pompeiano cos                 |

|    |       |                |
|----|-------|----------------|
| 25 | ————— | Azizus Zaora   |
| 25 |       | Faustino cos   |
| 26 | ————— | Mocimus Salman |
| 27 |       | duobus cos     |
| 28 | ————— | Iarheus Malchi |

col. XXXV: 2 ] [ edd.] The]me Fink<sup>l</sup> || 15 fortasse [d]ispos(itus) [App]ad(ana): [di]spos[ . . ] ad Fink:  
[b]pos[ . . ]ad Marichal || 16 o[f]fici[o] vel o[f]fici(o): o[f]fic[ edd.

col. XXXV: ‘... son of Iarhaeus

...

Isidorus ... (in the office)

Zabdibolus son of Themarsas

Gemellus son of Themarsas (*dispositus*)

Barathes Hagus

Hagus son of Iarhaeus

During the second consulship of Cilo:

Ulpus Barsumius (on the office)

Malchus son of Bodes

Ulpus Marcellus (in Appadana)

During the second consulship of the divine Antoninus:

Iarhaeus son of Boras

Iaqubus son of Zebidas (*dispositus*...)

Iulius Maximus (in the office)

Mocimus son of Simaones (to ask for...)

Aurelius Germanus

Flavius Marinus (to provide food)

Mocimus son of Themes

During the consulship of Aper and Maximus:

Sammas son of Gaius (in exploration)

Agrippas son of Males

Domittius Antoninus (to the estimate of salaries)

During the consulship of Pompeianus:

Azizus son of Zaoras

During the consulship of Faustinus:

Mocimus son of Salmanes

During the consulship of the two:

Iarhaeus son of Malchus’

col. XXXVI

|    |               |                      |
|----|---------------|----------------------|
| 1  |               | The]mā[rs]as Buzi    |
| 2  | App[ad        | ... ius M]oci[mu]s   |
| 3  | [ad op] sti[p | Vabalat]huš [Hanina] |
| 4  | [di]spos      | [ . . . . . A]pol[l- |
| 5  |               | [Mess]ala consule    |
| 6  | —————         | T[hemars]as Mocimi   |
| 7  |               | Sabino cos           |
| 8  | —————         | Aurel Demetrius      |
| 9  |               |                      |
| 10 |               |                      |
| 11 |               |                      |
| 12 |               |                      |
| 13 |               |                      |



14  
 15 F Demetri Victorino cos  
 16 ]——— dec Ulpus Demetrius  
 17 / Pompeiano cos  
 18 ad hord dupl Aelius Licinnius  
 19 ————— Mesala cos  
 20 sesq Aurel Marinus  
 21 / Saturnino cos  
 22 ————— Iadibelus Iarhei  
 23 Anulino II cos  
 24 ————— Salmanes Macce[i]  
 25 d[i]spos Nisamsus Zabdi[bo]l[i]  
 26 Becch Victor Hae[r]an  
 27 Victorino cos  
 28 ————— Macceus Themarsa  
 29 Muciano consule

col. XXXVI: 3 Vabalat]h[u]s edd. || 4 di]spos[ edd.

col. XXXVI: 'Themarsas son of Buzus  
 ... Mocimus (in Appadana)  
 Uabalathus son of Haninas (to the estimate of salaries)  
 ... (*dispositus*?)  
 During the consulship of Messala:  
 Themarsas son of Mocimus  
 During the consulship of Sabinus:  
 Aurelius Demetrius

Demetrius' squadron. During the consulship of Victorinus:  
 Ulpus Demetrius (decurion)  
 During the consulship of Pompeianus:  
 Aelius Licinnius (*duplicarius*; to provide barley)  
 During the consulship of Messalla:  
 Aurelius Marinus (*sesquuplicarius*)  
 During the consulship of Saturninus:  
 Iadibelus son of Iarhaeus  
 During the second consulship of Anullinus:  
 Salmanes son of Maccaeus  
 Nisamsus son of Zabdibolus (*dispositus*)  
 Victor son of Haeran (in Becchufrayn)  
 During the consulship of Victorinus:  
 Maccaeus son of Themarsas  
 During the consulship of Mucianus:

col. XXXVII

— — —

1 ]elus B[ . . . ] [ .  
 2 b[ ]eus [ . . . ] [ .  
 3 —[ ] eu[ .  
 4 ]us[ . . . ] [ .  
 5 —[ Ulpus] Marinus [ .  
 6 e[xplor Didas] Coccei  
 7 ad manum [G]oremis Iadei

|    |            |                       |
|----|------------|-----------------------|
| 8  | ad manum   | Iarheus Thema[rsa]    |
| 9  | [a]d manum | Zabbeus Barchalba[    |
| 10 |            | diuo Seuero III cos   |
| 11 | Appa       | Iulius German[u]s     |
| 12 |            | Geta Seniore [II cos] |
| 13 | —————      | Iulius Gorippus       |
| 14 | —————      | Zabaeus Malchi        |
| 15 | —————      | Barathes Buccei       |
| 16 | ad manum   | Iamblichus Mocimi     |
| 17 | ad manum   | Iulius Germanus       |
| 18 |            | Cilone II cos         |
| 19 | —————      | Ma[ri]n[u]s Hotarei   |
| 20 | —————      | Malchus Muciani       |
| 21 | ad manum   | Maras Themarsa        |
| 22 | —————      | Signas Matharei       |
| 23 | —————      | Iulius Maximus        |
| 24 | ad manum   | I[a]rheus B[ar]nei    |
| 25 | —————      | Zebidas M[a]ccei      |
| 26 | —————      | Valerius [M]aximus    |
| 27 | [di]sposit | Ulpus M[a]rinus       |
| 28 |            | diuo Anton II [c]os   |
| 29 | —————      | Claudius Natalius     |

col. XXXVII: 1 [edd.] 2 [edd.] .eus edd. || 7 mamm Fink || 8 mamm Fink || 9 mamm Fink || 16 mamm Fink || 17 mamm Fink || 18 ]ad ma[ .] Marichal in margine sinistro || 20 ] . . . ——— Marichal || 21 mamm Fink || 24 mamm Fink || 28 cos Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal

col. XXXVII: ‘Ulpus Marinus  
 Didas son of Cocceius (in exploration)  
 Goremis son of Iadaeus (to the squadron)  
 Iarhaeus son of Themarsas (to the squadron)  
 Zabbeus son of Barchalbas (to the squadron)  
 During the third consulship of the divine Severus:  
 Iulius Germanus (in Appadana)  
 During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:  
 Iulius Gorippus  
 Zabaeus son of Malchus  
 Barathes son of Buccaeus  
 Iamblichus son of Mocimus (to the squadron)  
 Iulius Germanus (to the squadron)  
 During the second consulship of Cilo:  
 Marinus son of Hotareus  
 Malchus son of Mucianus  
 Maras son of Themarsas (to the squadron)  
 Signas son of Mathareus  
 Iulius Maximus  
 Iarhaeus son of Barnaeus (to the squadron)  
 Zebidas son of Maccaeus  
 Valerius Maximus  
 Ulpus Marinus (dispositus)  
 During the second consulship of the divine Antoninus:  
 Claudius Natalius’

col. XXXVIII

|    |            |                                   |
|----|------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1  |            | ]s Iarhabo[les Luci]              |
| 2  |            | ] D[e]metri[us Z . . . . n .      |
| 3  |            | ]l [ . . . . . ]s[                |
| 4  |            | ] [ . . . ] [ . . ] [ . . . ] . [ |
| 5  |            | ] Iulius Ant[oni]n[               |
| 6  |            | ]s Iulius Mar[in]u[s]             |
| 7  |            | ]— Iulius Lo[ . . . ] [           |
| 8  | uex        | Aelius Ant[o]ni[nu]s              |
| 9  | dispos     | Addaeus Iarhei                    |
| 10 |            | Albino cos                        |
| 11 | e s singul | Aelius Marcellin[u]s              |
| 12 | explor     | Barnaeus Themarsa                 |
| 13 |            | Aper co[s]                        |
| 14 | · Magdala  | Iulius Bel[a]acabus               |
| 15 |            | duo[bus c]os                      |
| 16 | singul     | Abidnamares Marona                |
| 17 |            | Messala cos                       |
| 18 | dispos     | Aurelius Azizus                   |
| 19 |            |                                   |
| 20 |            |                                   |
| 21 |            |                                   |
| 22 |            |                                   |
| 23 |            |                                   |
| 24 | F Octavi   | Muciano cos                       |
| 25 | dec        | Luc[iu]s Octavius                 |
| 26 | dupl       | Sal[ma]nes Zebida                 |
| 27 |            | Messala et Sabino cos             |
| 28 | sesq       | Ulp[i]us Gaius                    |
| 29 |            | Dextro II [co]s                   |
| 30 | ————       | Flavius Mari[nu]s                 |
| 31 |            | [a]d manum Berosas Valens         |

col. XXXVIII: 1 Iarh[a]bo[les edd. || 2 D[e]metri[us Fink<sup>1</sup> | Z . . . . n . suppl. Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 3 ] [ ±10  
 ]s[ edd. || 4 ] [ . . . ] [ edd. || 7 ] Iul[i]us Marichal | L[ . . . ] [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: L[o . . . ] [ Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 8  
 uex & Fink: uexil Marichal fortasse recte || 25 Luc[ius] Fink || 31 mamm Fink

col. XXXVIII: 'Iarhaboles son of Lucius (...)

Demetrius ... (...)

...

Iulius (son of?) Antoninus (...)

Iulius Marinus (...)

Iulius ...

Aelius Antoninus (standard-bearer?)

Addaeus son of Iarhaeus (*dispositus*)

During the consulship of Albinus:

Aelius Marcellinus (... *singularis*)

Barnaeus son of Themarsas (in exploration)

During the consulship of Aper:

Iulius Belaacabus (in Magdala)

During the consulship of the two:

Abidnamares son of Maronas (*singularis*)

During the consulship of Messala:

Aurelius Azizus (*dispositus*)

Octavius' squadron. During the consulship of Mucianus:

Lucius Octavius (decurion)

Salmanes son of Zebidas (*duplicarius*)

During the consulship of Messala and Sabinus:

Ulpus Gaius (*sesquiplicarius*)

During the second consulship of Dexter:

Flavius Marinus

Berosas Valens (to the squadron)'

**17** The dating formula *Mesala cos* was evidently squeezed in as an addition after the preceding and following lines were written. The scribe might have forgotten to put it there in the first place, and was forced to add it later.

col. XXXIX

|               |   |   |   |   |   |          |                |                      |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------|----------------|----------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | ] | — | [ | ] | — | A[       | . . . . .      | ]o . [               |
| <sup>2</sup>  |   |   |   |   |   |          |                | ]nisa[               |
| <sup>3</sup>  |   |   |   |   |   |          |                | ]us Am[              |
| <sup>4</sup>  |   |   |   |   |   | dispos   | Ulp[ius]       | Barneb[              |
| <sup>5</sup>  |   |   |   |   |   | ]—       | Ulp[us Ap]     | ollona[              |
| <sup>6</sup>  |   |   |   |   |   | ]—       | Mal[ch]us      | Haeran               |
| <sup>7</sup>  |   |   |   |   |   | ]—       | Alexan[d]      | rus Antonini         |
| <sup>8</sup>  |   |   |   |   |   | —        | Mocim[us]      | Barlaha              |
| <sup>9</sup>  |   |   |   |   |   |          | V[i]ctor[i]    | no cos               |
| <sup>10</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | ad manum | Iulius Ant[o]  | ninus                |
| <sup>11</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | officio  | I[u]           | lius Antoninus alter |
| <sup>12</sup> |   |   |   |   |   |          | Muciano        | cos                  |
| <sup>13</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | —        | Mal[c]hus      | Maccei               |
| <sup>14</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | chafer a | Zeb[i]         | das Egla             |
| <sup>15</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | ad manum | M[a]lchus      | Haeran               |
| <sup>16</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | —        | Iulius         | Salman               |
| <sup>17</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | —        | Themarsas      | Chaseti              |
| <sup>18</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | Appada   | Malchus        | Iarhei               |
| <sup>19</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | ad manum | Zabdaathes     | Malchi               |
| <sup>20</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | —        | Bolanus        | Bolani               |
| <sup>21</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | —        | Themarsas      | Salman               |
| <sup>22</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | —        | Ga[i]          | us Abidfur           |
| <sup>23</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | —        | Se[le]u[us]    | Iarhei               |
| <sup>24</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | App[ad]a | Mazabbanas     | Belaacabi            |
| <sup>25</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | —        | Zebidas        | Iadei                |
| <sup>26</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | —        | Barh[a]        | dadus Abid[ur]       |
| <sup>27</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | —        | Zebidas        | Iarhe[i]             |
| <sup>28</sup> |   |   |   |   |   | —        | Iulius Bar[ah] |                      |

col. XXXIX: **1** [A . . . . . ] o . [ *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: A[ *Fink*<sup>2</sup> Marichal || **3** ] us a . [ *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || **10** mamm *Fink* || **15** mamm *Fink* || **19** mamm *Fink* || **22** Gaius *Fink*<sup>1</sup> Marichal

col. XXXIX: 'Ulpus (son of?) Barnebus (*dispositus*)  
Ulpus ...

Malchus son of Haeran  
 Alexandrus son of Antoninus  
 Mocimus son of Barlahas  
 During the consulship of Victorinus:  
 Iulius Antoninus (to the squadron)  
 Iulius Antoninus II (to the office)  
 During the consulship of Mucianus:  
 Malchus son of Maccae  
 Zebidas son of Eglas (in Chafer Auira)  
 Malchus son of Haeran (to the squadron)  
 Iulius son of Salmanes  
 Themarsas son of Chasetus  
 Malchus son of Iarhaeus (in Appadana)  
 Zabdaathes son of Malchus (to the squadron)  
 Bolanus son of Bolanus  
 Themarsas son of Salmanes  
 Gaius (son of?) Abidfur  
 Seleucus son of Iarhaeus  
 Mazabbanas son of Belaacabus (in Appadana)  
 Zebidas son of Iadaeus  
 Barhadadus son of Abidfur  
 Zebidas son of Iarhaeus  
 Iulius son of Barlahas'

col. XL

|               |                 |                         |
|---------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  |                 | ] s Z[                  |
| <sup>2</sup>  |                 | ] Lon[                  |
| <sup>3</sup>  |                 | ]as M[                  |
| <sup>4</sup>  |                 | diuo Se[uero III cos]   |
| <sup>5</sup>  | Appada          | M. [ . ]mus Iar[        |
| <sup>6</sup>  | -----           | Iul[i]us Antoni[        |
| <sup>7</sup>  | singul cos      | [A]le[x]andrus Theofil[ |
| <sup>8</sup>  |                 | Geta Seniore I[I] cos   |
| <sup>9</sup>  | uexl            | Ul[piu]s Siluanus       |
| <sup>10</sup> | -----           | T[h]emarsas Iarhe[i]    |
| <sup>11</sup> | p[r]etora       | Ogelus Vabalathi        |
| <sup>12</sup> | -----           | Ulp[ius] Bassus         |
| <sup>13</sup> |                 | Cilone II cos           |
| <sup>14</sup> | -----           | Siluanus Mocimi         |
| <sup>15</sup> | -----           | Maronas Dinei           |
| <sup>16</sup> | -----           | Gorippus Valentini      |
| <sup>17</sup> | ad manum        | Rabbulas Bassi          |
| <sup>18</sup> | sing[u]l        | Bassus Bibi             |
| <sup>19</sup> | uexil           | Domittius Proc[ul]us    |
|               | [ . . . . . os] |                         |
| <sup>20</sup> | -----           | Abidmalchus Authei      |
| <sup>21</sup> |                 | diuo Anton II cos       |
| <sup>22</sup> | -----           | Flavius Siluanus        |
| <sup>23</sup> | -----           | Aelius Fortunatus       |
| <sup>24</sup> | d[i]spos        | Iulius Marinus          |
| <sup>25</sup> |                 | Apro cos                |
| <sup>26</sup> | si[g]           | Luc[i]us Valerianus     |

|    |          |                       |
|----|----------|-----------------------|
| 27 |          | duobus Asp[ri]s c[os] |
| 28 | ad manum | [O]gas Han[in]a       |
| 29 |          | Mesala [cos]          |
| 30 | disposit | Aurel Vale[ns]        |
| 31 | —————    | Abidsalma[s Them]arsa |

col. XL: 1 [Z Marichal: et L[ possis || 9 uex(illarius) Fink: uex[1] Marichal: fortasse idem quod in sinistro marg. col. XXXXVIII l. 8 || 11 p[r]etor p Marichal || 17 mamm Fink || 18 singl Fink: sing Marichal || 19 [cūm albos] Fink<sup>1</sup>: cūm albos Fink<sup>2</sup>: [ . mā . . . . ] Marichal || 31 Abidsalma[ Them]arsa edd.: Abidsalma[s potius quam Abidsalma[nes Them]arsa longius spatio

col. XL: 'During the third consulship of the divine Severus:

... (in Appadana)

Iulius ...

Alexandrus (son of?) Theophilus (*singularis* of the former consul)

During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:

Ulpus Silvanus (standard-bearer)

Themarsas son of Iarhaeus

Ogelus son of Vabalathus

Ulpus Bassus (to the headquarters?)

During the second consulship of Cilo:

Silvanus son of Mocimus

Maronas son of Dinaeus

Gorippus son of Valentinus

Rabbulas son of Bassus (to the squadron)

Bassus son of Bibus (*singularis*)

Domittius Proculus (standard-bearer)

Abidmalchus son of Autheus

During the second consulship of the divine Antoninus:

Flavius Silvanus

Aelius Fortunatus

Iulius Marinus (*dispositus*)

During the consulship of Aper:

Lucius Valerianus (ensign-bearer)

During the consulship of the two Aspri:

Ogas son of Haninas (to the squadron)

During the consulship of Messala:

Aurelius Valens (*dispositus*)

Abidsalmas son of Themarsas'

col. XLI

|    |                   |                                              |
|----|-------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1  | F [Antonini]      | A[lbino et Aemiliano c]os                    |
| 2  | [ad] op sti[p dec | Ulp]u[s [Antoninus]                          |
| 3  |                   | ] . [ . . . . ] . . [                        |
| 4  | [dupl             | Ale]xandrus A . [ . . . . ]sa                |
| 5  |                   | Pompeian[o co]s                              |
| 6  | dupl              | [ . . . . ]em . [ . . . . ] . [ . ] b[ . ] s |
| 7  |                   | di[uo S]euer[o] III consule                  |
| 8  | sesq              | Iul]ianus Them]arsa                          |
| 9  |                   | [D]extro II c[os]                            |
| 10 | singul            | Valer]ius Valentinus                         |
| 11 | —————             | Iar]habus Ebuc[a]ei                          |
| 12 |                   | [Sa]turnino cos                              |
| 13 | sig               | Thema[rs]as Zebida                           |

|    |       |                                 |
|----|-------|---------------------------------|
| 14 |       | A[nu]lino II cos                |
| 15 | ————— | Barho[ta]rus Auidalathi         |
| 16 | ————— | G[ū]ris Nisamsi                 |
| 17 |       | ad querend B[as]sus [M]ontan[ ] |
| 18 |       | [Victo]r[i]no cos               |
| 19 |       | Bechuf Them[e]s Dinaei          |
| 20 | ————— | D[e]metrius Maccei              |
| 21 |       | [M]uciano cos                   |
| 22 | ————— | Ogelus [ ]iboli                 |
| 23 | ————— | Ael[ ] Sa[ ]sius                |
| 24 | ————— | Th[eo]d[orus Ze]bida            |
| 25 |       | ambul B[elaca]bus [Z-           |
| 26 | ————— | Sa[l]mes Zeb[ida]               |
| 27 | ————— | B[assu]s A[nt]oni[n]i           |
| 28 |       | Appad [Seleuc]us Antonin[ ]n    |
| 29 |       | ambul [Iarh]aboles Theme        |

col. XLI: **3** [ ] [ ] edd. || **4** [ ] a edd. || **6** fortasse [Bars]emi[as Z]e[n]ob[i]us: ]em [ ]ab [ ] (dubitanter an Th]ema[rsas] Ab[d]us) edd. || **8** Them[a]rsa edd. || **17** fortasse [M]ontan[i]: [M]ontan[ Fink: [M]ontan Marichal || **18** Victori]no edd. || **23** Ael[ius ]ius Fink<sup>1</sup>: Ael[ sa ]sius (dubitanter an Ael[amis] Fink<sup>2</sup> (dubitanter an Ael[ius uel Ael[amis] Marichal || **25** Z- suppl. Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || **26** Sa[l]mes Zeb[ida] edd. || **27** A[nt]oni[ni Fink<sup>1</sup>: A[nt]oni[n- Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || **28** Antonin[i]n Fink<sup>1</sup>

col. XLI: ‘Antoninus’ squadron. During the consulship of Albinus and Aemilianus:

Ulpius Antoninus (decurion, to the estimate of salaries)

...

Alexandrus... (*duplicarius*)

During the consulship of Pompeianus:

... (*duplicarius*)

During the third consulship of the divine Severus:

Iulianus son of Themarsas (*sesquuplicarius*)

During the second consulship of Dexter:

Valerius Valentinus (*singularis*)

Iarhabus son of Ebucaeus

During the consulship of Saturninus:

Themarsas son of Zebidas (ensign-bearer)

During the second consulship of Anullinus:

Barhotarus son of Auidalathus

Guris son of Nisamsus

Bassus (son of?) ... (to ask ... ?)

During the consulship of Victorinus:

Themes son of Dinaeus (in Becchufayn)

Demetrius son of Maccaeus

During the consulship of Mucianus:

Ogelus son of ...

...

Theodorus son of Zebidas

Belacabus... (?)

Salmes son of Zebidas

Bassus (son of?) Antoninus

Seleucus ... (in Appadana)

Iarhaboles son of Themes (?)’

col. XLII

|    |          |                                   |
|----|----------|-----------------------------------|
| 1  |          | ]l[ ±14 ]lath[                    |
| 2  |          | Ba]rath[es . . . . .] [. . . . .] |
| 3  | di[spos] | Mocimus [ . . . . .]              |
| 4  | Appada   | Abbas Zeb[ida]                    |
| 5  | ]—       | [I]ulius Magn[                    |
| 6  | ]—       | [I]ulius Marinus                  |
| 7  | officio  | A[bd]æus Barhaei                  |
| 8  |          | di <u>u</u> o Severo III cos      |
| 9  | ————     | Seleucus Barathe                  |
| 10 | ş[in]gul | Timon Mar[i]ni                    |
| 11 |          | Geta Seniore II cos               |
| 12 | [App]ada | Barneus Iarhaei                   |
| 13 | ] buri   | Afranes Bassi                     |
| 14 | ————     | Aelius Longinus                   |
| 15 | ————     | Barathes Abg[ari]                 |
| 16 | ] . 1    | Zebidas Malch[i]                  |
| 17 |          | Cilone II c[o]s                   |
| 18 | [a]mbul  | Nebudaes Them[a]rsa               |
| 19 | ]—       | Zabdibolu[s] G[o]ra               |
| 20 | ]—       | T[h]emarsa[s] Nisamsi             |
| 21 | ]—       | Garmelus Bel[i]habi               |
| 22 | . [      | Luci]uş Ca[ssi]anus               |
| 23 | —[       | ] s Th[                           |
| 24 |          | ] [. ] [. ] [. ] hus Bel[         |
| 25 | ————     | Boliadeus Ze[bid]a                |
| 26 | ————     | Mocimus Za[ora]                   |

col. XLII: 2 ] [. ] [ *Fink<sup>1</sup>* : ] [. ] [ *Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal* || 3 Mocimus [ ] [ *Fink<sup>2</sup>*: Mocimus [ ] [ ] [ *Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal* || 5 Magn[us *Fink<sup>1</sup>* || 6 Iu]lius *edd.* || 7 A[bd]æus *edd.*: an A[b]æus *pro Abdaeo?* || 9 Se]l]eucus *edd.* || 11 [I]I *edd.* || 13 ] . ns *Fink*: ] llinus *Marichal* | Afranes *Fink*: Afranes *Marichal* || 16 fortasse [si]ng[u]l || 20 T[h]emarsa[ ] *Fink<sup>2</sup>*: T[h]emarsa[ ] *Marichal* || 21 Be[l]i]habi *edd.* || 23 ]s *edd.* || 24 ] [. ] [. ] . us B[ ]l[ *Fink<sup>1</sup>*: ] [. . . . .]hus B[ ]l[ *Fink<sup>2</sup>*: ] [. ] [. ] [. ] . us B[ ]l[ *Marichal*

col. XLII: 'Barathes...  
Mocimus... (*dispositus*)  
Abbas son of Zebidas (in Appadana)  
Iulius ...  
Iulius Marinus  
Abdaeus son of Barhaeus  
During the third consulship of the divine Severus:  
Seleucus son of Barathes  
Timon son of Marinus (*singularis*)  
During the second consulship of the Elder Geta:  
Barnaesus son of Iarhaeus (in Appadana)  
Afranes son of Bassus (...?)  
Aelius Longinus  
Barathes son of Abgarus  
Zebidas son of Malchus  
During the second consulship of Cilo:  
Nebudaes son of Themarsas  
Zabdibolus son of Goras  
Themarsas son of Nisamsus



Garmelus son of Belihabus  
 Lucius Cassianus  
 ...  
 Boliadaeus son of Zebidas  
 Mocimus son of Zaoras'

*col. XLIII*

|               |                             |                                  |
|---------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  |                             | Ach]ille[us Malch]i              |
| <sup>2</sup>  |                             | diu[o An]tonin[o - - - cos]      |
| <sup>3</sup>  | _____                       | uex [Ze]b[i]das . . . alac[      |
| <sup>4</sup>  | _____                       | amb[ul] Iulius Marinus           |
| <sup>5</sup>  | _____                       | Habibis Zebida                   |
| <sup>6</sup>  | _____                       | disposi Zebi[d]as Hab[i]bi       |
| <sup>7</sup>  | _____                       | Appada Abgarus Iarhaei           |
| <sup>8</sup>  | _____                       | Iul[i]us German[u]s              |
| <sup>9</sup>  | _____                       | Cl· Dadona                       |
| <sup>10</sup> | _____                       | explor Licin[n]ius Apollonin[u]s |
| <sup>11</sup> | _____                       | Salmes Malchi                    |
| <sup>12</sup> |                             |                                  |
| <sup>13</sup> |                             | DROMadar[ii]                     |
| <sup>14</sup> | ζ Malchi                    | Dextro II cos                    |
| <sup>15</sup> | ad op st[ip]                | The[m]arsas Buccei               |
| <sup>16</sup> | _____                       | Au[i]dalathus Teoboli            |
| <sup>17</sup> | a[d] op stip                | [Iarha]boles [Z]ebida            |
| <sup>18</sup> | [ad o]p s[t]ip              | [ . . . . . ] es Gabr[ion]       |
| <sup>19</sup> |                             | [Cil]one II c[os]                |
| <sup>20</sup> | _____                       | A [ . . . ] M[o]nim[i]           |
| <sup>21</sup> |                             | ]b[                              |
| <sup>22</sup> | ]— Te[                      |                                  |
| <sup>23</sup> |                             |                                  |
| <sup>24</sup> | ]— A[ . . . . . ] . . . . [ |                                  |
| <sup>25</sup> | ad[ . . . . . ]             | Antonius Romanus                 |
| <sup>26</sup> |                             | Sabino II cos                    |
| <sup>27</sup> | —[ . . . ]—                 | Aurel Paulus                     |

*col. XLIII: 1* Ach]ille[us Malch- *edd.* || **3** ] . . [ . ] alac[ *edd.* || **10** Lic[i]nnius *edd.* || **15** s[tip] *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || **16** ]dalathus *edd.* || **17** ]boles *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || **24** ] . [ . ] . [ *edd.* || **25** *fortasse* ]]

*col. XLIII:* 'Achilleus son of ...  
 During the ... consulship of the divine Antoninus:  
 Zebidas ... (standard-bearer)  
 Iulius Marinius (... ?)  
 Habibis son of Zebidas  
 Zebidas son of Habibis (*dispositus*)  
 Abgarus son of Iarheus (in Appadana)  
 Iulius Germanus  
 Claudius son of Dadonas  
 Licinnius Apolloninus (in exploration)  
 Salmes son of Malchus

Camel-drivers. From Malchus' century, under the second consulship of Dexter:

Themarsas son of Buccaeus (to the estimate of salaries)  
 Auidalathus son of Theobolus  
 Iarhaboles son of Zebidas (to the estimate of salaries)  
 ... son of Gabrion (to the estimate of salaries)  
 During the second consulship of Cilo:  
 Aurelius (?) son of Monimus  
 ...  
 Antonius Romanus (...?)  
 During the second consulship of Sabinus:  
 Aurelius Paulus'

*col. XLIV*

|               |                |                      |   |
|---------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| <sup>1</sup>  | ζ [Danymi      | ] [                  |   |
| <sup>2</sup>  | ]——[           | ]m[                  |   |
| <sup>3</sup>  |                | ]a [                 |   |
| <sup>4</sup>  | ————           | Aurel Barca [        |   |
| <sup>5</sup>  |                | Sabino II co[s]      |   |
| <sup>6</sup>  | ————           | Aurel Calpurnius     |   |
| <sup>7</sup>  | ————           | Aurel Roman[u]s      |   |
| <sup>8</sup>  | ————           | Aurel Aadeus         |   |
| <sup>9</sup>  | ————           | Aurel Sabin[u]s      |   |
| <sup>10</sup> | ————           | Aurel Roman[u]s      |   |
| <sup>11</sup> | ζ Marci        | De[x]tro II co[s]    |   |
| <sup>12</sup> | sesq           | Domet[i]us Barsemea  |   |
| <sup>13</sup> |                | M[uci]ano co[s]      |   |
| <sup>14</sup> | ad [. . . . .] | Aelius Anton[i]nus   |   |
| <sup>15</sup> |                | Messala cos          |   |
| <sup>16</sup> | ————           | Aurel Valens         |   |
| <sup>17</sup> | ————           | Au[r]el [Ma]rinus    |   |
| <sup>18</sup> |                | [Sa]bino II cos      |   |
| <sup>19</sup> | ————           | D[omittius] Nicolaus |   |
| <sup>20</sup> | ad op stip     | . . . . .]as[        |   |
| <sup>21</sup> |                | ] co[s]              |   |
| <sup>22</sup> | —[             | ]sal[                |   |
| <sup>23</sup> | [              |                      | ] |
| <sup>24</sup> | [              |                      | ] |
| <sup>25</sup> | [              |                      | ] |
| <sup>26</sup> | ad op [stip    |                      |   |
| <sup>27</sup> |                | [M]essala cos        |   |
| <sup>28</sup> | ————           | [. . . . .] Heraclas |   |

---

*col. XLIV: 3* ] [ *edd.* || *4* fortasse Barc(h)al[bas] || *12* Barssamen *Marichal* || *19* D[ometius] *edd.* || *20* ] [ *edd.* || *21* ] co[s] *edd.*

*col. XLIV: 'From Danymus' century:*

...  
 Aurelius ...  
 During the second consulship of Sabinus:  
 Aurelius Calpurnius  
 Aurelius Romanus

Aurelius Aadeus  
 Aurelius Sabinus  
 Aurelius Romanus  
 From Marcus' century, under the second consulship of Dexter:  
 Dometius son of Barsemias (*sesquiplicarius*)  
 During the consulship of Mucianus:  
 Aelius Antoninus (...?)  
 During the consulship of Messala:  
 Aurelius Valens  
 Aurelius Marinus  
 During the second consulship of Sabinus:  
 Dometius Nicolaus  
 ... (to the estimate of salaries)  
 During the consulship of...'

col. XLV

|               |              |                             |       |
|---------------|--------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| <sup>1</sup>  |              |                             | ]     |
| <sup>2</sup>  | ad op sti[p] | Aur[el . . . . .]           | s     |
| <sup>3</sup>  |              | Antonini Pr [Tert]ull[o]    | ços   |
| <sup>4</sup>  | —————        | Gaius Barha[d]ad[u]         | s     |
| <sup>5</sup>  | —————        | Malchus Salman              |       |
| <sup>6</sup>  |              | duobus Asp                  | cos   |
| <sup>7</sup>  | —————        | Macrinus Maximi             |       |
| <sup>8</sup>  |              | Sabino II                   | cos   |
| <sup>9</sup>  | —————        | Aurel Silua[nus]            |       |
| <sup>10</sup> |              | Antonini Post An[to]nino II | [cos] |
| <sup>11</sup> | —————        | Iulius [ . . ]b[ . . . . ]  | s     |
| <sup>12</sup> |              | Me[ssala                    | cos]  |
| <sup>13</sup> | —————        | Iulius [ . . . . . ]        | ius   |
| <sup>14</sup> | ad op stip   | Abidsalmas [Iarh]           | ei    |

col. XLV: **10** An[to]nino II [cos (uel II[I] Fink: Anull(ino) II cos *Marichal* || **13** Iulius [ . . ] [ *Fink<sup>l</sup> Marichal* || **14** Abidsalmas [ . . ] ei *Fink<sup>l</sup>*

col. XLV: 'Aurelius... (to the estimate of salaries)  
 From Antoninus the Elder's century, under the consulship of Tertullus:  
 Gaius Barhadadus  
 Malchus son of Salman  
 During the consulship of the two Aspri:  
 Macrinus son of Maximus  
 During the second consulship of Sabinus:  
 Aurelius Silvanus  
 From Antoninus the younger's century, under the second consulship of Antoninus:  
 Iulius...  
 During the consulship of Messala:  
 Iulius...  
 Abidsalmas son of Iarhaeus (to the estimate of salaries)'

fr. b

|              |                  |
|--------------|------------------|
|              | - - -            |
| <sup>1</sup> | ]uma[ . . ] Bar[ |
|              | - - -            |

*fr. d*

$\begin{array}{c} |^1 \\ |^2 \end{array}$ 
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$ 
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$ 
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$

*fr. e*

$\begin{array}{c} |^1 \\ |^2 \end{array}$ 
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$ 
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$ 
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$

*fr. e: fortasse Calpu]rni[us G]auli[anus*

*fr. i*

$\begin{array}{c} |^1 \\ |^2 \end{array}$ 
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$ 
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$ 
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$

*fr. i: 1 fortasse Bora[s uel Bore[s || 2 fortasse Mala[chelus uel Hala[s*

*fr. j*

$\begin{array}{c} |^1 \\ |^2 \\ |^3 \end{array}$ 
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$ 
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$

*fr. l*

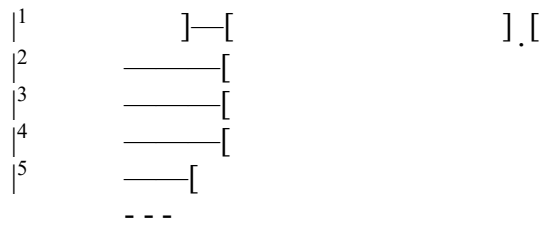
$\begin{array}{c} |^1 \\ |^2 \\ |^3 \\ |^4 \\ |^5 \end{array}$ 
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$ 
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$

*fr. o*

$\begin{array}{c} |^1 \\ |^2 \\ |^3 \\ |^4 \end{array}$ 
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$ 
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$

*fr. t*

$\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$



R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 96–106 no. 8); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 357 (1977). TM 44834

Fr. (papyrus roll):  $a+b+c$  (64.7x94.2 cm)

The papyrus preserves a roster; most likely a partial one, as neither the names of the centurions<sup>506</sup> nor any cavalryman is mentioned, but only infantry and camel-troopers (*dromadarii*); the roster might have also served the purpose of noting casualties, as some of the names are *θetatī* (see below).<sup>507</sup> The papyrus consists of three large fragments, ridden with holes: *a* *b* and *c*. According to their shapes and holes, they can be reunited in a single larger fragment, with remnants of ten columns. Fr. *a* preserves coll. I–III and part of col. IV; fr. *b*, coll. IV–VI and part of col. VII; fr. *c*, coll. VII–X. Fr. *a* and *b* are located in a single frame; so is fr. *c*. The original roll was probably rolled in normal reading position, as the initial portions of the fragments, particularly fr. *a*, are the most damaged and were therefore the most external portions. Upper and lower margins cannot be seen; the first and last columns are incomplete, so even if many *intercolumnia* – intercolumnar spaces – can be spotted, the left and right margin of the overall document are lost as well.<sup>508</sup> Marichal mentions a number of smaller scraps, which he did not include in the edition as they were unreadable; plus, they cannot be found in the frame or in the photos.<sup>509</sup>

Two names of already known centurions can be read in the document: Marcus (coll. III l. 8–V l. 8) and Marianus (coll. V l. 9–VII l. 24). Three more have been identified by Fink and Davies: Antoninus *Prior* (coll. VII l. 25–IX) and *Posterior* (coll. X) at the end of the roster, and then, before Marcus, Danymus (presumably coll. I–III l. 7). Davies believes, as only five centuries are so represented, that before Danymus another centurion, whose name is now lost, appeared. In *P.Dura 67*, on the *verso* of this manuscript, Danymus has stepped up to the first position, and the last position is occupied by Pudens. According to Davies, the missing centurion in *P.Dura 102*, then replaced by Pudens in 67, would be Malchus;<sup>510</sup> but this depends on the chronological sequence of *P.Dura 67* and 102, which is far from certain. As for the dating, the earliest proposal by Fink<sup>511</sup> is probably the most likely possibility: **AD 222** as a *post quem* is entirely acceptable, as the *dromedarius* Aurelius Romanus is dead here (col. III l. 4) but was alive in *P.Dura 101* col. XLIV l. 7, written in 222. The *terminus ante quem* is instead less clear.

*P.Dura 102* is the papyrological *recto* of *P.Dura 67*: the former was written along the fibres, the latter across them. One would be therefore inclined to think that *P.Dura 102* was also written earlier than *P.Dura 67*. Now, this papyrus (67) cannot be later than 225 (for internal reasons: see comm. *ad locum*); therefore, in his first edition, Fink thought of 222–4 as a possible dating for *P.Dura 102*.<sup>512</sup> However, in *P.Dura 67* col. V l. 14 one finds a Mombogeus Barnebus, in Marcus' century, very much alive right after a Gerelis Asclepiades; while here, in col. III l. 18, one finds in Marcus' century a Gerelius Asclepiades and then a [- -]bogeus who seems almost certainly dead: he is erased with a horizontal stroke and there is a dating formula on the right margin. This cannot be but the same Mombogeus in *P.Dura 67*; but if he is dead in *P.Dura 102*, he cannot be alive in a seemingly later *P.Dura 67*.

While noticing the problem in his *Records*, Fink managed to dismiss it by arguing that Mombogeus was not dead, but was only omitted from the list when *P.Dura 102* was drafted, for unfathomable reasons – perhaps a transfer; and afterwards, reinstated, so that in *P.Dura 67* he

<sup>506</sup> Only the syntagm '*centuria cuiusdam*' is noted; never the name of the centurion himself, as happens in *P.Dura 100* and 101 immediately after the beginning of a new section of the list; nor the name of the higher ranks in the century, namely *sesquiplicarii* and *duplicarii*.

<sup>507</sup> Fink (1971: 96–7).

<sup>508</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 356).

<sup>509</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 20).

<sup>510</sup> See Davies (1976: 256–7; 270).

<sup>511</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 365).

<sup>512</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 365).

features again in the list. In short, a temporary absence – and perhaps an unexpected return.<sup>513</sup> This could well be argued by the fact that in this papyrus, erasure does not necessarily imply the presence of a  $\theta$  (the signal for *thetatus*, a soldier dead in action), nor – as a consequence – implies that the soldier was dead (see coll. VI l. 29; IX l. 20). Having made his point, Fink hypothesized a *terminus ante* for 102 in AD 228, 25 years after the latest enlistment date (203 in col. III l. 5): this implied that the *verso*, *P.Dura* 67, which cannot be later than AD 225, should have been written in 222–4. Like Fink, Marichal was decidedly against dating 67 before 102, and believed, either that the two manuscripts referred to a different Mombogeus (which is possible, given the large amount of similar names in the Palmyrene cohort), or that there had been a clerical mistake. He eventually proposed 224 as a *terminus ante*, mostly relying on an uncertain supplement (col. VII l. 14 [*Julia*] *no II cos*).<sup>514</sup>

The problem is a delicate, almost unsolvable one. The Mombogeus in col. III l. 18 of *P.Dura* 102 is almost certainly the Mombogeus Barnebus in *P.Dura* 67. One can argue, of course, that since the same century in the Durene unit could and did host two or more soldiers with the same name and enlisted in the same year,<sup>515</sup> the Mombogeus in 102 might be a different individual, but of the same name, from the one in 67. This, on the other hand, seems far-fetched: the names before and after Mombogeus are the same names in both papyri, and this strongly suggests that the two Mombogei are one and the same person. If Mombogeus in 102 is dead, then 67 must come before 102, and the *verso* was written before the *recto*. If he was just transferred, and then reinstated, or if the news of his death was false and later proven as a mistake, 102 can come before 67. Since we cannot know whether he was dead or just removed, and this piece of information is the very one we need to solve the riddle, we content ourselves in leaving the problem open, and placing the *recto* (*P.Dura* 102) before the *verso* (*P.Dura* 67) in this chapter, as normally expected in papyri. Since one cannot establish which side was written first, using Fink's *terminus ante quem AD 228* for *P.Dura* 102 seems the less dangerous option.

As customary with rosters, the names are preceded (sometimes followed) by annotations, mostly abbreviated, and by a not yet fully understood apparatus of signs. Some of the soldiers are detached in *App(adana)*, a toponym often associated with a horizontal stroke surmounted by a black dot, probably added later. Horizontal strokes can also follow names. Dead soldiers (*thetati*) have their names erased by a stroke, and preceded by the so-called *theta nigrum* ('black *theta*'); the day and month of their death is noted.<sup>516</sup> Those soldiers who are followed by *sine dromo(ne)* or *dromon(e)* probably lost their dromedary.<sup>517</sup> The couple of letters *ns* has been interpreted as *n(on) s(anus)*<sup>518</sup> or *n(on) s(ecutus)*;<sup>519</sup> the meanings of abbreviations *remans* and *disposit* are uncertain, and so are a number of longer annotations in col. VII ll. 4 and 9. All this rich apparatus has been added by further hands, or at any rate with different pens. Marichal believes that while *App* is from the same hand who wrote the main text, annotations in coll. III ll. 4; 18; 29; VII, l. 7 (*ns*); and IX l. 20 all come from another hand.<sup>520</sup>

col. I  
- - -

|              |                      |
|--------------|----------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | ]de . . [            |
| <sup>2</sup> | ]bbaei               |
| <sup>3</sup> | ] . . i . e . . [u]s |

<sup>513</sup> Fink believes the name of the soldiers to be Mambogeus, not Mombogeus; however, in *P.Dura* 67 one clearly has Mombogeus, as Marichal rightly saw; and if the soldier is the same, Mombogeus must be read in *P.Dura* 102 too.

<sup>514</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 21).

<sup>515</sup> In *P.Dura* 100 col. XXX there are two Aurelii Siluani, both sent *ad dominum nostrum* and both in *centuria Malchiana*. They are almost undistinguishable one from the other, and yet they are two distinct soldiers. The same holds for two Aurelii Marini in *P.Dura* 98 fr. *e+b* col. III, who share the same century and the same enlistment date.

<sup>516</sup> On this custom, see PERS. 4, 13; ISID. *orig.* 1, 24, 1–2; Watson (1952); and an update in Bellucci and Bortolussi (2014).

<sup>517</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 21).

<sup>518</sup> Fink (1971: 16); Davies (1968: 32).

<sup>519</sup> R. Marichal in *ChLA* (IX: 20).

<sup>520</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 21).

|4                   ] e .  
 |5               ][[ . ]sa]  
 |6                   ] .  
 |7                               ].[ . . . ] .  
 |8       ]  
 |9       ]  
 |10       ]  
 |11       ]  
 |12       ]  
 |13                   ].[ . ]sa  
 ---

col. I: 1 ] e . [ edd. || 3 ] . . . . . [ edd. || 4 ] . [ edd. || 5 rasuram vidit Marichal || 6 ] [ edd. || 7–13 recognovi

col. II

---

|1                   [ . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] rius  
 |2                   [ . . . ] us [ . ] [ . . . ] imus  
 |3                   [Sal]mes . bi [ . ] [ . ]  
 |4                   [Au]rel Belaca[b]us  
 |5       —[           A]urel Roma[nu]s  
 |6       ] [           ] Aurel Fl [ . ]  
 |7       • . . [       ] — A[u]rel He[ . ]  
 |8       • —[       ] — [[A]urel] [           ] [ . . . ] . . . [ . ]  
 |9                   Mocimus [ . ]  
 |10       • —[       Au]re[l] Dem[e]trius  
 |11       ] [       A]urel Bas[sus]  
 |12       • [       ] — Aurel Sos[si]an[u]s • z[ . ]  
 |13                   ] — Aurel Germanus  
 |14       ] — Ba[ . ]ba [ . ] d [ . ] us [ . ] m [ . ]  
 |15                   [T]hema[rs]as Iar[hac]i  
 |16                   Mucianus [Zabbae]i  
 |17                   [Aur]el [Apolloni]u[s]  
 |18                               ] [ . . . ] Marinus  
 |19                   [Them]ars[as Barne]b[i]  
 |20                   [ . . . ] . [ . ]  
 |21                               L[aeto II cos]  
 |22       ] — Aurel D[ . ]  
 |23                   [C]laudi[us]  
 |24                   [A]ur[el]  
 |25                   ] A[ . ]  
 |26                   [Aur]el [ . . . . . ] [ . ]  
 |27                               ] e [ . . . ] [ . ]  
 |28                               Sabino I[I c]os  
 |29                   [Au]rel [M]a[l]chus  
 |30                   [Aur]el [ . ]  
 |31                   [Aur]el [ . ]



- - -

col. II: 2 ] . [ ] [ ]im[ ]us Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal: im[i]us Fink<sup>1</sup> || 3 ]me . [ ]bi . [ Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal: ]bi [ Fink<sup>2</sup>  
 || 4 B[e]laca[b]us edd. || 7 • [ Marichal | [A]urel edd. || 8 ] . [ ] . [ edd. || 9 [Barne- Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 10  
 • uidi | A]ure[1 Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal: Aur]e[1 Fink<sup>2</sup> || 12 fortasse ζ(ήτει) uel ζ(ητητέον) || 13 G[e]rmanus Marichal  
 || 14 B . ba [ ]d . . . . . edd.: fortasse Ba[r]bas D [ ]us[ ]mi || 16 Mucia[n]us edd. || 18 ] . [ ]  
 Mar[i]nus edd. || 19 Barne]b[us Fink: Barnebus] Marichal || 22 D[emetrius fortasse Fink || 25 ] . [ edd. || 26  
 ] . [ ] . [ edd. || 27 ] . [ ]n edd. || 28 Sa[bi]no [II edd. || 30 Aur]e[1 edd.

col. II: ‘... Salmes ...

Aurelius Belacabus

Aurelius Romanus

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius (dead)

Mocimus ...

Aurelius Demetrius

Aurelius Bassus

Aurelius Sossianus

Aurelius Germanus ...

Themarsas son of Iarhaeus

Mucianus son of Zabbaeus

Aurelius Apollonius

...Marinus...

Themarsas son of Barnebus ...

During the second consulship of Laetus:

Aurelius...

Claudius...

Aurelius...

Aurelius...

During the second consulship of Sabinus:

Aurelius Malchus

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ...’

col. III

|<sup>1</sup> ] . . ius  
 |<sup>2</sup> drom] Sabino II [c]os  
 |<sup>3</sup> —[ ]— A[urel] Calpurni[us]  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] θ [[A[ur]e[1] Roma[nus]]] X Kal Sep  
 |<sup>5</sup> ———[ ]— A[ur]e[1] Addaeus [sin]e dromon  
 |<sup>6</sup> LXIII  
 |<sup>7</sup> [γMa]rci Geta seniore II [c]os  
 |<sup>8</sup> ]— Seleucus Barbaes[am]en  
 |<sup>9</sup> ] • ——— Salmanes Iamliç[h]i  
 |<sup>10</sup> ] Maris Iarhaei  
 |<sup>11</sup> A]urel Sentian[u]s  
 |<sup>12</sup> ] Ulp[us] Mar[us]  
 |<sup>13</sup> ]— Nisraeus Male  
 |<sup>14</sup> Cilo[n]e I[I cos]  
 |<sup>15</sup> ]—— I[u]l[i]us Crisp[inu]s  
 |<sup>16</sup> ] . [ ]— Gerelius A[s]clep[iades]  
 |<sup>17</sup> ] App ——— Salmanes Si[gna]

|    |  |   |   |                  |        |                |
|----|--|---|---|------------------|--------|----------------|
| 18 |  | ] | — | [[M[om]bogeu[s]] | .....] | Kal Oct        |
| 19 |  |   |   | ].               | [      |                |
| 20 |  |   |   |                  |        | ]              |
| 21 |  |   |   |                  |        |                |
| 22 |  |   |   |                  |        |                |
| 23 |  |   |   |                  |        |                |
| 24 |  |   |   |                  |        | ] Kal A[       |
| 25 |  |   |   |                  |        | ]              |
| 26 |  |   |   |                  |        | ]              |
| 27 |  |   |   |                  |        | ]              |
| 28 |  |   |   |                  |        | ]              |
| 29 |  |   |   | ]                |        | an[            |
| 30 |  |   |   |                  |        | ] Kal Octobr [ |

— — —

col. III: **1** ]pius edd. || **2** drom] *Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal: omisit Fink<sup>2</sup>* || **4** A[urel] edd. | ] *Fink* || **5** A[urel edd. || **8** Barbaes[om]en *Fink<sup>1</sup>: Barbaes[sam]en Marichal* || **12** U]lpius *Marichal* | Mari[nus *Marichal* || **15** Cr[i]sp[inus edd. || **16** ] [ *recognoui* || **18** [Mamb]ogeu[s]] ] Kal *Fink<sup>1</sup>: [Mam]bogeu[s Barnebus]]* Kal *Fink<sup>2</sup>: [[Mom]bogeu[s]] Kal Marichal* || **19–9** *inter has lineas duas lineas deperditas tantum Fink: nouem Marichal* || **24** uidi || **29** *fortasse An[ullino II cos]: ] . [ Fink: [ Marichal*

col. III: ‘... camel-troopers. During the second consulship of Sabinus:

Aurelius Calpurnius

Aurelius Romanus (dead on 23 September)

Aurelius Addaeus (without his mount).

(Total number): 63.

From the century of Marcus, during the second consulship of the Elder Geta:

Seleucus son of (?) Barbaesamen

Salmanes son of Iamlichus

Maris son of Iarhaeus

Aurelius Sentianus

Ulpianus Marinus

Nisraeus ...

During the second consulship of Cilo:

Iulius Crispinus

Gerelius Asclepiades

Salmanes ... (in Appadana)

Mombogeus... (*erased*) (... the Calends of October) ...

... the Calends of October ...’

**4–5** The dating formula *X ... Sept(embres)* and the annotation *je dromon* appear to have been written by two further hands. The same holds for the formulae in ll. **18**, **24** and **30**. The marginal datings, signalling deaths or transfers, most likely were inserted by other clerks after the main list had been drawn up.

col. IV

|   |  |        |                        |   |   |
|---|--|--------|------------------------|---|---|
| 1 |  |        | ]                      | . | [ |
| 2 |  | ] s —[ | A]urel An[to]ninus     |   |   |
| 3 |  | —[     | Be]l[a]cabus I[arh]aei |   |   |
| 4 |  |        | ] S[a]lm[a]n           |   |   |
| 5 |  | —[     | Aurel A]uidas          |   |   |
| 6 |  | —[     | Bo]liadaeus Iarhaei    |   |   |

|    |  |       |                         |
|----|--|-------|-------------------------|
| 7  |  | . [   | Azi]ẓus [Aa]th[ibe]ḷi |
| 8  |  |       | [Iarhaeus Z]eḅida      |
| 9  |  |       | M]arini                 |
| 10 |  | — [   | ]si[ . ]ṣ              |
| 11 |  | . [   | ] [ . . . ]ṣ           |
| 12 |  |       | Ba]ssus                 |
| 13 |  |       | Zen]obius               |
| 14 |  | — [   | ] Demetrius             |
| 15 |  | — [   | He]l[i]odori            |
| 16 |  | — — [ | Mo]cimus                |
| 17 |  |       | ] [                     |

- - -

*col. IV: 1 recognoui || 2 An[to]ni[nus] Marichal || 3 I[arha]ei edd. || 5 —[ in sequenti linea posuit Marichal | Aurel suppl. Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 6 — — [ in sequenti linea posuit Marichal | Bo]l[i]adaeus edd. || 10 —[ in sequenti linea posuit Marichal || 11 . [ initio lineae om Marichal | ] . edd. || 12 ] . sus[ Fink || 14 —[ uidi || 15–16 —[ om. Marichal || 16 post hanc unam lineam (—[—) Fink: tres lineas (—[—] | —[—] | —[—]) et nouem deperditas Marichal || 17 om. Fink*

*col. IV: '... Aurelius Antoninus  
 Belacabus son of Iarhaeus ...  
 Salman...  
 Aurelius Auidas  
 Boliadaeus son of Iarhaeus  
 Azizus son of Aathibelus  
 Iarhaeus son of Zebidas  
 ... son of Marinus ...  
 Bassus ...  
 Zenobius ...  
 Demetrius ...  
 ... son of Heliodorus ...  
 Mocimus ...'*

*col. V*

|    |  |                        |                          |                       |
|----|--|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1  |  |                        | ]— [                     | ]d[                   |
| 2  |  |                        | ]● — — A[                | Ia]rhaei              |
| 3  |  | — — ● ns — [           | ] Dom[i]ttius Ni[colaus] |                       |
| 4  |  |                        |                          | drom Me[ssalla cos]   |
| 5  |  | — — ● — —              | Aurel Mar[inus]          |                       |
| 6  |  |                        |                          | Sabin[o II cos]       |
| 7  |  | — — ● — —              | Aur[el] Zabdib[olus]     |                       |
| 8  |  |                        |                          | L [                   |
| 9  |  |                        | 9 Mariani                | Geta Seni[ore II cos] |
| 10 |  | — — ● — —              | Aelius Heraç[l           |                       |
| 11 |  | — — ● — —              | Themes Mal[chi]          |                       |
| 12 |  |                        |                          | Cilo[n]e [II cos]     |
| 13 |  | — — ● — —              | Abidla[ha]s Ma[ximi]     |                       |
| 14 |  | — — ● — —              | Iulius Abid[semias]      |                       |
| 15 |  | [ . ] p — — ● — —      | M[a]ximu[s Z]ao[ra]      |                       |
| 16 |  | ]d[ispo]sit[ . ] e . . | Alex[andrus]             |                       |
| 17 |  | — — ● — —              | Marin[us]                |                       |
| 18 |  |                        | ] ● — —                  | Aciba[s Bora]         |

19 d[iu]o [Antonino II cos]  
 20 ] ● — Iulius Bassus  
 21 ] — Ant[ . . . ] sin[  
 22 Al[bino cos]  
 23 ] — Nisams[us  
 24 ] — Ant[  
 25 ] ● — [ . ] [ . ]  
 26 ] — Aur[el  
 27 ] [ . ] [ . ]  
 28 ] — D[  
 29 ] ● — Iu[lius  
 30 ] ● — [ . ]

— — —

*col. V: 1* ] [ *edd.* || *2* ] [ . h[ . ] *edd.* || *14* Abid[semia *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || *15* initium lineae uidi: fortasse [[A[p]p(adana)]]  
 || *16* ] d[ispo]sit — <sup>e</sup> — *Fink:* ] d[ispo]sit[ . ] [ . e . *Marichal* | Alex[andrus . . . us] *Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal* || *17*  
*Marin[us . . . ron]* *Fink*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal* || *19* d[iuo *edd.* || *23* Nisam[sus *edd.* || *25* . . . [ *edd.* || *26* . . . [ *Marichal*  
 || *27* ] [ . ] [ . ] [ *Fink:* ] [ . ] [ *Marichal* || *28* U[ *edd.* || *29* I[ *edd.*

*col. V:* '... son of Iarhaeus ...

Domitius Nicolaus

Camel-troopers. During the consulship of Messalla:

Aurelius Marinus

During the second consulship of Sabinus:

Aurelius Zabdibolus.

(Total number): ...

From the century of Marianus, under the second consulship of the Elder Geta:

Aelius ...

Themes son of Malchus

During the second consulship of Cilo:

Abidlahas son of Maximus

Iulius Abidsemias

Maximus son of Zaoras

Alexandrus...

Marinus...

Acibas son of Boras

During the second consulship of the divine Antoninus:

Iulius Bassus ...

During the consulship of Albinus:

Nisamsus ...

Aurelius ...

Iulius ...'

**26** It must be remarked that the horizontal stroke seems to have been written slightly above the name it referred to (*Aur*[ ]).

*col. VI*

1 F[austin]o cos  
 2 ] — [ ] Addaeus [Maccae]i  
 3 — ● — Iuliu[s] The[m]arsa  
 4 — [●] — Ma[lc]hus Vabalathi  
 5 ] ● — Sil[ua]nus Sadalathi  
 6 duobus Aspris c[os]  
 7 App — [ ] — Iar[h]aeus Salman

|    |             |                              |
|----|-------------|------------------------------|
| 8  | —[ ]—       | Zebidas I[a]rhaei            |
| 9  | —●—         | Habbis Ogei                  |
| 10 |             | Messala cos                  |
| 11 | —●—         | Claudius Milens              |
| 12 | —●—         | A[ur]el Mannaecus            |
| 13 | — θ —       | [[Aurel Domitti[us]]]        |
| 14 | —●—         | Aelius Aureli[u]s            |
| 15 | ● App —[ ]— | Iulius Mar[in]us             |
| 16 | ● App —[ ]— | Bassus Nass[i]beli           |
| 17 |             | Themes Heliodor[ ]—          |
| 18 |             | Aila[m]is B[e]lasur          |
| 19 |             | [Aur]el Mannus               |
| 20 | ● App [ ]—  | Iulius Gaianus               |
| 21 |             | ] Antonius [ . . . ]us       |
| 22 |             | ] θ [[Aurel M[ . . . ] sus]] |
| 23 |             | ]— Iulius Sabinus            |
| 24 |             | ]— Mazab[anas                |
| 25 |             | ]— Aurel [ ]                 |
| 26 |             | ] The[ ]                     |
| 27 |             | ] Aurel                      |
| 28 |             | ] Aurel                      |
| 29 | ]●—         | [[Aur[el                     |
| 30 |             | ] .Ua[ ]                     |

— — —

col. VI: 2 [Maccae Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 4 [●] uidi || 7 A]pp Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal || 12 Man deus Fink<sup>1</sup> || 13 A[u]rel edd. || 16 Bassu[s] edd. || 17 [T]hemes edd. || 19 [Aure]l edd. || 22 ]—θ edd. | M[ . . . ] sus (dubitanter an N[isa]msus) Fink || 23 S[a]binu[s] edd. || 29 ] —[[Aur[el]] Fink<sup>1</sup>: ]——[[Aur[el]] Fink<sup>2</sup>: —]—[[Aur[el]] Marichal || 30 —]— ua[ Fink

col. VI: ‘... under the consulship of Faustinus.

Addaeus son of Maccaeus

Iulius son of Themarsas

Malchus son of Vabalathus

Silvanus son of Sadalathus

During the consulship of the two Aspri:

Iarhaeus son of Salmanes (in Appadana)

Zebidas son of Iarhaeus

Habbis son of Ogelus

During the consulship of Messala:

Claudius ...

Aurelius Mannaecus

Aurelius Domitius (dead)

Aelius Aurelius

Iulius Marinus (in Appadana)

Bassus son of Nasibelus (in Appadana)

Themes ...

Ailamis Belasur (?)

Aurelius Mannus

Iulius Gaianus (in Appadana)

Antonius ...

Aurelius ... (dead)

Iulius Sabinus



Aurelius Barbaesomen  
 Aurelius Marinus  
 Aurelius Silvanus  
 Aurelius Iarhaboles  
 Aurelius Domitius...  
 During the second consulship of...  
 Aurelius Marona  
 Camel drivers. During the consulship of Faustinus:  
 Aurelius Silvanus  
 During the consulship of the two Aspri:  
 ...  
 During the consulship of Messala:  
 ...  
 Heraclas (without his mount)  
 During the second consulship of Laetus:  
 ...  
 Gaianus...  
 (Total number): 62.  
 From the century of ...  
 ... (in Appadana)'

*col. VIII*

- - -

|    |                    |                         |
|----|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 1  |                    | ]—— [Iadaeus Them]arṣa  |
| 2  |                    | d[iuo Anto]nino II cos  |
| 3  | ]—●[ ]             | Iulius [Bassu]s         |
| 4  | remaṣ[ . . ] . . . | ——— Aurel [Muci]anus    |
| 5  |                    | I]ulius [Ba]rṣaṣ        |
| 6  | —[ ]●——            | Bassu[s Ba]rsimsi       |
| 7  |                    | Ap[ro] ḥos              |
| 8  | —[ ]●——            | Iu[li]us Romanus        |
| 9  |                    | ]— Habbis Marona        |
| 10 | Ap[p ]——           | Iarhaeus B[arn]a[e]i —[ |
| 11 |                    | P[o]mp[e]i[an]o· cos    |
| 12 |                    | ]— Iulius Romanus       |
| 13 |                    | duobus Aspri[s c]os     |
| 14 | App [ ]——          | Themes Zebida           |
| 15 | ——●[ ]——           | Themarsas Nisamsi       |
| 16 |                    | Messala cos             |
| 17 | ——●[ ]——           | A[u]rel Magnus          |
| 18 |                    | ]— Themarsas Th[e]me    |
| 19 |                    | ]— Aurel Mucia[nu]s     |
| 20 |                    | ]— Abdaeus Zabb[        |
| 21 | — [ ]———           | Aurel Bars[imsus]       |
| 22 | ● Ap[p ]——         | Mocimus Ma [ . ]        |
| 23 | ● App ——           | Iu[liu]s Mari[nus]      |
| 24 |                    | ]— Ia[r]hae[u]s Th[     |
| 25 |                    | ]— Flavius [            |
| 26 |                    | ]— Aurel B[             |
| 27 |                    | ]— Aure[l               |

|<sup>28</sup> ]— Aur[el  
 |<sup>29</sup> ]— Aurel [  
 |<sup>30</sup> ] A[u]rel [  
 |<sup>31</sup> ] Au[rel  
 |<sup>32</sup> A]ur[el

— — —

*col. VIII: 3* I]ulius Marichal || *4* [ . . . Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal || *5* ] n[ . ]eus *edd.* || *8* Iu[liu]s *edd.* || *9* . . . bbis Fink<sup>1</sup>:  
 Habb[i]s Marichal || *10* . . . — Fink: Ap[ . ] Marichal | *post nomen*, — uidi || *12* ] Iulius Fink || *15* Themarsa[s]  
*edd.* || *19* Mucia[nus] *edd.* || *20* Zabd[ . ] Fink || *21* . . . [ Marichal || *22* Ma[ . ] *edd.*: fortasse Male || *23* Iulius Fink<sup>1</sup>:  
 Iu[li]us Marichal | Ma[ . ] (dubitanter an Mari[nus] an Maxi[mus] *edd.* || *25* Demetrius] dubitanter Fink<sup>1</sup> ||  
*30* A[u]re[l] *edd.* || *31* ] . . . *edd.*

*col. VIII: '... Iadaeus son of Themarsas*  
 During the second consulship of the divine Antoninus:  
 Iulius Bassus  
 Aurelius Mucianus (he remained [?])  
 Iulius Barnaeus  
 Bassus son of Barsimsus  
 During the consulship of Aper  
 Iulius Romanus  
 Habbis son of Maronas  
 Iarhaeus son of Barnaeus (in Appadana)  
 During the consulship of Pompeianus:  
 Iulius Romanus  
 During the consulship of the two Aspri:  
 Themes son of Zebidas (in Appadana)  
 Themarsas son of Nisamsus  
 During the consulship of Messala  
 Aurelius Magnus  
 Themarsas son of Themes  
 Aurelius Mucianus  
 Abdaeus...  
 Aurelius Barsimsus  
 Mocimus ...  
 ... (in Appadana)  
 Iulius Marinus (in Appadana)  
 Iarhaeus ...  
 Flavius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 Aurelius ...

*col. IX*

— — —

|<sup>1</sup> [A]urel M[ . ]  
 |<sup>2</sup> ————— Au[re]l Zab[ . ]heus  
 |<sup>3</sup> —●[ . ] A[ . ]us C[ . . . . ] ●  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] Aeli[u]s Ger[ . . . . ]s ●  
 |<sup>5</sup> —[ . ] Iulius Va[ba]l[a]thus  
 |<sup>6</sup> ] . . . [ . ]eus T[h]emarsa



|    |                 |                                      |
|----|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| 7  |                 | Laet[o II] cos                       |
| 8  | —[ ]—[ ]        | Aurel Marinus                        |
| 9  |                 | A]urel [ ]] eus                      |
| 10 |                 | Aurel M. l[ ]] abimi                 |
| 11 | • App [ ]—[ ]—  | Aur[el] [ ]] [ ]                     |
| 12 | • [Ap]p [ ]—[ ] | R]omanus Barsimsi                    |
| 13 |                 | Sabino II cos                        |
| 14 | —[ ]—           | Aur[e]l Demetri[u]s                  |
| 15 | [[• App]] —[ ]— | Aurel S[u]mmar[es]                   |
| 16 | [[ ]] ———•———   | Aurel Heliodorus                     |
| 17 | ———•[ ]         | Aur]el Bass[u]s                      |
| 18 | —[ ]•[ ]        | Aurel Demetr[iu]s                    |
| 19 |                 | Aurel Romanus                        |
| 20 |                 | [[Aurel Bartha]] [pr]idie N° Nouembr |
| 21 | ]• ———          | Aurel Marinus                        |
| 22 |                 | Extricato II [co]s                   |
| 23 | ]———            | Aurel L[u]cius                       |
| 24 |                 | [C]omazon[t]e [II co]s               |
| 25 |                 | A]urel Iulius                        |
| 26 |                 | drom du[o]b[us Aspris cos]           |
| 27 |                 | Ma]crin[ius] Max[imi]                |
| 28 |                 | Sa[b]in[o II] c[os]                  |
| 29 |                 | ] [ ]                                |

col. IX: 1 Au]rel Fink: A[ure]l Marichal | [ ]] edd. || 2 Au[re]l[ ] Fink: A[urel Marichal | .ae heus Fink: Zab[ ]]heus Marichal || 3 [ ] initio lineae edd. || 4 A]el[iu]s edd. | Ge [ ]]s Fink: fortasse Ger'm'[anu]s || 5 [ ] I]ulius edd. | Va[ba]lathus Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal: Va[b]ala[t]hus Fink<sup>2</sup> || 6 T[he]marsa[ ] edd. || 9 A]urel [ ]] eus edd. || 10 M. l[ ]] abimi[ ]] Fink<sup>1</sup> || 11 in cognominis loco [ ]] tantum Fink: nihil Marichal || 12 •[ ] edd. | Ro]manus edd. || 14 [ ] edd. | A[u]rel edd. || 15 [[ ]] edd. || 16 • omisit Marichal | Heliod[o]rus edd. || 17 Aurel Marichal || 18 Demet[rius] Fink: Dem[etrius] Marichal || 20 Barcha[ ] (dubitanter an Barcha[lba an Bartha) edd. | pri]die edd. || 21 ] — Fink: • om. Marichal || 28 Sa]bin[o I]I [cos] Fink: Sa]bin[o] I[I cos] Marichal

**20** *No(nas)*, instead of the more common *Non(as)*. The abbreviation is also rarely found elsewhere: *n* is surmounted by a small *o*. The day is 4 November.

col. IX: '... Aurelius ...

Aurelius ...

Aelius ...

Iulius Vaballathus

... son of Themarsas

During the second consulship of Laetus:

Aurelius Marinus

Aurelius...

Aurelius...

Aurelius ... (in Appadana)

Romanus son of Barsimsus (in Appadana)

During the second consulship of Sabinus:

Aurelius Demetrius

Aurelius Summares

Aurelius Heliodorus



R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 387–93 no. 92); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 322 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 200 (1992). TM 44796

Fr. (papyrus roll): 94.5x23 cm

The papyrus is in deplorable condition, ridden with holes to the extent that very little remains of the original text. Ten columns and the lower margin are still partially visible: col. I, IV, VI and X are the most damaged, whereas II, III, V and VII preserve more text. It is either a draft or the copy of an official letter, detailing a task to be performed by a number of soldiers,<sup>521</sup> and the names of these soldiers, listed below the unit they belonged to (whether a century or a *turma*). Parallels are *P.Dura* 66*d*, 66*l* and 68. The detachments mentioned are clearly more than one (see commentary *ad loc.*). The letter is contained in coll. I–II; the following columns preserve the list of soldiers. With its ten surviving columns, the manuscript is one of the largest extant samples of its kind among Latin texts on papyrus. Fink suspected it to be the draft of an outgoing letter, kept in the archive while the official copy was sent.<sup>522</sup> Marichal, on the contrary, thought of a copy of a letter, either sent or received by the tribune of the cohort;<sup>523</sup> this has been opposed by Orlandelli, according to whom no sent letter (*epistula missicia*) survives from the archive of the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort: only the received ones (*acceptae*).<sup>524</sup> Whereas Orlandelli is not entirely right in saying so (we *do* have at least two copied *missiciae* in *P.Dura* 66*a* and *j*), one would expect, if *P.Dura* 67 were the copy of a sent letter, at least the sender and addressee signalled in a separate corner of the papyrus. Such an arrangement can be seen in the aforementioned *P.Dura* 66*a* and *j*, where this indication is on the *verso*. Here one does not have a vacant side, as the document is already on the *verso*, which only complicates the matter. On the other hand, there is no positive clue that this document was a draft: the script is neat and orderly, even if the bad condition of the papyrus dramatically hinders its decipherment. One might resort to construing the document as the copy of a received letter, like *P.Dura* 58; this would account for the lack of sender and addressee in a separate corner, and for the use of an already written papyrus sheet.

The structure of the list has been thoroughly reconstructed by Fink<sup>525</sup> and Marichal.<sup>526</sup> As expected, soldiers are listed according to their century or squadron (*turma*) and under their centurion or decurion's name. There is no reference to the date of enlistment, as one can see e.g. in *P.Dura* 66*d*; clearly such lists were quickly done to answer a specific purpose, and did not need an excessive quantity of details. One detects six centurions – Danymus, Marcus, Marianus, Antoninus *Prior* and *Posterior*, and Pudens – and four decurions: Zebidas, Themarsas Tiberini (Tiberinus), Octavius and Antoninus; since they are five in the preceding rosters, *P.Dura* 100 and 101, one must be missing – probably Demetrius. The names of the officers are listed according to their seniority.<sup>527</sup> The dating depends on prosopographical reasons:<sup>528</sup> before 13 March 222, Malchus was still a centurion<sup>529</sup> – and here one cannot see him; in December 225 Aurelianus has supplanted one of the decurions here mentioned,<sup>530</sup> but one cannot find him here. Both *centuria* (Y) and *turma* (F) have their customary symbol.

col. I

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> ]..[.].[.].[.].[

<sup>521</sup> More than one subgroup of soldiers is mentioned, as will be clear from the text and the commentary.

<sup>522</sup> (1971: 384).

<sup>523</sup> *ChLA* (VII: 3).

<sup>524</sup> (1978: 24–5).

<sup>525</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 259–60).

<sup>526</sup> *ChLA* (VII: 2–3).

<sup>527</sup> Davies (1976: 271–5); *CEL* (II: 288). The names of the soldiers are listed in 3.3.1–3.; see, however, Cugusi's detailed account of them in *P.Dura* 67 (*CEL* II: 289–294).

<sup>528</sup> Fink (1971: 387).

<sup>529</sup> See *P.Dura* 102.

<sup>530</sup> See *P.Dura* 129.

|<sup>2</sup> ] . [ . ] a[  
|<sup>3</sup> ] ss

|<sup>4</sup> ] . [ . ] mbi [ .  
|<sup>5</sup> ] . [  
- - -

col. I: **1** ] . [ . . . ] [ Fink: ] . [ Marichal Cugusi || **2** ] a[ Marichal Cugusi || **4** ] . [ . . ] . [ . ] mbi [ . [ Fink:  
] . [ . . ] . [ . ] mbi [ Marichal Cugusi

col. II

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> ] . [  
|<sup>2</sup> e . [ ±23 ] . [ . ] nti[  
|<sup>3</sup> ] . [  
|<sup>4</sup> ] . [  
|<sup>5</sup> ] . s[ . ] . [  
|<sup>6</sup> ] e [ . ] . . [  
|<sup>7</sup> ] s ʒ [ . ] . [  
|<sup>8</sup> sub da[ . . . . . ] l[ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ] t[ . . . ] quiae [ .  
|<sup>9</sup> em[ . . . ] [ . . . ] tendum ad [ . . ] tionem mu[  
|<sup>10</sup> [ . . . ] [ . . . . . ] mil XL[ . . ] in his eq I  
|<sup>11</sup> [[ . . ] ae ] l[ . . . . . ] mi [ . . ] m [ . . ] esitas  
|<sup>12</sup> [ . . . ] [ . . . . . ] rmis ad il . i[ . . ] tem  
|<sup>13</sup> [ . . . . . ] em[ . . . . . ] exp[ e ] ditione te tari  
|<sup>14</sup> [ . . . ] e . . . . . LXXXIII in [hi]s mi[l]  
|<sup>15</sup> [ . . . ] c[ . . . . . ] eosq[ue] qu[or]um nom[ina] a]dpli[ca]ri  
|<sup>16</sup> [ . . . . . ] iae [ . . . ] ni [ . . . ] notum f[a]cio  
|<sup>17</sup> ] . [ . ] a [ . . . . . ] K[a]l M[  
|<sup>18</sup> ] . [ . ]

col. II: **2** ] e . [ . . ] . [ . . ] nt [ Fink: ] nt [ Marichal Cugusi || **3** omm. Marichal Cugusi || **5** ] s[ Fink: ] s[  
Marichal Cugusi || **6** fortasse ] embr[ . ] ca[ . ] l [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] ea[ . ] l [ Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal Cugusi || **7** ] . [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] .  
ʒ[ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . (centuria) [ Marichal Cugusi || **8** s] ubda[ Fink: ubd [ Marichal: ubda[ Cugusi | ] . [ Marichal  
Cugusi | ] . [ Marichal: ] e[ Cugusi | ] p[ . . . ] miae [ Fink: ] t[ . . . ] uiae [ Marichal: ] viae [ Cugusi  
|| **9** fortasse sem[ . ] . [ . ] m[ . . . ] endum Fink: . . . [ . . . . . ] [ . . . ] endum Marichal: [ . . ] em[ ± 9 ] endum  
Cugusi | ad [ . . ] [ . . ] tionem Fink: ad [ . . . ] tionem Marichal (dubitanter an ad [sta]tionem mu[niendam)  
Cugusi: s[ta]tionem fortasse recte || **10** ] r[ Fink: [ . . . . . ] [ Cugusi | LX Fink: XL[V] Cugusi || **11**  
] ad[ . . ] ns . . . [ . . ] sit[ . ] s[ Fink: ad[ . . . . . ] mi [ . . ] [ . . ] sit s Marichal: ad Cugusi |  
fortasse mis[i]mu[s] qu[ae]sitas || **12** [±16] initio lineae Cugusi | ] misad . ii . ri . tem Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] misad Fink<sup>2</sup>:  
] mis ad . . . . . tem (dubitanter an mis(i) vel mis(sus) vel mis(si) ad) Marichal Cugusi | . ll . i[ . . ] tem fortasse  
nomen loci cuiusdam: Oll- uel B[i]ll- fortasse recte: Oll ... tem dubitanter Marichal. Vide, si B[i]llae[i] . ] tem  
mauis, P.Dura 59 l. 7 billae || **13** ] e [ . edd. | exp[ e ] ditione Marichal Cugusi | testari potius quam tentari:  
tentari uel testari dubitanter Fink: tentari pro temptari dubitanter Cugusi || **14** ] cem uel ] tem: ] e . . . . .

*Fink:* ] e ..... *Marichal:* [ ..... ] *Cugusi* | mi[ *Fink Marichal:* mi[l- *Cugusi* || 15 [ *edd.* | ] ri[ ] *Fink Marichal:* ] ..... [ *Cugusi* || 16 *initio lineae* [iussi *Cugusi* | fortasse ]e[ ]tiaet[ uel ]stiaet[ ] ad [ *edd.* | fortasse enim | [ ]cio *Fink:* [ ]cio *Marichal* (dubitanter an [fa]cio): ]cio *Cugusi* | e.g. ]e[ ]tiaet uel ]stiaet t[uae] enim [id] notum f[a]cio || 17 ] a[ *Fink Cugusi:* ]a[ *Marichal* | a[cc(epta) ... K[a]l(endas) M[artias vel M[aias dubitanter *edd.* || 18 omm. *Marichal Cugusi*

*col. II:* ‘... forty-(?) soldiers, including one cavalryman... in a raid... 93, among which ... soldiers... and those whose names (I ordered?) to be attached... I make it known that... received on the (?) day of the Calends of ...’

**II 11–5** The first five letters of the line appear to have been erased with a long horizontal stroke. In the same column, at l. 15, traces are overall oddly shaped and there might be an erasure by stroke of pen.

|    | <i>col. III</i>    | <i>col. IV</i> |
|----|--------------------|----------------|
| 1  | ]us us             |                |
| 2  | ] ..               |                |
| 3  | ] .. [ ] [         |                |
| 4  | ] ..               |                |
| 5  | ]s Bannei          |                |
| 6  | Acibas] Bora       |                |
| 7  | ] ..               |                |
| 8  | ]us                |                |
| 9  | ζ [Antonini] Pr    | ] ..           |
| 10 | ] [ ] [            | ]um            |
| 11 | Iul [ ] ius        | Ze]bida        |
| 12 | ] [ ] [ ] Zeb[i]da | Satu]rnil      |
| 13 | Iul Romanus        | ]s             |
| 14 | Aurel Magnus       | ]us            |
| 15 | ζ Anton Post       | Iu]l           |
| 16 | [Ze]bida Iarhaei   | ] ias          |
| 17 | Aurel Ro]manus     | ]meri[u]s      |
| 18 | Abgarus Thema<r>sa | ] .. [ ] [ ]   |
| 19 | ζ Pudent]is        | [T Anto]n      |
| 20 | Aurel [ ] rius     | ] nd[ ] nus    |
| 21 | Aurel [ ] s        | ]nus           |
| 22 | [A]urel B[a]rnaeus | I [ ] Apol]    |

*col. III:* 1 ]us ..... *edd.* || 2 (centuria) Mari(ani) in lacuna *Marichal Cugusi* || 4 (centuria) Mari(ani) in lacuna *Fink*<sup>2</sup>: hanc lineam omm. *Marichal Cugusi* || 5 ] .. *edd.* | Bannaei *Fink* || 6 B[o]ra *edd.* || 9 P]r *edd.* || 12 fortasse I[u]l Zeb[i]da: ... [ ] Zeb[id]a *Fink Marichal:* [ *Cugusi* || 13 [Ro]manus *Marichal* || 14 M[ag]nus *Marichal:* Ma[g]nus *Cugusi* || 15 Ant[on]ini *Marichal:* Ant[o]n( ) *Cugusi* | Po]st *Marichal:* Po]st(erioris) *Cugusi* || 16 Ze]bid[a] *Marichal Cugusi* | Iarh[a]ei *Marichal* || 17 Aur[el] *Marichal Cugusi* || 18 Themasa *edd.* || 20 Deme]trius uel ]ssius dubitanter *Fink*<sup>2</sup> || 22 [Au]rel *Marichal Cugusi* | Barnaeus *Fink Marichal*

*col. IV:* 10 ] m *edd.* || 11 Zeb]i[d]a *Cugusi* || 12 et Satu]rnil(us) dubitanter *Marichal* || 13 ] [ *Fink Marichal:* om. *Cugusi* || 14 [ ] .. *Fink Marichal:* om. *Cugusi* || 15 [ *Fink Marichal:* om. *Cugusi* || 16 ] .. *Fink Marichal:* ] i .. *Cugusi* || 17 ]me .. [ ]s *Fink:* ]me .. s *Marichal Cugusi* || 18 ] [ ] [ *Fink*<sup>1</sup>:

] . [ . . . . ] I[ *Fink*<sup>2</sup>: ] [ . . . . ] I[ *Marichal*: ] [ . . . . ] I[ *Cugusi* || **19** Ant]on(ini) *Fink Marichal* || **20**  
 ] . nd[ . . ] ns *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: ] . n . *Fink*<sup>2</sup> (*dubitanter an* ]and[ ) *Marichal*: ] . nd[ . . ] . nus *Cugusi* || **21** I . [ *Cugusi*: *ad*  
*lineam sequentem pertinere recte censs. Fink Marichal* || **22** I . [ *Fink Marichal*: *om. Cugusi* | Li[cinnus]  
*dubitanter Fink*: Iar[haboles] *possis* | Apol[loninus *dubitanter Fink*: Apol[lonius *dubitanter Cugusi*

*col. III*: ‘... son of Bannaeus

Acibas son of Boras

...

From the century of Antoninus the Elder:

...

Iulius ...

... son of Zebidas

Iulius Romanus ...

Aurelius Magnus

From the century of Antoninus the Younger:

Zebida son of Iarhaeus

Aurelius Romanus

Abgarus son of Themarsas

From the century of Pudens:

Aurelius ...

Aurelius ...

Aurelius Barnaeus’

*col. IV*: ‘... son of Zebidas

... son of Saturnilus

...

Iulius ...

...

From the squadron of Antoninus:

...

**I 9–11** Names normally unabridged in military lists are here abbreviated: *Iul* for *Iulius*, *Anton* for Antoninus (or rather *Antonini*, as it is abbreviated only while signalling the centurion’s name), *Pr* for the genitive *Prioris* and *Post* for the genitive *Posterioris*.

| <i>col. V</i> | <i>col. VI</i>               |
|---------------|------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | ] . e . [                    |
| <sup>2</sup>  | ] . [                        |
| <sup>3</sup>  | ] . . . . . us               |
| <sup>4</sup>  | Aurel] B[a]rsi[ms]us         |
| <sup>5</sup>  | ]us [ . . . ] . . . ei       |
| <sup>6</sup>  | ] . [                        |
| <sup>7</sup>  | ]us . . .                    |
| <sup>8</sup>  | [e]x of[f] ] . [ . . . ] . [ |
| <sup>9</sup>  | ] . [ . . . ] . [            |
| <sup>10</sup> | ] . [ . ]bala . hi           |
| <sup>11</sup> | Heliodorus] Apoloni          |
| <sup>12</sup> | ] . [                        |
| <sup>13</sup> | ] . . . . . us               |
| <sup>14</sup> | ] . us                       |
| <sup>15</sup> | ]ab[ . . ] . [ . ]i          |

|               |                         |                              |
|---------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| <sup>16</sup> | Aurel [A]ntoninus       | ] Thema<rs>a                 |
| <sup>17</sup> | ex off [A]urel Diodorus | ] n[ . . . ] . [             |
| <sup>18</sup> | Aurel Bassus            | A[u]rel asilia[              |
| <sup>19</sup> | Domitius Nic[ol]aus     | Ÿ P[ud]ent[i]s               |
| <sup>20</sup> | Ÿ M[a]ri                | un[ . . ] aier[              |
| <sup>21</sup> | M[a]l[c]hus [V]abalathi | [[Anton]]                    |
| <sup>22</sup> | Aurelius Abidlahas      | Aeson Mo[ . ]im[i]           |
| <sup>23</sup> |                         | B . . [ . . ] . [ . ] bb . [ |

col. V: 2 fortasse sesq[ : [ ] es . . [ ] Fink : ] [ . . es . ] [Marichal : ] [ . . es . ] [Cugusi || 3–4 om. Cugusi || 5 ]LV Fink: XXX]XV Marichal Cugusi | . [ recognovi || 7 fortasse Da]numi: (centuria) Da]nu[mi] Fink: ] . Marichal Cugusi || 8 ]n . s Fink: ] . s Marichal: ] . . [ . . ] Cugusi || 9 fortasse Them]es: ] . Maximi Fink: ] . [ . . ] . [ ]imi Marichal: M[ax]imi Cugusi || 10 ] . Balachi (dubitanter an [V]abalathi fortasse recte) Fink: ] . Balachi Marichal: ]a Balachi Cugusi || 11 ]ue . surus Fink Marichal: ]ue . [ . ] . urus Cugusi || 12 . . nus Fink<sup>1</sup>: [M]annus Fink<sup>2</sup>: [ . . ] . nus Marichal Cugusi || 13 M]arci Cugusi || 14 Galeris uel Gelerius Fink: Gelerius Marichal: G[ . ]leris Cugusi | Asclepia[d]es Fink: Asclepia[de]s Marichal Cugusi || 15 Mombogeus Fink || 16 A[u]relius Marichal Fink || 17 Aurel(ius) Marichal || 19 Nic[ola]us Marichal Cugusi || 20 [Ma]ri(ani) Marichal Cugusi || 21 M[alc]hus Cugusi | Vabalathi Marichal || 22 Ab[i]dlahas Fink: Ab[i]dlah[a]s Marichal Cugusi

col. VI: 2 ]ns[ Fink: ] . Marichal Cugusi || 3 fortasse -ddeus uel -beus: ] . [ . . ] . [ ]us Fink: ] . [ . . . . ]us Marichal: ] . . . . us Cugusi || 5 ] . . . [ . ] . ei Fink: ] . . . . [ . . ] . ei Marichal: ] . [ . . ] . ei Cugusi || 6 ] . [ Cugusi || 7 ]us[ . . ] . [ Fink: ]us et ] . [ in sequenti linea Marichal || 8 e]x of[ficio om. Fink<sup>1</sup> | ] . [ Cugusi || 10 fortasse ]lei[u]s: ]l . . . Fink Marichal: ]l[ Cugusi || 11 Apolloni Marichal || 13 ] . . [ . ]us Cugusi || 14 ] . . s Fink: ]s Marichal: ] . Cugusi || 15 ]ab[ . . ] . . Marichal: ]ab[ . . ] . . [ (dubitanter an Ab[da]s vel Ab[du]s vel V]ab[al(l)athus] Cugusi | an Ab[g]ari ? || 16 Iarhaeus] uel Abgarus] dubitanter Fink Marichal || 17 ] . n[ Fink: ] . n[ Marichal Cugusi || 18 A]urel Fink | dubitanter an Basilia[nus Fink: asilia . [ Marichal || 19 [Pud]ent[i]s Marichal Cugusi || 20 Z . . . . [ . ] . aier[ Fink: . . . . [ . . ] . aies[ (dubitanter an ]ries[ ) Marichal: ]a Ier[haei pro Iar[haei dubitanter Cugusi || 21 ] . a[ . ]ton] Fink Marichal: ] . a[ . ] . [ . ] Cugusi || 22 fortasse Mo[c]im[i vel Mo[n]im[i: Mo[ . ]i[ Fink Marichal: Mo[ . ]i[ Cugusi || 23 B . [ . . . ]bbi . [ Fink: B . [ . . . ]bbi . [ Marichal: B[ . . . . ]bbi . [ Cugusi

col. V: ‘... (?)’-five, including ...

...

... son of Iarhaeus

... son of Mocimus

... son of ...abalathus

Aurelius ...

Aurelius Mannus

From the century of Marcus:

Geleris Asclepiades

Mombogeus Barnebus

Aurelius Antoninus

Aurelius Diodorus

Aurelius Bassus

Domitius Nicolaus

From the century of Marianus:

Malchus son of Vabalathus

Aurelius Abidlahas’

col. VI: ‘Aurelius Barsimus

...

... (from the office)

...

(Heliodorus) son of Apollonius

...  
 ... son of Themarsas  
 ...  
 Aurelius ...  
 From the century of Pudens:  
 ...  
 ...  
 Aeson son of Mocimus'

**V 5** The total sum here featured and the beginning of the formula in this seems to suggest that the mentioned detachments in this papyrus are more than one; the first sub-group ends here, the subsequent one begins at l. 6. This can be further argued by the fact that the list resumes the *centuriae* (l. 13 *centuria Marci*) after the *turmae*. The same happens in col. VIII.

**20** *Mari* is for *Mariani*.

**VI 20** The first letter is identical to the symbol for *centuria* employed in the preceding line for *Pudens*. However, it cannot be the symbol for *centuria*. Possibilities mentioned in the apparatus offer no definitive solution; one most likely can interpret it as *z* or *ua*.

|    | col. VII           | col. VIII                          |
|----|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1  |                    | ] . [                              |
| 2  | ] . [              | ] . [ . . ] r [                    |
| 3  | Au] idalā[th-      | ] . [ . . ] XII . [                |
| 4  | ] s Sab[inus       | [ϣ Da]numi                         |
| 5  | ] . l [ . . ] . [  | M]agnus Vaba[lathi]                |
| 6  | ] .                | Cl] Zeb[i]da                       |
| 7  | ] Iarhaei          | Bassus . [ . ] b . [ . ] a         |
| 8  | ] Max[imus         | Aurel Fronton                      |
| 9  | S[ . . . . . ] i   | [ . . . ] salmus An[ . ] io[       |
| 10 | A[elius M]arcellus | [Aur]el Romanus                    |
| 11 |                    | ϣ Marci                            |
| 12 | F [O]ctavi         | Abdas Zebida                       |
| 13 | [I]ul For[t]unatus | . . . [ . . . ] . . . al[ . ] inus |
| 14 | F Anton            | [ . . . ] [ . . . ] Antoninus      |
| 15 | Iul Germanus       | [Aure]l Antonin[u]s                |
| 16 | Salmes Malchi      | [Aure]l Bassus                     |
| 17 | ϣ Marci            | ] . a[                             |
| 18 | Antonius Maximus   | Iul Anto[ni]n[u]s                  |
| 19 |                    | A[ur]el Bass[u]s                   |
| 20 |                    | Aurel Domit[ius]                   |
| 21 |                    | A]urel Moc[imu]s                   |

col. VII: 3 ] idalā[ (*dubitanter an Au] idalā[thus*) Fink: ] idlla[ (*dubitanter an Ab] idlla[hin*) Marichal: ] idal[ Cugusi || 4 ] . sab[ *edd.* || 5 fortasse I]ul: ] . l . [ Fink: ] l . . [ Marichal: ] l . . [ Cugusi || 6 in uacua linea (*turma*) Demetrii *dubitanter* Fink || 7 Iadibelus] uel Mocimus] *dubitanter* Marichal | I]arhaei *edd.* || 8 Iulius] uel Valerius] *dubitanter* Marichal | Max[i]mus Fink Cugusi || 9 S[ *tantum* Cugusi || 10 M]arcelus Cugusi || 13 [A]el[i]us F[ort]unatus Fink: [A]el(ius) For[tu]natus Marichal Cugusi || 16 [Ma]lchi Marichal Cugusi

col. VIII: 2 ] r [ Fink: ] . r [ Cugusi || 3 ] . . . XII[ Cugusi || 5 Ma]gnus Marichal || 6 Zeb[id]a *edd.* || 7 fortasse Z[e]b[i]da: A[b]ba uel *similia longiora spatio*: ] . bol[ . ] a Fink: . [ . . ] b . [ . ] a Marichal: . [ . . ] b . [ . ] a Cugusi ||



9 ]salmus An[. ] o[ *edd.*: an –mes? *Fortasse* [Abe]dsalmes An[t]io[chi]: *et* ] halmsus *possis* || 12 Abda[s] Cugusi || 13 ] [ ] . . . al . . . us *Fink*: ] [ . . . al . . . ]us *Marichal*: ] . . . al . . . ]us Cugusi || 14 [Ulp(ius)] *Marichal*: An]toninus Cugusi || 15 *non suppl. Fink* || 16 ] 1 *Fink* || 17 ]a[ *edd.* || 18 Antō[n]i[u]s *Fink* || 19 A[u]rel *Fink* | Bass[us] *Marichal Cugusi* || 20 D[o]mit[ius] *Marichal Cugusi* || 21 Mo [imu]s (*dubitanter an Mon[imu]s vel Moç[imu]s*) *Fink Marichal*: Mon[imu]s Cugusi

*col. VII*: ‘... (son of ?) Auidalathus  
... Sabinus  
...  
... son of Iarhaeus  
... Maximus  
...  
Aelius Marcellus

From the squadron of Octavius:  
Iulius Fortunatus  
From the squadron of Antoninus:  
Iulius Germanus  
Salmes son of Malchus  
From the century of Marcus:  
Antonius Maximus’

*col. VIII*: ‘From the century of Danymus:  
Magnus son of Vaballathus  
Claudius son of Zebidas  
Bassus ...  
Aurelius Fronto  
...  
Aurelius Romanus  
From the century of Marcus:  
Abdas son of Zebidas  
...  
... Antoninus  
Aurelius Antoninus  
Aurelius Bassus  
...  
Iulius Antoninus  
Aurelius Bassus  
Aurelius Domitius  
Aurelius Mocimus’

**VII 18** Antonius Maximus is reported to come from Marcus’ century, although *turmae* are listed in this section of the list (and in *col. VIII* 3 another sub-group of soldiers ends, as one can see from the figure). Maximus is, in Fink’s opinion, a camel-trooper;<sup>531</sup> this is highly likely, when one considers that camel-troopers in major rosters (*P.Dura* 100, 101) are listed after the cavalrymen and according to their *centuriae*, not *turmae*.

**VIII 8** The name *Fronton* instead of the expected *Fronto* in *col. VIII* l. 8 might be the result of confusion with Greek language (Φρόντων).

*col. IX*  
|<sup>1</sup>  
|<sup>2</sup>  
|<sup>3</sup>  
|<sup>4</sup>

*col. X*  
A[ . . . . . ]l[  
F [O]ctavi  
] Barnae[us . . . . . ]l[  
F Antonini

<sup>531</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 260).

|               |                                           |                         |
|---------------|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <sup>5</sup>  | 𐤀 . [                                     | N[e]budaes [T]hema<r>sa |
| <sup>6</sup>  | . [ . . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . ] [         |                         |
| <sup>7</sup>  | Aure[ <u>l</u> ] Iulius                   |                         |
| <sup>8</sup>  | Aure[ <u>l</u> A]ntio[ <u>c</u> ]h[       |                         |
| <sup>9</sup>  | 𐤀 Pudentis                                |                         |
| <sup>10</sup> | Abedna <u>b</u> [u]s T[h]e[mars]a         |                         |
| <sup>11</sup> | Cassian <u>u</u> s Ni [ . . ]or           |                         |
| <sup>12</sup> | Mar[ <u>i</u> ]n <u>u</u> s Lu <u>p</u> i |                         |
| <sup>13</sup> | Iul Alexan[ <u>dr</u> ]us                 |                         |
| <sup>14</sup> | Iul Fla <u>u</u> [iu]s                    |                         |
| <sup>15</sup> | Aurel M[ . . . . . ]s                     |                         |
| <sup>16</sup> | ex of Aurel Zab[ <u>da</u> ]s             |                         |
| <sup>17</sup> | T Ze[ <u>b</u> ]ida                       |                         |
| <sup>18</sup> | Abdon Abb[ <u>a</u> ]l[ . . ] [           |                         |
| <sup>19</sup> | T Tibe[ <u>ri</u> ]ni                     |                         |
| <sup>20</sup> | Zabdibolus Thema<r>sa                     |                         |

col. IX: **5** ante hanc lineam ] [ et lineam deperditam Fink | (centuria) . [ (dubitanter an An[tonini] Fink: (centuria) [ Marichal: (centuria) [ Cugusi || **6** [ . . . . ] [ . . . . ] [ . . ] [ Fink: [ . . . . ] [ . . . . ] [ Marichal || **8** ]nti [ . ] [ (dubitanter an A]ntio[c]h[ianus]) Fink: ]nti[ Marichal Cugusi || **10** Abidnab[u]s Fink: Abidna[bus Marichal: Abidna[b]us Cugusi | Th[emars]a Fink<sup>1</sup>: Th[emas]a Fink<sup>2</sup>: Themasa] Marichal: . . [ Cugusi || **11** Ni . . r Fink: Ni [ . . ]r Marichal: Ni [ . . ]r Cugusi: fortasse Nic[an]or uel Nic[an]or(is) || **12** Marinus [L]uci Fink: . . . . . [ Marichal: ] u [ Cugusi || **13** Alexand[r]us Fink: Alex[andrus] Marichal || **14** Fla[uius]s edd. || **16** A[urel(ius)] Za[bda]s Cugusi || **18** fortasse Abb[a]l[m]ae[i]: Abb[a]l[ . . ] [ (dubitanter an Abb[a]l[m]a[ei] Fink: Ab[ Marichal: Ab[ Cugusi || **20** [Z]abdibolus Cugusi

col. X: **1** ]l[ Fink: ] [ Marichal Cugusi || **2** (turma) Octaui Fink Marichal: . . . . i Cugusi || **3** fortasse ex of]f(icio): uestigium omm. Fink Cugusi | Barna[eus Marichal: B[a]rna[eus Cugusi || **4** Antoni[n]i Cugusi || **5** Nebudaes Fink: [Ne]budaes Marichal: [Ne]budaes Cugusi | [T]hema[s]a Fink: [Th]ema[s]a Marichal Cugusi

col. IX: 'From the century of ...

...

Aurelius Iulius

Aurelius ...

From the century of Pudens:

Abednabus son of Themarsas

Cassianus...

Marinus son of Lupus

Iulius Alexandrus

Iulius Flavius

Aurelius ...

Aurelius son of Zabdas (from the office)

From the squadron of Zebidas:

Abdon son of ...

From the squadron of Tiberinus:

Zabdibolus son of Themarsas'

col. X: 'From the squadron of Octavius:

Barnaesus ...

From the squadron of Antoninus:

Nebudaes son of Themarsas'



5        After *Ian(uarias)*, one expects the name of the place from which the letter was issued, and the consular year.<sup>537</sup>

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<sup>537</sup> See Iovine (2019b: 170; 185–8).

Gilliam (1950); J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 183–8 no. 47); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 337 (1975). TM 44813

Fr. (papyrus roll): 65x26.7 cm

This large papyrus is a merger of three fragments (*a*, *b* and *c*); the surviving margins are quite short (top 2 cm, bottom 0.4–2 cm). It is written along the fibres on the *recto*; the *verso* is *P.Dura* 97. It contains two columns, the latter only partially preserved as its right portion is gone, of *acta diurna*: a morning report of all the activities of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*. As customary with *acta diurna*, the first column – which is almost entirely preserved – shows no effort at justification on the right margin: the scribe normally extends the line at will, and stops only when he has done with its content. One might suppose he did the same with all the columns of the report. This tendency produces irregularity in the length of the lines, which can be either very long (col. I l. 1) or very short (col. I l. 2), even within the same entry. The left margin of column II and presumably that of col. I, show as well multiple indentations, but somehow more regularity.

The surviving columns contain four entries, each separated from the following one by a large blank space, and each pertaining to four following days: the 6<sup>th</sup> day before the *Kalendae* of April (27 March, col. I ll. 1–8); then the 5<sup>th</sup> (28 March, col. I ll. 9–18), the 4<sup>th</sup> (29 March, col. II ll. 1–13) and the 3<sup>rd</sup> (30 March, col. II ll. 14–20). The exact year cannot be gathered from the text: dating this document requires some examination of the closest ones in a chronological sense.

Given the cohort's *cognomen Seueriana Alexandriana* (col. I l. 2), the broadest interval one can establish, and a starting point, is Severus Alexander's monarchy: AD 222–35.<sup>538</sup> The second element of the interval, or *terminus ante quem*, is further strengthened by the fact that in AD 235 the tribune of the cohort – according to *P.Dura* 125 – was Laronius Secundianus, who apparently replaced the here featured Iulius Rufianus.<sup>539</sup> Moreover, clues within the text might help reducing the interval. Six centurions, as expected, can be gathered here: Marianus, probably the senior officer as he thrice appears at the beginning of the list (coll. I l. 4; II ll. 5, 17 in the interlinear space); Pudens (col. I l. 4); Gaianus (col. I ll. 12, 14); Antoninus *Prior* (col. I l. 15); an unspecified Antoninus who probably is the *Posterior* (col. I l. 12); and Nigrinus, probably the youngest as he is twice the last of the list (in col. I ll. 4, 12; not in II ll. 6, 9, where he is the first mentioned centurion, and perhaps the only one). All of them are attested in the chronologically closest manuscripts, such as *P.Dura* 67 and 102, but for Gaianus and Nigrinus, who apparently replaced Septimius Danymus and Marcus in an unspecified year between 222 and 228 (pushing Marianus up in seniority?), i.e. in the interval in which *P.Dura* 67 and 102 were drawn up. Among the decurions, both the already known Antoninus (col. I l. 4) and Tiberinus (col. I l. 5) can be seen here; Timinius Paulinus (col. I ll. 6, 16; II ll. 11–12), on the other hand, steps forward here for the first time, and must, like Gaianus and Nigrinus, be a freshly promoted or transferred officer, who was not there when *P.Dura* 67 and 102 were written. This, leaving aside 222 as too close a date, moves forward the likely *terminus post*, in an unspecified year within the interval 223–8. A preliminary conclusion, in short, is that the document was written between 223 and 235, certainly after *P.Dura* 102 and 67 were written.

Further elements and remarks have been provided by preceding editors. Gilliam believed the document to have been written around 233–4, and that it had to be later than *P.Dura* 115, which is dated 232.<sup>540</sup> Fink remarked that while this chronological relation cannot, in fact, be proved, the only certainty one has is granted by the epithet *Seueriana Alexandriana*; and he dated the papyrus accordingly, to 222–35.<sup>541</sup> Marichal, on the other hand, slightly corrected him by proposing 223–33 on the account of the soldiers serving in the cohort according to *P.Dura* 82 itself.<sup>542</sup> Here is his reasoning: since Zebidas of Barnaeus (col. II l. 9), from Nigrinus' century, is

<sup>538</sup> As Alexander's *dies imperii* was on 13 March, hardly a fortnight before these columns were written, Gilliam is inclined to rule at least AD 222 out (1950: 220–1 fn. 17).

<sup>539</sup> Gilliam (1950: 219–20 and 221 fn. 18).

<sup>540</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 29; 274). In *P.Dura* 115 Paulinus appears among the decurions.

<sup>541</sup> Fink (1971: 183).

<sup>542</sup> See the detailed discussion in *ChLA* (VII: 30).

in his opinion the same soldier who in *P.Dura* 98 (218–9 c.) belongs to Danymus' century (Nigrinus' likely predecessor) and enlisted *Apro consule* (= 207), counting 27 years of service he should have been dismissed in 234. If he can be still found in a military document, that military document must be earlier than 234. Hence, 233 as a *terminus ante quem*. Next comes Davies,<sup>543</sup> who is quite determined on *P.Dura* 115 preceding (not following) *P.Dura* 82; and that 82 should be put much later than AD 223 rather than closer to it.<sup>544</sup> He accordingly moved Gilliam's dating (AD 233–4) back to 232, on account of the fact that in a subsequent morning report, *P.Dura* 83, certainly datable to 233, one can see a somewhat depleted set of cavalrymen (only 120), probably in consequence of Alexander's Parthian campaign. If in 233 the cavalrymen are so fewer than in *P.Dura* 82, *P.Dura* 82 must have been written before that year (namely, in 232). After careful consideration of the internal clues in the papyri and of the editorial remarks, I have decided to maintain the initial *terminus post quem* in 223; and to move the *terminus ante quem* from 235 to 232, taking particular account of the loss of cavalrymen in *P.Dura* 83, as noted by Davies.

As customary with *acta diurna*, all four entries begin with the total number of the cohort's soldiers (col. I ll. 1–2; 9–10; col. II ll. 1–2; 14–5); the most complete in this respect is the first one (col. I ll. 1–2). The total strength is followed by a standard formula – the tribune of the cohort, Iulius Rufianus, gives the *signum*, i.e. the watchword – and a list of men (including their *centuria* and *turma*) employed for particular errands, and therefore sent away (*missi*), or returned (*reuersi*) (col. I ll. 3–5; 11–15; col. II ll. 3–10; 16–20). The entries conclude with a *pronuntiatio* 'speech', which includes a declaration of the daily orders (through the standard formula *decurio admissa pronuntiauit* 'the decurion proclaimed the orders'), and an oath of some sort pronounced by the soldiers (*quod imperatum fuerit faciemus et ad omnem tesseram parati erimus* 'we shall comply with what will be commanded, and we shall be ready to any order'); then, annotations on the status and employments of individual soldiers.

<sup>543</sup> Davies (1976: 268–9).

<sup>544</sup> He is quite correct in noticing that at least three centurions who were witnessed in *P.Dura* 101 (AD 222) and *P.Dura* 67 and 102 (AD 222–8), i.e. Malchus, Danymus and Marcus, have been replaced in *P.Dura* 82; this would suggest *P.Dura* 82 to be quite distant from the aforementioned manuscripts, as one supposes such replacements to have been gradual.

col. I

- |<sup>1</sup> VI Kal Apr[iles n p mil ca]l DCCCCXXII[I]I in his ord VIII diupl VIII s[esq] I drom XXXIIII in his sesq I eq CCXXIII in his dec V dupl VII  
 |<sup>2</sup> coh XX [Palm S]euerianae Alexandrianae.  
 |<sup>3</sup> [Iu]liu[s] Rufian[us t]ri[bu]nus signum Me[r]curis ex Septezon[i]s  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] . . . i . [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] mil V in h drom III[ . . . . . ] ♀ Mariani Aurel Licinnius, ♀ Pudentis Aurel Demetrius, ♀ Nigrini Aurel Romanus  
 Aurel Rufus, ♀ Antonini Iarhaboles Obeati  
 |<sup>5</sup> Reuersi q[d]p cum [ . . . . . ] Appa[d]an[ . . . . . ] ♀ Tiberini Au[rel  
 |<sup>6</sup> [Ti]minius P[aulinus dec] a[d]missa pronuntiauit: [quod imperatum fuerit faciemus] et ad omnem tesseram parati eirimus. Excubant ad signa  
 d n Alexandri Aug  
 |<sup>7</sup> dec Ti[minius Pauli]nus, a[ed] Aurel [S]il[uanus] [ ±30 ]s Vabalathi, curator Aurel Rubathus, ci Iarhaeus  
 Malchi, curator II Cl Agrippas, eq  
 |<sup>8</sup> [ . . . . . ] Aurel [ . . . . . ] . . . . . Gabrion Obea[n  
 |<sup>9</sup> [V Kal Ap]rile[s n p m[i]l cal D[C]CCCXX[ . . . . . ] in his ord VIII dupl VIII sesq I drom XXXIIII in his sesq I eq CCXXIII in his dec V dupl  
 VII sesq IIII  
 |<sup>10</sup> [co]h XX P[a]lm Seuer[i]anae Alexand[rianae].  
 |<sup>11</sup> [Iulius Rufia]n[us tribunu]s [signum . . . . . ] . . . . . Iouis ex Sepezonis [ . . . . . ]  
 |<sup>12</sup> [ . . . . . ] Aurel Antoninus, ♀ Antonini Aurel Marinus, [[Aurel Heliodorus]], ♀ Gaiani Iarhaboles  
 Iarhaei, ♀ Nig Aurelius Apolinarius  
 |<sup>13</sup> ] . n[ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] u . n f . [ . . . . . ] al[ ± 14 ] . [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] Gaianus Iarhabole  
 |<sup>14</sup> Be]cchufra[yn], in uexill mil I ♀ Gaiani [ . . . . . ]  
 |<sup>15</sup> ] sig II[ . . . . . ] ♀ Anton Pri[o]r A[ure]l [ . . . . . ]  
 |<sup>16</sup> [Timiniu]s P[au]linus dec admissa pronun[tiauit ± 27/28 ] IIII Kal April expungentur IIII, sup<p>licatio,  
 immolatio, et ad omnem tesseram parati erimus.  
 |<sup>17</sup> Excuban[t] ad signa d n Alexandri Aug: dec [Timinius Pau]l[inus], sesq Aurel Absas, aed Aurelius Siluanus, sig Cl Natalius, lib Aurel  
 Capiton, ci Anton Val, opt[i]o[n] II Ogelus Malchi, eq  
 |<sup>18</sup> Malchus Zebida, eq Ael Heliodo[rus], eq [ . . . . . ] Iul Menander m[ . . . . . ] eq





col. I: 1 DCCCCXIII Gilliam: DCCCCXXI[F] Fink | [o]rd(inati) edd. || 2 Alexa[n]drianæ edd. || 3 Ru[f]ian[us t]r[ibun]us edd. | . . . ris Gilliam: Me[r]cūri s(anctis) Fink: Me[r]cūris Marichal | sep[t]e[zo] . . . Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: Sep[t]e[zo]n[is] Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: Septe[zo]n[is] m[isi]t Fink: Sep[t]e[zo]n[is] Marichal || 4 initio lineae mis]si edd. | . . . Gilliam Marichal: . . . Fink | drom(edarii) . . . Gilliam: drom(adar-) . . . Marichal: drom . . . Fink | . . . eq(ues) I Fink Marichal | Mar[i]ani Fink | A . . . 1 Gilliam<sup>1</sup> | Odeati Gilliam Fink || 5 [r]e[uer]si Gilliam | q(uondam) [d(e)]p(utati) uel [d(is)]p(ositis) dubitanter Gilliam Fink | . . . (dubitanter an Appa[d]an) Gilliam Marichal | . . . Gilliam Marichal: . . . Fink || 6 Ti[m]ini[us] Gilliam Marichal: Ti[m]ini[us] Fink | admissa Gilliam Marichal: ad]missa Fink | suppl. Gilliam<sup>2</sup>, qui ante quod . . . edidit, Fink Marichal, qui ante quod et edidit | excubare Gilliam<sup>1</sup> || 7 T[im]ini[us] Pauli[n]us Gilliam Fink: T[im]ini[us] Pauli[n]us Marichal | A]urel edd. | Si[lu]anu[s] ± 30/35 Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: Si[lu]anu[s] Gilliam<sup>2</sup> Fink: Si[lu]anus ± 30]s Marichal | i Gilliam || 8 . . . [±15] . . . [s] . . . i . . . [±30] Gilliam Fink: [Au]re[lius] ± 15] . . . [s] . . . Gaianus . . . [s] . . . Marichal | post hanc lineam . . . Marichal || 9 m[il]itum edd. | D[C]CCCXI[III] Gilliam: DCCCCXX[F] Fink | VIII om. Fink | drom(edarii) Gilliam || 10 P[a]l[m]i(norum) Gilliam Marichal: P[a]l[m]i(norum) Fink | Seu[er]ianæ Gilliam Marichal || 11 Iulius Rufi[a]nus tribunu[s] . . . [s] . . . ex septezo Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: Iulius Rufi[a]nus tribunu[s] [signum . . .] . . . ex Septe[zo]n[is] Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: Iulius Rufi[a]nus tribunu[s] [signum . . .] . . . e is ex Septe[zo]n[is] m[isi]t Fink: [Iulius Rufianus tribunu[s] signum] Iouis ex Septe[zo]n[is] Marichal || 12 . . . edd. | Iarhabolus Gilliam<sup>1</sup> | Marin[us] Fink || 13 [±10] . . . [±10] . . . [±15] . . . Gaianus Gilliam: [missi ad fr]ument[um] compara]ndum m[il]i(ites) . . . [±11]e . . . ianes Fink: . . . [±10] . . . [±10] . . . Gaianus Marichal || 14 [±7 Be]cchuf . . . ex[ . . .] m[il]i(es) Gilliam: [±8 Be]cchuf . . . [i]n uex[i]l m[il] I Fink: . . . [Be]cchuf . . . [i]n uexil(latione) [m]il(es) I Marichal | Gaian[i] . . . [±10] Gilliam: Gaian[i] . . . [s] . . . Fink: Gaian[i] . . . [s] . . . Marichal || 15 . . . ig . . . Gilliam: . . . ig . . . Fink: . . . ig . . . Marichal | . . . [s] . . . [s] . . . Gilliam || 16 T[im]ini[us] [Paul]linus Gilliam: [t]imini[us] [Pa]u[li]nus Fink: [Timinius] [Paul]linus Marichal | pron[u]nt[ia]uit Fink | pronun[ti]auit . . . et quod caligati] uel commilitones] dubitanter Gilliam: pronun[ti]auit . . . emeriti missi h(onesta) m(issione)] dubitanter Marichal | . . . plic . . . i . . . noui . . . i Gilliam<sup>1</sup> | quod imperatum fuerit faciemus a scriba oblitum censuerunt Fink Marichal || 17 excuba[re] Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: excuba[nt] Gilliam<sup>2</sup> Fink Marichal | Paulinus] Gilliam Marichal | . . . Aurel(ius) . . . s Gilliam | i Gilliam | Val(entinus) dubitanter Gilliam Marichal: Val Fink || 18 Heliod[orus] . . . Cl(audius) Iul(ius) Menander . . . i Gilliam: Heliod[orus] . . . [s] . . . i ael menander . . . h . . . ei Fink: Heliod[orus] . . . Ael(ius) Menander . . . Marichal

col. I: '27 March. The total number of *milites caligati* is 923, including 9 centurions, 8 *duplicarii*, 1 *sesquiplicarius*; 34 camel-troopers, including 1 *sesquiplicarius*; 223 cavalrymen, including 5 decurions, 7 *duplicarii*, 4 *sesquiplicarii* – of the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort, Severiana Alexandriana.

The tribune Iulius Rufianus (gave) the watchword 'Mercury' from the sacred planetary orbits.

... 5 soldiers, including ... camel-troopers ... (from the century) of Marianus, Aurelius Licinius; from the century of Pudens, Aurelius Demetrius; from the century of Nigrinus, Aurelius Romanus and Aurelius Rufus; from the squadron of Antoninus; Iarhaboles son of Obeatus.

Returned (?) with ... from the squadron of Tiberinus ...

Decurion Timinius Paulinus proclaimed the orders: we shall comply with what will be commanded, and we shall be ready to any order.

Standing watch at the standards of our lord Alexander Augustus are decurion Timinius Paulinus, sacristan Aurelius Silvanus ... son of Vabalathus, *curator* Aurelius Rubathus, watchman Iarhaeus Malchus, second *curator* Claudius Agrippas, cavalryman... Gabrion, son of Obean...

28 March. The total number of the *milites caligati* is 92... (including ... 9 centurions), 8 *duplicarii*, one *sesquiplicarius*; 34 camel-troopers, including one *sesquiplicarius*; 223 cavalrymen, including 5 decurions, 7 *duplicarii*, 4 *sesquiplicarii* – of the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort, Severiana Alexandriana.

... 'Jupiter', from the ... planetary orbits ...

... Antoninus; from the century of Antoninus, Aurelius Marinus, (*erased*: Aurelius Heliodorus); from the century of Gaianus, Iarhaboles son of Iarhaeus; from the century of Nigrinus, Aurelius Apollinarius... Gaianus son of Iarhaboles

... Becchufayn, in a detachment one soldiers from the century of Gaianus ... from the century of Antoninus Prior, Aurelius ...

The decurion Timinius Paulinus proclaimed the orders that had been sent ... on 29 March, let them be written off/discharged (?); an offering, an animal sacrifice; and we shall be ready to any order ...

Standing watch to the standards of our lord Alexander Augustus are decurion Timinius Paulinus, *sesquiplicarius* Aurelius Absas, sacristan Aurelius Silvanus, ensign-bearer Claudius Natalius, *librarius* Aurelius Capiton, watchman Antonius Valerius, second *optio* Ogelus son of Malchus, cavalryman ... Malchus son of Zebidas, cavalryman Aelius Heliodorus... Iulius Menander...

**I 1–2** *Apriles* might well have been abbreviated *April*; here, however, because of the almost perfect word alignment with l. 9, where *Apriles* is unabridged, I prefer to read *Apriles*. In col. II ll. 1 and 14 the different treatment of the word (*April* in l. 1, *Apriles* in l. 14) causes a slight shift in the alignment. Usual abbreviations are all featured here: *cal(igati)*, *coh(ortis)*, *eq(uites)*, *dec(uriones)*, *drom(adarii)*, *dupl(icarii)*, *Kal(endas)*, *mil(ites)*, *n(umerus) p(urus)*, *ord(inati)*, presumably *Palm(yrenorum)*, *sesq(uipticarii)*. Although one could at first sight recognize the structure of the entry as tripartite – 923 *milites caligati* = *pedites*,<sup>545</sup> including 9 centurions, 8 *duplicarii*, 1 *sesquiplicarius*; 34 camel-troopers, including 1 *sesquiplicarius*; 223 cavalrymen, including 5 decurions, 7 *duplicarii*, 4 *sesquiplicarii* – Gilliam has repeatedly argued for *milites caligati* to signify not *pedites*, but simply ‘enlisted men’.<sup>546</sup> The total amount of men in the whole cohort should therefore be 923; the entry would then yield the number of centurions (*ordinati*), *duplicarii* and *sesquiplicarii* among the 666 *pedites* (this piece of information being implied); eventually, and almost parenthetically, the same data would be given concerning the 34 *dromadarii* and the 223 cavalrymen. Issues such as the number of men in other Roman army units, the presence of *dromadarii* or *equites* among the cohort, and the nature of *sesquiplicarii* and *duplicarii* – here probably representing only pay grades, not official army ranks – are thoroughly discussed by Gilliam.<sup>547</sup> The final genitive *cohortis XX Palmyrenorum Seuerianae Alexandrianae* ‘of the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort Severiana Alexandriana’, governed by *numerus purus* ‘total number’, seals the sentence. Mark the orthographical slip *diupl(icarii)*.

**3** The tribune, here Iulius Rufianus, gives the *sig(num)* ‘watchword’. The *signa*, here and in coll. I l. 11; II l. 3, appear to be names of planets (Mercury, Jupiter, Venus) rather than gods, given the following addition *ex sanctis Septizoniis*: the *Septizonium* featuring here probably refers to planetary orbits rather than to an actual building, and may in fact help distinguishing the name of the planet from that of the deity.<sup>548</sup>

**4–7** The left margin is almost non-existent, and in col. II the scribe seems to adopt a rather irregular indentation to the left; therefore, one cannot place the beginning of these lines with any certainty. The indentation I have adopted is therefore entirely conjectural.

**7** Note *Malcus* instead of *Malchus*.

**4–5** List of soldiers sent away (*missi*) and returned (*reueresi*). I cannot see the word *missi* where it should be; it is perhaps hidden in the lacuna. *H(is)* is here abbreviated.

**6–8** After the oath, pronounced by the decurion, there follows a list of soldiers assigned to the imperial standards, the *signa d(omini) n(ostris) Alexandri Aug(usti)*. *Aurel(ius)* is always abbreviated; so is *Cl(audius)*. Soldiers are marked with their specific rank: one sees an *aedit(uus)* ‘sacristan’, or rather him who kept and watched the *aedicula* ‘shrines’ where the *signa* were kept; two *curatores* ‘supervisors’, a very generic term in Roman army; and a *ci(rcitor)* ‘watchman’, probably destined to patrol around.<sup>549</sup> The mistake *eirimus* (col. I l. 6) is probably the result of scribal slip. Between the name ‘Claudius Agrippas’ and its office (*curator*) lies the figure *II*, probably referring to his duty shift in the guard rosters.<sup>550</sup>

**8** Gabrion son of Obeanes features in the great rosters *P.Dura* 100 and 101 as an *eques*, belonging to Zebidas’ *turma* and enlisted *diuo Antonino II consule* = 205.<sup>551</sup> If one adds 27 years of service, one has 232, which fits well with the proposed dating of this papyrus – and

<sup>545</sup> This was Fink’s opinion (1947: 164) at the beginning; he later agreed with Gilliam (1971: 184).

<sup>546</sup> Gilliam (1946); (1950: 224); (1959: 271).

<sup>547</sup> Gilliam (1950: 227–8); (1959: 272).

<sup>548</sup> Gilliam (1950: 229–30); Marichal in *ChLA* (VII: 31); *OLD* 1714 s.v. *septizonium*.

<sup>549</sup> Fink (1971: 185).

<sup>550</sup> From *P.Bagnall* 5 recto (before AD 213, TM 219285), as well as *O.Claud.* II 305 (AD 150, TM 24003); 306 (AD 150, TM 24004), and 355 (mid-I AD, TM 29763) it seems possible to infer that duty shifts of soldiers sent to watch relevant places in camps or towns were organised in groups of four or eight shifts, each provided with a figure (I, II, III, IV...) and associated with the intended soldier. A notation such as that in *curator II Cl Agrippas* might imply that Agrippas had the second duty shift in a row at the *signa domini nostri* which he had to watch. I thank O. Salati for the important remark.

<sup>551</sup> *P.Dura* 100 col. XXXIII l. 9; 101 col. XXXIII l. 25; see also the relevant entry in 3.3.1.

might help to reduce the *terminus ante* to 231. One cannot be completely sure, however, that we are dealing with the very same Gabrion son of Obeanes appearing in the great rosters. If so, *eq(ues)* should be probably supplied after his name.

**12** The genitive *Nig(rini)* is here – and only here – abbreviated. Note *Apolinarius* instead of *Apollinarius*.

**14** As in l. 5 (Appadana), here one sees another toponym (Becchufrayn); both are frequently quoted as locations for detachments (*uexillationes*, here abbreviated *uexill*) in the great rosters.

**15** The rank *sig(nifer) II* closely recalls *P.Dura* 89 col. I l. 9; see col. II ll. 12–13. The name *Anton(ini) Pri[o]r(is)* is abbreviated.

**16** The verb *expungentur* might probably mean ‘let them be discharged’,<sup>552</sup> and reveals the *missio* (either *honesta* or *causaria*)<sup>553</sup> to be included in the everyday activities; the *supplicatio* ‘prayer’ and the *immolatio* ‘sacrifice’ mentioned immediately before *expungentur* could refer to that event. One is tempted to connect those two activities with those featured in the *Feriale Duranum*, but there is no apparent link: no honourable discharge is featured in *P.Dura* 54.<sup>554</sup> Marichal has rightly pointed out *schol. PERS. 2, 13 milites expuncti dicuntur dum foras a militia mittuntur* ‘soldiers are said to be marked off [*expuncti*] when they are dismissed from the army’.<sup>555</sup> Alternatively, Fink proposes an event connected with the Emperor’s *liberalitas* ‘generosity’, i.e. a donation, quoting TERT. *cor. mil. 1, 1 proxime factum est. Liberalitas praestantissimorum imperatorum expungebatur in castris. Milites laureati adibant* ‘it happened very recently. A donation from the most excellent emperors was being distributed in a military camp through a roll call. The soldiers attended the event with laurel crowns’.<sup>556</sup> The abrupt switch to *ad omnem tesseram* is maybe a mistake of the clerk.<sup>557</sup>

**17** Among those assigned to the imperial standards appear again the decurion Timinius Paulinus and the *aedituus* Aurelius Siluanus; then follow a *sesq(ui)plicarius*, a *sig(nifer)* ‘standard-bearer’, a *lib(rarius)* – who presumably worked in the *officium* – again a *ci(rcitor)* ‘watchman’<sup>558</sup> and an *optio*, a junior officer who assisted centurions and/or decurions. Again, the figure (*II*) which the *optio* Ogelus is marked with might refer to his position in the shifts on the guard roster.<sup>559</sup> The spelling *option* for *optio* is probably influenced by Greek (ὀπτιών).

**18** It is normally assumed that there is a lacuna before the name of Malchus son of Zebidas; in fact, the fibre is still there, but bears no traces of writing. It is possible that the ink has vanished; otherwise, the line might have begun here, in a remarkably wide *eisthesis*, which is not impossible if one considers this line to be the continuation of the preceding one.

col. II

|              |                                                          |
|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | IIII Kal April n p mil cal D[C]CCC[                      |
| <sup>2</sup> | coh XX Palm Seuerianae Ale[xandrianae].                  |
| <sup>3</sup> | Iulius Rufianus tribunus [s]ig Vener[i]s e[x] Septezonis |
| <sup>4</sup> | Missi ad hord comparandum m[il . .] . . in h eq . . [    |

<sup>552</sup> Fink (1971: 185).

<sup>553</sup> The *honesta missio* ‘honourable discharge’ is the first option one has in mind; also a dismissal for health reasons (*missio causaria*) can be surmised here, as Marichal rightly suggests. See D. 3 2,2 *multa genera sunt missionum. Est honesta, quae emeritis stipendiis uel ante ab imperatore indulgetur: exst causaria, quae propter ualeitudinem laboribus militiae soluit: est ignominiosa. Ignominiosa autem missio totiens est, quotiens is qui mittit addidit nominatim ignominiae causa se mittere: semper enim debet addere, cur miles mittatur* ‘there are many kinds of dismissal. The honourable dismissal is bestowed after having served out one’s time – or earlier, by Imperial decree; the dismissal on health grounds relieves one from the military toil on the account of one’s unsound state of health; the dishonourable one takes place whenever he who dismisses (the soldier) specifically adds that he is doing so because of dishonour – for he always must add why the soldier is dismissed’. See also APUL. *Met.* 4,4.

<sup>554</sup> See in the APPENDIX.

<sup>555</sup> ChLA (VII: 33) *ad loc.*

<sup>556</sup> Fink (1971: 185). Fink, however, seems to quote a different text from those of the currently accepted editions: *proxime facta liberalitate praestantissimorum imperatorum expungebatur in castris. Milites laureate adibant*, which can be translated ‘the most excellent emperors having very recently granted a donation, a roll call was being done in the camp. The soldiers attended the event with laurel crowns’.

<sup>557</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 277).

<sup>558</sup> *Val* might be either *Val(erius)* or *Val(entinus)*.

<sup>559</sup> See fn. 78.



Transferred (?), he brought from...'

**I 4–5** Errands featured here are requisitioning barley (*ad hordeum comparandum*) and escorting those who would have requisitioned it (*in prosecutionem hordiatorum*);<sup>560</sup> abbreviations – *hord(eum)*, *hordiator(um)*, *prosec(utionem)* – are frequent. *H(is)* is also abbreviated.

**6** The acronym *qdp* (col. II ll. 6–8) has not yet been successfully clarified: solutions such as *q(uondam) d(e)p(utati)* or *d(is)p(ositi)* only half satisfy their proponents.<sup>561</sup> *Atha* is probably a toponym.<sup>562</sup> *lul(ius)* is abbreviated.

**7–8** The soldiers at l. 7 bring official letters (*epistulae*) around; in this case, to the main office – *praet(orium)* – of the *praes(es)*, a generic term for provincial governor.<sup>563</sup> Parallels are noted by Gilliam in *ChLA* III 219<sup>564</sup> and in *P.Dura* 100 and 101, where the location *ad praetor(ium)* is attested.<sup>565</sup> From the provincial headquarters they probably brought back orders and/or *epistulae probatoriae*, perhaps with recruits or horses joining them on the way back to Dura. Notably, at l. 8 a soldier from another cohort<sup>566</sup> is coming back with them from the same place (the main office of the governor), and he is marked by what seems to be a Greek ζῆτα for ζῆται 'pay attention here' or ζητητέον 'this has to be paid attention to'.<sup>567</sup>

**9–10** Only one soldier, Zebidas son of Barnaeus, is sent collecting wood for the baths. *Lig(nator)* is abbreviated. It is impossible to ascertain whether the *reuersus* written and then erased in l. 10 was referring to him, or was simply a mistake by the scribe.

**11–13** The scribe seems to have encountered problems in writing the name *Timinius* for the second time in the same section. As in col. I l. 6, figures are associated with the names of soldiers – here, Aurelius Bassus and Aurelius Heliodorus. They might point to their duty shift in watching the standards of the Emperor. Previous editors prefer to think that in the lost parts of these lines at least two more Bassi and three more Heliodori were mentioned;<sup>568</sup> or two soldiers of the same rank (this being the case, one would have expected the rank to be repeated).<sup>569</sup>

**14–15** In less than two days, the cohort seems to have lost about nine soldiers, who might have died, been discharged or transferred.

**16–17** The entry of the watchword is slightly different from the other instances in the same document; it is unclear what happens here. A number of soldiers – a detachment? – is at any rate mentioned in the remarkably indented l. 17.

**18–19** A twofold interpretation stands here: either *h(oneste) e(meriti) manserunt* 'remained after having honourably served their time' – referring to *milites missicii* 'dismissed soldiers' who would serve in the cohort after their discharge<sup>570</sup> – or a simple mistake: *hemanserunt* for *emanserunt* 'stayed away', as in *P.Mich.* VIII 468, l. 57 *Hitalicus* for *Italicus*.<sup>571</sup> It doesn't seem possible to determine which possibility is the right one. Instances of *h(oneste) emer(iti)* are attested elsewhere: namely, in *P.Dura* 84, where a *honestia missio* is documented at l. 8 *missi h(oneste) emer(iti) mil II[- - -]* (and where, however, the newly discharged soldiers go away – *missi* – instead of remaining). On the other hand, this section of the report normally being devoted to records of *missi* and *reuersi*, the presence of *milites qui emanserunt*, i.e. that 'were absent', is not surprising: *emanserunt* 'they were absent' is close, but at the same time distinct in meaning

<sup>560</sup> Gilliam (1950: 243–4).

<sup>561</sup> Gilliam (1950: 238; 244); Fink (1971: 184–5).

<sup>562</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 277); Edwell (2007: 85).

<sup>563</sup> See e.g. MACER dig. 1, 18, 1 *praesidis nomen generale est eoque et proconsules et legati Caesaris et omnes prouincias regentes, licet senatores sint, praesides appellantur: proconsulis appellatio specialis est* 'the noun *'praeses'* is generic: it is conferred to proconsuls, legates of Caesar and all the provincial governors, provided that they are senators; instead, the noun *'proconsul'* is specific'.

<sup>564</sup> Col. II l. 34 *ad praetorium cum librariis*. The document is a *pridianum* of a *cohors equitata* (AD 105, TM 69875).

<sup>565</sup> *P.Dura* 100 col. XXI l. 8; 101 col. XXXIII l. 11.

<sup>566</sup> The cohort is styled as a *cohors II equitata*, which according to Marichal must be the *Galliana Volusiana* (*ChLA* VII: 33 *ad loc.*).

<sup>567</sup> See *ChLA* (VII: 33) *ad loc.*

<sup>568</sup> See Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 278); Fink (1971: 186) and Marichal (*ChLA* VII: 33) agree.

<sup>569</sup> See *P.Dura* 89 col. I l. 9, where three *signiferi* (Ulpianus Siluanus, Flavius Demetrius, Aurelius Malchus) are mentioned one after the other, and the scribe notes it repeating the rank *signifer* and putting a figure after it (*II* for Demetrius, *III* for Malchus), before the soldier's name. Again, this might refer to their duty shifts.

<sup>570</sup> Fink (1971: 186).

<sup>571</sup> Gilliam (1950: 246); *ChLA* (VII: 33).

from either *missi* ‘sent away’ or *reuersi* ‘returned’. A notation *emans* – for *emans(it)*? – *extra* is also attested for in *P.Dura* 100 col. XXII l. 8. Marichal and Gilliam aptly quote *D.* 49, 16, 3, 2–5 *emansor est, qui diu uagatus ad castra regreditur. Desertor est, qui per prolixum tempus uagatus reducitur. Is, qui exploratione emanet hostibus insistentibus aut qui a fossato recedit, capite puniendus est* ‘an *emansor* is someone who returns to the camp after having long wandered. A desertor is someone who is taken back to the camp after having wandered for an extended period. The soldier who stays away in a reconnaissance mission during an enemy attack or withdraws from a fortification is subject to capital punishment’. The *emansor*, one seems to gather, is a soldier who is late returning to the camp, whatever the reason for his original absence – maybe an *exploration* ‘reconnaissance mission’<sup>572</sup> – but at any rate, returns of his own will: he has broken the rules, but in a less serious way than the deserter (*desertor*), who is forced back to the camp by someone else (*reducitur*). He is neither a *missus* nor simply a *reuersus*, but a *reuersus* who has been away more than he was permitted or ordered to. His guilt becomes liable for capital punishment only if his prolonged absence takes place during an attack (*hostibus insistentibus*).

**20–2** These lines appear to continue ll. 18–19 in describing the status of several soldiers whose names are not extant. Words *tul* (l. 21) and *attul* (l. 22) might be abbreviations for *tul(erunt)* and *attul(it)*; while the abbreviation *frum(entum)* is certain, for the last word in l. 21 Marichal has suggested *ind[emnitates]* ‘refunds’, quoting *D.* 12, 4, 5 *sed si minus erogatum sit, condictio locum habebit, ita tamen, ut indemnitas tibi praestetur eius quod expendisti* ‘but if less money is provided, there will be a claim for restitution of property [*condictio*], so that you may be granted a refund for what you spent’.<sup>573</sup> The meanings of *non comparet* (l. 20) and *mutatus* (ll. 21–22) are still uncertain; while the verb *compārēre* ‘to appear’, ‘to be present’<sup>574</sup> might suggest that one cavalryman was unexpectedly absent, *mutatus* could be a synonym for *translatus*, i.e. transferred from another unit.<sup>575</sup> It must be remarked, as Gilliam already noted,<sup>576</sup> that ll. 18–22 are in some way reminiscent of a punitive context. If Gilliam and Marichal’s interpretation is correct, and we have an *emansio* at ll. 18–19 – in fact, if less serious than desertion, still a crime – this adds up to the absence of an *eques* (l. 20 *non comparet*), who might have turned out an *emansor* or a *desertor*; and to the two instances of *mutatus*, which could point out to the punishment of *mutatio militiae* ‘transfer to another unit’ described in the very same passage of the *Digest* quoted above: *poenae militum huiuscemodi sunt: castigatio, pecuniaria multa, munerum indictio, militiae mutatio, gradus deiectio, ignominiosa missio* ‘the penalties of the soldiers are the following: reprimand, fine, imposition of duties, transfer to another unit, demotion from one’s own rank, dishonourable discharge’ (49, 16, 3).

<sup>572</sup> The notation *explorator*, variously abbreviated, is amply attested in the great rosters *P.Dura* 100 and 101.

<sup>573</sup> See *ChLA* (VII: 33) *ad loc.*

<sup>574</sup> See *ThLL* III 2009–10 s.v. *compareo* II. A.

<sup>575</sup> Gilliam (1950: 246); Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 278); *ChLA* (VII: 33). The soldiers moving to the Palmyrene cohort would have brought (*tulerunt, attulit*) along their belongings and money.

<sup>576</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 278).

*P.Dura* 90 (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 38 verso)

AD 220–35 (c.)

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 214 no. 60); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 345 (1975). TM 44821

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (4.2x5 cm); *b* (4.8x11.8 cm); *c* (4.1x14.7 cm)

The papyrus consists of three fragments, mainly preserving unwritten portions of the original document; very little of the text survives. The *recto* is *P.Dura* 103. The document preserves a number of entries, containing dating formulae and figures; it probably contained informal notes on payments, or at any rate, accounts concerning the cohort ('comptabilité', in Marichal's words).<sup>577</sup>

*fr. a*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ] [ .  
|<sup>2</sup> ] CCC[  
  
|<sup>3</sup> ] CCC[  
  
|<sup>4</sup> ] . . [ .  
---

*fr. a: 2* ] CCC [ *edd.* || **4** ] [ *edd.*

*fr. b*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ] [ . ] . e . . on  
|<sup>2</sup> ] irum I s  
|<sup>3</sup> ] K[a]l . . . [ . ] [ .  
|<sup>4</sup> ] . s [ . ] . CC[C] CL . [ .  
|<sup>5</sup> ] CCCXLI s  
  
|<sup>6</sup> ] . es [ . . . ] s . . . [ . . . ] [ .

*fr. b: 1* fortasse N[e]mesion: ] [ . ] . . . n *edd.* || **2** ] nmh Gilliam Fink: ] rum I s(emis) Marichal || **3** fortasse Apr[i]l[es uel Apr[i]l(es) [: Kāl Ianu[ *edd.* || **4** ] [ . ] ccc [ Gilliam Fink: ] [ . ] CCC [ Marichal || **5** ] ccclxv Gilliam Fink: ] CCCXl s(emis) Marichal || **6** ] es[ . ] ss[ . ] Gilliam Fink: ] . es[ . ] s . L Marichal

**1** In this line one might read the name N[e]mesion.<sup>578</sup>

**2–5** The expected abbreviations for *Kāl(endās)* and *s(emis)* are attested and unmarked

**3** Rather than *Ianuā[ri]as*, one would be tempted – since the traces of the last letter might look like the oblique stroke of an *l* – to read *Apr[i]l[es]* or *Apr[i]l(es)*.

**4** The last figure is perhaps *X*, whose second stroke only has survived; *I* could also be read.

<sup>577</sup> See *ChLA* (VII: 50).

<sup>578</sup> This name can be found in another Latin document on papyrus: *P.Oxy.* XLI 2951, l. 12 *Gai Iuli Iuliani Nemesioni q(ui) e(t) Sereni* (AD 267, TM 16515). The text is an *emptio puellae* 'purchase of a she-slave': *optio* Aurelius Apollonius buys the female slave Νίκη from decurion Barsimes Bassus.

$$\begin{array}{c} fr. c \\ \text{---} \\ |^1 \quad ] \text{DCX}[ \\ |^2 \quad ] \text{[} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$$

*fr. c: 1 ] dcx Gilliam Fink || 2 uidi*



*P.Dura 91* (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 19 *recto*)

AD 220–35 (c.)

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 215 no. 61); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 346 (1975). TM 44822

Fr. (papyrus roll): 14x12 cm

The document, ridden with holes and torn in several sections, preserves a list of names (col. II ll. 1–6, and probably 14–17) and two entries concerning particular groups of soldiers: *absentes* ('absentees', l. 8) and camel-troopers (l. 9). It may come from *acta diurna*, or else represent a summary of strength made for particular purposes; too little of the text survives to make a safe assessment, and no margins. Gilliam's dating is offered. The *verso* is *P.Dura* 140.

| col. I        | col. II                                       |
|---------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| ---           |                                               |
| <sup>1</sup>  | ] [.] p t [                                   |
| <sup>2</sup>  | ] . . . umus . . . . . [                      |
| <sup>3</sup>  | Sa[l]mes Them[                                |
| <sup>4</sup>  | Iulius Mari[                                  |
| <sup>5</sup>  | Mari [                                        |
| <sup>6</sup>  | M[ . . . ] . . . . . [                        |
| <sup>7</sup>  | ] .                                           |
| <sup>8</sup>  | [ . . . ] Iu . CCXXVI abs mil DCCLXVI[        |
| <sup>9</sup>  | drom XXVII                                    |
| <sup>10</sup> | ] . . . [ . ] . . . ] . . . totas ded . . . [ |
| <sup>11</sup> | ] . . . . . [                                 |
| <sup>12</sup> | ] [                                           |
| <sup>13</sup> | ]l[ . ] . . . enta[                           |
| <sup>14</sup> | ]in Abed e [                                  |
| <sup>15</sup> | Mo]nimi . . . ri [                            |
| <sup>16</sup> | ] Copreo [                                    |
| <sup>17</sup> | ] . no . . [                                  |
| ---           |                                               |

col. I: 4 ] . . . . . Gilliam Fink || 10 fortasse ] cal(igati) vel ] cal(igatorum): ] . . . . a Gilliam Fink: ] . . . 1 Marichal || 13 ] . . cinus edd.

col. II: 1 ] . eu[ Gilliam Fink: ] [ . ] p [ Marichal || 2 ] . . . . us . . . [ Gilliam Fink: ] . . mus . . . [ Fink || 3 fortasse Them[arsa || 5 Ma . . [ edd. || 6 M [ . . . ] h [ Gilliam Fink: M [ . . . ] . . . h [ Marichal || 8 Iun(ias) vel Iul(ias): i . . . CCXXVI abs mil DCCLXVI Gilliam Fink: . . . Iun CCXXVI . . . abs(entes) mil(ites) DCCLXV [ Marichal || 10 ] . . . tesded [ edd. || 11 ] . . [ Marichal || 13 uix [d]ucenta: ] [ . ] l . . . enta[ Gilliam Fink: ]l . . n [ Marichal || 14 fortasse Abedles[ . ] . . en abed e [ Gilliam Fink: ]in abed [ Marichal || 15 fortasse Marin[i vel Arria[ni: ]nimi[ . ] rim[ Gilliam Fink: ]nimi . . . ari [ Marichal || 16 ] . . . . . [ Gilliam Fink: ] . . . . . [ Marichal || 17 ] . no [ . ] . . . [ edd.

col. II: 'Salmes Them...

Iulius ...

...

...of June/July: 226; 766/7/8/9 (?) soldiers were absent ...

28 camel-troopers

... all... he gave (?)...

...  
 ... of Monimus...  
 ... Copreus (?)'

**col. I 11** If in this line one could read ] *cal* (the connecting stroke between *a* and *l* would be almost completely vanished), i.e. an abbreviation for *cal(igati)* (*scil. milites*) the possibility of *acta diurna* would be strengthened.

**col. II 9** Some of the typical abbreviations from Roman military documents – *abs(entes)*, *drom(adarii)*, *mil(ites)* – are attested and unmarked.

**II 11** In the sequence *ded* . [ it is not impossible to read *dedit*. Before *totas*, traces of two very high uprights yield no satisfactory clue to the preceding word. *Totus* as an adjective is rare, but attested in Latin papyri where sums of money and accounts are mentioned;<sup>579</sup> a sum may be featured here too, given the verb *dare*.

**II 15** After *Mo]nimi*, *Marin[i* or *Arria[ni* – or *Arria[no et Papo cos*, implying a consular date for AD 243 – are both possible.

**II 16** Letters in this line are drawn to a very high degree of informality; attempts at deciphering them are necessarily conjectural. It is possible to see here something like *Copreo*, dative or ablative for *Copreus*, quite frequent in Greek and Roman Egypt (Κοπρεύς) and perhaps attested in Latin documents too.<sup>580</sup>

<sup>579</sup> See *P.Aberd.* 16, l. 6 *f(it) t(ota) s(umma) CCXLI[- -]* (AD 48–9, TM 20224).

<sup>580</sup> Latin documents on papyrus attest the presence of Copres rather than Copreus. See *P.Oxy.* LV 3785, where a soldier called Copres is attested (l. 5) and also a centurion Copres, gen. Copretis (Κοπρής, Κοπρήτος?) in several passages (ca. AD 250, TM 22510). A *Copreus*, *-i* correctly transliterated from the corresponding Greek Κοπρεύς is, however, not unconceivable.

*P.Dura 92* (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 27)

AD 220–35 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 216 no. 62); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 347 (1975). TM 44823

Fr. (papyrus roll): 11.5x24.2 cm

The papyrus, ridden with holes, has a remarkably high lower margin, almost higher than the writing frame, which is concentrated in the upper part of the papyrus sheet. Either many lines have vanished, or the scribe did not employ that section of the papyrus sheet. The *verso* is blank. The document presents a strength report of cavalrymen, presumably (but no indication is given in this respect) from the Palmyrene cohort,<sup>581</sup> in a given day (1 October). Their total number is declared to be 389. The main division employed in this list is that between *absentes* ('absentees', l. 3) and *reliqui praesentes* ('the remaining present ones' l. 4); these *praesentes* are the grouped according to particular ranks and positions which are not yet fully understood. No personal names are noted.

|               |                                     |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | Kal Octobr[ib]u]s. N eq CCCLXXXVIII |
| <sup>2</sup>  | ex eis:                             |
| <sup>3</sup>  | absentes: n' XXXI                   |
| <sup>4</sup>  | rel praes [CC]CL[V]III in his:      |
| <sup>5</sup>  | arc- IIII                           |
| <sup>6</sup>  | princ I                             |
| <sup>7</sup>  | decur XXX                           |
| <sup>8</sup>  | ] . [                               |
| <sup>9</sup>  | ] . . . . [                         |
| <sup>10</sup> | ] . [ . . . ] . . . . [             |
| <sup>11</sup> | ] p d [ . . . ] VI [                |
| <sup>12</sup> | ] LX [i]n his [                     |

1 Octob[er] [ ] Gilliam: Octob[r]es Fink | . q (dubitanter an n(umerus) eq(uitum), Welles probante) Gilliam  
 || 3 abs[entes] [ ] Gilliam || 4 c]cluiii Fink || 5 e . . . (dubitanter an e . arc) Gilliam: ex ars Fink: . . ar Marichal  
 || 6 . . . n (dubitanter an princ, ex quo prin(cipiis) potius quam princ(eps) vel princ(ipalis)) Gilliam: princ  
 Marichal || 7 ec . . (dubitanter an decur, ex quo decur(sores) potius quam decur(iones)) Gilliam | xxxi Fink  
 || 9 ] . . [ edd. || 10 ] . [ edd. || 11 ] . . [ . . ] . [ Gilliam: ] . . . [ ] viii[ Fink: ] . . [ . ] VI[ Marichal || 12 [in  
 edd. | his [ Gilliam Fink: [h]is [Marichal

'1 October. Number of cavalrymen: 389, including:

31 absentees;

the remaining present ones are 358, including:

3 ...

1 ...

30 ...

including...'

**1-4** Abbreviations are frequent and unmarked: *abs(entes)*, *eq(uitum)*, *praes(entes)*, *Kal(endis)*, *n(umerus)*, *n(umero)*, *reliq(ui)*. At l. 3, *n(umero)* is marked with an oblique stroke above the letter.

<sup>581</sup> Parallels may be found in *P.Dura* 91, *T.Vindol.* II 154 (AD 85–92 c.), *ChLA* X 443 *recto* (III AD, TM 69941), *ChLA* XI 479 (III AD, TM 69971).

5 Which sort of rank is meant here, is uncertain. The letters are four; the two in the middle of the sequence are clearly *ar*, and the last one, given the bendings at the top and at the bottom, is most likely *c*. The main problem seems to lie in the first letter of the sequence, which is unusually drawn:

Fig. 5.30

Gilliam thought of an *e*, which is plausible; it would be, in this case, a forked *e*, with an apparently misplaced oblique stroke above it, touching the top of *e*'s oblique strokes. One might explain it by considering the first oblique stroke of *e* to have been mistakenly drawn. The spot of ink in the middle of the writing line, immediately after *e*, might well be an *interpunctum*, thus signifying *e* to be an abbreviation. On the other hand we have *arc*, which matches very few attested abbreviations: one – not found in papyri – is *arcarii*.<sup>582</sup> One could have e.g. *e(meriti) arc(arii)* 'dismissed treasurers', which does not make particular sense in this case; even if *arcarii* were present in military units as an actual rank (and they were not: most of the times they were slaves),<sup>583</sup> why signalling *emeriti arcarii among equites*? Instead of *e*, *n* could be possible, again with an *interpunctum*: *n(umerus) arc(ariorum)* makes a little more sense if one admits that the *serui arcarii* assigned to the cohort were included in the list. Another plausible reading is perhaps *f*: this would explain the oblique stroke apparently conjoining the two main oblique strokes, and the supposed *interpunctum*, which would instead be the right edge of a horizontal stroke. *Farc*, however, is hardly to be explained. *F* by itself could be an abbreviation for *f(actus)*, in this case *f(acti)* 'promoted', 'created', as the number to the right is *IIII*: *f(acti) arc(arii)*? A possible parallel is *P.Mich.* III 163.<sup>584</sup>

7 These might be *decuriones* or *decursores*; if the latter, they may refer, according to Marichal, to a military ceremonial procession for the *dies natalis* of Severus Alexander, which happened to be 1 October.<sup>585</sup>

11 This line was most likely added, one cannot determine by which hand, in the interlinear space between ll. 10–12. One can see the height of this line to be the same as that in the interlinear spaces between ll. 4–10, i.e. 0.5 cm, and the distance between ll. 10–12 to be less than 0.1 cm. At the beginning of this line, one could read *]ppad[* or *]ppdd[*: perhaps *A]ppad[ana]*, followed by a figure (*VI*), might fit well with the context (the scribe signalling a detachment of soldiers to be gone there?).

<sup>582</sup> Mainly in inscriptions: see *CIL* X 3942 (*Latium et Campania*, I–II AD) *Capua | Casilinum Macedoni | Euphrosyni arc(arii) | magister (!) familiae | Limatae | Saluilla mamma*; XIV 2156 (late I–II AD, Ariccia) *Dianae Aug(ustae) | colleg(ii) lotor(um) | sacr(um) | Primigenius r(ei) p(ublicae) | Arcinorum ser(uus) arc(arius) | curator II cum | M(arco) Arrecino Gelliano | filio curatore I | d(edit) d(edicavit) (?)*; *AE* 2006, 1292 [...] *Pudenti arc(ario) | XX her(editatum) pr(ouinciae) Mac(edoniae) u(ixit) a(nnos) XXXII | Vibia Q(uinti) filia Corinthias | uxor b(ene) m(erenti)* (II AD, Thessalonica).

<sup>583</sup> 'Extant evidence (mainly on stone) from Rome and Roman provinces as well shows *arcarii* as *serui publici*, keeping the accounts of the town which owned them, their duty being mainly to supervise and register incomes and outcomes from the public treasury. In their capacity of accountants they also served individual *domini*, such as bankers or Emperors, or worked in military units and outposts (*stationes*)' (Iovine 2021: 366, with bibliography and parallels attached).

<sup>584</sup> In col. II l. 17 the scribe has registered the promotion of a soldier to the rank of *eques: f(actus) eq(ues) in coh(orte)* (AD 222–39, TM 78514).

<sup>585</sup> *ChLA* (VII: 54).

**5.4. AD 230–40**

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 150 no. 27); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 370 (1977). TM 44847

Frr. (papyrus roll): *b*<sup>586</sup> (23.4x17.8cm); *c* (9.3x6.7 cm); *a* (25.5x28.8 cm)

The papyrus preserves a list of soldiers, arranged by their centuries and *turmae*; the dating relies on at least two dating formulae appearing in fr. *a* col. II. It consists of five fragments, whose order is the same (but in reverse) as that on the *recto* (*P.Dura* 98); a further fragment, fr. *d*, is blank. The colour is light brownish and the document is still clearly legible. Attested decurions (fr. *b*2 col. I) are (in this order) Tiberinus, Antoninus, Cocceius,<sup>587</sup> Nifraotes and Paulinus: whereas Tiberinus, Antoninus and Paulinus already appear in *P.Dura* 82, Cocceius and Nifraotes are here featured for the first time, and were probably promoted or transferred to their rank after AD 222, as they do not appear in *P.Dura* 101. In fact, Davies believes them both to have been already in the cohort when *P.Dura* 82 was drawn up; they would have constituted new entries, together with Paulinus.<sup>588</sup> As for the centurions, one can see (in this order) Marianus, Antoninus *Prior* and *Posterior*, Pudens and Gaianus, all present in *P.Dura* 82; one cannot see Nigrinus, who had the last position in 82.<sup>589</sup> Since after the men under Gaianus' orders (fr. *a* coll. I–II) there is no room for other men or another centurion, it may be surmised that soldiers from Nigrinus' century were not included in this list; as Marichal rightly points out, nothing forces us to think that *every* list of soldiers referring to the cohort *had* to include members of all centuries and *turmae*.<sup>590</sup> A remarkable feature in the document is a tabulation in the left margin of fr. *b*, here described as text *a*, written after turning the papyrus 90 degrees.

This is the apparent structure of the list:

- text *a*: tabulations and a list of soldiers from several *turmae* – i.e., cavalrymen;
- text *b*, fr. *b* col. II: uncertain, very badly preserved portions of text: a letter received (*accep(ta) epistul(a)?*) is mentioned, and associated with a dating formula;
- text *b*, fr. *c*: again, a list of scantily preserved names, with no further specification;
- text *b*, fr. *a* coll. I–II: after a heading where it is stated that somebody received horses (*equos acceper(unt)*), a list of men from centuries, i.e. infantrymen; a dating formula, repeated at least twice, seems to close the whole document.

The exact distance between fragments in the original roll is precisely calculated by Fink;<sup>591</sup> nevertheless, it is difficult to determine whether they belonged to the same list, or to shorter, different lists patched together. Fink,<sup>592</sup> followed by Davies,<sup>593</sup> construed the document as follows: text *a* would contain men already enlisted in the cohort as *equites*; text *b* fr. *b* col. II would signal the enrolment of new cavalrymen and mention the probation letter introducing those very men (*accep(ti) [ex] epistul(is)*); a list would follow, partially preserved by text *b* fr. *b* col. II and fr. *c*, containing the names of these recruits; eventually, text *b* fr. *a* would yield a number of *pedites* 'infantrymen' promoted to cavalrymen (*equos acceperunt*). Marichal prefers to leave the issue of the content of the list undecided: in text *b* fr. *b* col. II, *accep epistul* might just mean that a letter was received, without further referring to new soldiers.<sup>594</sup> Probably after the list was drawn up, a further hand placed a tabulation (here called text *a*) in the left margin of fr. *b*, perpendicularly to the main text. The purpose of this accounting is unclear: whether it was an independent text, or it was connected to the list of soldiers, cannot be argued with any certainty. Davies believes these accounts to represent the total amount of money calculated for the purchase of the horses.<sup>595</sup>

<sup>586</sup> Including text *a* and text *b* fr. *b* coll. I–II.

<sup>587</sup> The name is spelt 'Cocceius' in text *b* fr. *b* col. II. 8.

<sup>588</sup> Davies (1976: 265; 275).

<sup>589</sup> Davies (1976: 257).

<sup>590</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 53).

<sup>591</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 385–6).

<sup>592</sup> See Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 386); Fink (1971: 150).

<sup>593</sup> See Davies (1969: 432 fn. 6); (1976: 268).

<sup>594</sup> See *ChLA* (IX: 53).

<sup>595</sup> See again Davies (1969: 432 fn. 6). For a close parallel to this tabulation, see *ChLA* I 7 (AD 81–90, TM 69867).

|               |                 |                  |                  |
|---------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>text a</i> |                 |                  |                  |
| <sup>1</sup>  |                 | I XXXV           | I m' [ ]I[ ]d[   |
| <sup>2</sup>  | ] .             | II [[XL]] LXXIII | II m' II d- XIII |
| <sup>3</sup>  | d]ecem          | III [[LIII]]     |                  |
| <sup>4</sup>  |                 |                  | m' II XXVIII .   |
| <sup>5</sup>  | ] . [ ] . decem | m' II d XXVII    |                  |

*text a: 1 passim: m' (fortasse pro m(ilia)) edd. | [i]id[ ] Fink: [I] I d[ ] Marichal || 2 vestigia initio lineae recognovi | [X]III in fine lineae Marichal || 3 ]etem Fink || 4 vestigia post XXVIII recognoui || 5 d[ ] . [ ] . de . e Fink<sup>1</sup>: ]b[ ]i[ ]beleş Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . . Deçe[m] Marichal*

|                            |                           |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>text b fr. b col. I</i> |                           |
| <sup>1</sup>               | Ʀ Tiberini                |
| <sup>2</sup>               | dupl Lucilius Artorius    |
| <sup>3</sup>               | [[Males Themarşa]]        |
| <sup>4</sup>               | Aurel Mocimus             |
| <sup>5</sup>               | Aurel Isidorus            |
| <sup>6</sup>               | ƦAntonini                 |
| <sup>7</sup>               | dupl A[ ]polonius Mesenus |
| <sup>8</sup>               | Ʀ Cocei                   |
| <sup>9</sup>               | Cl Maximus                |
| <sup>10</sup>              | Fl Heliodorus             |
| <sup>11</sup>              | Themarsas Addaei          |
| <sup>12</sup>              | Aurel Monimus             |
| <sup>13</sup>              | Ʀ Nifraotes               |
| <sup>14</sup>              | Ael Antoninus             |
| <sup>15</sup>              | [ ] . . ]el Antoninus     |
| <sup>16</sup>              | [Ʀ] Paulini               |
| <sup>17</sup>              | [O]gelus [                |
|                            | - - -                     |

*text b fr. b col. I: 2 et Aşconius Fink<sup>1</sup> || 3 Themar[s]a edd. || 12 A[u]rel edd. || 13 Naḥarotis Fink<sup>1</sup>: Nifraotes (dubitanter an Niharoses uel Nitraoses) Marichal || 14 [A]el Fink || 15 ]l Fink: [ ] . . ]l Marichal*

*text b fr. b col. I: 'From Tiberinus' squadron:*  
*duplicarius* Lucilius Artorius  
*(erased: Males son of Themarsas)*  
 Aurelius Mocimus  
 Aurelius Isidorus.  
 From Antoninus' squadron:  
*duplicarius* Apollonius Mesenus.  
 From Cocceius' squadron:  
 Claudius Maximus  
 Flavius Heliodorus  
 Themarsas son of Addaeus  
 Aurelius Monimus.  
 From Nifraotes' squadron:  
 Aelius Antoninus  
 ... Antoninus.

From Paulinus' squadron:  
Ogelus...

7 The small portion of fibres surviving between *a* and *p* offers no trace of ink; it seems unlikely, however, that a blank space was left between the letters, unless a mistake occurred. One may perhaps read *A[p]polonius*.

9–10, 14 Notably, some names are abbreviated – *Ael(ius)*, *Cl(audius)*, *Fl(auius)* – that in other lists, and in the rosters, normally are not.

text b fr. b col. II  
 |<sup>1</sup> XV · [ . . . . . ]rs[  
 |<sup>2</sup> de[ . . . ] [ . ]os[  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] sa [ . ]ce. it[  
 |<sup>4</sup> accep XV[ . ] Kal [ . ] [ . ] . . . bres  
 |<sup>5</sup> epistul  
 - - -

text b fr. b col. II: 1 X . . [ Marichal | ] rs[ . . . . . ] [ Fink: ]rs[ . . . . . ] [ Marichal || 2 be[ Fink<sup>1</sup> || 3 ] a c . . . t[ Fink: ]sa c . . . t[ Marichal || 4–5 a[c]cep epistul[ (dubitanter an accepti [ex] epistulis) Fink: accep(ta) epistul(a) dubitanter Marichal | fortasse Septembres : XV[ . . . ] Ka[l] . . . m . . obres Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] Ka[l] . . octobres Fink<sup>2</sup>: XV[ . ] Kal . . . . . res Marichal

text b fr. b col. II: '... 15...  
 ... 15/16 days before the Calends... letter received ...'

text b fr. c  
 - - -  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]dorus  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] . . [ . . ]s  
 |<sup>4</sup> ]  
 |<sup>5</sup> Aur]el Maximus  
 |<sup>6</sup> ] [ . ]rus  
 |<sup>7</sup> ] Nicator IV  
 - - -

text b fr. c: 3 fortasse ea[ uel er[ . ] [ edd. || 6 ] [ . ] r Fink: ] . . r Marichal || 7 ]ni a or Fink<sup>1</sup>: ]ni alor Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal | IV edd.

text b fr. c: '... Aurelius Maximus...  
 ...  
 Nicator, 4 ...'

7 The name *Nicator* – Νικάτωρ is unattested elsewhere in Dura papyri, as well as in papyri, ostraka and tablets; but the name did exist in the Roman period, and is after all the epithet of Seleucus I, founder of Dura itself. A small number of *Nicatores* are attested in inscriptions;<sup>596</sup> one of them is allegedly a *duplicarius*, therefore serving in the army.

text b fr. a col. I  
 |<sup>1</sup> i]tem XX [ 9 ] [ . . ] [ . ] equos acceper

<sup>596</sup> CIL X 593 *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) | Aurelio | Nicatori | Maria | Dicnilla (!) | patri | pro pietate | fecit* (Suessa Aurunca); CIL XIII 3097f *C(a)ndidus <Nicator(is?) (Iuliomagus in Gallia Lugdunensis); AE 1984, 337 D(is) M(anibus) | L(ucio) N(a)euio Nicato|ri med(ico) dupl(icario) | colleg(ae) ipsi|us b(ene) m(erenti) f(ece)run(t)* (Samnium, late I–early II AD).



|    |                    |
|----|--------------------|
|    | Τ                  |
| 2  | ζ Μαρἱανἱ          |
| 3  | Themarsa Gora      |
| 4  | Νἱsamsus Malchi    |
| 5  | Vabalathen Ballaei |
| 6  | Antonius Alexandri |
| 7  | ζ Anton Prioris    |
| 8  | Salmanes Zabdiboli |
| 9  | Aurel Bernicianus  |
| 10 | Zebidas Iarhaei    |
| 11 | Mocimus Themarsa   |
| 12 | Zabdibolus Malchi  |
| 13 | ζ Ant[on P]ost [   |
| 14 | Malchus Themarsa   |
| 15 | Zab[dibo]lus Gora  |

---

*text b fr. a col. I: 1* n r ix [Τ] [ ] [ ] *Fink<sup>1</sup>: i]tem xix [ ] [ ] equos acceper(unt) Davies (1969: 432 n. 6): ]em XX [ ] [ ] Fink<sup>2</sup>: i]tem XX [ ] [ ] Marichal || 13 Ant[on P]ost[ Fink: Anton(ini) [Τ] (turma) [P]ost(erioris) Marichal || 15 Zab[dibol]us edd.*

*text b fr. a col. I: '... in addition, 20 ... (erased: century) squadron... horses received.*

From Marianus' century:

Themarsas son of Goras

Nisamsus son of Malchus

Uabalathen son of Ballaeus

Antonius son of Alexander.

From the century of Antoninus the Elder:

Salmanes son of Zabdibolus

Aurelius Bernicianus

Zebidas son of Iarhaeus

Mocimus son of Themarsas

Zabdibolus son of Malchus.

From the century of Antoninus the Younger:

Malchus son of Themarsas

Zabdibolus son of Goras'

**1–2** The scribe, as Marichal rightly supposes,<sup>597</sup> has written the symbol for *centuria* after the figure *XX*, and then erased it with several strokes of pen. He replaced it with the symbol for *turma*, written below – not above – the mistaken symbol. This might suggest that the notation is referred to what precedes this column, not to what follows it, as fr. *a* coll. I–II contains infantrymen. The sequence *equos acceper(unt)* may have been written by the same hand which drew up the whole list, but probably later, and somehow more hurriedly.<sup>598</sup> Such a notation would be normally placed in morning reports (*acta diurna*).

**7, 13** *Antoninus* is abbreviated *Anton*; *Prioris* is unabridged, but *Post(erioris)* is not. The larger number of abbreviation suggests a quick making of the list, perhaps for a sudden necessity.

*text b fr. a col. II*

|   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| 1 | ζ Pud[e]ntis [   |
| 2 | Theotecnus Aciba |

<sup>597</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 56).

<sup>598</sup> *Ibidem*.

|<sup>3</sup> Aurel Mombogeus  
 |<sup>4</sup> Aurel Bolaeus  
 |<sup>5</sup> [[Aurel Alexander]]  
 |<sup>6</sup> ʒ Gaiani  
 |<sup>7</sup> Theacabus Themarsa  
 |<sup>8</sup> Obeanes Themarsa  
 |<sup>9</sup> Aurel Maximus  
 |<sup>10</sup> [[Iarhaeus Themarsa]]  
 |<sup>11</sup> Au[r]el Achil[l]eus  
 |<sup>12</sup> Iu[l]ius Mammes  
 |<sup>13</sup> pr Kal Decembres  
 |<sup>14</sup> Lupo cos  
 |<sup>15</sup> [[ ] . [ ] ] Lupo et Maximo c[os]  
 |<sup>16</sup>  
 |<sup>17</sup> ]s[ . . ]i Lupo et Maximo consulibus  
 |<sup>18</sup>  
 |<sup>19</sup> ]en[ . ]s

*text b fr. a col. II: 12 i [ . . ]mammus Fink<sup>l</sup> || 15 co[s] edd. || 17 ] . [ edd.*

*text b fr. a col. II: 'From Pudens' century:*

Theotecnus son of Acibas

Aurelius Mombogeus

Aurelius Bolaeus

(*erased*: Aurelius Alexander).

From Gaianus' century:

Theacabus son of Themarsas

Obeanes son of Themarsas

Aurelius Maximus

(*erased*: Iarhaeus son of Themarsas)

Aurelius Achilleus

Iulius Mammes.

30 November, under the consulship of Lupus.

(*erased*: ...under the consulship of Lupus and Maximus)

... under the consulship of Lupus and Maximus'

**13-17** *Pr* is for *pridie*. The same dating formula has been repeatedly written, and in l. 15 apparently erased, for unknown reasons.

*P.Dura 68* (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 40 *recto*)

AD 232–5 c.

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink, and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 394 no. 94); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 323 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 201 (1992). TM 44797

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (7x5 cm); *b* (6.8x4.3 cm); *c* (4x6 cm); *d* (6.5x4.6 cm); *e* (6.4x4 cm); *f* (6.4x4 cm); *g* (6.4x4 cm); *h* (6x3 cm); *i* (6x3 cm); *j* (1.1x1.7 cm); *k* (2x4 cm)

The papyrus consists of eleven fragments, dark brown in colour, most of them bearing no trace of ink. Their forms, very similar to one another, clearly show that they belonged to the same portion of the roll, but there is no apparent clue to their original disposition. Almost nothing else but a handful of names can be gathered from the text. The content seems to point to an official letter (fr. *c*) associated with a list of soldiers (fr. *b*). The dating can be guessed as being slightly earlier than that of the *verso*, *P.Dura* 69 (235–8: see *ad loc.*); the mention of decurion Paulinus (fr. *b* col. II 5), who appeared before in *P.Dura* 82 (223–32) and 115 (232), and who will appear again in *P.Dura* 107 (240), corroborates the proposed dating.<sup>599</sup> It is impossible to ascertain how many hands can be found in this papyrus (four, according to Fink);<sup>600</sup> by contrast, one can appreciate the difference between the small, informal cursive in fr. *b* (the list of soldiers) and the elongated, sloping epistolary hand in fr. *c*.

fr. *a*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . . [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] ci [  
 |<sup>3</sup> ]  
 ---

fr. *a*: 1 ] c Fink<sup>2</sup> : ] . . ] [ Marichal: ] [ Cugusi || 2 ] ci (dubitanter an Mar] ci uel Pris] ci) ȳ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] XX Pal[ . ] [ Marichal: ] XX Pal[ Cugusi || 3 nihil in hac linea recognoui: ] . . . . . [ Marichal: ] . . . XX Pal[ et aliam lineam deperditam Cugusi

fr. *b*  
col. I

col. II

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . 1 . . [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] ctus [  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] ul- Demnu . [  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] Gauliani [  
 |<sup>5</sup> ] Vibiani [  
 |<sup>6</sup> ] T Paulin[i  
 |<sup>7</sup> ] Halas [  
 |<sup>8</sup> ]  
 ---

fr. *b* col. II: 1 recognoui || 2 ] ctu[ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] ctu Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal Cugusi || 4 Gaulian[ Fink: Gaulian . [ Marichal Cugusi || 5 Vibiani . [ Marichal Cugusi

2 Letters in this line are similar to a capital writing and might constitute a heading (perhaps *prae*fe]ctus).

<sup>599</sup> Fink (1974: 394); *ChLA* (VI: 8).

<sup>600</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 263).

fr. c

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]l[ ]sc[ ]si[ ]  
 |<sup>2</sup> A]urel Gaianus 7 [ ]  
 |<sup>3</sup> ]barb b [ ]  
 ---

fr. c: **1** ]l c [ ] ria [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: Aure]l(ius) . . . . . ria [ Marichal Cugusi || **2** Aurel(ius) Marichal Cugusi |  
 h[ ]c[ Fink<sup>2</sup>: B[ ] [ Marichal Cugusi || **3** ]barb . . . [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ]barb . . . [ Marichal Cugusi

fr. d

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . . . . . [ ]  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] . . ex[ ]  
 ---

fr. d: recognoui: uestigia duarum linearum Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal Cugusi

fr. e

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . . . [ ]  
 ---

fr. e: edidi

fr. f

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] [ ]  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]a [ ] [ ]  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] nuper [ ]  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] . . . . [ ]  
 ---

fr. f: Fink<sup>2</sup> Cugusi ediderunt l. 3 tantum || **2** ] . . . . . [ Marichal || **3** ]nus . . [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ]nuper . . [ Marichal:  
 nuper Cugusi || **4** ] . . [ Marichal

fr. g

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . . . [ ]  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]max[ ]  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] . . . . [ ]  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] . . [ ]  
 ---

fr. g: **1** ] ia [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ]bd [ Marichal Cugusi || inter ll. 1–2 uacuum edd. || **3** ] [ Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal Cugusi || **4**  
 recognoui

*fr. h*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]s[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] . [   
 |<sup>3</sup> ] XVI Ga[  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] . [   
 |<sup>5</sup> ] e . [   
 |<sup>6</sup> ] . . . [   
 ---

*fr. h: Cugusi edidit l. 4 tantum || 1 || [ Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 2 || [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . . [ Marichal || inter ll. 2–3  
 uacuum Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . . . [ Marichal || 3 || xui et[ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . . . et[ Marichal Cugusi | lineam aliam ] . [   
 recognouit Marichal || 5 || el [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . . . [ Marichal || 6 || us[ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . . . [ Marichal ||*

*fr. i*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]sor[  
 ---

*fr. j*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . [ . ] . [   
 ---

*fr. j: ]bar[ Marichal*

*fr. k*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]m . [   
 |<sup>2</sup> ] . r . en[   
 |<sup>3</sup> ] . . . a . [   
 ---

*fr. k: 1 || [ Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal Cugusi || 2 || . . . m[ Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal: ] . . . m[ Cugusi || 3 || . p . ao[ Fink<sup>2</sup> Cugusi:  
 ] . qua [ Marichal*

**P.Dura 83** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 17 *recto*)

AD 233

Gilliam (1950); J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 189–90 no. 48); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 338 (1975). TM 44814

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (20x21 cm); *b* (8.2x2.5 cm)

The papyrus consists of eight fragments (*a, b, c, d, e, f, g* and *h*); only *a* and *b* yield some text. Fr. *a*, in particular, belonged to the lower portion of a once wide column.<sup>601</sup> Similarities in wording and structure (see e.g. at l. 5, the oath pronounced by the troops) allow us to include it in the larger group of the morning reports (*acta diurna*). The *verso* is *P.Dura* 106. The formula at ll. 3–4 provides a safe dating for that entry (4 September AD 233). The scanty number of cavalrymen (only 120) attested in l. 8 has been explained either as the outcome of Severus Alexander's disastrous campaign against the Sasanians, or by supposing most of the *equites* to be detached and away in a *uexillatio* when the papyrus was drawn up.<sup>602</sup> No relevant content can be gathered, but perhaps an order of the commanding officer, to move to the camp (*proficisci ad castra praecepi* at l. 3). Only one centurion, Pudens, appears at l. 1.

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<sup>601</sup> Gilliam (1950: 247).

<sup>602</sup> Gilliam (1950: 248); *ChLA* (VII: 36).

*fr. a*

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> ]li ʒ Pudentis PtoLaemeus M[  
 |<sup>2</sup> co]h XX Palmyrenorum Seuerianae Alex[andrianae  
 |<sup>3</sup> ]es Maximo et Pa[tern]o cos et proficisci ad castra praecepi . . . . [  
 |<sup>4</sup> ].[. . . .].[. . . .].[. . . .]ma pridie N[o]nas Septembres Maximo et Pa[t]erno cos  
 |<sup>5</sup> ]as quod imperatum fuerit faciemus et ad omnem te[sseram  
 |<sup>6</sup> ] Demet[r]ius mag campi Bellaeus Oga sig Malchus Zebida [  
 |<sup>7</sup> ]. . . .[. . . .] . . . mil cal I ad bonos . . [. . .][. . . .] Aurel . . . a Aurel Aḅidnas [  
 |<sup>8</sup> ] . . . . eq CXX in his dec [  
 |<sup>9</sup> ] . signum Iovis

- - -

*fr. a: 1 supra hanc lineam ] [ edd. | ] . . . Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: ] i (Og)eli dubitanter Gilliam<sup>2</sup> Marichal: ]eli Fink  
 | [ Gilliam<sup>1</sup> || 2 coh(ortis)] edd. | Palm[y]renorum Gilliam Marichal | Al[exandrianæ Gilliam Marichal:  
 Al[e]x[andrianæ Fink || 3 ] Gilliam Marichal (dubitanter an Au]g): ]res (dubitanter an Septemb]res uel  
 Octob]res) Fink | Maxim[o] Fink | prae . e . Gilliam | da . . [ Gilliam: offi . [ Fink: . . . [ Marichal || 4 ] a  
 Gilliam | Septembr[e]s Gilliam Marichal | Paterno Fink || 5 ] as Fink | faciē[m]us Gilliam Marichal:  
 faciēmu[s] Fink | [o]mnem Gilliam Marichal || 5–6 te[s]seram parati etc. Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: te[s]seram parati erimus  
 Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: te[s]seram parati erimus. Excubant ad signa domini nostri ... ] Demet[r]ius dubitanter Marichal ||  
 6 O a Gilliam | . . g (sig(nifer) inuite) Gilliam || 7 ] . . . . . I Gilliam Marichal: ] . . mp . [ . ]l Fink | bonose[  
 Fink | . . a Gilliam Marichal (dubitanter an Cusa, Pusa, Cura, Pera): Gora Fink fortasse recte, Marichal  
 prohibente | . . . ot . . [ Gilliam: Abidn[ (uel Abidm[) Fink Marichal || 8 ] . . eq (ses]q I dubitanter Gilliam<sup>2</sup>)  
 Gilliam: ] . [ . ] eq Fink Marichal | [h]is Marichal || 9 sign[u]m edd.*

*fr. a: '...from the century of Pudens, Ptolemaeus ... of the 20<sup>th</sup> cohort of the Palmyrenes, Severiana Alexandriana ... during the consulship of Maximus and Paternus, and I ordered to proceed to the camp ... on 4 September, during the consulship of Maximus and Paternus ... we will do what we are ordered to, and to every command ... Demetrius; drill instructor (?) Bellaeus son of Ogas; standard-bearer Malchus son of Zebidas ... one soldier to the goods (?) ... Aurelius ... Aurelius Abidnas ... 120 cavalrymen, including ... decurions ... the watchword 'Jupiter' ...'*

**1** Ptolemaeus, perhaps a slip for Ptolemaeus, is a rare name in Syria, and might reveal an Egyptian origin for this soldier.<sup>603</sup>

**2** Abbreviations are consistently and systematically employed, both for personal names – *Aurel(ius)* – and common nouns, either singular or plural: *cal(igatus)*, *coh(ortis)*, *co(n)s(ulibus)*, *dec(uriones)*, *eq(uites)*, *mag(ister)*, *mil(es)*.

**6** *mag*, i.e. *mag(ister) campi*, probably a trainer for cavalrymen.<sup>604</sup>

**7** There is still no explanation for the syntagm *ad bonos*. One might remark how a similar wording occurs in the fragmentary morning report *ChLA* IV 270<sup>605</sup> l. 7: *ad bonas*.

**8–9** These lines appear to have been written later, and probably by two different hands; or, if the hand is the same, it clearly was more careless, and the pen might have been different.

*fr. b*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ] Alexa[ndrianæ

|<sup>2</sup> ]I[

|<sup>3</sup> ]sp[

---

*fr. b: omm. Gilliam Fink || 1 recognoui: ] [ . ] [ . ] ex[ dubitanter Marichal || 2–3 recognoui*

**1** Perhaps the remnants of an imperial *cognomen* (*Seuerianæ Alexandrianæ*). Very little remains of the hand, but it does not seem the same as wrote *fr. a*: letters are taller and more slender than in the other fragment. Again, if the hand is the same, it clearly was more careless, and the pen might have been different.

<sup>603</sup> *ChLA* (VII: 36).

<sup>604</sup> Gilliam (1950: 248).

<sup>605</sup> III AD, TM 69882.







fr. a: 2 ] . [ . . . ] r . [ . . . ] sba [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] . [ . . . ] s ba [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . . . . . [ . . . ] s ba [ Marichal || 3 ] ri [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] ri . aurel [ . . . ] h . . . . . [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] ri . Aurel . . . . . [ . . . ] [ . . . ] sal [ Marichal || 4 ] . [ . . . ] nas . us ra [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] . [ . . . ] nas . sti [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . [ . . . ] as . la [ Marichal || 5 ] h [ . . . ] [ . . . ] as on [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] arhab[o]l [ . . . ] as . pao [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . [ . . . ] [ . . . ] as Boni [ Marichal || 6 ] p[o]rta Fink: [por]ta Marichal | [p]retoriana edd. | Alexan[dr]us [ Fink: Alexan[dr]us [ Marichal || 7 [ . . . ] oupei Fink: ] . [ Heli]odorus Marichal | Bassus [ Fink<sup>1</sup> || 8 ] . [ . . . ] Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] h[e]l[i]o[dori Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] (centuria) [Heli]odori Marichal | Co[ Fink Marichal || 9 ] arii . ra . . . . . que . [ . . . ] . [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] arsi . gra . . . . . quoad [ . . . ] . [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] arsi . gra [ . . . ] Gadde Arsi [ Marichal || 10 ] area . . [ . . . ] m sara Ael . . l . e s Zebida . [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] [ . . . ] area . [ . . . ] sara ael . l ae s zebida . [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] [ . . . ] area . [ . . . ] ra Ael . . l ae s Zebida . [ Marichal || 11 ] ogenes Ba[ . . . ] e . . a Aur[e]l [ . . . ] s . [ . . . ] pris [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] ogenes ba[ . . . ] e . . a Aur[e]l [ . . . ] s p . paes [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] ogene[ . . . ] [ . . . ] aro [ . . . ] s . [ . . . ] prae [ Marichal || 12 ] a [ . . . ] Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] abed[ . . . ] cre[ . . . ] Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] abed[ . . . ] cre . Marichal | f . sia Fink: fe [ . . . ] sia Marichal | Claudius [ edd. || 13 ] el Fink: ] el . Marichal | ] us adbal . . . . . s lartio . acus Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] . . ad balistas[ . . . ] la . tio . acus Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal | q[ Fink<sup>2</sup> || 14 ] fortasse etiam -sciae: ] . . sgas sias Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] ags[ . . . ] sgas sias Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] r [ . . . ] s . s sias . Marichal || 15 . u . s Fink<sup>1</sup>: . . i . s Fink<sup>2</sup>: . . s Marichal || 16 ] . a [ . . . ] iagus Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] . [ . . . ] a . . a . cus Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . [ . . . ] [ . . . ] gus Marichal || 17 ] d . intii Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] rumtii Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . . int II Marichal || 18 ] ei edd. | Z[ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] u [ . . . ] [ . . . ] (dubitanter an (centurionis) p[rinc]i[pis) Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . [ . . . ] [ Marichal || 19 ] athus Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] athes Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 20 ] . . . [ edd.

fr. a: ‘... Aurelius... the Praetorian Gate, Alexander... Heliodorus, Aurelius Bargas... Heliodorus’ century, Aurelius... December, Aelius... son of Zebidas... Diogenes... son of Zebidas, Aurelius... of Malchus ... Gate, Aurelius Claudius... Aurelius Bassus... to the catapults... the Aquarian Gate... Aurelius Bargas... Iulius... century... century... 2 to the deposit of wheat... Germanus’ century... son of Malchus... century ...’

3 Abbreviations of *Ael(ius)* and *Aurel(ius)* are constantly employed and generally unmarked, but for two cases noted in the text; the names *Iulius* and *Claudius* appear unabridged.

16 A second, smaller hand begins to operate, employing a different pen, whose ink has been better preserved and looks more vivid. Both hands are late instances of ancient Roman cursive, careless and informal, full of ligatures and inconsistent as far as the shape of the letters is concerned.

fr. c

---  
|<sup>1</sup> ]as· ap[  
|<sup>2</sup> ] . . . s . [

fr. c: 1 ]s·r[ Marichal || 2 uidi

fr. e

---  
|<sup>1</sup> ] . ir[  
---

fr. e: edidi

fr. f

---  
|<sup>1</sup> ]ul[  
---

*fr. f. 1 fortasse I]ul[: ] 1[ Marichal*

*fr. g*  
- - -  
|<sup>1</sup> ]m[  
- - -

*fr. g: edidi*

C. B. Welles in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 380 (1976). TM 44859

Fr. (papyrus roll): 22x9 cm

A rectangular fragment, well preserved and almost completely legible; all its four margins can be seen (upper 1.3 cm; lower 7.5 cm; left 0.5/1.2 cm; right 1/1.3 cm). A *kollesis* is visible 3 cm from the left margin. It seems that somebody separated the fragment from the preceding columns by clean cutting it in the left margin, perhaps because he/she needed either a piece of sheet (but the *verso* is blank) or the very last portion of the text. The papyrus preserves the last section of a legal proceeding, most probably a trial. As far as we can reconstruct the original situation, Abedsalman (or rather, Abedsalmanes)<sup>610</sup> – either a soldier or a civilian from Dura – has entered as a third party, or guarantor (*fideiussor*), in a sale. Something has subsequently gone awry and Abedsalman has been charged with the whole sum he guaranteed; according to the judge, however, the sales agreement has been fulfilled, and Abedsalman cannot be forced to pay anything.<sup>611</sup> The judging officer is the tribune of the Palmyrene cohort, Laronius Secundianus; his subscription, and the date of the proceedings, appear at the bottom of the document. One can suppose that the archive of the cohort also contained a certain amount of copies or original verdicts pronounced by the commanding officers, e.g. a *liber sententiarum*.<sup>612</sup> Pollard remarks how strong was the tendency of Roman army officers, particularly in periods of unrest or war and/or in regions where no other authority was available, to intrude in functions and proceedings originally meant for civilian officers;<sup>613</sup> this has been also noted by Merola for the Euphrates papyri, and also – in passing – for the present manuscript.<sup>614</sup>

- - -

|               |                                 |
|---------------|---------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | -que debere an n[on].           |
| <sup>2</sup>  | Abedsalman autem fi-            |
| <sup>3</sup>  | -deiussionis nomine             |
| <sup>4</sup>  | in ea quantitate in             |
| <sup>5</sup>  | quam interuenerit               |
| <sup>6</sup>  | non teneri, soluto omni         |
| <sup>7</sup>  | contract[us] emptionis.         |
|               |                                 |
| <sup>8</sup>  | Seuero et Quintiano cos         |
| <sup>9</sup>  | duode[c]imum Kal Maias          |
| <sup>10</sup> | Laronius Secundian[u]s          |
| <sup>11</sup> | trib [coh X]X Palmyreno[rum]    |
| <sup>12</sup> | Alex[an]drianae, s[enten-]      |
| <sup>13</sup> | -tiae a [m]e datae sub[scripsi] |

**1** quæve dubitanter Seider (1972: 97) | an n[on] Seidl apud Welles: ann[uum vel Ann[io vel similia dubitanter Turner (1960: 245) || **6** contractu edd.: contract[us] Marichal || **9** d[u]odecimum Welles: duodecimum Marichal || **13** [a m]e edd.

‘... (whether he/she) ... owes, or does not. Abedsalman, on the other hand, must not be forced to pay the sum for which he obligated himself on the account of the guarantee, since the deed of sale has been completely fulfilled.

During the consulship of Severus and Quintianus, on April 20. I, Laronius Secundianus, tribune of the 20<sup>th</sup> cohort of the Palmyrenes Alexandriana, have signed the verdict I have given.’

<sup>610</sup> The name is discussed in Milik (1967: 292–3).

<sup>611</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 395–6)

<sup>612</sup> Taubenschlag (1949: 60); *ChLA* (IX: 68).

<sup>613</sup> Pollard (2003: 91–6).

<sup>614</sup> Merola (2012: 160).

**1** I have put the semicolon in order to mark the separation between the end of this sentence and the beginning of another at l. 2. The scribe employs no specific marker to emphasise the division.

**7** While writing *contractu* the scribe has encountered problems and the sequence of events is still unclear. I would envisage three possibilities: (1) the scribe wrote *contractu*, corrected the *u* to *o* with a stroke of pen, then realized *u* was right all along and overwrote it above the line; (2) the scribe wrote *o*, then corrected it by drawing strokes of pen on the wrong letter and overwriting *u*; (3) the scribe wrote  $\omega$ , and then corrected it to *u* by overwriting that letter above the line.

**8–13** These lines have been written by a second hand, slightly more careless and informal than that responsible for the preceding lines, and probably belonging to the tribune himself – or, less likely, a clerk specifically employed for signing only the documents the tribune had to sign. Customary abbreviations – *co(n)s(ulibus)*, *Kal(endas)*, *trib(unus)* – appear to be unmarked.

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 395 no. 95); R. Marichal *ChLA* VI 324 (1975). TM 44798

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (7x5 cm); *b* (6.8x4.3 cm); *c* (4x6 cm); *d* (6.5x4.6 cm); *e* (6.4x4 cm); *f* (6.4x4 cm); *g* (6.4x4 cm); *h* (6x3 cm); *i* (6x3 cm); *j* (1.1x1.7 cm); *k* (2x4 cm)

The original document was written on the *verso* of *P.Dura 68*, and the fragments share the predicament of those on the *recto*: eleven small scraps of dark brown colour, which have roughly the same shape and probably come from the same portion of the original roll. Only frr. *b*, *d* and *k* bear some traces of writing; frr. *g*, *i* feature some unidentifiable strokes of pen, which Marichal believes to be scribal tests for the pen or writing exercises.<sup>615</sup> The largest surviving fragment from this papyrus (fr. *b*) preserves a list containing names and dating formulae: AD 226 (the second consulship of Aufidius Marcellus), 227 (the consulship of Albinus and Maximus Aemilianus), 229 (the second consulship of Cassius Dio). Each formula is drawn below a single name. Two of the formulae (*Aufidio Mar[cello II]* and *Cassio Dion[e II]*) should include Severus Alexander's name as first in the consular pair; since neither of them does, this may imply that the document was written in the lapse of time between his death with subsequent *damnatio memoriae* (235), and his deification after Maximinus' death (238).<sup>616</sup> As for the typology, Fink is inclined to think of a roster or a portion thereof,<sup>617</sup> whereas Marichal, on account of the cursive writing in fr. *g*, prefers to think of fragments from an official letter with a list of soldiers attached.<sup>618</sup> In fact, one can see that frr. *b* and *k* have been written by the same hand, an informal cursive, full of ligatures, and drawn by a pen with a large tip, whereas fr. *d* hosts a more elegant and slender script, perhaps an epistolary cursive. The same scribe might in fact have written all the fragments, only switching from an epistolary to a more careless and crammed cursive when beginning to draft the list of soldiers.

fr. *b*

---

|              |                   |                            |
|--------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> |                   | ]pl. [                     |
| <sup>2</sup> |                   | ] Aufidio Mar[cello II cos |
| <sup>3</sup> |                   | Ze]bidas Iarh[aei          |
| <sup>4</sup> |                   | ] . . Lucius Salme[        |
| <sup>5</sup> | ]                 | Albino et Max[imo cos      |
| <sup>6</sup> | ] . . .           | Themarsas [                |
| <sup>7</sup> | ] . . [ . ] . al- | Cassio Dion[e II cos       |
| <hr/>        |                   |                            |
| <sup>8</sup> | ] [ [ . ] . . ]   | Fl Demetri[us              |
| <sup>9</sup> | ] Aurel M[        |                            |

fr. *b*: 1 ] . . [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ]al [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] 1 [ (dubitanter an Au)rel(ius) [ ] Marichal || 2 M[arcello Marichal || 3 Iarh[ Fink<sup>1</sup> || 4 ] . lo ius Fink<sup>1</sup>: ]m lo [ ]us Fink<sup>2</sup>: ]m L [ ]us (dubitanter an Luc[i]us) Marichal || 6 ] . d Fink<sup>1</sup>: ]nd Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] d Marichal || 7 ] . al Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] [ . ] Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] [ . ] (dubitanter an d]u[p]l[icarius]) Marichal || 8 ] [ . ] ce Fink<sup>1</sup>: —]—p[—]— f Fink<sup>2</sup>: ]s[ . . ] f Marichal || 9 post hanc lineam ] [ Marichal

fr. *b*: '... under the second consulship of Aufidius Marcellus:  
Zebidas son of Iarhaeus  
Lucius son of Salmes ...  
Under the consulship of Albinus and Maximus:

<sup>615</sup> *ChLA* (VII: 10).

<sup>616</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 264).

<sup>617</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>618</sup> *ChLA* (VII: 10).

... Themarsas ...  
 ... under the second consulship of Cassius Dio:  
 ... Flavius Demetrius ...  
 Aurelius ...'

**7–8** There seems to be a *paragraphos* here perhaps employed to divide two different sections. A parallel can be seen in *ChLA* XLIV 1310.<sup>619</sup>

**8–9** As customary, *Aurel(ius)* and *Fl(auius)* are abbreviated.

*fr. d*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]ri. ... [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] Cassian[  
 ---

*fr. d: 1* ]RI [ *Fink<sup>2</sup>*: ] . . . . [ *Marichal* || **2** ]. ca . . . . [ *Fink<sup>2</sup>*

*fr. k*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] ot . [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] [ epep gri. ] [  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] Aurel Mal[ chus  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] [ em I . . . e . [  
 ---

*fr. k: 1* ]not . [ *Fink<sup>2</sup>*: ] ot . [ *Marichal* || **2** ] beoep ngri . [ *Fink<sup>2</sup>*: ] [ op Nigrin ] [ *Marichal* || **3** Maal [ *Fink<sup>2</sup>*  
*Marichal* || **4** ] emn rc . [ *Fink<sup>2</sup>*: ] [ em Iare . ] [ *Marichal*

<sup>619</sup> = P.Vindob. inv. L 86 (AD 206 or 227, TM 70097). See Iovine (2017a).





***P.Dura* 116** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 76 *recto*)

AD 236

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 144–5 no. 23); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 371 (1976). TM 44848

Fr. (papyrus roll): 10.3x51 cm

This papyrus must be remarked as one of those few Latin papyri from Dura which was not found in the temple of Artemis Azzanathkona; instead, sources report it was found along the wall of Dura's synagogue.<sup>622</sup> It consists of twelve rectangular scraps, belonging to the same roll and subsequent one to another; four short columns survive, amply separated and with large margins, though only the lower one is visible. The colour is dark brown and in some lines so dark that it is difficult to distinguish the fibre from the ink, which is often abraded and reduced to small black dots instead of letters. The text consists of a list of soldiers; probably only those possessing a certain rank, as the annotation attached to most names is *singularis*.<sup>623</sup> In coll. II l. 10; III l. 4 one can see traces of horizontal bars. Attested centurions are Nigrinus (col. I l. 6), Germanus (col. I l. 8), Antoninus Prior (col. I l. 4), and Rufianus (col. IV l. 8): whereas Antoninus Prior and Nigrinus already were in *P.Dura* 82 (223–32) and 115 (232), Germanus and Rufianus appear here for the first time. As for the decurions, only Antiochus and Romullus can be seen – neither of whom has been detected in the immediately preceding papyrus, *P.Dura* 115. They must have been transferred or promoted between 232 and 235.

*col. I*

— — —

|              |        |                                              |  |
|--------------|--------|----------------------------------------------|--|
| <sup>1</sup> |        | ] . r [                                      |  |
| <sup>2</sup> |        | ] m l[                                       |  |
| <sup>3</sup> | .      | [ ..... ] . u . [ . ] . cia . . [            |  |
| <sup>4</sup> |        | ζ Anton Prioris Iuli[a]no II et Crispino cos |  |
| <sup>5</sup> | singul | Aurel Artemidorus                            |  |
| <sup>6</sup> |        | ζ Nigrini Iuliano II et Crispin[o] cos       |  |
| <sup>7</sup> | singul | Aurel Mocimus                                |  |
| <sup>8</sup> |        | ζ Germani cos· stip XV                       |  |

col. I: **1**] ... [edd. || **2**] mu [edd. || **3**] ... [.....] ..... ci ... [.] [Fink<sup>I</sup> Marichal: ... [ ] u [ ]  
[ ] ci [ ] [Fink<sup>2</sup> || **4** Anton Fink<sup>I</sup>

*col. I:* ‘... From the century of Antoninus the Elder, during the second consulship of Iulianus and the first of Crispinus;

*singularis* Aurelius Artemidorus.

From Nigrinus' century, during the second consulship of Iulianus and the first of Crispinus:

*singularis* Aurelius Mocimus.

From Germanus' century, during the consulship of (?), 15 (years) of salary'.

8 The odd notation *cos· stip XV*, appearing also in col. II l. 7, has been explained by Fink<sup>624</sup> as a way to note a year where neither consul, struck by *damnatio memoriae*, could be named.<sup>625</sup> The year in question would be 222 (Elagabalus for the fourth time and the first consulship of Severus Alexander); counting 15 *stipendia* from there, one gets the proposed dating for this manuscript, 236 – when Severus Alexander was already dead and his memory, consequently, erased. This notation refers to the beginning of the next column, marking a soldier who had enlisted in 222 and would have earned 15 years of salary.

<sup>622</sup> See R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 388).

<sup>623</sup> According to Fink (1971: 144), probably *principales* 'chief ranks': differently R. Marichal in *ChLA* (IX: 58).

<sup>624</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 388).

<sup>625</sup> As in *P. Dura* 97, ll. 13; 23 *III et II cos*; ll. 3; 8; 15; 16; 21 *II et I cos*. See commentary *ad loc.*



the traces [ and ] *alcus* is too short for most names, as well as too long to accommodate only *m* and the left portion of *a*. Perhaps a very narrow *Ael*, as in *A[el(ius) M]alc(h)us*?

*col. IV*

---

|              |   |                |                      |           |      |
|--------------|---|----------------|----------------------|-----------|------|
| <sup>1</sup> |   | ]              | .....[               | .....     | c]os |
| <sup>2</sup> |   | Aurelius Zebi  | [                    | .....]    | m[   |
| <sup>3</sup> |   | S[a]           | cerdote II           | cos       |      |
| <sup>4</sup> |   | Aurel[iu]s     | Alexander            |           |      |
| <sup>5</sup> |   | Aurelius       | Diodorus             |           |      |
| <sup>6</sup> |   | [Iuli]a[no II] | et Crispin[o co]s    |           |      |
| <sup>7</sup> |   | Aurelius       | .....                | us        |      |
| <sup>8</sup> | ⁂ | Rufiani        | Laeto II et Cere[ale | cos       |      |
| <sup>9</sup> |   | Aur[eliu]s     | .....]               | ..[.....] | em[  |

*col. IV: 1* ] ..... [ ..... ] ..... c]os *edd.* || *2* Zeb[ ..... ]m[ ..... *edd.* || *7* R ..... *Fink<sup>1</sup>*: R ..... us *Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal*  
 || *8* Rufian[i *Fink<sup>2</sup>*: Rufian[ *Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal* | L]aeto *edd.* || *9* Aur[eliu]s ..... em[ ..... ] ..... *Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal*:  
 Aur[eliu]s ..... em[ ..... ] ..... *Fink<sup>2</sup>*

*col. IV*: '... During the consulship of...

Aurelius ...

During the second consulship of Sacerdos:

Aurelius Alexander

Aurelius Diodorus

During the second consulship of Iulianus and the first of Crispinus:

Aurelius ...

From Rufianus' century, during the second consulship of Laetus and the first of Cerealis:

Aurelius ...'

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 159–60 no. 33); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 372 (1977). TM 44849

Fr. (papyrus roll): 10.3x51 cm

Written on the *verso* of *P.Dura* 116 across the fibres, probably in the same year and perhaps by the same hand,<sup>626</sup> this papyrus consists of six columns (the first occupied by a heading), and is probably complete at the left and the top.<sup>627</sup> It contains a list of soldiers, probably grouped by their centuries – cf. col. II l. 1 *Anton(ini) Prio[ris]*; their names are always preceded by two sequences of letters, *pdcc* and *dcc*, whose meaning remains unexplained. The first column is empty but for the heading, represented by an imperial dating formula which features the only consulship of Maximinus ‘Thrax’ (236). Blurred traces of lines in col. I and col. VI (normally in a mirror-like positioning in relation to the main text) might suggest that a document was written and then erased before the current one;<sup>628</sup> or, that the sheet of papyrus came in close contact with another sheet and caught traces of its ink and writing. The only extant centurion is Antoninus *Prior* (col. II l. 1), regularly attested in the chronologically preceding papyri such as *P.Dura* 82, 115, and 116.

col. I

|<sup>1</sup> Imp d n [M]axim[i]no Aug  
|<sup>2</sup> [et Afri]cano cos

col. I: 1 D[N Marichal | *supra* ]M]axim[i]no, V K[a]l Fink<sup>2</sup>, Marichal ualde dubitanter | [A]UG edd. || 2 Afric]ano edd. || *post hanc lineam uestigia quaedam recognouerunt edd.* [- - -] [- - -]n[- - - | - - -], [- - -]

col. I: ‘Under the consulship of our lord the Emperor Maximinus Augustus and Africanus’.

**1-2** The heading, as customary, is in large, capital-like letters, without ligatures. They closely resemble Roman capital in their general appearance, although they bear no ornamentation whatsoever and no shading. Abbreviations – *Aug(usto)*, *co(n)s(ulibus)*, *d(omino)*, *Imp(eratore)*, *n(ostro)* – are all attested elsewhere, and here unmarked.

col. II

|<sup>1</sup> Anton Prio[ris]  
|<sup>2</sup> dcc Iarhae[us] Zebida  
|<sup>3</sup> dcc Malchu[s Z]ebida  
|<sup>4</sup> dcc Iulius . . . [ . . . ] uc s  
|<sup>5</sup> ]pdcc Aurel L . . [ . . ] onus  
|<sup>6</sup> dcc A[ . . ] e . . [ . . ] . . . . i  
|<sup>7</sup> ]l[ . . ]mmaus  
|<sup>8</sup> ] . . [ . . . . ] Ga[ . . . . ]

- - -

col. II: 2 dcc(-) vel d(-) c(-) c(-) || 4 ]uc edd. || 5 pdcc(-) vel p(-) d(-) c(-) c(-) | Lo[ . . ]onus edd. || 6 fortasse ] Malchi: A[ . . ] e . . [ . . ] i edd. || 7 ]l m as [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ]lm . . as [ Fink<sup>2</sup> | ] [ in margine sinistro uidit Marichal || 8 ] [ . . ] g [ Fink: ] [ . . ] [ Marichal

<sup>626</sup> See *ChLA* (IX: 60).

<sup>627</sup> See Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 389).

<sup>628</sup> See Fink (1971: 159). In the upper portion of col. VI one can also see traces of the name *Aurel(ius)*, in a mirror-like positioning and rotated 180°: this must be the result of some close contact with the surface of another papyrus, whose ink might have left traces on the other sheet.

col. II: 'From Antoninus the Younger's century:  
Iarhaeus son of Zebidas  
Malchus son of Zebidas  
Iulius...  
Aurelius...'

1 Anton is for Antonini.

col. III

|<sup>1</sup> ] .....  
|<sup>2</sup> dcc Seleucu[s M]alchi  
|<sup>3</sup> ... l dcc Aurel ...[.] ius  
|<sup>4</sup> dcc Aurel H[.] ofur  
|<sup>5</sup> dcc Abgarus Ia[r]haei  
|<sup>6</sup> dcc Malchus Mombogei  
|<sup>7</sup> ]...[.]n dcc Aurel Barbesomenius  
|<sup>8</sup> ]...[.....]eus s[i]gill[  
|<sup>9</sup> ] be [

---

col. III: 1 *recognouit Marichal* || 2 *Seleycu[s Marichal* || 3 *fortasse dupl(icarius): ]p dcc edd.* | M[.] ius  
edd. || 4 *H[.] ofur edd.* || 5 *Iarhaei edd.* || 6 *Mal[c]hus edd.* || 7 ...[.]n AGG Aure[l] edd. || 8 ] us edd. |  
*fortasse s[i]gill(arius): s[.]gill[ Fink<sup>2</sup>: S[i]gill[ianus dubitanter Marichal* || 9 ] e[ Fink *Marichal*

col. III : 'Seleucus son of Malchus  
Aurelius...  
Aurelius...  
Abgarus son of Iarhaeus  
Malchus son of Mombogeus  
Aurelius Barbaesomenius...'

8 For a possible name Sigillianus, see *ChLA* (IX: 61).

col. IV

|<sup>1</sup> dcc Aurel Sito ...[  
|<sup>2</sup> pdcc Dumanus Na[.]  
|<sup>3</sup> [d]cc Aurel Sa ab[.]  
|<sup>4</sup> d[c]c Aurel Bassus  
|<sup>5</sup> pd[c]c Aurel earches  
|<sup>6</sup> d[c]c Iul ..... us  
|<sup>7</sup> Aur]el B .....  
|<sup>8</sup> ]br[ ]...[.....]d...[

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col. IV: 1 *Saçaṇa[ Fink<sup>1</sup>: sitorr[ Fink<sup>2</sup>: Sito[.] Marichal* || 2 *pd[cc] edd.* || 3 *dc]c edd.* | Sa a[.] edd. || 4 *[dc]c*  
*edd.* | Bassa[.] edd. || 5 ...arches *Fink<sup>1</sup>* || 6 *dc]c edd.* | ...]sus edd. || 7 *om. Fink<sup>1</sup>: Aurel Baba Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal*  
|| 8 ]...[ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ]...[ ]...[ ]d[ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ]...[ ]...[ ]...[ ]...[ *Marichal*

col. IV: 'Aurelius...  
Dumanus...  
Aurelius...  
Aurelius Bassus

Aurelius...  
Iulius...  
Aurelius ...'

*col. V*  
|<sup>1</sup> pdcc Ia[rha]eus Themarsa  
|<sup>2</sup> pdcc Au[re]l Germanus  
|<sup>3</sup> pdcc [. . . . .] [. . . . .]elbi[  
|<sup>4</sup> dcc A[ur]el Apollonius  
|<sup>5</sup> dcc A[u]rel Theodotus  
|<sup>6</sup> pdcc A[ur]el Zenodorus  
|<sup>7</sup> d[cc Au]rel [. . . . .] . . . [  
- - -

*col. V: 2* Au[rel] *edd.* || **3** [. . .]h[. . .]elea . . . [*Fink:* . . .]h[. . .]elea . . . [*Marichal* || **5** A[ur]elius *edd.* || **6**  
Zen . . .]o r *edd.* || **7** d[cc au]rel [ . . . ] . . . [*Fink:* d . . . Au]rel [ . . . ] . . . [*Marichal*

*col. V: 'Iarhaeus son of Themarsas*  
Aurelius Germanus...  
Aurelius Apollonius  
Aurelius Theodotus  
Aurelius Zenodorus  
Aurelius ...'

*col. VI*  
|<sup>1</sup> pd[c]c- . [  
|<sup>2</sup> . [  
|<sup>3</sup> . [  
|<sup>4</sup> . [ . ] . [  
|<sup>5</sup> [ . ] . [  
|<sup>6</sup> [ . ] . [  
|<sup>7</sup> pd[cc  
- - -

*col. VI: uestigia in superiori margine fortasse ]ur[: ] . . .* [*Marichal* || **3** . . . [*Fink:* . . .] [*Marichal* || **4** . . . [  
*edd.* || **6** . m . . .] [*Marichal*

**P.Dura 135** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 61)

AD 238–41

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 431 no. 119); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 388 (1977). TM 78176

Fr. (papyrus roll): 6.6x5 cm

This fragment contains portions from the final line of a document, probably written in Roman ancient cursive; then, after a large blank space, comes the second line, which contains the name of the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort, written in a capital-like script with marked similarity to scripts employed in the *verso* of official letters.<sup>629</sup> The typology of the document is uncertain; only the date can be gathered, thanks to the imperial *cognomen Gordiana* after the genitive *Palmyr(enorum)* at l. 2.<sup>630</sup> The *verso* is blank; the lower margin of the original document might be seen in the vast blank space below l. 2. The first hand, who most likely wrote the (lost) main text of the document, employs a cursive writing of which very little remains. The script of l. 2 was instead probably employed to mark an address, an important name, or a sub-title; the letters, though cursive in nature, strive to imitate a capital script, as happens in the *verso* of Durene official letters.<sup>631</sup>

---  
|<sup>1</sup>                   ]...[... ]oro[  
  
|<sup>2</sup>           coh] XX Palmyr Gor[diana

1 ]...[... ]o[ Gilliam Fink: ]...[... ]ro[ Marichal || 2 Palmyr[e]no[rum Gilliam Fink: Palmyreno[rum Marichal

**2**           The line clearly stands isolated by the main text, whose only remnant is l. 1, and was added to it at a different moment. The two lines are separated by a large blank space. The name *Palmyr(enorum)* is abbreviated and apparently unmarked, unless a middle dot is hidden in the small lacuna before *Gor[diana*.

<sup>629</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 408).

<sup>630</sup> See once again Bersanetti (1940); Bersanetti (1943).

<sup>631</sup> See 4.1.1., 4.1.2. and Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 408).



Gilliam (1950); J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam 1959; Fink (1971: 192–7 no. 50); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 344 (1975). TM 44820

Frr. (papyrus roll): *col. I* (26x65 cm); *col. II* (= frr. *a, b*) (9.4x15.8 cm); *d* (measures unavailable); *e* (3.6x6 cm); *f g h i k l m* (measures unavailable)

The papyrus, though large, is ridden with holes and wrinkled in several sections; the text is consequently difficult to restore in many places. Variations in colour (f. i. light, yellowish brown to darker brown from left to right in *col. I*) and large dark spots (f. i. in the left part of *col. II*) are widespread on the surface of the manuscript. The upper margin, as far as it could be reconstructed, amounts to 3.8 cm; the lower to 1.5 cm. As for the layout, the scribe – as customary in *acta diurna* – extends the lines in length as much as he chooses (up to 46 cm in *col. I* l. 6), normally to avoid splitting a sentence over two lines. The *verso* is *P.Dura* 107. I have published elsewhere a full account of the order and the names of all the fragments attributed to this inventory number; not all of them could be directly inspected.<sup>632</sup>

The document contains four entries from the cohort's *acta diurna*: 26 May (*col. I*, ll. 1–4); 27 (ll. 5–10); 28 (ll. 11–15 + *col. II* ll. 1–3) and 29 (*col. II* l. 4). It clearly dates back to AD 239–44, given the imperial *cognomen Gordiana* constantly attached to the name of the unit. The period can be further restricted between 239 and 241 (when Gordian was consul: cf. *col. I* l. 14 *d(omino) n(ostro) Gord[ian]o Augusto cos*); 239 is the likeliest option, as in 241 the governor of Syria would have been Attius Rufinus, and not the *Jnius* mentioned in *col. I* l. 14.<sup>633</sup> The sequence of entries does not differ much from other instances of this typology of document, such as *P.Dura* 82 or 83:

- (1) dating formula;
- (2) the total amount of men (*milites caligati*) in the unit, carefully grouped according to rank (*ordinati, duplicarii, sesquiplicarii*) and qualification (*dromadarii, equites*) – here described as stationing in the winter quarters (*in hibernis*);<sup>634</sup>
- (3) the centurion (remarkably, not the tribune) Aelius Auitus gives the watchword (*Securitas* on 27 May, *Iuppiter Dolichenus* on the following day); before that, he performs another action (*Jiniuit* ?) which is now unfathomable due to the deplorable condition of the papyrus (*col. I* ll. 6; 13);
- (4) the senior centurion of the cohort (*ordinatus princeps*) Aurelius Germanus<sup>635</sup> reads the daily orders, followed by the customary oath pronounced by the soldiers (*quod imperatum fuerit faciemus, et ad omnem tesseram parati erimus*);
- (5) a section follows describing the name and rank of soldiers watching over the imperial standards (*ad signa domini nostri*); only on 28 May this section begins with the enlisting of two new recruits (*tirones probati*).

A number of noteworthy particulars may be found in this text, and will be commented upon in the following section.

<sup>632</sup> Iovine (2021a: 185–88).

<sup>633</sup> See Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 282); and Fink (1971: 192).

<sup>634</sup> Cf. Gilliam (1950: 222–9); Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 281–2) for a discussion on numbers and locations.

<sup>635</sup> He appears for the first time in *P.Dura* 116 (AD 236); among the six centurions of the cohort, only his name can be detected in *P.Dura* 89.

col. I

- |<sup>1</sup> [Aurel] Germanus ord principis admissa pron[u]ntia[u]it [e]t quod imp fuerit facemus et ad omniam tessera[m] parati eremus. Exciubant ad  
[sig]na d n [Im]p
- |<sup>2</sup> Marci Antoni Gordiani Pii Felicis Inuicti Augu[sti o]rd· Aurel Germa[nu]s princeps singnifer Ulpus Maria[n]us buc Aurel Priscus [sacer]dos  
Themes Mocimi· [
- |<sup>3</sup> tess Aurel Mocimus . . . Ulpus Siluanus signif II· Flavius Demetrius alt signif III· Aurel· Malc[hus] disc mens[orem] Aurel· Iarhaboles ac [
- |<sup>4</sup> et ad bonis ss us ed· d· IIII parati sunt.
- |<sup>5</sup> [VI Kal Iun. Sun]t in hiber[n]is coh XX Palm Gor[dian]ae n p m[il caliga]t[o]r DCCLXXXI: in his, ordd VI, dupl VIII, sesq I, drom XXXVI; [in  
his - - - eq - - - i]n his decc IIII, dupl VI, sesq II
- |<sup>6</sup> [coh X]X Palm Gordiana[e]. Summa o[mnes p]erma[nserun]t.
- |<sup>7</sup> [Ael Auitus] ꝥ leg praep i du . . u[ . . . ]l[ . ]iu [ . . ] ec[ . . ] . . iniuit signum Securitatis misit.
- |<sup>8</sup> Aur[el German]us ord princeps [ad]mis[s]a pr[onu]ntia[u]i[t] e[t qu]od imp fuerit facemus et ad omnem tesseram pa[rati er]imus. Excubant  
[ad sig]na d n Imp M Antoni Gordiani Pii [F]el Inuict[i Aug]
- |<sup>9</sup> or[d Aurel Germ]anus sig Ulp Mar[i]a[nu]s b[uc Aurel] Pri[scus sace]r Themes Mocimi [te]ss Aurel [Mo]cimus [ . . . ] Ulp Siluanus  
sig I[I] Fl[avius Dem]etrius s[i]gnif I[I] Aurel Malchus disc mens Iar [
- |<sup>10</sup> Aurel I[arhaboles] . . c et ad b[o]nis . . [ . ] [ . . . . ] . . . par[ati sun]t.
- |<sup>11</sup> V Kal Iun. Sunt [in hiberni]s coh· XX Palm G[ordian]ae n p DCCLX[XXI] i[n hi]s: ord VI dupl VIII se[sq] I drom XXX[VI], i[n] hi[s] [sesq  
- - - eq] CXXXVIII, i[n] hi[s] decc II[II] d[u]pl VI sesq II
- |<sup>12</sup> coh [XX Palm Gordia]nae. S[umma om]nes permanserunt.
- |<sup>13</sup> I Ael Aui[us] ꝥ leg praep . . s . . [ . . . ]m [ . . . . . ]niuit signum Iouis Dolichenis misit.
- |<sup>14</sup> ] tirones probati ab [ . . . . . ]nio u c cos n' n' II· [ . . . . . ]abbasari ꝥ· Aurel Germanus ex VI Idus Maias d n Gord[ian]o Aug cos
- |<sup>15</sup> ] ex [ . . . . . ] [tirones] duos quorum nomi[na . . . . . ]s item staturas subici praecepi· ar . . s agitar[ra]e expertos probatos . . . in c[o]h XX  
Palm Gordianam ꝥ p



27 May. The total number of *milites caligati* in the winter quarters of the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort Gordiana is 781, including: 6 centurions, 8 *duplicarii*, 1 *sesquiplicarius*, 36 camel-troopers; including ... cavalrymen ... including: 4 decurions, 6 *duplicarii*, 2 *sesquiplicarii*, of the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort Gordiana. The total amount of them was present. Legionary centurion Aelius Avitus, *praepositus* (?) ... gave the watchword: 'security'. Senior centurion Aurelius Germanus proclaimed the orders; we shall comply with what we will be commanded, and we shall be ready to any order. Standing watch at the standards of our lord Emperor Marcus Antonius Gordianus devoted fortunate undefeated Augustus are: centurion Aurelius Germanus, ensign-bearer Ulpius Marianus, trumpeter Aurelius Priscus, priest Themes son of Mocimus, *tesserarius* Aurelius Mocimus ... Ulpius Silvanus, second ensign-bearer Flavius Demetrius, third ensign-bearer Aurelius Malchus, trainee-surveyor Aurelius Iarhaboles ... are prepared.

28 May. The total number of *milites caligati* in the winter quarters of the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort Gordiana is 781, including: 6 centurions, 8 *duplicarii*, 1 *sesquiplicarius*, 36 men on dromedaries, including: *sesquiplicarii* (?) ... 138 cavalrymen, including: 4 decurions, 6 *duplicarii*, 2 *sesquiplicarii*, of the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort Gordiana. The total amount of them was present. ... legionary centurion Aelius Avitus, *praepositus* ... gave the watchword: 'Iuppiter Dolichenus' (?). ... recruits, approved by the most distinguished man our ... nius, former consul, two in number ... in the century of... (?) Aurelius Germanus, from 26 April, during the consulship of our lord Gordian Augustus. Copy (?): '... two recruits, whose names ... and heights I have ordered to be appended... expert, approved... for the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort Gordiana, which you command'.'

1 The preserved portion of this entry begins halfway, with the declaration of the orders (*admissa*) and the oath. A number of orthographical oddities, typical of this papyrus, can already be seen here: *facemus*, *omniam*, *eremus*, *exciubant*. Abbreviations are, in Marichal's own words, 'nombreuses, arbitraires et capricieuses',<sup>636</sup> and almost always unmarked; here are some of them: *d(omini)*, *n(ostri)*, *imp(eratoris)*, *imp(eratum)* and *ord(inatus)*. Here as elsewhere in the papyrus, medial dots are rare, erratic, and perform different, now unintelligible, functions.

1–4 The watch over the Imperial standards. One can notice a *ordinatus princeps* ('senior centurion', here oddly written *principis* and then *princes*), a *buc(inator)* 'trumpeteer', three *signiferi* 'standard-bearers' (the first of whom is again oddly written *singnifer*) distinguished with figures (*II*, *III*), a *tess(erarius)*, the soldier charged with the watchword,<sup>637</sup> and a *disc(ens) mensorem* 'trainee surveyor': this qualification, also in col. I l. 9 for the same soldier, can be found in *CIL* VI 32536, and is briefly commented on by Gilliam.<sup>638</sup> Flavius Demetrius *alt(er)* 'the second' is probably thus referred to in order to tell him apart from another Flavius Demetrius who appears in col. I l. 9; the adjective is also used in e.g. *P.Dura* 101 col. XXXIX l. 11 to distinguish a Iulius Antoninus working in the office (*officio*) from a homonym, immediately preceding him, and destined *ad manum*. Notably, the *sacerdos* (here unabridged) Themes son of Mocimus is the only soldier with a more 'Durene' form of address, being called with name + patronymic (type-A); on account of the information provided by this papyrus and by a wall painting (the famous *fresco* of Iulius Terentius in the Temple of Bel)<sup>639</sup> where Themes appears in the capacity of a ἱερεὺς 'priest', Nock has argued that he was a sort of sacristan, whose duty was to look after the shrine where the imperial standards were kept.<sup>640</sup> More prudent considerations on the matter have been formulated by Kaizer.<sup>641</sup>

The sequence *ac* at l. 3 characterizes the soldier Aurelius Iarhaboles, and appears again at l. 10. One senses, however, a slight difference between the two sequences. In the first instance, at l. 3, one might safely see an *a* partially vanished in the lacuna, and the *a c*: this might well stand for *ac(tuarius)*. But at l. 10 one rather reads remnants of two letters before *c*, not just one.

**Table 5.15** – Aurelius Iarhaboles in *P.Dura* 89, ll. 3 and 10

<sup>636</sup> *ChLA* (VII: 43).

<sup>637</sup> Details on this specific rank in Roman army, with special reference to documentary sources, are in Salati (2017: 165). See also *TAC. hist.* 1, 25 and *VEG. mil.* 2, 7: *tesserari qui tesseram per contubernia militum nuntiant. Tessera autem dicitur praeceptum ducis, quo uel ad aliquod opus uel ad bellum mouetur exercitus* 'the *tesserarii* are those who announce the *tessera* in the soldiers' lodgings. A *tessera*, on the other hand, is (also) the commander's order, on which the army is summoned either to war or to any other enterprise'.

<sup>638</sup> Gilliam (1950: 250).

<sup>639</sup> On the fresco, see Cumont (1923); Welles (1941), particularly pp. 97–101.

<sup>640</sup> Nock (1952: 242–52).

<sup>641</sup> Kaizer (2006: 155–8).

|                                    |                              |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <b>Fig. 5.31</b>                   | <b>Fig. 5.32</b>             |
| l. 3 Aurel· Iarhaboles <i>ac</i> [ | l. 10 Aurel I[arhaboles] . c |

Thye problem was already noted by Marichal.<sup>642</sup> One might solve it by supposing that also in the lacuna at l. 3 two letters, not just one, are represented, and read for instance *arc(arius)* ‘treasurer’ in both cases. Otherwise, one might think of just one letter before *c* in l. 1: an *a* with a mistaken ligature, and read *ac(tuarius)* in both cases. From the paleographical point of view, the sequence at l. 10 appears to me something like *auc* or *ruc*, which only complicates the problem. Maybe a mistakenly written *auc(tuarius)* for *ac(tuarius)*? But it seems far-fetched.

The rank of Ulpius Siluanus – represented by traces of three uncertain letters – is still an object of debate. An Ulpius Siluanus is described as *tesserarius* in a mural inscription from Dura, but another *tesserarius* (Aurelius Mocimus) appears immediately before him in the papyrus, and Gilliam believes the two Ulpis to be different persons.<sup>643</sup> On account of the fact that in this papyrus there are, for instance, more than one *signifer*, and they are noted by a number after the title (col. I l. 3 *signifer II Flavius Demetrius alter, signifer III Aurel Malc[hus]*; col. I l. 9 *signifer I[I] Fl[avius] Dem[etrius], s[i]gnifer I[I] Aurel Malchus*), Marichal has interpreted the sign as *t(esserarius) II*, ‘second *tesserarius*’.<sup>644</sup> It must be noted, however, that these numbers might also be signalling to which particular watch in the duty roster the soldier was assigned; see *P.Dura* 82 col. I l. 7 and the commentary *ad loc.*

4 There is still no satisfactory explanation for the sequence *ss us edd*: the abbreviated sequence refers in all likelihood to four (*IIII*) soldiers who were *parati* ‘prepared’ to do or to attend something (*ad bonis*, which might be a mistake for *ad bonos*).

5 Here begins the next section. According to Gilliam,<sup>645</sup> the hand which wrote the first four lines of col. I differs from that who drew the other portions of the column itself; the former would be more careful and without many ligatures, the latter more ‘crabbed and crowded’. In fact, it seems hard to distinguish hands in this particular papyrus. One could point out that the hand which wrote col. II might be another hand as well, as the way it draws *h* is peculiar if compared to the other *h*’s in the document (see below). The soldiers are described as stationed *in hibernis* ‘in the winter-quarters’, perhaps ruling out from the final count all men in detachments elsewhere, i.e. in *uexillationes*.<sup>646</sup> Notably, the number of *milites caligati*, here appearing for the first time in the report (the adjective is abbreviated *caligator*), amounts to 781 soldiers only, which is very close to the 760 declared by *HYG. mun. castr.* 26; however, he refers to *pedites*, which he clearly distinguishes from *equites*, whereas the name *milites caligati* might refer to both categories. At any rate, figures in *P.Dura* 82 are quite higher (in col. I l. 1 924 soldiers are declared).<sup>647</sup> Notice that plural nouns receive an additional consonant in the abbreviated form, here and everywhere in the document: *ordd* for *ordinati*, *decc* for *decuriones*. Other abbreviations are the customary ones in *acta diurna*: *drom(adarii)*, *dupl(icarii)*, *n(umero) p(uro)*, *sesq(uipticarius)* and *sesq(uipticarii)*.

6 The annotation *summa omnes permanserunt* (here and in I l. 12) has been linked by scholars to the fact that neither *missi* nor *reuersi* appear in these *acta diurna*, as they do in *P.Dura* 82.<sup>648</sup>

7 Another unusual occurrence in this manuscript is the absence of the commanding officer of the cohort – the tribune – who was clearly present in *P.Dura* 82 (col. I l. 2; col. II ll. 3; 16). The watchword is here given not by a *tribunus*, but by the *centurio leg(ionarius)* Aelius Auitus, further characterized as a *praep(ositus)* (col. I). Auitus was most

<sup>642</sup> See *ChLA* (VII: 46).

<sup>643</sup> See Gilliam (1950: 250, fn. 208); Fink (1971: 193–4).

<sup>644</sup> See *ChLA* (VII: 46).

<sup>645</sup> Gilliam (1950: 248–9).

<sup>646</sup> See Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 282–3); according to him, *in hibernis* might be implied, even if not explicitly written also for *P.Dura* 82.

<sup>647</sup> See Gilliam (1946) for a full account on *milites caligati*. The lower figure might be attributed, according to Gilliam, either to losses or simply to ‘the result of fewer men being *in hibernis*’ (Welles, Fink and Gilliam 1959: 283).

<sup>648</sup> Fink (1971: 192).

probably replacing the current commanding officer, Iulius Terentius, recently killed in action.<sup>649</sup> Before giving the watchword, Auitus performs another action, which is now unfathomable as those sections of the papyrus are very badly preserved. L. 7 in particular seems in need of a re-assessment:

### Fig. 5.33

The line, beginning with [*Aelius Auitus*] *9 leg*, proceeds to further specify his rank: *praep*. Then one can see an *I*, apparently not immediately followed by other letters:

### Fig. 5.34

This *I* appears in the other two passages of *P.Dura* 89 where the centurion is attested: col. I l. 13; col. II l. 6. In l. 13, the scribe probably forgot to put it after *praep*, and added it in the left margin (on the contrary, Marichal believes this *I* in l. 13 to be just a mark to attract the reader's notice);<sup>650</sup> in col. II l. 6 this *I* is apparently to be referred to *coh(ortis)*, as it is placed right after it and immediately followed by another letter; one wonders, however, how to interpret it, as the cohort mentioned can only be the *XX Palmyrenorum*. After *I*, two spots of ink might be the traces of two letters, or the two edges of the horizontal stroke of *t*. One can be sure, then, to spot *du*, the bottom of two uprights, and again a *u*. Perhaps one might read here a dating formula: *I Idus Iu[nias]*? In this case, something would be missing from the first figure, as the first day before the Ides would have been referred to with the adverb *pridie*. However, such a date would be located more than ten days *after* the composition of these *acta* (26 to 29 May), and there is no clue about its relation to the other entries. The second half of l. 7 is even more badly preserved:

### Fig. 5.35

One can be sure an *l* appears, and then, after at least one vanished letter, an upright, which might suggest an *i* or an *s*. Two *u*'s seem to follow; the second *u* might be *is* (perhaps *]l[ ]suu[s*, or *suis[?]*). After the lacuna, one probably sees *]mec[*; another lacuna, and this troublesome passage ends with traces of two uprights, and the final letters *iniuit*. One might well think of *fīniuit* 'prescribed', 'laid down', 'marked out (as a boundary)'.<sup>651</sup> I would rule *pra]efiniuit* or *d]efiniuit* out, as the trace before *iniuit* are not compatible with *e*. The whole line could be thus written:

[*Ael Auitus*] *9 leg praep I . du . . u[ . . . ]l[ . ]iu[ . . . ]mec[ . . . ] iniuit,*

followed by *signum Securitatis misit*.

**8** Notice that *Marci* is here abbreviated *M*, whereas in l. 1 it was unabridged. Again, *princeps* instead of *principis* and *facemus* instead of *faciemus*. After *et ad omnem tesseram pa[*, the lacuna should be much larger than it is now to accommodate [*rati er*], and match with *]imus* on the other side; perhaps this portion of the fragment could be better placed.

**9–10** Thanks to the comparison with the corresponding line in the preceding entry (l. 3), one might here suppose that the scribe initially made a mistake and reported only the name 'Iarhaboles' after *disc(ens) mens(orem)*; then corrected the mistake by re-writing the full name at l. 10, without erasing the *cognomen*. It is also possible that he first wrote 'Iarhaboles + patronymic', in the Durene way, before realizing that the 'trainee-surveyor' had the more Roman-sounding name 'Aurelius + name': therefore, he corrected the mistake. If this reconstruction is true, this might be a further clue for a change of hand at l. 4; if a second scribe undertook the composition of this report, it could have been easier for him to make such a mistake. The gap

<sup>649</sup> Welles (1941), particularly pp. 93–7; Gilliam (1950: 250–1); *Id.* in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 283 fn. 6); Fink (1971: 194).

<sup>650</sup> *ChLA* (VII: 46).

<sup>651</sup> See *ThLL* VI.1 781–4 s.u. *finio*, part. A 1, B 1.

between the lines might in sum be quite short: *disc(ens) mens(orem) Iarh[aboles ...] | Aurel I[arhaboles]*. Notice the abbreviation *sacer(dos)*. At l. 9, perhaps an *interpunctum* after *I[I]I*.

**12** Between *]nes* and *permanserunt* one can see a speck of ink, too large for an *interpunctum*: perhaps it is the result of loss of ink, or a slip of the scribe. Above *unt*, a horizontal stroke with serif at its edges, perhaps an ornamental device.

**13** The word *Dolichenis* might be a declension mistake for *Dolicheni*, perhaps prompted by the final *s* of *Iovis*,<sup>652</sup> but this is still an object of debate.<sup>653</sup>

**14–15** At the end of the column, the scribe notes the enlistment of two new recruits. The first line (l. 14) is devoted to the actual report of the event in the *acta*; the second (l. 15) is a copy of the official probation letter – the *epistula probatoria* – which was sent together with the new recruits. Abbreviations *n(ostro)* and *n(umero)* in l. 14 are marked by short oblique strokes. In the same line, it is not clear whether the name ‘Aurelius Germanus’ – in the nominative case, preceded by a large blank space and the symbol for *centuria* – stands here for the genitive (‘in the century of Aurelius Germanus’) or is the ‘Roman-type’ name of the second recruit, whereas the ‘Durene-type’ name of the first one partially survives in the patronymic (?) *]abbasari*.<sup>654</sup> Both alternatives are problematic.

(1) The former – ‘Aurel Germanus’ a mistake for ‘Aurel Germani’; this would yield the common sequence ‘name + *]abbasari* + *℥* Aureli Germani’ – does not explain why the scribe put a medial dot after the symbol for *centuria*, and left a large blank space after it. He might have not known the centurion’s name when he wrote, and put it there only later in the space he had left on purpose, without inflecting it in the genitive case.

(2) As for the latter possibility, one might thus reconstruct the context: the scribe writes the name of the first recruit, ending with the patronymic *]abbasari*; then he automatically puts the symbol for *centuria* (*℥*), expecting to report the centurion’s name, which he, however, does not find in the document he is copying.<sup>655</sup> Therefore, he puts a medial dot, as if to mark a full stop, then leaves a blank space, and finally writes down the name of the second recruit (‘Aurel Germanus’).

In l. 15, as Gilliam already suspected,<sup>656</sup> the scribe has in fact pointed out that he was copying another document into the *acta* he was drawing: he has written in larger letters *ex*, i.e. *ex(emplum)*. One can see the top of an *e*, immediately on the right edge of the lacuna, and then an *x* might be read.<sup>657</sup> Later in the line, a particularly problematic passage occurs:

### Fig. 5.36

This sequence of letters is located between the usual formula *subici praecepi* (‘I have ordered to be appended’), referring to the description and the names of the recruits; and the customary adjective *probatos*, which validates the enlistment. Gilliam thought, *exempli gratia*, of something like *Arabes agitare expertos* ‘trained in handling Arab horses (?)’; his only doubt concerned the *x* after *e*, whose upper portion should be seen above the lacuna. I can confirm the presence of the verb *agitare*; it is interesting to notice how the scribe first attached an *a* after the final *r*, and then corrected it by over-writing a forked *e*. I can also confirm *expertos*. Before the verb, I cannot see the traces of *b*; instead, I see something like *ar . . . s* where the first uncertain letter might well be the beginning of *a*.

col. II

- - -

<sup>652</sup> See *ChLA* (VII: 46).

<sup>653</sup> Cf. apparatus and Gilliam (1959: 286).

<sup>654</sup> A brief discussion of the problem in *ChLA* (VII: 46).

<sup>655</sup> It may be worth remarking that in the other extant *probatoria tironum* (*P.Oxy.* VII 1022), the names of the six recruits are not attached to their prospective unit: the letter only orders the *relatio in numeros*.

<sup>656</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>657</sup> As the ink in this section is blurred on the border of the lacuna, I venture to suggest that also *e]xē(mplum)* or, as Fink and Marichal suggest, *e(xemplum) e(pistulae)* are possible.

<sup>1</sup> A[urel Germanus ord princeps  
<sup>2</sup> [  
<sup>3</sup> [  
<sup>4</sup> ] . 1 . 1 . [  
<sup>5</sup> IIII Kal Iunias. Sūnt īn [hibernis co]h XX Palm[  
<sup>6</sup> coh XX Palmyrenorum Gord[ianae  
<sup>7</sup> [Aeliu]s Auitus ꝥ pr⟨a⟩epos coh ī .  
 - - -

col. II: 1 A[urel Gilliam<sup>1</sup> || 4-7 has lineas partes fragmenti unius censs. Gilliam<sup>2</sup> Fink Marichal: diuisit Gilliam<sup>1</sup> || 4 ] . [ . ] I[ (dubitanter an Aure)]l(ius) [M]al[chus Gilliam<sup>2</sup>) Gilliam: ] ] . I[ Fink: om. Marichal || 5 co]h X[X P]alm[ Gilliam<sup>1</sup> || 6 coh X ante ]X ex frustulo nouo addidit: coh X]X edd. | Go[r]d[ianae Marichal || 7 ]s Gilliam Fink | . [ Gilliam<sup>1</sup> Marichal: k[ Gilliam<sup>2</sup>

col. II: ‘Senior centurion Aurelius Germanus ... 29 May. The total number of ... in the winter quarters of the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort... of the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort Gordiana ... the *praepositus* of the cohort, centurion Aelius Auitus ...’

5 Col. II, consisting of the two fragments *d* and *f* (Gilliam 1950) = *a* and *b* (Marichal), has been augmented, probably thanks to Dr Duttenhöfer, with a smaller scrap, placed between the two fragments horizontally aligned, and which allows us to read in its entirety the beginning of l. 6 *coh(ortis) XX Palmyrenorum Gord[ianae]*.<sup>658</sup> This also allows us to witness another instance of *h*, which in this column appears to be distinct from the others, as it seems drawn in three strokes rather than in two:

**Table 5.16** – *P.Dura* 89: the *h*’s

| Col. I                    | Col. II                                                                                                                      |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| l. 5<br><b>Fig. 5.37</b>  |  <p><b>Fig. 5.39</b></p> <p>C O H X[</p> |
| l. 11<br><b>Fig. 5.38</b> |                                                                                                                              |

This may suggest that yet another hand is working on this subsequent entry of the *acta*, as probably happened in col. I l. 5, where a different hand apparently takes over.<sup>659</sup>

7 Notice *pr⟨a⟩epos(itus)* instead of *praep(ositus)*.

*fr. e*

- - -

<sup>1</sup> A[u]rel German[us ord princeps  
<sup>2</sup> ord Aurel Germ[anus  
<sup>3</sup> a[ . . . . ] . [ . ] aed[ . . ] . [  
 - - -

*fr. e*: 1 [Au]rel [G]erman[us Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: A]ur[e]l(ius) German[us Marichal || 2 or[d] ... [G]erm[anus Gilliam Fink: [ord(inatus)] ... Germ[anus Marichal || 3 ] . [ . . ] . [ . ] . e . [ Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: a[ . . ] . . e . [ Gilliam<sup>2</sup> Fink: A[ . . . . ] . . . e . [ Marichal | fortasse aed[it(uus)]

<sup>658</sup> See Iovine (2021a: 185–88).

<sup>659</sup> See above *ad loc.*



*fr. e*: ‘Senior centurion Aurelius Germanus ... centurion Aurelius Germanus...’

**3** The sequence *aed* might stand as an abbreviation for *aedituus*. The presence of this particular kind of sacristan is attested in other *acta diurna*,<sup>660</sup> but apparently not in *P.Dura* 89: the *sacerdos* Themes son of Mocimus seems to have replaced him.

*fr. c*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]s quod imperatum [fuerit  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] b Aurel [  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] [. ] assus [  
 ---

*fr. c*: *non uidi: Marichal lectiones refero* || **1** ] s *Fink* | im[p *Fink* || **2** ] . *Gilliam*: ]bda<sup>s</sup> *Fink* || **3** ] s ssus[  
*Gilliam*<sup>1</sup>: ] s s s u s[ *Gilliam*<sup>2</sup>: ] . [. ] a asus [ *Fink*

*fr. c*: ‘...what we will be commanded... Aurelius...’

*fr. d*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] [  
 |<sup>2</sup> buc Aurel P]riscus, sac Them[es Mocimi  
 |<sup>3</sup> par]ati sunt [  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] ..... [  
 |<sup>5</sup> ] ..... [  
 |<sup>6</sup> ] ..... [  
 ---

*fr. d*: *non uidi: Marichal lectiones refero* || **1** ] . . . [ *Fink*: *omisit Gilliam*<sup>1</sup> || **2** P]riscus sa<sup>c</sup>er(dos) Them[es  
*Gilliam*<sup>1</sup>: P]riscus, sacer(dos) Them[es Mocimi *Gilliam*<sup>2</sup>: buc aurel p]riscus sacer them[es mocimi *Fink* || **3**  
 pa]ra<sup>t</sup>i *Fink* || **4–5 omm.** *Gilliam Marichal*: ] . [. ] pp [. ] . . te . . [ | ] i s | ] . [. ] . . . ssu [ *Fink*

*fr. d*: ‘...trumpeter Aurelius Priscus, priest Themes son of Mocimus ... are ready...’

**2** Notice the abbreviation *sac(erdos)*.

*fr. f*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]ss[  
 ---

*fr. f*: *omm. Gilliam*<sup>1</sup> *Fink* | ]es[ *Gilliam*<sup>2</sup> *Marichal*

*fr. h*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]u[  
 ---

*fr. h*: *omm. Gilliam*<sup>1</sup> *Fink*

<sup>660</sup> In *P.Dura* 82, the *aedituus* Aurelius Siluanus: coll. I ll. 6; 16; II l. 12.

fr. i  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] us[  
 ---

fr. i: omm. Gilliam<sup>1</sup> Fink | ]us[ Gilliam<sup>2</sup>

fr. k  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]us[  
 |<sup>2</sup> me[ ]b os[  
 ---

fr. k: recognoui

fr. l  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] tirones . . . . [ . ] . . [  
 ---

fr. l: ediderunt Gilliam Fink, Marichal autem edidit sub nomine P.Dura 107 fr. l | duas lineas ([ - - - ] dīl[ . ] [ - - | - - - ] . . . . . fl [ - - - ] Marichal | ] . . on . . . . . [ Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: ] tiron . . . . . [ Fink

*P.Dura 121* (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 26 *recto*)

after AD 239–41 c.

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 153–4 no. 29); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 376 (1977). TM 44853

Fr. (papyrus roll): 18.5x8 cm

A small, rectangular papyrus fragment; the ink is black and still quite legible, whereas the fibres are torn apart in many places. The right margin is the only visible one. The *verso* is *P.Dura* 118. The papyrus contains a fragment from enrolment procedures (*relatio in numerum*): a list of soldiers, grouped by date of enlistment, and assigned to particular units (*numeri*) within the Palmyrene cohort. Partial parallels for this typology of document are contained in *P.Oxy.* VII 1022 (AD 103) and *BGU* II 696, col. I ll. 20–40; col. II (AD 156). Among the centurions, only Germanus (l. 5), already seen in *P.Dura* 116 and 89; and Heliodorus (l. 12), appearing here for the first time, are visible. The dating formulae in ll. 7–8 and 14–15 may refer to the first (239) or the second (241) consulship of Gordian III: hence, the dating of this papyrus. Heliodorus cannot be found in *P.Dura* 89 (239) but appears in *P.Dura* 106 (233–41) and 107 (241): he must have been promoted or transferred in the cohort before 241.

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> G]ordi[ano cos  
 |<sup>2</sup> r[e]l in nu ex [epistula]  
 |<sup>3</sup> Atti Rufini [u c cos n]  
 |<sup>4</sup> [i]n <h>is erat . [  
 |<sup>5</sup> ζ Germani [  
 |<sup>6</sup> Iul Ant[  
 |<sup>7</sup> IIII Kal Iu[  
 |<sup>8</sup> Gordia[no cos]  
 |<sup>9</sup> rel in nu . . . [epistula]  
 |<sup>10</sup> Atti Rufini u c cos n' [  
 |<sup>11</sup> erant de num m[  
 |<sup>12</sup> ζ Heliodori Fusc[o] II [cos]  
 |<sup>13</sup> Aurel Macrinus  
 |<sup>14</sup> VII[  
 |<sup>15</sup> Gordia[no cos]  
 |<sup>16</sup> trans[  
 | . . . . .  
 ---

2 n(-) u(-) *suspiciatus est* Fink || 4 ] . is erat[ Fink || 5 Ge[r]mani *edd.* || 7 Iu[nias vel Iu[l]ias || 9 *fortasse* num(er-) ex [epistula]: in n[u Fink: in n[u(mer Marichal || 11 denum m[ (*dubitanter an de num(ero)*) M[aur(or)um transl(ati) mil(ites)) Fink: de Num(ero) M[ Marichal || 13 Macr[i]nus Fink: Mac[ri]nus Marichal || 14 VII *vel* VII[I *vel* VII[II || 16 ] . . . . [ Fink: . . . . [ Marichal

‘...under the consulship of Gordianus:  
 assigned to the unit (?) on the account of a letter  
 of Attius Rufinus, most distinguished man and former consul of ours,  
 including: ...  
 in the century of Germanus: ...  
 Iulius ...  
 On the fourth day before the Calends of...  
 Under the consulship of Gordianus:  
 assigned to the unit (?) on the account of a letter  
 of Attius Rufinus, most distinguished man and former consul of ours:  
 ... from the unit... they were...  
 in the century of Heliodorus, under the second consulship of Fuscus:

Aurelius Macrinus...  
 on the 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> (?) day...  
 under the consulship of Gordianus ...'

**1** Ll. 1; 6–7; and 14–5 are in *eisthesis* and letters appear to be smaller in size. One may remark the difference between the *d* of *Gordia*[no and other *d*'s in the main text. Perhaps another hand was involved there.

**2–3** As was customary for the Roman army, the order of recruitment for recruits (*tirones*) comes directly from a letter (*ex [epistula]*) issued by the provincial governor's office – in this case, Attius Rufinus – where the number of the recruits and the unit they are assigned to are stated, plus the fact that they have been approved (*probat*i) by the governor himself. At l. 3 the abbreviation in the lacuna, which will also be found in l. 10, is thus solved: *u(iri) c(larissimi) co(n)s(ularis) n(ostri)*. In this papyrus, the soldiers assigned are not necessarily recent recruits: in l. 12, the enlistment of Macrinus took place during the second consulship of Fuscus, i.e. about fifteen years before the consulship of Gordian III. The abbreviation *rel* (also in l. 9) may stand for *rel(atus)* or *rel(ati)*; *nu*, as well as *num* in l. 11, may stand for *numero*, *numeros* or *numerus* – unless *nu* does not conceal, as Fink suggests, a so far unknown abbreviation *n(-) u(-)*.<sup>661</sup>

**10** *n(ostro)* is marked by a short oblique stroke.

**11** Marichal believes that a distinction can be made between *nu(merus)* 'rank' (l. 2) and *num(erus)* 'military unit'.<sup>662</sup>

**16** This line might be tentatively read *trans*[*latus* or *trans*[*lati*. *T* and *r* are almost certain; then comes the second oblique stroke of an *a*, very high in the writing line, and perhaps the second oblique stroke of *n*; the dot-like traces after it might belong to *s*. Since *referre* is featured, *transferre* is not impossible. This verb appears elsewhere when transfers are spoken of.<sup>663</sup>

<sup>661</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 393).

<sup>662</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 65).

<sup>663</sup> For instance in *PSI* IX 1026 l. 5 (AD 150; TM 17460); *BGU* II 696, col. II ll. 22; 26 (AD 156, TM 69913); *P.Fay.* 105 recto fr. A col. III l. 25a (AD 175 c., TM 10770).

**P.Dura 140** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 19 *verso*)

after AD 225–35 c.

C. B. Welles in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959) *descr.*; R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 392 (1977) *descr.* TM 58145

Fr. (papyrus roll): 12x14 cm

The papyrus is ridden with holes, ragged and almost all the ink has vanished. It has been written on the *verso* along the fibres; its *recto* is *P.Dura* 91. Marichal has tentatively identified the content as a morning report (*acta diurna*);<sup>664</sup> the layout (long lines, large blank spaces) and some surviving words and syntagms (ll. 6, 9) support his argument. The date has been given according to the date on the *recto*.

```

- - -
|1   ] ... [ . ] [ . ] . edi ... [ . ] ... [
|2
|3   ] ... F ... pq [ . ] [ . ] ... ] ... Zēbida . [ ±12 ] d [ . ] eq [
|4   ] ... [ . ] ... ] rius Aba ... [ . ] ... [
|5
|6   ] ... o [ . ] i [ . ] o in <h>is eq II s[
|7
|8
|9           ] ordd IIII s[e]sq [
|10          ] ... [ . ] tio XI . [
|11
|12          ] [ . ] ... c ... [ . ] tid roces[
|13
|14
|15
|16   ] u [ . ] [ . ] ... II [ . ] eus[ ±14 ] c [
|17   ] ... [ . ] ... ] usdi[
- - -

```

**3** ] . . bida (*dubitanter an Zebida*) *Marichal* || **4** fortasse VI Id(us) Aug(ustas): ] . . . . . aug *Marichal* | fortasse Vale]rius Ab<b>as uel Ab<b>an: ] . . . . . aba . [ *Marichal* || **7** fortasse <h>is uel <i>is: in is . [ . ] [ *Marichal* || **9** uel ord(inati) XIII || **10** fortasse op]tio(nes) || **12** fortasse a [p]rocuratore || **16** fortasse dupl(icarii) II[

<sup>664</sup> See *ChLA* (IX: 80).

*P.Dura 62 verso* (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 33 *verso*).

AD 230–50 c.

Welles, Fink, and Gilliam (1959) *descr.*; Fink (1974: 413 no. 108 *descr.*); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VI 317 *descr.* (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 193 *descr.* (1992); Iovine (2018a). TM 44788

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (3.4x6.3 cm); *b* (3.4x6.1 cm); *c* (2.2x3.6 cm); *d* (3.4x5.5 cm); *l* (7x4.1 cm); 2 (4.2x5 cm); 3 (3.3x3.8 cm); 4 (3x2.8 cm); 5 (1x1.2 cm); 6 (9x1.2 cm); 7 (1.8x1.6 cm); 8 (2.2x2.5 cm); 9 (2.3x2.3 cm); 10 (1.6x2.5 cm); 11 (4.7x3.3 cm); 12 (1.8x3.2 cm); 13 (3.1x2.5 cm); 14 (2.4x3.2 cm); 15 (1.5x4 cm); 16 (1.4x3.3 cm); 17 (1.8x2 cm); 18 (2.5x2.4 cm); 19 (1.9x2.2 cm); 20 (2x1.6 cm); 21 (1.1x1.6 cm); 22 (1.6x1.5 cm); 23 (0.7x1.6 cm); 24 (1.1x3 cm); 25 (1.6x0.3 cm); 26 (1.7x3.2 cm)

These are the fragments written against the fibres (↓) in *P.Dura 62*, here treated as the *verso* of the original document. As in the *recto*, not all the fragments are featured: the unreadable ones have been ruled out.<sup>665</sup> Almost nothing certain can be gathered from these fragments, but the name Aurelius Mocimus (fr. 2 l. 5), very common among the soldiers of the 20<sup>th</sup> cohort of the Palmyrenes; and the possible mention of Emperor Gordian (fr. 2 l. 4), on which the proposed dating mainly relies. The ancient Roman cursive here featured is careless and irregular, often drafted through a thick-ended pen, perhaps even a brush (see frr. 2; 3).

*fr. 2*

```

- - -
|1          ] . . [
|2      ] rusa [
|3      ]          [
|4      G]ordiani . . [
|5      Au]rel Mocimus [
|6          ] . [ . . . . . ] . [
- - -

```

*fr. 2: 4 fortasse* Pi[i vel Au]g

*fr. 3*

```

- - -
|1      ] . . . . us[
|2      ] rius Nil[
|3          ] um . . [
|4          ] ap . [
- - -

```

*fr. 3: 2 fortasse* Vale]rius | *fortasse* Nil[us vel Nil[i vel Nil[as || 3 ]um . . . . [ Iovine (2018a)

*fr. 6*

```

- - -
|1      ] . [
|2      ] re[
- - -

```

*fr. 8*

- - -

<sup>665</sup> A full survey of every fragment, including misplacements and editorial history, is in Iovine (2018a).

|<sup>1</sup>            ] . . ad . [  
|<sup>2</sup>           ] . r [  
- - -

*fr. 12*

|<sup>1</sup>           ] uag . [  
|<sup>2</sup>           A] urelius [  
|<sup>3</sup>           ] . . . . [  
- - -

*fr. 13*

|<sup>1</sup>                            ] . [  
|<sup>2</sup>           ] . . . . . as . [  
|<sup>3</sup>                            ] . . . . [  
- - -

*fr. 14*

|<sup>1</sup>                                            ] . [  
|<sup>2</sup>                                            ] . [  
|<sup>3</sup>           A] urel Th[  
|<sup>4</sup>           ] . . . . [  
- - -

*fr. 14: 3 fortasse Th[emarsas vel Th[emes: . . [ Iovine (2018a)*

*fr. 20*

|<sup>1</sup>           ] . [ . ] l [  
|<sup>2</sup>           ] Iuliu[s  
- - -

*fr. 21*

|<sup>1</sup>           ] . [  
|<sup>2</sup>           ] risci [  
- - -

*fr. 21: 2 fortasse P]risci*

*fr. 22*

|<sup>1</sup>           ] s[ . ] iu . [  
- - -







**P.Dura 85** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 31 *recto*)

AD 230–40 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 207 no. 54); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 340 (1976). TM 44816

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (8x2.45 cm); *b* (10x5 cm); *c* (15.2x2.6 cm); *d* (4.43x2.85 cm); *f* (3.52x1.65 cm); *g* (3.85x2.78 cm); *h* (3.2x1 cm)

The papyrus consists of seven fragments (*a* to *h*), badly damaged and light-coloured; only *c*+*b*, *d* and *g* contain readable traces of ink. Fr. *a*, *f* contain traces of ink as well, but in no intelligible form. Fr. *a* was most probably aligned to frr. *b* and *c* in the original roll; Marichal has attempted to re-join the three fragments together, but only for frr. *b* and *c* can one be certain.<sup>667</sup> As for the content of the manuscript, the mention of *milites caligati* in fr. *c*+*b* l. 1 and of the *principia* – the cohort’s headquarters – at l. 3 of the same fragment, probably point to a morning report (*acta diurna*). The dating is on palaeographical grounds.

fr. *c*+*b*

---

|              |                                                 |      |
|--------------|-------------------------------------------------|------|
| <sup>1</sup> |                                                 | ]l[  |
| <sup>2</sup> |                                                 | ] a[ |
|              |                                                 |      |
| <sup>3</sup> | ]bres [n p] mil cal [                           |      |
| <sup>4</sup> | ] [ . . . . ] . . . . [ . . ] . . . . l . . . [ |      |
| <sup>5</sup> | ] [ . . . ] cus tr[i]bunus in princ[ipiis       |      |
| <sup>6</sup> | ]s tribu[ . . . ]bres [ . . ] . [               |      |
| ---          |                                                 |      |

fr. *c*+*b*: 1–2 om. Gilliam || 1 ] [ Fink Marichal || 3 ] . . . [ . . ] . cal [ (dubitanter an mil(itum) cal(igatorum) d[ Gilliam: ] . [ ] . . . . [ ] i cal [ Fink: ] . [ . . . ] . . . . [ . . ] . cal (centuria) [ Marichal || 4 ] . . . [ . ] . . l . . [ Gilliam: ] [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . ] . l . . [ Fink: ] [ . . . ] . . . . [ . . ] . . . . [ Marichal || 5 ] [ recognoui | ] us Gilliam Marichal: ] s Fink || 6 fortasse trib(unus) V[ tribu[n Gilliam: tribu[ Fink: tribu [ (dubitanter an tribu V [K] Marichal | ]br s (dubitanter an o]b res uel octo]bres uel nouem]bres) Gilliam: ]bres [ . . ]a [ (cele]bres dubitanter) Fink: ]bres . . . . [ (Octo]bres uel Nouem]bres uel salu]bres dubitanter) Marichal

**3** Before *mil cal* = *militum caligatorum*, there probably was *n p* = *numerus purus* ‘net number’ in the lacuna, immediately after a dating formula.<sup>668</sup>

fr. *d*

---

|              |           |
|--------------|-----------|
| <sup>1</sup> | ] salut [ |
| <sup>2</sup> | ] exem[   |
| ---          |           |

fr. *d*: 1 ] . lu [ Gilliam: ]salu [ (dubitanter an signum) salut[is misit uel ] salute[m] Fink: ]salute[m] Marichal || 2 exem[pl Gilliam: exem[ (dubitanter an exem[plum uel exem[ptum) Fink Marichal

fr. *g*

---

|              |         |
|--------------|---------|
| <sup>1</sup> | ]cepi [ |
|--------------|---------|

<sup>667</sup> See *ChLA* (VII: 38).

<sup>668</sup> For parallels, see 2.2. and *P.Dura* 82, 89.

$$\begin{array}{c} |^2 \\ |^3 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} ]i \quad [ \\ ] \cdot [ \cdot ] \text{sius} \\ - - - \end{array}$$

fr. g: om. Gilliam || 1 ]sep. [ Fink: ]sepa [ Marichal || 3 ]s[ ]us Fink Marichal

Given the apparent difference in fr. *d, g* in the colour of the ink and the width of the pen (the strokes appear thicker than in fr. *c+b*), another hand might have intervened in the smaller scraps – or they might belong to different portions of the original document.

*P.Dura* 87 (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 65 *recto*).

AD 230–40 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 208 no. 55); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 342 (1975). TM 44818

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (6x4 cm); *b* (5.5x3.2 cm); *c* (6x5.5 cm); *d* (2.3x5.3 cm); *e* (1.5x4 cm); *f* (1.8x1.8 cm); *g* (3.5x2.9cm)

In the *editio princeps*, the papyrus consisted of nine fragments, *a* to *i*, which were published as such by Gilliam in the volume V of *Excavations* and then Fink in the *Roman Military Records*. Marichal claims that frr. *h* and *i* have vanished,<sup>669</sup> and offers Gilliam's original edition, unaltered by Fink. Moreover, as he himself notices, the fr. *g* he publishes is not the fr. *g* Gilliam and Fink had under their eyes (or has been somehow altered);<sup>670</sup> among the photos he publishes on the VII volume of the *Chartae* lies the image of a further, quite small and damaged scrap, which he refrains from publishing. The online images now available from the Beinecke Library confirm Marichal's positioning. Frr. *h* and *i* are absent; fr. *g* is the same fragment Marichal published – although, oddly enough, unmarked by the letter 'g', as if it were a later addition; and the unpublished scrap (which I did not publish, as it is almost unreadable) is still there. The table below summarises the predicament of the fragments:

**Table 5.17** – The fragments in *P.Dura* 87

| Gilliam, Fink                            | Marichal                                                                  | The fragments now               |
|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <b>a</b> (l. 4 ] <i>in prin[cipiis</i> ) | <i>idem</i>                                                               | <i>idem</i>                     |
| <b>b</b> (l. 2 <i>An]toninus</i> )       | <i>idem</i>                                                               | <i>idem</i>                     |
| <b>c</b> (l. 3 <i>Prisci</i> )           | <i>idem</i>                                                               | <i>idem</i>                     |
| <b>d</b> (l. 2 <i>praepositus</i> )      | <i>idem</i>                                                               | <i>idem</i>                     |
| <b>e</b> (l. 2 <i>eqq LXVI</i> )         | <i>idem</i>                                                               | <i>idem</i>                     |
| <b>f</b> (l. 2 <i>dec</i> )              | <i>idem</i>                                                               | <i>idem</i>                     |
| <b>g</b> (l. 2 ] <i>iii e</i> )          | <b>g</b> (l. 5 ] <i>set</i> ) – may not be the one published by G. and F. | = Marichal, unmarked by letters |
| <b>h</b> (l. 4 ] <i>mo</i> ]             | 'fragment disparu' (p. 41)                                                | absent                          |
| <b>i</b> (l. 1 <i>e</i> ] <i>q CC</i> ]  | 'fragment disparu' (p. 41)                                                | absent                          |
|                                          | unmarked by letters, another almost unreadable fragment                   | <i>idem</i>                     |

The fragments are no more than scraps, ridden with holes: in frr. *b*, *c* the lower margin might be seen – or at least a very wide blank space – and in fr. *d* the left margin is perhaps visible. The *verso* is *P.Dura* 137, a Greek document. As for the content, the mention of *principia* ('headquarters', fr. *a* l. 4), *equites* ('cavalrymen', fr. *e* l. 2) and *decuriones* ('decurions', fr. *f* l. 2) with figures attached, and the remnants of a possible dating formula (fr. *a* l. 5), suggest that this document belonged to *acta diurna*, or to some sort of morning or monthly report. The dating is on a palaeographical basis.

*fr. a*

---

|              |                  |           |
|--------------|------------------|-----------|
| <sup>1</sup> |                  | ] m[      |
| <sup>2</sup> |                  | ] i[      |
| <sup>3</sup> |                  | ] . . . [ |
| <sup>4</sup> | ] in prin[cipiis |           |

<sup>669</sup> 'Dans *P.Dura* ont été publiés deux fragments, **h**, **i**, qui ne se trouvaient pas en 1966 sous les deux plaques de verre dont le contenu est photographié ci-contre' ('In the *P.Dura* two fragments were published, **h**, **i**, which were not found in 1966 under the two glass plates whose contents are photographed in the next page', *ChLA* VII: 40).

<sup>670</sup> 'Peut-être le frag. était-il plus complet, peut-être s'agit-il d'un autre frag. dont la l. 1 aurait été analogue à la l. 3 de notre fragment et qui aurait disparu' ('Perhaps the fragment was more complete, perhaps it is another fragment whose l. 1 would have been identical to l. 3 of our fragment, and which would have disappeared', *ChLA* VII : 41).

|<sup>5</sup> ] br . [   
 |<sup>6</sup> ] . . . [   
 - - -

*fr. a: 1* ] [ *edd. || 2* ] [ *Gilliam Fink:* ] [ *Marichal || 5 fortasse Dece*]mbres [ *uel Noue*]mbres [ *uel* ]mbr(es)   
 tr[ib(unus): ]bat [ *Gilliam:* ] . . . brit[ *Fink Marichal || 6* ] [ *Gilliam:* ] [ ] [ *Fink Marichal*

*fr. b*

- - -   
 |<sup>1</sup> ] [   
 |<sup>2</sup> pri]nceps . [   
 |<sup>3</sup> An]toninus . [   
 |<sup>4</sup> ] msi Gaia[nus   
 |<sup>5</sup> ] VI Malchus [

*fr. b: 2* ] . . . s[ ] [ *Gilliam || 3* ] . . . us [ (*dubitanter an An*]toninus) *Gilliam Fink:* ] ninus . [ *Marichal*   
 || *4 fortasse Nis*]amsi: ] . . ri *Gilliam:* ]nri *Fink:* ]ni (centuria) *Marichal* | Gar . [ *Fink:* Gaian[i *Marichal || 5*   
 ] [ . . ] . . . [ (*dubitanter an* ] VI [M]alchus [ ] *Gilliam:* ]? [ . ] uh . [ *Fink:* ] VI [M]alchus[ *Marichal*

*fr. c*

- - -   
 |<sup>1</sup> ] nomin[   
 |<sup>2</sup> ] [ . ]erunt   
 |<sup>3</sup> ] m Prisci

*fr. c: 1* ] nomin[a] [ *Fink || 2* ]erunt *Gilliam:* ] [ . ]erunt[ *Fink Marichal || 3* ]um Prisci *Gilliam:* ] m cari i   
*Fink:* ] m Cari . [ (*dubitanter an VI*[]) *Marichal*

*fr. d*

- - -   
 |<sup>1</sup> . . [ . ] [ . . ] um . [   
 |<sup>2</sup> . . . . [ . ]s praep . [   
 |<sup>3</sup> [ . ] [ . . . ] . Abed[   
 - - -

*fr. d: 1* ] [ . . . ] um [ *Gilliam Fink:* ] [ . . . ]sum[ *Marichal || 2 fortasse praep(ositus):* ] [ . [ . . ] pr . . . [   
 (*dubitanter an praep uel praef*) *Gilliam Fink:* ] [ . [ . . ] praep[o]si[tus *Marichal || 3 fortasse Abed*]salman:   
 ] [ . . . ]Abed[ *Gilliam Fink:* ] [ . [ . . ] Abed[ *Marichal*

*fr. e*

- - -   
 |<sup>1</sup> ]l[ . . . . ] [ . . o]rd III d[   
 |<sup>2</sup> ] eq LXVI[   
 - - -

*fr. e: 1 fortasse d*[upl: ]l[ . . . . . ] . . . ii [ *edd. || 2* ]eq lx[ *edd.*

*fr. f*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] ..[... ]I[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] . dec . [  
 ---

*fr. g*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] ..[... ] . [  
 |<sup>2</sup>  
 |<sup>3</sup>  
 |<sup>4</sup> ]ver[  
 |<sup>5</sup> ]set[. . ] . [  
 ---

*fr. g: 1 recognouit Marichal || 2 ] . [ recognouit Marichal || 4 ] . [ . ] F . . [ Gilliam Fink ] . . [ . ] (turma) . [ Marichal || 5 ] . [ . . . ] III e[ Gilliam Fink ] . . [ Marichal | post hanc lineam ] . . i[ Gilliam Fink fortasse ex fragmento nunc deperdito*

*fr. h*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . . h . [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] . . . . . [  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] . . . [  
 |<sup>4</sup> ]mo[... ] . . . . . [  
 ---]

*fr. h non uidi: edidit Gilliam*

*fr. i*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> e]q CC[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] . sq[  
 ---

*fr. i: non uidi: edidit Gilliam || 2 s]esq[ dubitanter Gilliam*

**P.Dura 88** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 22).

AD 230–40 c.

Gilliam (1950); J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 191 no. 49); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 343 (1975). TM 44819

Fr. (papyrus roll): 11x13.5 cm

A large papyrus fragment, where all margins are probably lost; the ink has faded and remarkably weakened all over the writing frame. The *verso* is blank. The document preserves a section from *acta diurna*, as can be clearly seen from the formula at l. 1 (the *excubatio ad signa* ‘watch to the standards’). The soldiers featured in the list are all standing watch over the ensign of the reigning Emperor, whose name cannot be ascertained; the dating, on palaeographical grounds, suggests that the Emperor may be Gordian.<sup>671</sup> The expected abbreviations – *Aurel(ius)*, *drom(adarii)*, *eq(uites)* in the form *eqq*, *sesq(uiuplicarii)* – are attested and unmarked; *n(ostri)* is abbreviated through a small semi-circular stroke, facing right, above the letter – perhaps one should read *n<sup>o</sup>(stri)*.

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> e]rimus. Excubant ad signa domini n<sup>c</sup> Imper[a]toris .[.].  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] circitores Aurel Ach . . . . . abes Gaius Salmane[s  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] .e[l] Heliodorus .[.].ag . . . . . ia[.]exa . u l . . eqq III u .[.].  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] drom XXXI in his sesq II eqq [.].  
 |<sup>5</sup> ]  
 ---

1 *fortasse* parati e]rimus: excubare Gilliam<sup>1</sup> | Imp[.] . . . . . [ Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: Imp[.] . . . . . i . . . . . (dubitanter an Imp(eratoris) [M] Antoni Go[r]diani) Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: Iu l . . . . . [ (dubitanter an aureli antonini a[ug] Fink: Imp[er]atoris . . . . . [ Marichal | *fortasse* M[a]r[ci] Antonii Gordiani || 2 ] Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: ]c[ir]citores Gilliam<sup>2</sup> Fink: ]circitores Marichal | . . . . . Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: Ach . . . . . es Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: Ach [.] . . . . . es Fink: Ach . . . . . es Marichal | Sal[ edd. || 3 *fortasse* A]ure[l] uel ] Ae[l]: ]Heli[o]dorus Gilliam Fink: [H]eliiodorus Marichal | *fortasse* ac(tuarius) agrari(i) uel agrari(us) A[l]exas Auili. . . . . val . . . . . III [ Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: . . . . . s . . . . . val . . . . . III [ (dubitanter an 99 III) Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: t c ag s mia ual . . . . . iii . . . . . [ Fink: . . . . . c (centuria) Cassiani . . . . . Ual . . . . . III [ (dubitanter an aic, pic, ric, tic) Marichal || 4 drom(edarii) Gilliam | XXXII Fink Marichal | in is Marichal | I Fink | eq(uites) [ Gilliam Marichal: e[q c]xxxx[ Fink || 5 ]s Fink

‘...we shall be (prepared). Standing watch at the standards of our lord the Emperor... the watchmen Aurelius Ach...abes, Gaius Salmanes, ... Heliodorus ... 3 cavalrymen ...

31 camel-drivers, including 2 *sesquiplicarii*, (?) cavalrymen...’

<sup>671</sup> See Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 281).

*P.Dura* 108 (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 67 *verso*)

AD 230–40 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 127 no. 14); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 363 (1977). TM 44840

Fr. (papyrus roll): 5.2x4 cm

A small scrap with a wide blank space at the top, which might be the upper margin of the original document (1.2 cm in height). It is ridden with holes; the *recto* is *P.Dura* 84. The original document probably was a list of soldiers, organised according to centuries (a partial roster?). Gilliam has hypothesized that P.CtYBR. inv. DP 67, featuring *P.Dura* 84 on the *recto* and 108 on the *verso*, belongs to the same roll which contained P.CtYBR. inv. 17 (*recto*, *P.Dura* 83; *verso*, *P.Dura* 106).<sup>672</sup> The similarity in handwriting is striking, but no other clue comes in support of this reconstruction. The presence of the centurion Germanus (l. 1) locates the document between AD 230 and 250's (Germanus is last seen in *P.Dura* 95); on a palaeographical basis, according to previous editors, 230–40 seems an acceptable timespan. As was customary in military lists, the name *Aurel(ius)* is abbreviated and unmarked. *Oreo* (l. 3) probably stands for *horreo*.

```

- - -
|1  / Ge]rmani Aurel Aadd[
|2                ] Aurel Alexan[drus
|3                ] . . . oreo frum[ent-
|4                Au]rel Hel[
- - -

```

**1** . . . [ Gilliam : z[a]bd[ Fink || **2** ]e Fink | [A]lexan[drus edd. || **3** ] . . . oreo (*dubitanter an horreo*) Gilliam | fr[u]m[enti edd. || **4** au]re[l] uel ] a (centuria) Fink | fortasse Hel[iodorus (Gilliam) uel Hel[lanicus

‘... from Germanus’ century, Aurelius ...  
 ... Aurelius Alexandrus...  
 ... deposit of wheat...  
 ... Aurelius ...’

<sup>672</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 382).



***P.Dura* 113** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 31 *verso*)

AD 230–40 c.

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959) *descr.*; Fink (1971: 125 no. 12); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 368 (1977).  
TM 44845

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (2.45x8 cm); *b* (5x10 cm); *c* (2.6x15.2 cm); *d* (2.85x4.43 cm); *f* (1.65x3.52 cm); *g* (2.78x3.85 cm); *h* (1x3.2 cm)

This papyrus originally included eight small fragments (*a* to *h*). Due to subsequent alterations in order and availability of the fragments themselves, all reported in Iovine (2021a: 188–91), one can now see six items (*a*, *b+c*, *d,f*, *g*, *h*), light brown in colour and yellowish where the fibre has been abraded. Fr. *e* has been removed from the frame before Marichal worked on his edition, and has not been available since. Their condition – they are ridden with holes and ragged on the surface – suggests prolonged exposure to wear and larvae; the ink has vanished in many places. The *recto* is *P.Dura* 85, dated around AD 230; the dating of this manuscript depends on that of the *recto* and on a purely palaeographical basis. The papyrus preserves portions from a list of soldiers from the 20<sup>th</sup> cohort of the Palmyrenes. The surviving names are among the commonest found in the auxiliaries: Iarhaboles, Themarsas, Themes, and Zabdibolus. The names were grouped, as was customary, according to their centuries. The purpose and full extent of the list are unknown so far. Portions of a guard roster are probably to be seen; the names seem laid out in a non-columnar alignment. Two new centurions appear: Naso and Themarsas, previously unattested.

*fr. a*

|              |           |
|--------------|-----------|
|              | ---       |
| <sup>1</sup> | ] .       |
| <sup>2</sup> | ] s       |
| <sup>3</sup> | ] mi . [  |
| <sup>4</sup> | ] . . [   |
| <sup>5</sup> | ] o . . [ |
| <sup>6</sup> | ] . . [   |
| <sup>7</sup> | ] i . [   |

fr. a: **1** om. *Fink* || **2** ]s[ *Fink<sup>2</sup>*: ] [ *Marichal* || **3** ] . mi[ *Fink<sup>2</sup>*: ] . mi[ *Marichal* || **5** ] [ *Fink<sup>2</sup>*: ] . [ *Marichal* || **7** ] [ *Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal*

 $fr. b+c$ 

1 ] . . [  
 2 ] . [  
 3 ] lib . . . [  
 4 ] . [ . . . ] . . ssus . [  
 5 ] . . . h . [ . . . ] abseus Ba[r]ch[alba  
 6 ] . . . . . h . . . [ . ] . . [  
 7 ] . Aur[eli]us Zabdi[b]olus  
 8 T[h]e[m]es Malch[i]  
 9 I]arh[a]boles Them[arsa  
 10 ] ʔ Naʃon[i]s Mocim[us  
 11 ] nor[ . . . ]s Lol [ . . . ]



*fr. e*

---

|<sup>1</sup>                    ] . [ . ] . [   
 |<sup>2</sup>           Mom]bogeus M[a]lch[   
 |<sup>3</sup>                     ] . Fl· Demetr[ius   
 |<sup>4</sup>           ] ʒ Themarsa [   
 |<sup>5</sup>                     ] . [

---

*fr. e: ] . [ . ] . l[ edd.*

*fr. e: '... Mombogeus  
 ... Malchus ...  
 Flavius Demetrius  
 ... from Themarsas' century ...'*

*fr. f*

---

|<sup>1</sup>           Ma]lchi [   
 |<sup>2</sup>                     ]meos[   
 |<sup>3</sup>                     ]sua . . . [

---

*fr. f: edidi*

*fr. h*

---

|<sup>1</sup>           ] . . [   
 |<sup>2</sup>           ]o . [   
 |<sup>3</sup>           ]mes . [   
 |<sup>4</sup>                     ] . [

---

*fr. h: 1 ] . [ Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 2 ] . . [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . [ Marichal || 3 ]um . [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . m[ Marichal || 4 ] . [ Fink<sup>2</sup>  
 Marichal*

**5.5. AD 240–50**

*P.Dura* 104 (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 30 *recto*)

AD 238–47 c.

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959 – fr. *a*, *b*); Fink (1971: 82–3 no. 3); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 359 (1977). TM 44836

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (11.4x4.6 cm); *b* (11.2x7.8 cm); *c* (10.9x5.1 cm); *d* (10.9x5.7 cm)

Four fragments ridden with holes, representing a portion of four columns (one column each) from a roster. Their order in the original document (*a*, then *b*, *c*, *d*) has been assessed by Fink and Marichal also thanks to their *verso* (*P.Dura* 121, a Greek document);<sup>674</sup> the distance between them in the roster is still to be understood. Frr. *c* and *d* have been published for the first time by Fink (1971) and republished by Marichal. Two consular dates survive, pointing out the date of enlistment of the soldiers: the consulship of *Crispinus* (fr. *a* l. 6, AD 224) and the second consulship of *Fuscus* (fr. *a* l. 8, 225). In fr. *a* l. 2 there is a blank space signalling another dating formula, probably around 222–3; counting 24/25 years after that, one has a *terminus ante quem* in 247. As for the *terminus post*, Fink has argued that since Iulianus, first consul (for the second time) with Crispinus does not appear in fr. *a* l. 6, he might have been the object of a *damnatio memoriae* which probably started after Severus Alexander's death (235), under Maximinus or the Gordians. 238 is a satisfactory working date since Iulianus appears as consul in papyri dated in that year or slightly before (*P.Dura* 116, 236; *P.Oslo* III 122,<sup>675</sup> 238–42).<sup>676</sup> Frr. *c* and *d* feature traces of two typical devices in rosters: the black dots and the horizontal strokes, whose only remnant are here their left edges, with the ornamental starting stroke one can also see in *P.Dura* 101.

*fr. a*  
- - -

|               |                       |     |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----|
| <sup>1</sup>  | ] Th[em-              |     |
| <sup>2</sup>  | ] [                   | cos |
| <sup>3</sup>  | ] Beleus              |     |
| <sup>4</sup>  | ] Amaeus              |     |
| <sup>5</sup>  | ] Germ[a]nus          |     |
| <sup>6</sup>  | ] Cr[ispino cos       |     |
| <sup>7</sup>  | ] Abdeus              |     |
| <sup>8</sup>  | ] Fusco I[I - - - cos |     |
| <sup>9</sup>  | ] Malchus             |     |
| <sup>10</sup> | ] Rabbelus            |     |
| <sup>11</sup> | ] [                   |     |

- - -

*fr. a*: 1 *fortasse* Th[emarsas uel Th[emes: ] . [ *edd.* || 3 ] . el [ . ] s *edd.* || 4 ] . maeus *Fink*<sup>1</sup> || 5 ] Germ[a]nu[s] *edd.* || 6 Cri[spino cos *edd.* || 7 Fusc[o] *edd.* || 8 *fortasse* Fusco I[I cos vel Fusco I[I et Dextro cos: Fusc[o] I[I cos *edd.* || 11 *fortasse* ]VI[ uel ]'[: d[ *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: u[ *Fink*<sup>2</sup>: . [ *Marichal*

*fr. a*: '...son of Them...

During the consulship of ... :

... Beleus

... Amaeus

... Germanus

During the consulship of Crispinus:

... Abdeus

During the second consulship of Fuscus ... :

<sup>674</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 372); *ChLA* (IX: 29).

<sup>675</sup> TM 21553.

<sup>676</sup> Fink (1971: 82); *ChLA* (IX: 29).

... Malchus  
... Rabbelus'

**8** *Fusc* instead of *Fusco* might be an abbreviation – *Fusc(o)* – or a scribal slip. Abbreviating the name ‘Fuscus’ in *Fusc*, whatever the inflection, was an attested tendency in inscriptions: see e.g. (among many instances) *CIL* VIII 8615;<sup>677</sup> X 6232.<sup>678</sup>

*fr. b*  
---  
|<sup>1</sup>                   ] [. . . ] Ma . [  
|<sup>2</sup>               ] Salmes Mac[  
|<sup>3</sup>               ] . . [ . ] . . [ . ] anus Them[  
|<sup>4</sup>               ] [. . . .] s [A]lexan[dr-  
|<sup>5</sup>                   ] s Za[  
|<sup>6</sup>               ] . [ . . ] . [ . ] . . . . i[  
|<sup>7</sup>               ] Themes [ . . . . . ] . . . [  
|<sup>8</sup>               ] [ [sis] ] Aelius Eroni . [  
|<sup>9</sup>               ] . . . i Bac[c]hius Malchi [  
|<sup>10</sup>               ] . [  
---

*fr. b: 3* fortasse Them[arsas uel Them[es: . . . . anus Z b . [ *edd. || 4* ] *Fink* | [Al]exan[ *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: [Al]exan[dr-  
*Fink*<sup>2</sup> Marichal || **5** ] *edd. || 6* ] . [ . ] . [ . ] . . . . [ ] i *Fink*: ] . [ . ] . . . . i[ *Marichal* || **7** ] T[h]emes [ . ] . [ *Fink*:  
T[h]emes [ *Marichal* || **8** ] si[ . ] . elius *Fink*: [ [si[ . ] ] ] Aelius *Marichal* | fortasse <Her- uel [H]er-  
(Heronianus uel Heroninus): . o . r [ *Fink*: . o . [ *Marichal* || **9** Bac[ . ] b . ius *Fink*: Bac[ . ] h ius  
*Marichal* | Malch[ *edd. || 10* ] h[ *Fink*: ] . [ *Marichal*

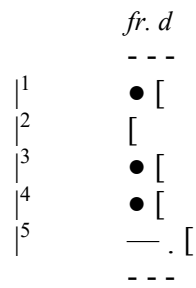
*fr. b: ‘Salmes ...*  
...  
... Alexander ...  
...  
... Themes ...  
... Aelius Eroni...  
... Bacchius son of Malchus’

*fr. c*  
---  
|<sup>1</sup>               ]       —[  
|<sup>2</sup>               ]       —[  
|<sup>3</sup>               ]       —[  
|<sup>4</sup>               ]       —[  
|<sup>5</sup>               ]       —[  
|<sup>6</sup>               ]       —[  
|<sup>7</sup>               ]       Appad[ana  
|<sup>8</sup>               ]       —[  
---

*fr. c: 2* ● — [ *Fink*<sup>2</sup> || **7** Appad[ *Fink*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>677</sup> *D(is) M(anibus) | Q(uitus) Var(ius ?) Fusc(us) | u(ixit) a(nnos) LXXXVI | h(ic) s(itus) e(st)* (Sitifis/Sétif, *Mauretania Sitifensis*).

<sup>678</sup> [---] *aed(ilis) interrex | [ . . . ] f(ilio) Cn(aei) | [ . . . ] Fusc(o) | [ . . . ] ri || Clodiae | C(ai) Fusci | uxori* (Fundi/Fondi, southern Latium).



*fr. d: 5* . . [*Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal*

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 128–31 no. 15); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 362 (1977). TM 44839

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (26x65 cm); *c, d, f, g, h, i, k, l, m* (measures unavailable)

The same problems witnessed in *P.Dura 98* hold for *P.Dura 107*, which has been written on the *verso* of the same papyrus: not all the fragments have been available for inspection. A full report on the situation can be found in Iovine (2021a). The most relevant points: frr. *c, d* are not to be found in the Beinecke Library premises; in col. II l. 12 a small scrap has been added after Marichal's edition, probably by R. Duttonhöfer, between two larger fragments, improving the text (*Ÿ Heliodori Mocimus Salmes T<sup>a</sup> Paulini* is now entirely legible); as for fr. *l*, one must remark Marichal has mistaken the *recto* for the *verso*, providing the edition of the *verso* for *P.Dura 89*, and of the *recto* for *P.Dura 107* (in the critical apparatus I have corrected the misplacement).<sup>679</sup> Although a vast portion of the original document is preserved (fr. *a*), most of the surface is abraded or is now a very dark brownish colour, which makes the ink much difficult to distinguish from the fibre. The document originally contained on the roll was a guard roster, of which two entries (col. I–II l. 6; col. II ll. 7–22) partially survive; Marichal has calculated the length of the original lines and the number of lost letters, thus concluding that ll. 9–13 in col. II are complete.<sup>680</sup>

The heading of the entry, slightly in *ekthesis*, consists in the mention of the current day (only surviving in col. II l. 7 *VIII Kal Iun*); probably a formula, not yet deciphered (col. II l. 7 [ . . . . . ] [ . ] er[*u*]nt ad . . g [ . ]); then mentions of several places in Dura – the quarters of the centurions (*hospitia centurionis*, col. I ll. 9; 22; col. II l. 16; see Welles, Fink and Gilliam 1959: 381); the *groma* (col. II l. 9) or 'centre of the camp', i.e. the crossing of two main streets in front of the *praetorium* (HYG. GR. 135,4; 144,16); some city gates (*porta Praetoriana*, col. I l. 18; *Aquaria*, col. II l. 10); a temple (*templum*, col. II l. 21); *Sfetules*, an unknown place (col. I l. 19; col. II l. 12: a village outside the town? A borough?) – and names of soldiers with their centuries and squadrons. Notably, the locations to be guarded by the auxiliaries appear in a precise order which is repeated in the two attested entries: one can see the gates *Aquaria* and *Praetoriana*, *Sfetules*, then the gate [ . . F . . gesia / Fe[- - ]<sup>681</sup> and a *hospitium*, in this order, in col. I ll. 17–22 and II ll. 10–16<sup>682</sup>. As for *P.Dura 106*, here too S. James convincingly argues that the *porta Praetoriana* and the *porta Aquaria* respectively match the Palmyrene Gate, opening to the West and to the desert; and the River (or Water) Gate, opening to the East directly on the Euphrates.<sup>683</sup>

Some personal names are followed by numerals, probably – as in *P.Dura 82* – to mark different duty shifts. The document provides information on the number and names of centurions and decurions at a late stage of Roman Dura: centurions Priscus (col. I ll. 1; 17; col. II ll. 8; 19), Achaeus (col. I ll. 6; 10; 14; 20; col. II ll. 9; 18; 21), Felix (col. I ll. 8; 19; col. II ll. 3; 14; 20), Heliodorus (col. I l. 9; col. II ll. 6; 12–13; 15), Germanus (col. I l. 10; col. II ll. 6; 10; 15), Naso (col. I ll. 11 [erased]; 15; 21; col. II ll. 5; 7; 9; 15; 17) and decurions Romullus (col. I l. 6; col. II l. 4), Antiochus (col. I ll. 8; 12; 17; col. II l. 2), Cocceius (probably dead or transferred when the guard roster was drawn up:<sup>684</sup> col. I l. 11; col. II ll. 1–2), Apollonius (col. I l. 14; col. II l. 22), Paulinus (col. II l. 12) are mentioned. Whereas Germanus, Heliodorus and Naso are attested in the cohort since at least 236 (Germanus) and 239 (Heliodorus and Naso), and might have been promoted as early as 233 (they do not appear in *P.Dura 115* which features all the centurions in service in 232), Achaeus, Felix and Priscus are seen here for the first time. They too might have entered their rank as early as 233 (after *P.Dura 115* was drawn), or later. As far as the decurions are concerned, Paulinus might have been there since the early 220's (he probably is the same Timinius Paulinus of *P.Dura 82*); Cocceius is first attested in *P.Dura 115* (232), while

<sup>679</sup> Iovine (2021a: 185–88).

<sup>680</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 39).

<sup>681</sup> The overall bad condition of the fibres in col. I l. 21 gives no certain clue about where the name of the gate began. It may be surmised, from its corresponding item in col. II, that before *f . . gesia* one might have *por]ta*, but this is highly speculative.

<sup>682</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 39–40).

<sup>683</sup> James (2019: 232–6).

<sup>684</sup> His *turma* is identified not with the genitive *Coccei*, but with the adjective *Cocceiana* (see Fink 1953).





- <sup>20</sup> ]to .g ꝥ Achaei Zebinnus Hascia II Aurelius [T]heodorus IIII Aurelius  
<sup>21</sup> ]eue[ . ] . . . . . gesia, ꝥ Nasonis Occbanas [ . . ] [ . . . . ] Aurel Antoninus  
 Posterior  
<sup>22</sup> ] . . . Themarsas Malchi ospitio ꝥ prepo[ . . . ]s . . . ꝥ Nasonis Aurel  
 Barnisianus  
<sup>23</sup> ] Abbalmaei ꝥ Achaei Ogelus Themarsas ꝥ P[r]isci Flau[i]us Demetrius

*fr. a col. I: 1* [ Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal: ] im[ Fink<sup>2</sup> | ]risc[ . ] (*dubitanter an* [ꝥ P]risc[i]) Fink<sup>1</sup> | Aur[el] edd. || 2  
 ] a [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ]Iad [ . ] [ Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal | ]Iarhaeus Fink | Nismosi Fink<sup>1</sup> || 3 ]  
 Flau[ . . . ] [±9] rom[ . ] [ . ] [ . ] [±17]us Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] Flau[ius . . . ] [ . ] [±7] rom [ . ] [ . ] [-  
 - -] us Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] Flau[ius . . . ] [ . ] [ . . . . ]Rom [ . . . . . ] us Marichal | Claud[i]us edd.  
 || 4 ]l [S]almes Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] [S]almes Fink<sup>2</sup> | Aur[e]l edd. |  
 Me[ . ]co[ . . . . . ]eld[ . . . . . ] [ . ] [ . . . . . ] [ . ] [±11] s mobiaeus Fink<sup>1</sup>: me d[- - -]el  
 d[ . . . . . ] [ . ] [ . . . . . ] [ . ] [ . . . . . ]l[- - -]s so mobiaeus Fink<sup>2</sup>: Me [ . . . . . ]el  
 D[ . . . . . ] [ . ] [ . . . . . ]l[ . . . . . . . ]l somobiaeus Marichal | Addei edd. || 5 Flavius Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal:  
 F[1]avius Fink<sup>2</sup> | Ne [ . . . . . ] ina [±6]ci [±6] [±13 Si]lvanus Fink<sup>1</sup>: Ne [ . . . . . ]s[ . . . . . ] ina[-  
 -]ci [- - -] o [- - -] S[i]lvanus Fink<sup>2</sup>: Me [ . . . . . ] ina[ . . . . . ] [±8 S]ilvanus Marichal | seetules  
 Fink<sup>1</sup> || 6 ]me Fink: ] s Marichal | a[±14] [±16]e m [±8] na Fink<sup>1</sup>: ba[±10] s[±10]e m [- - -]  
 ] na Fink<sup>2</sup>: [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ] (centuria) Na[sonis] da Marichal || 7  
 Iar]habole a [ . ]cia ꝥ [ . ] [±10] Fink<sup>1</sup>: Iar]haboles a [ . ]cia i a [±7] Fink<sup>2</sup>: I]araboles [ . ]ci [±8]  
 Marichal | post I]eraboles, fortasse sim[ vel nar[ | ] Aurel Fink ] Aurel Marichal | ] [ . ] b [±8]e es  
 Fink<sup>1</sup>: ]l b s ba [- - -]e us Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] [ . . . . . ]e us Marichal | Absaena Fink<sup>1</sup>: Absaeria Fink<sup>2</sup> || 8  
 fortasse ospi]tio: ] [ . . . . . ]iu om[ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ]e o[ . . . . . ]ela om[ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] o[ . . . . . ]eta om[ Marichal  
 | Feli[cis edd. | ] [ . . . . . ]i[±6] Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] [ . . . . . ] Fink<sup>2</sup> [ . . . . . ] Marichal | ] Antiochi Fink<sup>1</sup> ||  
 9 [ . . . . . ] r]sito Fink<sup>1</sup> | au [ . . . . . ] [±6]Germa[ . . . . . ] Fink<sup>1</sup>: Aurel [ . . . . . ] [- - -]Germa[n Fink<sup>2</sup>:  
 Aurel [ . . . . . ] Germ[an . . . . . ] Marichal || 10 [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ]sio[ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] sio[ Marichal | ] em uscuri ns  
 Fink<sup>1</sup>: ]mbriussuri us Fink<sup>2</sup> | Ač[h]aei [ . . . . . ] ill[ ]ito o Fink<sup>1</sup>: Ač[h]aei [ . . . . . ] ill[ ]ito o  
 Fink<sup>2</sup>: Ač[h]aei [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ] ll Ito to Marichal || 11 ]chus Fink<sup>1</sup>: ]ntus Fink<sup>2</sup>: ]ntius Marichal |  
 M[o]cim[us Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal: M[o]cim[us Fink<sup>2</sup> | ] m [ . . . . . ]i] Fink<sup>1</sup> || 12 ] od [ . . . . . ] dem s[ . . . . . ] [±13]s  
 Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] d [ . . . . . ] demetrius [- - -] s Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] D . . . . . Demetri[u]s [ . . . . . ] s Marichal |  
 Aur[el] Fink<sup>1</sup> || 13 ]mus Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] mus Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal | [±15] s [ . . . . . ] us Iar o Fink<sup>1</sup>: [- - -] s [ . . . . . ]  
 a]urel iar [ . . . . . ] so Fink<sup>2</sup>: [±17 Au]rel iar [ . . . . . ]so Marichal || 14 ] ocst Fink<sup>1</sup>: os]pitio dec Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] io  
 dec(urionis) Marichal | a .olg ꝥ[±7] [ . . . . . ]su[s] ꝥ Achaei Fink<sup>1</sup>: Apoloni [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ]su [- - -] ꝥ [A]chaei  
 Fink<sup>2</sup>: Apoloni [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ] Marichal | Ig[ . . . . . ] Iarabole Fink<sup>1</sup> || 15 Mari[±12]s [ . . . . . ]sam i  
 Fink<sup>1</sup>: Mari [ . . . . . ] [- - -]s n[i]samsi Fink<sup>2</sup>: Mari [ . . . . . ]s[ . . . . . ]i Marichal || 16 ]lo [ . . . . . ]jemeas  
 Fink<sup>1</sup> | Zab [ . . . . . ]s [±6] [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ]A]urel Fink<sup>1</sup>: Zab s [ . . . . . ]e [ . . . . . ] [Au]rel Fink<sup>2</sup>:  
 Zab s [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ]A]urel Marichal || 17 Monim[us] edd. | [ . . . . . ]b[ . . . . . ] Fink<sup>1</sup>:  
 [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ]b[ . . . . . ] Fink<sup>2</sup>: [ . . . . . ]b[ . . . . . ] Marichal | port[ Fink<sup>1</sup> | Maccei Fink: Macaei Marichal || 18  
 ]ri Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal: ] ri Fink<sup>2</sup> | u[ . . . . . ]l Fink<sup>1</sup> | ] r Fink || 19 ]seetules Fink<sup>1</sup> | i ii Aurel Fink: II  
 Iarha[eus] Marichal || 20 ]to leg Fink: ]to gg Marichal | er scia Fink<sup>1</sup> | [T]heod[o]rus Marichal || 21  
 ]e [ . . . . . ] gesia Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] ꝥ [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ]tesia Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] [ . . . . . ] fae esia (*dubitanter an* resia)  
 Marichal | [ . . . . . ] Fink<sup>1</sup>: [ . . . . . ] Fink<sup>2</sup>: [ . . . . . ] Marichal || 22 fortasse ]suro: preposito Fink<sup>1</sup>:  
 prepos Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] prepositi ( *iti suprascripto*) Marichal | Bar[ . . . . . ]nninanas Fink<sup>1</sup> || 23 Ab]balmaei Marichal  
 | Pr[i]sci Fink: Prisc[i] Marichal

*fr. a col. I: '... from Priscus' century, Aurelius Iarhaeus ... Iarhaeus son of Nismosas ... Flavius... Aurelius Claudius... Salmes, Aurelius Maximus... Flavius... son of Mocimus, Aurelius... Silvanus... Sfetules 1 ... from Romullus' squadron, Aurelius... son of Zebidas, Achaeus' century... Ieraboles... from Felix' century... from Antiochus' squadron, Aurelius... Ogelus son of Malchus, in the quarters of Aurelius... Antiochus, from Heliodorus' century... from Achaeus' century... Ituraeus (?), from Germanus' century... Terentius, Aurelius Mocimus, Aurelius Nebumarius; from the squadron of the late Cocceius... Demetrius... Aurelius Barnaeus, Aurelius... Aurelius... decurion Apollonius (?)... from Achaeus' century, Aurelius Ogas, Iarhaboles... Flavius... from Naso's century, Aurelius... Aurelius Barsemeas... Aurelius Silvanus the elder... Monimus the elder... the gate... from Priscus' century, Bassus son of Macareus... Aurelius*

Marinus 5... Aurelius... the Praetorian Gate... Sfetules 1; from Felix' century, Aurelius Bassus ... 2, Aurelius Victorinus 3, Iulius... from Achaeus' century, Zebinnus Hascia 2, Aurelius Theodorus 4, Aurelius... from Naso's century, Ocbanas... Aurelius Antoninus the younger... Ulpus Themarsas son of Malchus, in the quarters of the commanding centurion... from Naso's century, Aurelius Barnisianus... son of Abbalmaeus, from Achaeus' century Ogelus Themarsas, from Priscus' century Flavius Demetrius, ...'

**10** Many sequences of letters in this document make no apparent sense, either because of scribal slips, or our inability to decipher a very careless Roman ancient cursive such as this. Before *Ÿ Germani*, *Itoreo* might be read and perhaps construed as *Ituraeo*;<sup>691</sup> it is unclear, however, whether this can refer to the region of *Ituraea* (an ethnic marker for a name, e.g. *Au[r]el* *Cyrill[o] Itoreo*?), to an actual *cohors Ituraeorum* – but the abbreviation *Itoreo(rum)* seems far-fetched, and cannot be satisfactorily explained<sup>692</sup> – or to a specific location in Dura whose name was connected with the region of *Ituraea*.

**14** The name 'Iaraboles' has been written over another name, deleted by dilution.

<sup>691</sup> In *O.Did.* 142 there is a similar mistake: at l. 7 one sees *Ituraeo[rum]* instead of *Ituraeo[rum]* (third century AD, TM 144708).

<sup>692</sup> See Dabrowa (1980) for a general overview of all the *cohortes Ituraeorum* traceable in Roman army. As far as we know, none of them was ever quartered on the Euphrates.

## fr. a col. II

<sup>1</sup> i ure [ ] e i Aurel [ ] [ ] [ ] us Heliodori T<sup>u</sup> Cocei[a]na Aurel Z [ ] [ ] [ ] s NAOCI [ ]  
<sup>2</sup> Bassus Siae n i T<sup>u</sup> Antiochi A[ure]l h[ ] ias T<sup>u</sup> Coceiana [A]urel Malch[u]s So[ ] [ ]  
<sup>3</sup> [ ] [ ] er tuina ianus Ge[r]man[us] [ ] [ ] tro ꝥ Felicis Au[rel A]bianu[ ] Aurel Heliodori [ ] [ ]  
<sup>4</sup> -iato T<sup>u</sup> Romulli Aurel Pa[ ] m [ ] e[ ] [ ] [ ] muti[ ] [ ] bu as Bal[a]chi Aurel Salm [ ]  
<sup>5</sup> Iul Heliodorus Aurel [ ] [ ] s[ ] [ ] Malchi [ ] l est [ ] i ꝥ Nasoni[s]  
<sup>6</sup> ꝥ Heliodori [ ] [ ] m [ ] ±11 [ ] [ ] [ ] i ues ꝥ Germ[ani A]u[r]el Ana [ ] ius[ ]  
<sup>7</sup> VIII Kal Iun [ ] [ ] er[u]nt ad sign[a] [ ] [ ] ei A[u]rel P[ ] [ ] [ ] logius ꝥ N[a]son[i]s A[ ] chus [ ]  
<sup>8</sup> Asclepiad[es ꝥ P]risci Bassus [ ] cimi ꝥ [Ac]haei Herm[o]genes Maccion[i]s port[a] ±15 [ ] ru[ ]  
<sup>9</sup> Mocim[us] T[he]marsas Aurel [ ] e us groma ꝥ Nasonis A[ure]l [ ] mer [ ] ±18 [ ] [ ] ra [ ] ±15 [ ] erm[ ]  
<sup>10</sup> Aurel Siluan[us] Au[rel] Anto[ni-] us II porta Aquari[a] ꝥ Germani Aurel [ ] ±13 Heli]odorus Au[rel] [ ] o Marinus  
<sup>11</sup> M[a]lchi Aurel Malc[h]us Aurel [ ] [ ] abbal[ ] isdi Valeri[ ] essur ius [ ] e[ ] [ ] porta Pretorian[a] [ ] s Menander  
<sup>12</sup> Barsines Mannosin T<sup>u</sup> Antio[chi] [ ] Th[ ] [ ] T<sup>u</sup> [ ] Aurel Malchus Sf[e]tules ꝥ Heliodori Mocimus Salmes T<sup>u</sup> Paulini  
<sup>13</sup> Aurel Abbas ꝥ Heliodori Marinus [ ] ±19 [ ] drus Deme[t]ri[us] Abse [ ] s Terentianus l iar bu[ ] ꝥ Heliodori Aurel  
<sup>14</sup> Absas Malchus Salme CCI ꝥ Felicis [ ] ±16 [ ] lus Mil l Aurel M[o]cimus Aurel Simm es Sfetule[s] [ ] as [ ] s[ ] [ ]  
<sup>15</sup> Aurel Barhadadus porta Fe[ ] [ ] ±17 [ ] ꝥ Nasonis [Aur]el Belahabearus ꝥ Heliodori Aur[el]  
<sup>16</sup> ꝥ Germani Aurel Zenodorus [ ] ±15 [ ] [ ] sus Th[e]m[a]rsas ospitio [ ] Auiti [ꝥ] praeposi[ti] [ ] Ulp[us] [ ] [ ]  
<sup>17</sup> ꝥ Naso[n]is Licinnius Alexan[d-] ±16 [ ] Antoninus [T<sup>u</sup>] Antiochi Aurel Ab [ ] ±13 [ ] elp [ ] [ ] s [ ] aum i[ ]  
<sup>18</sup> Abbalmaei ꝥ Achaei Aurel Tiber[i] ±18 [ ] Aurel Diomedes Au[re]l [ ] s ꝥ [ ] ±20 A]urel Heliodorus [ ]  
<sup>19</sup> ꝥ Pr[i]sci Aurel Coceius Aurel [ ] ±16 [ ] as Aurel Nebumarius Aurel [ ] [ ] ±23 [ ] d[ ] ei[ ]  
<sup>20</sup> Addei Cassius Malch e[ ] Ant]iochus [ ] ꝥ Felicis Aurel Salma[n] [ ] ±39 [ ] [ ]  
<sup>21</sup> u o o ꝥ Achaei Aurel B[ ] eias Ogelus [Themars]as Aurel Barsumsus [ ]  
<sup>22</sup> Aurel Artemidorus Iu[li]us Iulianus templ[o T<sup>u</sup>] Apoloni Ulp German[us]

col. II: 1 [ . ] au. r [ . . . ] . . . ati. i Fink<sup>1</sup>: au. r [ . . . ] anati. i Fink<sup>2</sup>: Au. r [ . . . ] anati Marichal |  
[ . . . ] [ . . . ] [±5] us Fink: [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] us Marichal | Coc[eia]na Fink: Coceiana Marichal  
| Z . . . [ . ] s . oci [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: z [ . ] [ . ] s NAOCi [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: Z [ . ] [ . . . ] s NAOCI Marichal || 2 . . . n Fink<sup>1</sup>:  
sia . . . n Fink<sup>2</sup>: Sia . . . n Marichal | Th[ Fink | ] as edd. | Ma[l]ch[u]s Fink<sup>1</sup>: Malchus Fink<sup>2</sup>: M[al]ch[u]s  
Marichal | . . . [ . ] [ Fink: So . . . . . Marichal || 3 [ . ] s [ . . . ] . . . intiarus Fink<sup>1</sup>:  
[ . ] s [ . . . ] reip . inasianus Fink<sup>2</sup>: [ . ] s [ . . . ] . . . i a . Marichal | G[er]ma[nu]s Fink<sup>1</sup>: G[er]ma[nus  
Fink<sup>2</sup>: G[er]ma[ . ] [ . ] [ Marichal | et ] rto possis: ] pro Fink<sup>2</sup> | post (centuria) . . . Fink | a]urel Ab[ . ] bianu[s]  
Fink<sup>1</sup>: au[rel a]biane[s Fink<sup>2</sup>: Aur[el A]biane[s] Marichal | Heliodori[ Fink<sup>1</sup>: heliodoru[s Fink<sup>2</sup>:  
Heli[o]dorus Marichal || 4 fortasse -iatoris: ] iato . [t<sup>u</sup>] Fink: iato . [(turma)] Marichal | Pa[ . ] m . n [ . ] s  
Fink<sup>1</sup>: Pa[ . ] m . . . [ . ] [ Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal | ] m . . . cus[ vel cal[ . ] ] s [ . . . ] . . . auti[ . . . ] as Fink<sup>1</sup>:  
] s [ . . . ] . . . muti[ . . . ] Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . . . . . muti . . . [ . ] s Marichal | Malchi Fink: M[a]lchi Marichal |  
Salm[ Fink || 5 Aurel [ . . . ] [ Marichal | ] [ . . . ] i ualuhc [ . . . ] ol . eh [ . . . ] Fink<sup>1</sup>:  
] s[ . . . ] b ualah i[ . . . ] ul . eh [ . . . ] Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] s . . . . . ualiahci[ . . . ] ul est [ . . . ] Marichal || 6  
] a [±14] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] ul Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] m [±14] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] i ul Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] m[ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] i  
] ul Marichal | Ami [ . . . ] ius Fink<sup>1</sup>: am [ . . . ] ius Fink<sup>2</sup>: Ana[ . . . ] us Marichal || 7 Iun[ias . . . ] er[ ] nt  
Fink<sup>1</sup>: Iun[ . . . ] er[ ] nt Fink<sup>2</sup>: Iun[ . . . ] er[ ] nt Marichal | ad sign[a Pedone per verba: ad . g [ . . . ]  
edd. | ] [ . . . ] cio Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] . . . . . eib Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal | [ . . . ] [ . . . ] Prior Fink: [ . . . . . ] logius Marichal |  
N[a]s[o]n[i]s edd. | [ . . . ] ahu [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: [ . . . ] hu [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: A[ . . . ] hus[ Marichal || 8 Ascl[e]piad[es  
Marichal | fortasse [Mo]cimi: [ . . . ] imi Fink: [ . . . . . ] [ Marichal | [A]chaei Fink: [ . . . ] Ac]haei  
Marichal | Maccio [ . ] s Fink | pu [ Fink<sup>1</sup> || 9 [ . . . ] eiabus Fink: [ . . . ] [ . . . ] eiabus Marichal: Aurel  
Marichal | [ . . . ] er [±19] . a [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: [ . . . ] er [±22] . a [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: [ . . . ] er [ . . . ] a [ Marichal || 10  
Aurel[ . . . ] [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: Aurel . . . . . [ Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal | fortasse Anto[nia]nus: Anto[±7] [ . . . ] s Fink:  
Anto[ . . . . . ] s Marichal | Fel[ix Marichal | ] marus a [±6] . a Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] arus Au[rel ±3] ro Fink<sup>2</sup>  
Marichal | in fine lineae fortasse et Barsims[u]s pro Marinus || 11 N . i [ . . . ] s Fink<sup>1</sup>: Male[hu]s Fink<sup>2</sup>:  
Mal[chu]s Marichal | Aurel [ Fink: Aurel [ . . . ] [ Marichal | ] a Abda[ . . . ] [ . . . ] sbi Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] abbu[ . . . ] [ . . . ] iso  
Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] . . . . . Abbda[ . . . ] iodi Marichal | Valer[ . . . ] ebsurmius [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] Fink<sup>1</sup>:  
ualer[ . . . ] essurmius [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] Fink: Ualer[ . . . ] essur ius [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ (sic!) Marichal || 12  
[ . . . ] arrimes Fink<sup>1</sup>: [b]arsines Fink<sup>2</sup> | Anti[ochi edd. | T<sup>u</sup>[Coceian]a Fink | Au [ . . . ] chus Fink<sup>1</sup> | Se[e]tules Fink<sup>1</sup>  
| M[o]cimus[±10 S]alme Fink<sup>1</sup>: M[o]cimus Salme Fink<sup>2</sup>: Mocim[us S]alme Marichal || 13 Dem[etriu]s  
Marichal | a . re [ . . . ] as Fink: Abse [ . . . ] as Marichal | quo Arabu[m Fink: . . . ] b . ar[ Marichal || 14 cei pro  
circitores dubitanter Marichal | ] . . . mil [ . . . ] Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] us Milen[s] Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] l . Milen[s] Marichal | [ . . . ] imus  
Fink<sup>1</sup>: [ . . . ] imus Fink<sup>2</sup>: [ . . . ] imus Marichal | [Au]rel Marichal | Si . . . . . ses Fink<sup>1</sup>: Simaones Fink<sup>2</sup>:  
Si . . . . . es Marichal | Seetule[s ±9] . as [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: Sfetule[s ±9] . as [ . . . ] [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: Sfetule[s . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ]  
Marichal || 15 portas [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: porta f . ri[ Fink<sup>2</sup>: porta f . e[ Marichal | [ . . . ] [ . . . ] el Fink<sup>1</sup>: Aurel Fink<sup>2</sup>:  
Marichal | in fine lineae post Aur[el ±13] [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: . . . ] [ . . . . . ] [ Fink<sup>2</sup> || 16 Ge[r]mani Fink<sup>1</sup> | . . . o .  
Fink<sup>2</sup> | ] [ . . . . . ] s Fink<sup>1</sup>: [ . . . ] Th[ema]rs[a]s Fink<sup>2</sup>: [ . . . ] [ . . . ] s [ . . . ] Th[ema]rsas Marichal | [ . . . ] acia  
Fink<sup>1</sup>: [ . . . ] aoiad Fink<sup>2</sup>: ] Aviti centurionis Marichal | ] . . . pi [ . . . ] r [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] Ulpiu[s . . . ] [ Fink<sup>2</sup>  
Marichal || 17 Nasonis Fink: Naso[ni]s Marichal | A]ntoninus edd. | Anti[oc]hi Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal |  
] . . . [ . . . ] um i[ Fink<sup>1</sup>: [ . . . ] [ . . . ] s[ . . . ] ]aum [ . . . ] i[ Fink<sup>2</sup>: [ . . . ] [ . . . ] s[ . . . ] ]aum[ . . . ] i[ Marichal || 18  
Diomed[e]s Fink | A[ure]l Fink | [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: [ . . . ] Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal | [H]eliodorus Fink<sup>1</sup> || 19  
Aurel[ edd. | Nebumari[u]s edd. | Aure[l . . . ] [ . . . ] cum ] d[ . . . ] ]mei[ in frustulo separato Fink<sup>1</sup>:  
Aure[l . . . ] [±23] d[ . . . ] ei[ Fink<sup>2</sup>: Aure[l] d[ . . . ] ]ei[ Marichal || 20 Malchi potius quam Malchus: Malc[hu]s  
Fink<sup>1</sup> Marichal: Malc[h]u[s] Fink<sup>2</sup> | [ . . . ] e[ Fink<sup>1</sup>: [ . . . ] e[ Fink<sup>2</sup> || 21 fatotro Fink<sup>1</sup>: iatoesso Fink<sup>2</sup>: Saruerro  
Marichal | ]eias Marichal | [Themar]s[a]s Fink | Barsummare[s Fink: Barsum . . . . . [ Marichal || 22  
Ar . emusdorus Fink<sup>1</sup>

fr. a col. II: '... Aurelius... of Heliodorus; from the squadron of the late Cocceius, Aurelius... Bassus... from Antiochus' squadron, Aurelius... from the squadron of the late Cocceius, Aurelius Malchus... Germanus... from Felix' century, Aurelius... Aurelius Heliodorus... from Romullus' squadron, Aurelius... of Balachus, Aurelius... Iulius Heliodorus, Aurelius ... son of Malchus... from Naso' century... from Heliodorus' century... from Gaianus' century, Aurelius...

24 May. ... to the standards ... Aurelius... from Naso's century... Asclepiades; from Priscus' century, Bassus... son of Mocimus; from Achaeus' century, Hermogenes son of Maccio, the gate... Mocimus son of Themarsas, Aurelius... the centre of the camp, from Naso's century, Aurelius... Aurelius Silvanus...



|<sup>1</sup> ] ʒ Nason[is  
- - -

*fr. h*

|<sup>1</sup> ] m[  
|<sup>2</sup> ] ʒ Fel[i]cis [   
|<sup>3</sup> ]x [ ] Themarsa[   
|<sup>4</sup> ] s[   
|<sup>5</sup> ] [   
- - -

*fr. h: 1* ] [ *edd. || 2* ] *Fink: om. Marichal* | F[e]l[i]cis *edd. || 3* ]xx Themars[a *Fink<sup>1</sup>:* ]xx Themars[a *Fink<sup>2</sup>:* ]xe [ ] Themarsa[ *Marichal || 4* ] s *Fink*

*fr. i*

|<sup>1</sup> ] us [   
|<sup>2</sup> ] ci [   
|<sup>3</sup> ] u [ ] i [   
|<sup>4</sup> A]urel [ ] [ ] [ ] [   
|<sup>5</sup> ] e [ ] [ ] [ ] [   
- - -

*fr. i: 1* ] [ *edd. || 2* ] i [ *edd. || 3* ] u [ ] [ *Fink<sup>1</sup>:* ] u [ ] i [ *Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 4* ]rel [ ] [ *Fink<sup>1</sup>:* au]rel *Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal || 5* ] [ *edd.*

*fr. k*

|<sup>1</sup> ] d[ ] [   
|<sup>2</sup> ] Aurel [   
|<sup>3</sup> ] Marin[   
|<sup>4</sup> ]bus [   
- - -

*fr. k: 1* ] b[ ] [ *Fink:* ] [ ] [ *Marichal || 2* ] as el [ *Fink<sup>1</sup>:* ] aurel d[ *Fink<sup>2</sup>:* ] Aurel [ *Marichal || 3* ] mari [ *Fink:* ] Mar [ *Marichal || 4* ] us [ *Marichal*

*fr. l*

|<sup>1</sup> Aur]el Bel[acabus   
|<sup>2</sup> ] l Ab[ ] as iei [   
|<sup>3</sup> ]rus[   
- - -

*fr. l: 1* ] bel[ *Fink:* ] dil[ ] [ *Marichal || 2* ] abss a iei [ *Fink:* ] [ ] [ *Marichal || 3 om. Marichal*

*fr. m*

- - -





J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 417 no. 114); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VI 314 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 202 (1992). TM 44781

Fr. (papyrus roll): 25.7x17.3 cm

The fragment, whose left edge only survives, originally contained an official letter. So little of the text is preserved, that it is impossible to establish whether it was a *probatoria* or not, like *P.Dura* 56a–c and 58.<sup>693</sup> The sender, at any rate, is the provincial chancery; more specifically, an Attius Rufinus, *legatus Augusti pro praetore* in the province of Syria, who might well be the P. Attius Pudens Rufinus Celsianus mentioned in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> (I: 274 no. 1363).<sup>694</sup> The dating, in the form of *accepta* + dating formula, is provided by the document itself, and suggests that the letter was included in a *liber epistularum*.<sup>695</sup> The addressee is not the tribune of the cohort but a *praepositus*; not the Aelius Auitus seen in *P.Dura* 89, however, but another officer whose name cannot be entirely read. The tribune of the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort was clearly unavailable in AD 239–41; this may be connected with the funerary inscription for Iulius Terentius, the cohort's tribune (probably) killed in battle.<sup>696</sup> Abbreviations might have been regularly present: one only spots *coh(ortis)* at l. 8, and on the *verso Aug(usti)*, *coh(ortis)* again, *leg(atus)*, *praep(osito)*, *pr(o) pr(aetore)*. In the *accepta*-formula, *accep(ta)* and *Cl(audio)* are abbreviated. On the *verso*, as was customary with this typology of document, the name of the addressee (l. 1) is written in a large, careful script, imitating capital writing, whereas the sender's name (l. 2), also included in the formula, is drawn up in a quick and informal cursive.<sup>697</sup>

*recto*  
 |<sup>1</sup> Attius R[u]f[ini]us  
 accep sextum [ Imp Gordiano II]  
 et Cl Pomp[iciano] cos]  
 |<sup>2</sup> salutem]  
 |<sup>3</sup> Qu [ ]  
 |<sup>4</sup> Aelius [ ]  
 |<sup>5</sup> ad quid [ ]  
 |<sup>6</sup> -rioris [ ]  
 |<sup>7</sup> billaei[ ]  
 |<sup>8</sup> coh XX P[alm]  
 - - -

*recto*: 1 R[ufinus] Gilliam || 2 [ Gilliam || 3 qui[ Cugusi || 3–4 qui[d mihi scriberet] Aelius dubitanter Gilliam || 4 Aelius[ Cugusi || 7 billae [ Gilliam Marichal: billae [ Fink Cugusi

*ad ll. 1–2*: . . . e . . . sextum [- - -] . . . lpo . . . (*dubitanter an accep(ta) sextum* [Id uel Kal - - - Imp Gordiano II] | et Cl(odio) Pomp[iciano] cos) Gilliam

*recto*: ‘Attius Rufinus to (... greetings) ... Aelius ... the 20<sup>th</sup> cohort ...’

*verso*  
 |<sup>1</sup> AURELIO . . . RM . . . [ . . . ] PRAEP COH  
 |<sup>2</sup> Attius R[uf]in[us] leg Aug pr pr

<sup>693</sup> According to P. Cugusi, this letter may have concerned the assignment of some soldiers to the cohorts (*CEL* II: 296).

<sup>694</sup> See Gilliam (1958: 181–2); Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 221–2).

<sup>695</sup> See Iovine (2019: 211).

<sup>696</sup> See Gilliam (1950: 250–1); Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 283 fn. 6); Fink (1971: 194).

<sup>697</sup> See 4.1.1.

verso: 1. fortasse Herm. [: . . . r. . .] (dubitanter an .erm. []) Gilliam: . . . r. . . [ Marichal: . . . pr. . . [ Cugusi || 2  
R[ufi]nus edd.

verso: 'To Aurelius ... *praepositus* of the cohort, from Attius Rufinus, legate of Augustus *pro praetore*.'



*P.Dura* 110 (= P. CtYBR inv. DPg 19)

AD 242–56 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 133 no. 17); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 365 (1977). TM 44842

Frr. (parchment): *a* (14x13.5 cm); *b* (2.6x4.1 cm)

A parchment fragment, containing the remnants of a guard roster: locations already known from *P.Dura* 106 and 107 – mainly gates: ll. 6–7 *porta Aquaria* and *porta Praetoriana* – can be seen. Also, the toponym *Sfetules* witnessed in *P.Dura* 107 appears in l. 3. The fragment is written on the hair side. It consists of a larger fragment (*a*), blank on the flesh side, and a smaller one (*b*), which is apparently written on the flesh side, where a few letters are visible. Fr. *a*, on the other hand, consists of two smaller fragments joined through a small portion of lighter-coloured material.<sup>701</sup> No margins are visible except perhaps the upper one. The dating is on the same prosopographical grounds as *P.Dura* 109, i.e. the presence of the centurion Aurelius Bargas (l. 3). Mentioned centurions are Marinus (l. 1), Bargas (ll. 2–4; 6; 9) and Germanus (l. 5; 7–8); Aurelius Germanus is known since *P.Dura* 116 (AD 236 c.), Aurelius Bargas since *P.Dura* 109 (242–56), while Marinus appears here for the first time. Abbreviations – *Aurel(ius)*, *Iul(ius)*, *ord(inat-)*, *Sfet(u)l(es)* – are constantly employed and unmarked. At l. 12, *at* stands for *ad*.

fr. *a*

<sup>1</sup> ] ∫ Marini Apoll[  
<sup>2</sup> Iarha]boles ∫ Barga [ ..... ]l ..... [ ..... ]  
<sup>3</sup> ] as Sfetl ∫ Barga [ ..... ]elo Quintia[nus  
<sup>4</sup> M]al[c]hi ∫ Barga [ ..... ] [ ..... ]an Ma[  
<sup>5</sup> ] rum ∫ [G]e[r]m[a]ni B[ ..... ]ure .esg [ ..... ]  
<sup>6</sup> ] olrius Po[rta A]quaria ∫ Barga [ ..... ]llus [ ..... ]  
<sup>7</sup> ] P[or]ta Praetorian[a ∫] Germani Iulius [ ..... ]  
<sup>8</sup> ] ..... [ ..... ]ri d [ ..... ] ∫ Germani Aurel Aci[bas ..... ] ..... a [ ..... ]  
<sup>9</sup> ] ..... [ ..... ]es ∫ [Ba]rga A[u]rel Abedmalchu[s ..... ] ..... [ ..... ]  
<sup>10</sup> ] o u ..... [ ..... ]achi Marinus [ ..... ] [ ..... ]  
<sup>11</sup> A]urel Ruff[u]s [ ..... ]  
<sup>12</sup> ] u[s] Halas at signa ord Aurel [ ..... ]  
<sup>13</sup> ] [ ..... ]h[ ..... ] [ ..... ]o[ ..... ]  
 ---

fr. *a*: **1** ] ∫ Marini [ Gilliam || **2** ]olhi Gilliam [ ] o [ Gilliam: ] ..... i [ Fink: ] ..... [ ..... ] [ Marichal || **3** ] us Gilliam: ] ius Fink: ] us Marichal | s e l Gilliam | Barga [ Gilliam: Barg[a Fink: Barg[a ..... ] ri [ Marichal | ] ..... quintis [ Gilliam: ]reoqu aris [ Fink: ]gelus Quintia[nus Marichal || **4** ] lhi Gilliam: ] chi Fink [ ] iana [ Gilliam: ]e riasa [ Fink: ] en Ma [ Marichal || **5** ] m [ ..... ] Gilliam: ] am Fink Marichal [ ] ..... i [ Gilliam: ] [G]e[r]m[a]ni Ab [ Fink: Mar[i]ni Ab [ Marichal | ] f s [ Gilliam: ] sfe ess [ Fink: ] rf es s [ Marichal || **6** fortasse corni]colari[us uel corni]colarius: ] nus Gilliam: ] rius Fink: ] rius Marichal | fortasse Cy[rillus: ] lus Gilliam: ] rillus Fink: ] llus Marichal || **7** p]orta praetoriana Gilliam: ] porta Fink Marichal | G]ermani Gilliam | Iul [ ..... ] [ Gilliam Fink: Iul ..... llus Marichal || **8** ] ..... riod [ (dubitanter an prae]torio du[cis] Gilliam: ] ..... hariod [ Fink: ] ..... rio d [ Marichal | centuria] Gilliam Marichal | A i [ (dubitanter an Aci[bas] Gilliam: ari[ ..... ] [ Fink: Ari[ ..... ] [ Marichal || **9** ] ..... es Gilliam: ] i c [ ..... ] es Fink: ] ..... es Marichal | Abedmalch[us Gilliam: abedmalch[ ..... ] [ Fink: Abedmalch [ ..... ] [ Marichal || **10** ] ..... [ ..... ]achi Gilliam [ ] o us si achi Fink: ] ..... o ..... ri achi Marichal [ Gilliam: m [ ..... ] [ Fink: ] [ ..... ] [ ..... ] [ ..... ]

<sup>701</sup> The position of the right, smaller fragment in Fink's edition (1971) matches that in the current frame and in the present edition; in the photos Marichal employed for his own edition, however, the position of the right fragment was different; it was placed slightly lower, thus prompting a different alignment of the lines in Marichal's edition (1977).

*Marichal* || 11 ] . . . [ . ]rg [ *Gilliam*: ]ut . . rus . s a[ *Fink* | post Ruf[u]s . . . . . [ *Marichal* || 12 ] . . s  
*Gilliam*: ] . . us *Fink* *Marichal* | . . las *Gilliam* | . . *Gilliam* | fortasse ord(inatus) uel ord(inati) | Aurel[  
*Gilliam Fink* || 13 om. *Gilliam*: ] . [ ]h . . [ ] . [ *Fink*: ] . . . . h . . . [ ] . [ ] . [ *Marichal*

*fr. a*: ‘... from Marinus’ century... Iarhaboles, from Bargas’ century... Sfetules, from Bargas’ century... Quintianus... son of Malchus, from Bargas’ century ... from Germanus’ century... Aquarian Gate, from Bargas’ century... Praetorian Gate, from Germanus’ century, Iulius... from Germanus’ century, Aurelius Acibas... from Bargas’ century, Aurelius Abedmalchus... Marinus... Aurelius Rufus... Halas to the standards, centurion(s?) Aurelius ...’

*fr. b recto*

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|<sup>1</sup> ] . . et Pom[  
|<sup>2</sup> ]t[ . . . ] . . . . [   
|<sup>3</sup> ] . o . . [   
---

*fr. b recto*: 1 ]be edio m[ *Fink*: ] . b . . et pom[ *Marichal* || 2 om. *Gilliam*: ] . [ . . . ] . . . . [ *Marichal* || 3  
om. *Gilliam*: ]ndri [ *Fink*: ] . . [ *Marichal*

*fr. b verso*

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|<sup>1</sup> ]ur[   
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*fr. b verso*: omm. *Gilliam Fink*: ] . . . [ | ]ur . . [ *Marichal*

*P.Dura* 112 (= P. CtYBR inv. DPg 17)

AD 242–56 c.

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 132 no. 16); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 367 (1977). TM 44844

Fr. (parchment): 1.9x12.4 cm

A parchment fragment, yellowish on the *recto* and light brown on the *verso*; it is no more than a stripe. It is perhaps possible to spot the left margin in the *verso* (3.8 cm). It probably comes from a guard roster: names of soldiers identified by their century are present in the *recto* (hair side), apparently not in the form of a column-like list. On the *verso* (flesh side), which appears to be more similar to a list, names of centuries are matched with figures; the nature of this list is uncertain. The dating, as in the preceding parchment fragments *P.Dura* 109 and 110, mainly relies on the presence of centurion Bargas (see *P.Dura* 109).<sup>702</sup> The said Aurelius Bargas (*recto*, l. 2) and centurions Achaeus (*verso*, l. 2), Naso (*verso*, l. 3) and Mocimus (*recto*, l. 3) appear; whereas Achaeus and Naso were already in *P.Dura* 107 (AD 240–1), Mocimus is featured here for the first time. Hands in the *recto* and the *verso* are probably not the same.

*recto*

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|<sup>1</sup>            ]l . [   
 |<sup>2</sup>        A]urel Siluanus pr ꝥ Barga Aurel Ogas ꝥ [   
 |<sup>3</sup>        ] Marcus Ulp Siluanus ꝥ Mocimi [   
        ---

*recto*: 2 . . Fink<sup>2</sup> | oa . . l[ Fink<sup>1</sup>: . . . l[ Fink<sup>2</sup> (*dubitanter an Ogelu[s]*) Marichal || 3 ] . Fink<sup>1</sup>: ]s Fink<sup>2</sup>

*recto*: ‘... Aurelius Silvanus the Elder, from Bargas’s century; Aurelius Ogas, from ... century ...’

2        Notice *pr(ior)*. At the end of this line letters have lost their upper portion, and the sequence of letters is puzzling. Marichal has proposed *Ogelus*; this is very plausible, as *o* and *g* are quite likely. If one considers that what is generally read as *l* might in fact be the symbol for *centuria*, instead of *Aurel(ius)* . . . l[ one might see *Aurel Ogas ꝥ* and then the beginning of the centurion’s name (a small spot of ink can be seen after ꝥ). The name ‘Ogas’ is attested in *P.Dura* 100, 101, 107 (see 3.2.1.).

3        ‘Marcus’ is not a *praenomen* of Ulp(ius) Siluanus – there are no *tria nomina* among Durene soldiers, and that *praenomen* would be at any rate written ‘M.’ – but the *cognomen* of a soldier preceding Ulp(ius) Siluanus in the list.<sup>703</sup>

*verso*

---

|<sup>1</sup>        ] . [                    ] . [                    ] . [        ]X[   
 |<sup>2</sup>        ꝥ Achaei LVII   
 |<sup>3</sup>        ꝥ Naso[ni]s LXIII CCCCXVIII[   
        ---

*verso*. 1 *recognoui* || 3 Naso[nis] *edd.* | *vel* -VIII[I]: CCCCXVII Fink: CCCXVII Marichal

*verso*: ‘... 10 ... Achaeus’ century, 58. Naso’s century, 63. 418 (419?) ...’

<sup>702</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 384); *ChLA* (IX: 50).

<sup>703</sup> The centurion Iulius Marcus and some Marci (Marcus Maior, Marcus Victor) are attested in the *P.Dura*; at least 5 Ulp(ius) Siluani are attested as well (see 3.2.1.).

3 Fink supposes that 417 was the total amount of soldiers in the cohort.<sup>704</sup> This would be, however, less than half of what we expect the Palmyrene cohort to have numbered no less than fifteen years earlier (see *P.Dura* 82, 89). The ongoing turmoil in Mesopotamia and Syria created by Shapur I might have taken its toll on the cohort, but this is entirely conjectural.

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<sup>704</sup> Fink (1971: 132).

**P.Dura 122** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 46)

AD 242–56 c.

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 158 no. 32); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 377 (1977). TM 44854

Fr. (papyrus roll): 11.6x10.5 cm

The papyrus is ridden with holes and the fibres are torn and misplaced; nevertheless, the ink is still well preserved and legible. The *verso* is blank. It contains a list of soldiers grouped by century and presumably, date of enlistment. Notably, the date of enlistment is the same for all the mentioned soldiers in the list (*eodem cos*), which suggests that a single event befell all of them, be this event their insertion in the *numeri* (the soldiers are all recruits, *tirones*?), or their *honesta missio* ‘honourable discharge’, which would have occurred at the same moment for all the soldiers who had enlisted in the same year.<sup>705</sup> The dating formulae refer to a consul whose name is not extant (it probably was declared only once at the top of the list); the dating on the manuscript is therefore both on palaeographical and prosopographical grounds, i.e. considering the centurions. Centurions attested are four out of six: Aurelius Germanus (l. 1), already seen as early as *P.Dura* 116 (AD 236); Mocimus (l. 4), already in *P.Dura* 112 (242–56); Achaeus (l. 8), seen since *P.Dura* 107 (AD 240–1) and again in *P.Dura* 112; and Felix (l. 12), already in *P.Dura* 107. Bargas, Marinus or Naso may be among the missing ones.<sup>706</sup> Mocimus is extant neither in *P.Dura* 107 (240–1), where all the centurions are listed (so he entered the cohort later than that year), nor in *P.Dura* 95 (250–1) – where, however, one centurion out of six is missing, who may well be himself, not only Naso or Felix. A chronological fork 242–9, rightly argued by Marichal,<sup>707</sup> may be therefore extended to 256. On the hand, see 4.2. for a specific reference.

---  
 |<sup>1</sup>     ϣ G]erman[i eod]em [co]s  
 |<sup>2</sup>                   Aurel Bernician[us]  
 |<sup>3</sup>                   Marin[u]s Abbos[a]  
 |<sup>4</sup>     ϣ] Mo]cimi eodem c[os]  
 |<sup>5</sup>                   Aurel Hella[ni]cu[s]  
 |<sup>6</sup>                   Aurel Antoninu[s]  
 |<sup>7</sup>                   Aurel Abgarus  
 |<sup>8</sup>     ] ϣ Achei eodem cos  
 |<sup>9</sup>                   [Aure]l Maxim[us]  
 |<sup>10</sup>                  Au[r]el Marin[us]  
 |<sup>11</sup>                  A[u]rel [Za]bdib[o]l[us]  
 |<sup>12</sup>     ] ϣ Felicis eodem cos  
 |<sup>13</sup>                  Aurel Salmanes .[ . . . . ] . . . . .[  
 |<sup>14</sup>                  [Aur]e[l] Pauti . . . [  
 ---

2 Aur[e]l Marichal || 4 Mo]cimi *edd.*: Alcimus *pro* Mocimus *dubitanter* Davies (1967: 262–3) || 11 [A]urel  
*edd.* || 13 Salmanes[ . . . . . ] [ Marichal || 14 [Aur]e[l] Pau . . . a[ Fink: [Aur]e[l] Pautina[  
 Marichal

‘... from the century of Germanus, under the same consulship:  
 Aurelius Bernicianus  
 Marinus son of Abbosas  
 From the century of Mocimus, under the same consulship:

<sup>705</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 393).

<sup>706</sup> For an alternative interpretation and dating of this particular papyrus as regards centurions and their seniority, see Davies (1967: 262–3).

<sup>707</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 66).



Aurelius Hellanicus

Aurelius Antoninus

Aurelius Abgarus

From the century of Achaeus, under the same consulship:

Aurelius Mocimus

Aurelius Marinus

Aurelius Zabdibolus

From the century of Felix, under the same consulship:

Aurelius Salmanes ...

Aurelius ...'

**13** The traces after the name 'Salmanes' are probably to be referred to a column next to this in the original document, now almost entirely lost. One might also suppose that the faint traces of ink immediately after *-anes* are in fact the upper edges of the letters of the name *Pauti* . . [- - -] in the following line.

**P.Dura 81** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 29 verso)

AD 240–50 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 396–7 no. 96); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 336 (1975). TM 44812

Fr. (papyrus roll): 11x10 cm

The document is written on the *verso* of *P.Dura* 120; the ink is still legible, but most of the fibres, especially in the right portion, have been torn apart or were lost. Only the upper margin is visible. The nature of this document is uncertain. It has been described as the copy of an official letter concerning personnel,<sup>708</sup> or as the portion of a *pridianum*.<sup>709</sup> The dating relies on palaeographical reasons; the script, which shows early instances of Roman ‘new’ cursive,<sup>710</sup> suggests that the document was drawn up in the last decade of Roman Dura.

<sup>1</sup> ] sentes quorum n[o]mina [   
<sup>2</sup> A]lexandria cum nauib[u]s [   
<sup>3</sup> o]ff praef praet [ . . . ] [ . . . ] i]o [   
<sup>4</sup> ] athoni Marcello t[r]ib prae [   
<sup>5</sup> tri]buno uigin[ti . . . ] mer . fit au[   
<sup>6</sup> ]ulares u c [pra]epositi [   
<sup>7</sup> ]s [i]n his ord I· du[pl . . . ] I· eq[ . . . ] [   
<sup>8</sup> ]praem[ . . . . . ] [   
 - - -

**1** ]sentes (*dubitanter an prae]sentes uel ab[sentes*) Gilliam Marichal: a]bsentes Davies (1967: 21) *potius quam pra]sentes* Fink<sup>2</sup> | [ . . . ] [ Gilliam: n[o]min[a ad]plicari *dubitanter* Fink: [ . . . ] [ Marichal || **2** nauib[u]s [ Gilliam: nauib[us . . . ]s [ Fink: nauib[us . . . ]s [ Marichal || **3** o]ff(icio) uel o]ff(icii) e[ . . . ] o[ Gilliam: e[ . . . ]t io[ Fink: e[ . . . ]t io[ Marichal || **4** ] athon (dubitanter an Mathoni) Gilliam: ]i Athoni Fink | [ . . . ] proc[ Gilliam: [ . . . ] prae[ (dubitanter an u(iro) [e(gregio)] coh(ortis) praep[osito uel sub]praef[ecto uel forma quaedam praeses nominis uel praesesse uerbi] Fink: trib(uno) praet[ori- Davies (1967c: 21): [ . . . ] prae[ Marichal || **5** ] uno edd. (dubitanter an tri]buno Marichal) | uigu[ Fink<sup>2</sup> | . . . ] er[ . . . ] [ Gilliam: ] . . . er[ . . . ]e[ . . . ]ta[ Fink: ] . . . er[ . . . ]e[ . . . ]a[ Marichal || **6** u[ . . . ] [ Gilliam: uc[ . . . ] [ Fink Marichal | cons]ulares u(iri) c[larissimi] dubitanter Gilliam: sing]ulares u(iri) c[larissimi] [cos]ularis n[ostri] dubitanter Fink || **7** i]n his Gilliam Fink: ] in is Marichal | du[pl . . . ] s[e]sq[ (dubitanter an ordd du[pl . . . ] id est ord(inati) du[o] Gilliam: du[pl . . . ] s[e]sq[ . . . ]i[ Fink: du[pl . . . ] s[e]sq[ . . . ]t[ Marichal || **8** ] . . . . . [ edd.

‘... of which... Alexandria, with the ships... the office of the prefects to the praetorium... Marcellus... the tribune, twenty... most distinguished men... including one centurion, (?) *duplicarii*...’

**1** The formula *a]bsentes* or *pra]sentes*, perhaps followed by *quorum n[o]min[a ad]plicari*, calls for a list of soldiers attached to the document, or mentioned in it.

**2** A sea journey is probably mentioned: Alexandria might be Alexandria *ad Issum* (Iskenderun),<sup>711</sup> a harbour comparatively close to Dura, or (less likely) the Egyptian Alexandria. Part of the document might be focused on sending or receiving an envoy, who should cross (or come from beyond) the sea.

**3** This line contains the relevant sequence *o]ff praef praet* = *off(iciu)m* – whatever the inflection – *praefectorum praetorio*, which confirms that the content included top-ranking officers from Imperial administration; and then something still unclear can be seen:

<sup>708</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 269).

<sup>709</sup> Davies (1967: 21).

<sup>710</sup> See 4.3.

<sup>711</sup> *ChLA* (VII: 26).

Table 5.18 – *P.Dura* 81, l. 3

|           |
|-----------|
| Fig. 5.40 |
| Fig. 5.41 |

After *praet*, it is reasonable to suppose a blank space and then one letter in lacuna, where the fibre is absent. Then, a letter with a circular section at the bottom, which might seem an *e*; another lacuna; *tio*; then probably *r* (*m* or *n* are less likely), and uncertain traces. Between *t* and *i* there is another *i*, which is directly in ligature with *t* and which the scribe apparently tried to erase by dilution. Many possibilities are open for this sequence, as the context is not helpful: [c]e[r]tior. [ is only one of them.

4 Both Fink<sup>712</sup> and Davies<sup>713</sup> believe they can see here a mention of Marcus Aurelius Atho Marcellus, a *procurator* of *Mauretania Caesariensis* in AD 247–51, who would have been stationed in Syria by the time the papyrus was written, and assisted the then *praefectus praetorio* Philip (later Philip the Arab) to kill Emperor Gordian III. Although this hypothesis is well argued, it cannot be entirely validated; one could just as well read ] *Mathoni*, like Gilliam. After Marcellus and before *prae* [- - -], *trib* = *tribuno* (Davies)<sup>714</sup> seems unavoidable; or rather, *t[r]ib*, as *r* appears to have almost completely vanished. This word, and the following *prae* [- - -], might be compared to the sequence of addressees in *P.Dura* 60b, l. 1 *tribb et praeff et praepositis nn* (= *tribunis et praefectis et praepositis numerorum*); only that here, no double consonant is visible.

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<sup>712</sup> (1967: 84).

<sup>713</sup> (1967: 20–1).

<sup>714</sup> *Ibidem*.

**P.Dura 86** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 54)

AD 240–50 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 209 no. 57); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 341 (1976). TM 44817

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (2.3x3.2 cm); *b* (3x3 cm); *c* (1.5x1.1 cm)

The papyrus consists of three fragments (*a* to *c*); only *a* and *b* preserve some identifiable traces of ink, and have the same shape, so that they probably come from the same portion of the original roll. The photos on which Marichal worked apparently positioned the bottom of fr. *b verso* by itself, and as belonging to the upper portion of fr. *a recto*; this has been clearly altered in the current disposition. The figure preceding the name Ulpus in fr. *a* l. 2, which recalls analogous instances in *P.Dura* 82 col. II l. 12 and 89 ll. 3; 9, suggests that this fragment came from *acta diurna*. The dating is on palaeographical grounds: *u* is very elaborate and large, *l* does not trespass the writing line with its second stroke (an increasingly frequent feature in third century AD *l*'s) and the ligature *us* indicates a very late stage of old Roman cursive. Remains on the *verso* are too scanty to provide any interpretation of their history; the *verso* of fr. *b* is largely blank, but for traces which appear to be the mirror-like impression of the text in fr. *a verso*:

**Table 5.19** – *P.Dura* 86 *verso*

|                           |                  |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| <i>verso</i> fr. <i>a</i> | <b>Fig. 5.42</b> |
| <i>verso</i> fr. <i>b</i> | <b>Fig. 5.43</b> |

This may imply that the scraps were once in close contact, enough for the surface of fr. *a* to be pressed against that of fr. *b*; the identical shape of the two scraps is further proof that they were very close in the original document. A similar phenomenon occurs in *P.Dura* 117.

*fr. a recto*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . . . [ . ] [ . ] u [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] IIII Ulpus . [  
 ---

*fr. a recto: 1 ante hanc lineam* ] . . [ Marichal | ] . [ Gilliam Fink: ] . . . [ . ] . . [ Marichal || 2 . [ recognoui

*fr. b recto*

|<sup>1</sup> ] . . s . . [  
 ---

*fr. b recto: edidi**fr. a verso*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] Kal· Iunias [  
 ---

*fr. a verso: edidi*

*fr. b verso*

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ |^1 \quad ] \dots [ \cdot ] [ \\ \text{---} \end{array}$$

*fr. b verso: edidi*

**P.Dura 94** (= P. CtYBR inv. DPg 6 *recto*)

AD 240–50 c.

Cumont (1923); Cumont (1926); R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 233 no. 65); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 349 (1975). *CPL* 345; TM 44826

Fr. (parchment): 13x8.5 cm

This parchment fragment was found, like other parchment fragments from Dura-Europos, in the Tower of the Archers.<sup>715</sup> The fragment is ‘wrinkled, badly worm-eaten’;<sup>716</sup> it has been re-used for drawing up a Greek document, whose traces are still visible in the right edge of the parchment sheet.<sup>717</sup> The *verso* is *P.Dura* 48, a Greek papyrus (about AD 250). The typology of the document – a list, stating the position and the events occurring to some unspecified soldiers – is unclear: it closely resembles *pridianā* and *acta diurna*, but it seems to represent a category of its own. One is not even certain it refers to the Palmyrene cohort; it may belong to any of the several *uexillationes* from Syrian legions, which happened to be in Dura anytime in the last decade of the Roman period.<sup>718</sup> The date has been given on account of the fact that almost all other Latin and Greek parchments from Dura are more or less to be thus dated.<sup>719</sup> Abbreviations – *mil(es)*, *mil(ites)*, *opini(onem)* (l. 4) and *opinion(em)* (l. 5), *drom(adarii)*, *h(oneste) e(meriti)*, *rel(iqui)* or *rel(iquos)* – are consistently used and unmarked.

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> [ ] III[  
 |<sup>2</sup> Chaferaura m[i]l II[  
 |<sup>3</sup> Kastello mil I [  
 |<sup>4</sup> Z. ad[ ] m opini drom II[  
 |<sup>5</sup> ad [op]inion mil IV[  
 |<sup>6</sup> item ad opin[ ] drom [  
 |<sup>7</sup> facti equites mil [  
 |<sup>8</sup> missi h emer mil II[  
 |<sup>9</sup> toti m[  
 |<sup>10</sup> rel numerare \* [  
 |<sup>11</sup> [ ] fact[ ] [ ]  
 ---

1 ..... II Cumont<sup>1</sup>: ----- II Cumont<sup>2</sup>: ] [ ] III[ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] [ ] III[ Fink<sup>2</sup> ||  
 2 lferara I IL(?) (*dubitanter an fer(rarii), ar(enarii), ar(tifices)*) Cumont<sup>1</sup>: tferara - I IL(?) (*at ferara pro*  
*ad ferraria*) Cumont<sup>2</sup>: Chafer a ra m[i]l II[ Fink<sup>1</sup>: Chafer aura m[i]l II[ Fink<sup>2</sup> || 3 L[ Cumont || 4 z  
 a ..... mopimadaç m II[ Cumont: z ad[ ] mopini drom II[ Fink || 5 ad ..... imiun Cumont || II Cumont  
 Fink<sup>1</sup> || 6 ]drom[ *Internullo per litteras: adopim* ..... Cumont: ]arend[ (*dubitanter an qu]aærend[am*) Fink:  
 opin[ ] ..... [ Marichal || 7 [ Cumont || 9 m ..... [ Cumont<sup>2</sup> || 10 ..... el numerare Cumont<sup>1</sup>: - - - - el  
 numerare Cumont<sup>2</sup> || 11 ..... end Cumont<sup>1</sup>: ----- end Cumont<sup>2</sup>: [ ] fact[ ] [ ] [ Fink<sup>1</sup>:  
 ]fact[ ] [ ] [ Fink<sup>2</sup>: ]fact[ ] [ ] [ Marichal

‘... in Chaferaura, 2 soldiers...  
 in Kastellum, 1 soldier...  
 for an estimate, (?) camel-drivers...  
 for an estimate, (?) soldiers...  
 again, for an estimate... camel-drivers ...

<sup>715</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 289).

<sup>716</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 289).

<sup>717</sup> Cumont (1923: 41); Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 289).

<sup>718</sup> Fink (1971: 233); *ChLA* (VII: 56).

<sup>719</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 289).

soldiers have been created cavalrymen...  
 (?) soldiers have been dismissed due to honourable discharge...  
 all of them...  
 the remaining ones (?), calculate (?) *denarii* ...'

**2-3** The toponyms *Chaferaura* (= *Chafer Auira*?) and *Kastellum* (= *Castellum Arabum* or *Arabionis*?) are probably the same as those repeatedly found in the great rosters *P.Dura* 100 and 101.

**4** *Drom* is corrected from an originary *[[mil]]*.

**4-6** The *opinio* 'estimate' might be *stip(endii)*, as in *P.Dura* 100, 101 and perhaps 95 (fr. *b* col. II l. 1); but there is no further specification in the surviving text. The word *opinio* being repeated three times in three items, it is possible that the envoy sent to get (or give) an 'estimate' was made up from different sections of the cohort, or in different times of the year. In the left margin of l. 4, one might perhaps find the *zeta* of ζῆται or ζητητέον ('mark that'), already in *P.Dura* 82, col. II l. 8, and here in 94 marked by a medial dot.

**7** The formula *facti equites* 'created cavalrymen' is to be found in *BGU* II 696 col. II l. 32 *item facti eq[ui]tes* (AD 156).<sup>720</sup>

**8** The formula *h(oneste) emer(iti)*, might have a parallel in *P.Dura* 82 col. II l. 18 *h(oneste) e(meriti) manserunt mil(ites) IIII* – if the abbreviations are thus to be construed.

**9** The usage of *toti* (followed perhaps by *m[ilites]*) instead of *summa* – as in other military documents containing inventories of strength, like *ChLA* XI 501 (AD 48–52),<sup>721</sup> X 443 *recto* (third century AD),<sup>722</sup> XI 479 (third century AD)<sup>723</sup>, *P.Dura* 89 – is remarkable.

**10** *Denarii* are represented by their customary symbol. It is difficult to explain the presence of an item concerned with payment in what seems a list with positions of soldiers and their promotions; perhaps this item, coming right after a summary (*toti*), determined the quantity of money to be given to each soldier according to their current status or to what they had done during a certain period.

**11** In the left margin, below this line, a *stigma* is visible, maybe representing a number.

<sup>720</sup> TM 69913.

<sup>721</sup> TM 69987.

<sup>722</sup> TM 69941.

<sup>723</sup> TM 69971.

**P.Dura 111** (= P. CtYBR inv. DPg 15)

AD 240–50 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 136 no. 18); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 366 (1977). TM 44843

Fr. (parchment): 8x4.5 cm

This parchment fragment has no visible margins and its surface is in bad condition, most of the ink having vanished. It is written on the hair side; the flesh side is blank.<sup>724</sup> This fragment yields part of a list of soldiers, organised by date and century. No name survives in its entirety. Marichal suggested that the scrap is part of *P.Dura* 110.<sup>725</sup>

- - -  
 |<sup>1</sup>     ] . Aurel [   
 |<sup>2</sup>       ] . eqq l[   
 |<sup>3</sup>       ] s . . . . [   
 |<sup>4</sup>     ] III Idus [ . ] . . [   
 |<sup>5</sup>       ] .     / [   
 |<sup>6</sup>     ]         / [   
 - - -

**1** omm. Gilliam Fink: ] . . . . . [ Marichal || **2** omm. Gilliam Fink: ] . . . [ Marichal || **3** Sil[uanus dubitanter  
 Gilliam Fink: ] . . . [ Marichal || **4** III Idus [ Gilliam Fink ] III Idus [ Marichal || **5** / [ . . ] [ Gilliam Fink: ]  
 (centuria) [ Marichal || **6** ] . (centuria) Marichal | post hanc lineam uestigium uidit Marichal

<sup>724</sup> What Marichal believed to be a *g* in the *verso* is in fact 15, the catalogue number of the manuscript at the Beinecke Library, followed by a *d* inscribed in a circle, all written after the fragments was brought to New Haven (*ChLA* IX: 50).

<sup>725</sup> *Ibidem*.



**P.Dura 119** (= P. CtYBR inv. DPg 16)

AD 240–56 c.

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 174 no. 42); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 374 (1977). TM 44851

Fr. (parchment): 8.9x5.4 cm

The parchment is yellowish in colour, and very badly preserved, as most of the ink has vanished. It is written on the hair side; the flesh side is blank. Almost all the text is gone. One can read a number of names, perhaps from a list; no other information is provided. The original document might have been a roster or a guard roster. Only ‘Iulius’ and ‘Antonius’, both attested within the names of the soldiers of the Palmyrene cohort, are clearly visible. The dating is purely on a palaeographical basis.

```

- - -
|1      ]manu[
|2      ]a . on[ . . . ] s
|3      ]aad[ . ] [ . . ]h[ . . . . . ]a
|4      ] h[ . . . . . ]n Zo . . . . [
|5      ] Iulius G . . [
|6      ] ae`x`acus P . [
|7      ] Antonius A[
|8      ]be . st[ . . . ]s a[
- - -

```

**1** ] . anu *Fink:* ] . manu *Marichal* || **2** ]a . . n[ *Fink:* ]a . . n[ *Marichal* || **3** fortasse Aad[e]u[s T]h[emars]a:  
 ] ad . m[ ] [ . . . ] [ *Fink:* ]ad . . h[ . . . ] [ *Marichal* || **4** ]ctu . . . n Z [ *Fink:* ]ch[ . . . ]n Z . . . . [ *Marichal* || **5** I]ulius *Fink Marichal* | g . [ *Fink:* . . . [ *Marichal* || **6** ] aetagus *Fink:* ] aetagis *Marichal* | P[ *Marichal* || **7** M[ *Fink:* . [ *Marichal* || **8** ]beast[ . . ]s a[ *Fink:* ]be . st[ . . . ]s [ *Marichal*

**P.Dura 128** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 14+35+48)

AD 240–50 c.

C. B. Welles in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 383 (1976). TM 44862

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (17x13.2 cm); *b* (11x6 cm); *c* (7x4.7 cm); *d* (9.5x5 cm); *e* (4.5x9 cm); *f* (5.5x4.5 cm); *g* (4x5 cm); *h* (3.6x2 cm); *i* (9.7x5 cm); *j* (5x3 cm); *k* (5.5x3 cm); *l* (1.5x2.3 cm); *m* (4.5x2.5 cm); *n* (6x3.5 cm); *o* (2.6x1.7 cm); *p* (6.5x6 cm); *q* (2.2x0.8 cm)

The papyrus, light brown in colour and probably of good quality,<sup>726</sup> consists of 17 fragments, *a* to *q*. In the current frame, fr. *l* has disappeared and is not to be found elsewhere; fr. *q*, on the other hand, has been ignored by former editors because it is blank. The alternation of a few Latin words, mainly introducing sentences (*d* = *dixit*), and apparently long Greek sections, together with the rank of one of the two Latin names appearing in the fragments (Pacatianus, *uir egregius*) suggest that the original document was a record of proceedings, probably coming from a larger roll containing a record book (*commentarii*) of the local top-ranking officer or magistrate.<sup>727</sup> As the length of the line is normally irregular in such documents, one is almost never sure whether in the fragments blank spaces represent what survives of the lower or upper margin, or not. The papyrus is one of the few extant samples of this typology earlier than fourth century AD, when these documents flood the bilingual Greek-Latin papyrological record from Egypt.<sup>728</sup> Welles has tentatively identified the Pacatianus in this document with the Licinius Pacatianus featured in *P.Dura* 97, ll. 20, 22 (AD 251) as someone who had been *dux* under the consulship of C. Maesius Titianus, in 245.<sup>729</sup> If this is true, one can date the document to the last decades of Dura. One does not know which sort of *dux* Pacatianus was; at any rate, it was not strange for a Roman military authority to meddle with civil trials, as Laronius Secundianus had done in *P.Dura* 125.

| <i>fr. a</i>  |               |                       |         |
|---------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------|
|               | <i>col. I</i> | <i>col. II</i>        |         |
| <sup>1</sup>  | ] καὶ ἄλλην   | ἡ[ . . ] ε . . [      |         |
| <sup>2</sup>  | - - -         | [ . ] ι [ . ] νατ[    |         |
| <sup>3</sup>  |               | μόνον απ . [ . ] [    |         |
| <sup>4</sup>  |               | Pacatianus u e uica [ | ] μυαλ[ |
| <sup>5</sup>  |               | δὲ ἀποδοῖ τομ . [     | ] cμ[   |
|               |               | ς ————— [             | ] — [   |
| <sup>6</sup>  |               | a[ . ] a[ . ] . . [   |         |
| <sup>7</sup>  |               | . . [                 |         |
| <sup>8</sup>  |               |                       |         |
| <sup>9</sup>  |               |                       |         |
| <sup>10</sup> |               |                       |         |
| <sup>11</sup> |               | Paca[tianus           |         |
|               |               | - - -                 |         |

*fr. a col. II: 1* ἐν Welles: ἐν Marichal || **3** απ . . [ *edd.* || **4** fortasse uic(es) a(gens) vel uica(rius): . . eu ic[ Welles: creuit uel u(ir) e(gregius) uic(es) [agens (*quod si placet*, uic(es) a(gens) *legendum*) dubitanter Gilliam apud Welles: uic[?] Marichal | fortasse μυ(ριὰς) ἄ λ[ : μυαλ[ *edd.* || **5** uel ἀποδοῖτο μ . [ | τομ[?] cμ[ *edd.* || **6** Α . [ . ] . . [ Welles: Α[ . . ] . . [ Marichal

<sup>726</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 399).

<sup>727</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>728</sup> Another sample is *P.Ross.Georg.* V 18 (AD 212–3, TM 17525). After Diocletian's reign these documents become very common: a very short selection includes *P.Berl.Zill.* 4 (AD 350, TM 17284); *ChLA* V 292 (AD 352–4, TM 69893); *SB* I 5357 (fifth–sixth century AD, TM 35728); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67131 (AD 566–7, TM 18878).

<sup>729</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 400). In fact, Welles went further, suspecting Licinnius Pacatianus to have been *dux ripae*. See *P.Dura* 97 and the commentary *ad loc.* The fact that Licinius Pacatianus ever was *dux ripae* is far from being proven.

**II 4** The name of Pacatianus is in *ekthesis*. He is styled first of all with *u(ir)* *e(gregius)*; then comes a sequence of letter *uica* and then Greek letters. The formula *uic(es) a(gens)* is a very likely solution.<sup>730</sup> There is, of course, the problem that no genitive appears before or after the formula, and the *uices* must be of somebody; however, as Marichal himself notes, the genitive might have been in the lacuna between the main fragment and the scrap connected at its right. The distance between the two portions of fr. *a* is in fact unclear (there is no material contact) and might have been much wider.<sup>731</sup>

**TABLE 5.20** – *P.Dura* 128, fr. *a* col. II: the scrap

| Fig. 5.44                                      |     |        |
|------------------------------------------------|-----|--------|
| u(ir) e(gregius) uic(es) a(gens) [pr(aesidis)? | --- | ]μναλ[ |
| δὲ ἀποδοῖ τομ[                                 | --- | ]σμ[   |

Instead of *uic(es) a(gens)*, also *uica(rius)* ‘deputy’ is possible, although less likely, as this kind of abbreviation is very seldom to be found;<sup>732</sup> there would always be the problem of a missing genitive. In l. 4, μν(ρίαζ / -άδαζ) ‘thousands’ – attested as an abbreviation in Greek accounts and lists<sup>733</sup> – perhaps followed by a figure (α’), is possible; however, no such word is attested in court proceedings. It must be noted that sections of the original document were divided by long horizontal strokes, preceded by a rudimentary κορωνίς.<sup>734</sup>

**Fig. 5.45**

|              |                     |
|--------------|---------------------|
| <i>fr. b</i> |                     |
| ---          |                     |
| <sup>1</sup> | ] [                 |
| <sup>2</sup> | ] [                 |
| <sup>3</sup> | ] ἐνεκτω[           |
| <sup>4</sup> | ] α[ ] tv           |
| <sup>5</sup> |                     |
| <sup>6</sup> | ] legi. Castor d/ [ |
| <sup>7</sup> | ] ov κα[            |
|              | ---]                |

*fr. b: 1–2 uidi || 3 ἐνεκτω[τ edd. || 4] α[ ] tv edd.*

<sup>730</sup> See Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 400). Cf. also *AE* 1968, 413, ll. 5–6 *Q(uitus) Ael(ius) Restu|tus u(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) u(ices) p(raesidis) u(otum) s(oluit)* (Lauriacum, no date is given); *AE* 2003, 1417, col. II l. 8 *Fl(auius) Aper u(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) u(ices) p(raesidis)* (Pannonia Inferior, AD 196–272); *CIL* III 3424, ll. 5–8 *Siluius u(ir) e(gregius) a(gens) u(ices) p(raesidis) et | Val(erius) Marcellinus | praef(ectus) leg(ionis) prot(ector) | Aug(usti) n(ostri) a(gens) u(ices) l(egati)* (Aquincum, AD 267); *AE* 2007, 1692, ll. 8–10 *Antonius Dracontius u(ir) c(larissimus) | ag(ens) uic(es) praef(ectorum) praetorio per | Africanas prouincias* (Leptis Magna, fourth century AD).

<sup>731</sup> See *ChLA* (IX: 74).

<sup>732</sup> Cf. *CIL* VI 7754 *Thallusaes(!) | Philonis uica(riae) | uixit ann(os) IIII* (Roma, date not given); *CIL* V 1943 *D(is) M(anibus) | Suau(i) | Auxiliar(is) uica(rio)* (Concordia, third–fourth century AD).

<sup>733</sup> See e.g. *BGU* VII 1628 (fourth century AD, TM 32964), 1630 (fourth century AD, TM 32966), *CPR* X 52 (fourth century AD, TM 33354). None of the documents containing the abbreviation μν(ρίαζ) is even remotely similar to a verbal of court proceedings; the abbreviation is widespread in lists, accounts, and receipts of goods.

<sup>734</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 73).

6 The *legi*, which has apparently been drawn by another hand in blank space purposely left in the document, is quite similar to the one in *P.Euphr.* 1, l. 22,<sup>735</sup> where *legi* validates a petition; only *l* is markedly different, still within the boundaries of the ancient cursive in the latter papyrus, and already moving towards its shape in the new cursive in the Dura papyrus. The word is noteworthy. It normally validates official Latin or Greek documents, rather than records of proceeding.<sup>736</sup> Similar instances of this word can be found in the problematic *P.Ross.Georg.* V 18<sup>737</sup> and in some unpublished records of proceedings in the following centuries: *ChLA* XLV 1326<sup>738</sup> and *ChLA* XLV 1352,<sup>739</sup> where *legi* – drawn up in an idiosyncratic writing style, heavily reminiscent of the old Roman cursive – might have been written by a magistrate subscribing the record after it had been written. As for its function in *P.Dura* 128, it remains obscure. *Castor* might be one of the actors of the trial. As for *d(ixit)*,<sup>740</sup> it is also abbreviated with a long oblique stroke, pointing upwards, and drawn over the letter; Marichal believes the *D* to be actually a Δ (δέλτα), to be read as εἶπεν in purely Greek proceedings.<sup>741</sup>

*fr. c*  
- - -

|              |                     |
|--------------|---------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | δει]χθή[τω          |
| <sup>2</sup> |                     |
| <sup>3</sup> | ] Cast[o]r d/ ε .ι[ |
|              | - - -               |

*fr. c: 3 ε[ edd.*

*fr. d*  
- - -

|              |                      |
|--------------|----------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | ἐπ]ιδ<ε>ικνυμε[      |
| <sup>2</sup> | ]ενον τη[            |
| <sup>3</sup> | ] παιδὶ μω[          |
| <sup>4</sup> | ]χην ατ[             |
| <sup>5</sup> | ]u ag d/ δειχθή[τω   |
| <sup>6</sup> | ] καὶ τὸ ἀντίγρα[φον |
| <sup>7</sup> | ]u ag cum al[        |
| <sup>8</sup> | ]νεν[                |
|              | - - -                |

<sup>735</sup> AD 245, TM 23921.

<sup>736</sup> See e.g. *P.Oxy.* I 35 *recto* (AD 223 TM 20697), a request for *agnitio bonorum possessionis*; the aforementioned *P.Euphr.* 1; *P.Flor.* I 32b (AD 298, TM 23552), a τόμος συγκαλλήσιμος of declarations of property, addressed to the *censor* Iulius Alexander; *P.Lond.* V 1647 (AD 298, TM 19671), a return of landed property made by Αὐρήλιος Ὀρος to the *censor* Julius Alexander; *P.Flor.* III 304 (fifth–sixth century AD, TM 35230), a Greek letter from Hermoupolis Magna, where an unnamed top-ranking officer orders a member of his staff, Ἀφοῦς, to undertake the charge of ῥιπάριος τῶν μερίδων for the *comes* Ἀμμώνιος; *P.Oxy.* VIII 1106 (sixth century AD, TM 37834), a letter in which some military high-rank orders another to go and defend a village harassed by marauders; the orders from provincial *praesides* in *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67321 (AD 533 or 548, TM 18445), 67280 (AD 538–9, TM 36517) and 67320 (AD 540, TM 18444); *SB* V 8028 (AD 550, TM 18007), where a Σερήνος Φοιβάμμων *comes et praeses prouvinciae Thebaidos* issues a decree.

<sup>737</sup> In ll. 2 and 7 one finds the usual formula *Iuncinus d(ixit)* ('Iuncinus said'), to introduce Iuncinus' own words in direct speech (see the fn. 000); but at l. 9 one seems to read *Iuncinus leg[.]*. It may be an order (*leg[e]*, *leg[at]ur*): see e.g. *ChLA* XLV 1321 (= *P.Vindob.* inv. L 109, AD c. 436, TM 70107) and *P.CtYBR* inv. 2043 (fourth–fifth century AD, no TM number: the text is being published in the *CLTP*).

<sup>738</sup> = *P.Vindob.* inv. L 116 (fourth–fifth century AD, TM 70110).

<sup>739</sup> = *P.Vindob.* inv. L 151 (fourth–fifth century AD, TM 70127).

<sup>740</sup> When reporting direct speech in the record, the scribes of these documents almost always resort to a *uerbum dicendi* (*dixit*, εἶπεν) either unabridged or abbreviated in several extant ways. See Coles (1966: 40–7).

<sup>741</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 74).

*fr. d: 1 ] . edd. || 3 ] αι . διμνω[ Welles: ] αι διμνω[ Marichal || 5 ] u(ices) ag(ens) dubitanter Gilliam apud Welles: ] . ag Marichal || 6 καὶ τὸ ἀντίγραφον dubitanter edd. || 7] u(ices) ag(ens) dubitanter Gilliam apud Welles: ] . ag Marichal | al[iis vel Al[exandro dubitanter Welles*

**6** The word ἀντίγραφον, only suspected by former editors, is confirmed, and might refer to the ἀντίγραφον ὑπομνηματισμοῦ, the original copy of the act.

*fr. e*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] θέντων φροντίσει χη[  
 |<sup>2</sup> π]έμψαι [αὐ]τὸν ἐπὶ τὸν δι[  
 ---

*fr. e: 1 ] . [ edd. || 2 ] . [ edd.*

*fr. f*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] αςθ[ . [ . . . ] σφ[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] των αι[ ] σ επηκο[  
 ---

*fr. f: 1 ] . [ recognouit Marichal || 2 ] σπηκο[ edd.*

**2** The scraps belong together as their shapes suggest, but there is no way to understand the distance between them in the original roll. As the upper stroke of *sigma* is artificially elongated and seemingly ornamental, perhaps it may mark the end of a word (ἐπηκο[ύσατε? ἐπηκο[λούθησα, ἐπηκο[λούθηκα?]).

*fr. g*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . [ . [ . . . ]  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] εττι[  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] βον στρατιω[τ  
 ---

*fr. g: 1 ] ι[ edd. || 2 fortasse Δομ]εττι: ] ττι[ edd. || 3 [σ]τρατιω[ (dubitanter an ἔλα]βον στρατιώ[τας Welles) edd.*

*fr. h*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . . . [ . [ . . . ]  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] οντ[  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] . legi [ . [ . . . ]  
 ---

*fr. h: 3 ] legi[ Welles | post hanc lineam nihil uidi: ] . [ Welles: ] . . . [ Marichal*

*fr. i*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]αι ε[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] .ccει ε[  
 |<sup>3</sup> ]αι ταδ[  
 |<sup>4</sup>  
 |<sup>5</sup> ]ειc περ[  
 |<sup>6</sup> ] .ουc α[  
 ---

*fr. i: 1* ε[ *Welles* || **2** ] .c .θε[ *edd.* || **5** πε[ *edd.* || **6** ]cov α[ *edd.*

*fr. j*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]νου η[  
 |<sup>2</sup>  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] .[  
 ---

*fr. j: 3 recognouit Marichal*

*fr. k*

|<sup>1</sup> ]αι αμ[  
 |<sup>2</sup>  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] .ε[  
 ---

*fr. l*

|<sup>1</sup> ] .[ . . ] .[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]τιπεν[  
 ---

*fr. l: non uidi: sic edd.*

*fr. m*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ]ε[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]υμ[  
 ---

*fr. m: 1 ante hanc lineam* ] .[ *Marichal* | ] .[ *Welles:* ]ε .[ *Marichal*

*fr. n*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . . ρ .[  
 ---

*fr. n: 1* ] υρ [ *Welles:* ] υρ [ *Marichal*

*fr. o*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] μ ι [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] μ [  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] η [  
 ---

*fr. o: 1* *haec est l. 2 apud edd.:* ] [ *edd. || 2* *haec est l. 1 apud edd.:* ] υ [ *Welles:* ] υ [ *Marichal || 3* *uidi*

*fr. p*  
 ---  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] [ . . . ] [  
 |<sup>2</sup> Casto]r d/ πάντες [  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] ις legi δομ[  
 |<sup>4</sup> Pa]catianus d/ ου [ .  
 |<sup>5</sup> ] κε[κ]τήθαι [ . ] . . [  
 |<sup>6</sup>  
 |<sup>7</sup> ] d/ . [  
 ---

*fr. p: 1* ] [ *edd. || 2* ]R *Welles || 3* *fortasse* Δομ[έτιος || *7* ] d(ixit) [ *edd.*

**5.6. AD 250–60**



J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 234–9 no. 66); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 350 (1975). TM 44849

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (13x13.5 cm); *b* (25x15.5 cm); *d* (3x4 cm); *e* (2x1.4 cm); *f* (2.5x2.5 cm); *g* (2.6x1.6 cm); *h* (3x1.2 cm); *i* (3x2 cm); *j* (4x2 cm); *k* (4.5x4 cm); *l* (4x5 cm); *m* (8.5x4 cm)

The papyrus consists of 12 fragments (*a-m*); *j* to *m* are blank. For unknown reasons, what was called fr. *j* in previous editions (and contained two written lines) is now lost, and has been replaced with another fragment, also numbered *j*, but blank. Fragments are badly abraded and full of holes;<sup>742</sup> the largest ones, *a* and *b*, preserve fragments from 4 columns (2 columns each); in fr. *b* col. I, upper and lower margins are visible, so we can conclude that the average column must have contained about 33 lines, and that the text in col. II is directly subsequent to that in col. I. Frr. *c* to *j* are smaller and of lesser relevance, although they clearly contain the same formulae and entries as the larger fragments. The *verso* has been employed to draw up a roster (*P.Dura* 105). This portion of the original document was written when Decius was Emperor (he is repeatedly referred to as *dominus noster* in consular dates), therefore between 250 (he rose to power in the autumn of 249) and his death in Abritus (June 251).

The nature of this document, as well as some of the abbreviations and formulae here employed, are obscure. It contains heterogeneous data – strength reports, assignments – in no recognizable relation to one another; the fact that it was later re-used for a roster (which is normally a very extensive document) suggests that the original document was long and articulated. Most of the entries contain names of single soldiers, provided with their century's name, perhaps the date when the century was formed, and the date of their enlistment (fr. *a* col. I ll. 9–13; II ll. 5–18; fr. *b* col. I ll. 1–22; II ll. 17–26); this might be linked with nine consecutive entries concerned with the net number (*numerus purus*) of men in consecutive days (fr. *b* col. II ll. 9–15). Other entries are concerned with assignments, to which a specific number of men are allocated, and from which a specific number of men returns (*reuersi*),<sup>743</sup> they will be discussed in the commentary. This document provides the last insight into the centurions and decurions of the cohort (*P.Dura* 105, 97 and 96 do not offer any name of centurion or decurion); unfortunately, only five centurions – Marinus *posterior* (fr. *a* col. I l. 9), Germanus (fr. *a* col. II l. 5), Marinus *prior* (fr. *b* col. I l. 17; II l. 23), Achaeus (fr. *a* col. II l. 13), Bargas (fr. *b* col. II l. 21) – and one decurion – Romullus (fr. *a* col. I l. 4) – appear. Aurelius Germanus is among the centurions at least since *P.Dura* 116 (AD c. 236); Achaeus appears in *P.Dura* 107 (240–1) and Aurelius Bargas in *P.Dura* 109 (241–56); one finds a Marinus in *P.Dura* 110 (c. 242–56), therefore between 242 and 249 another Marinus must have been promoted, thus creating the necessity of telling them apart, as with Domitius Antoninus and the other Antoninus, with adjectives *prior* and *posterior*. As for Romullus, he has a career as long as that of Germanus; he first appears in *P.Dura* 116. *Centuria* and *turma* have their customary symbols (Ϛ, Ϝ).

Throughout the text, one often finds the syntagms *in is* and *ex is*. Unless *is* is a misunderstood abbreviation *i(-) s(-)*, they are probably to be interpreted as *in <h>is* and *ex <e>is*, on the account of a similar treatment in *P.Dura* 92 and in the already mentioned *ChLA* III 219.<sup>744</sup>

fr. *a* col. I

— — —

<sup>1</sup>      Καλ Aug [  
<sup>2</sup>      ] ad praetoriū[m .....]s

<sup>742</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 290).

<sup>743</sup> *Reuersi* is almost always abbreviated by two large *R*'s crossed by a horizontal or oblique stroke; in one instance, only one *R* is employed, perhaps meaning *r(euersus)* (fr. *b* col. II l. 4); in another, only one *R* is employed and preceded by an unrecognizable sign, similar to *u* (fr. *b* col. II l. 3); in a third one (fr. *b* col. I l. 33) *reuersi* is written in full. The meaning of these variations is puzzling and their causes might range from scribal slip to a precise intent, now unfathomable.

<sup>744</sup> = P.Lond. inv. 2851, AD 105, TM 69875.

<sup>3</sup> ]a . . . [ . . . ]  
<sup>4</sup> T̄ Romulli . . . [ . . . ] o [ . . . ]  
<sup>5</sup> ] . . . . . eri[ . . . ]  
<sup>6</sup> . [ . . . ] mil II . . . [ . . . ] e mil [ . . . ]  
<sup>7</sup> . e . . . p[e]rsonis  
<sup>8</sup> ad pr]aet̄ praesidis mil I  
<sup>9</sup> ʒ] M[ari]ni pos Sabino II cos  
<sup>10</sup> ] Dionysius III Idus  
<sup>11</sup> Aug[u]sta[s d n]  
<sup>12</sup> [D]ecio Aug II et G[rato co]s  
<sup>13</sup> Marc . . . . . [ . . . ]  
 - - -

*fr. a col. I: 1* K[a]l Fink | Au[g edd. || 2 ] d rae . . . [ Gilliam: ]ad praetori[ . . . ]s (dubitanter an praetori[um praesidi]s) Fink: ]ad praetor[ium . . . ]s Marichal || 3 ]a [ . . . ] [ Gilliam Marichal: ]  
 · a Fink || 4 ] Roman[u]s [ . . . ] [ Gilliam: ]T̄u Romul[I]i [ . . . ] o [ Fink || 5 fortasse ʒ Valeri: ] . . . e [ Gilliam: ] . . . . . eri[ Fink: ] . . . . . eri[ Marichal || 6 ] mil(ites) II [ . . . ] e . . . [ Gilliam: ] [ . . . ] mil II [ . . . ] e mil [ Fink: ] [ . . . ] mil(ites) II [ . . . ] e mil [ Marichal || 7 fortasse dec[e]m vel ]dec[i]m: [ . . . ] [ . . . ] soni [ Gilliam: ] . . . . . soni Fink: ] . . . . . ]rsonis Marichal || 8 e (dubitanter an pr]aet̄(orium)) Gilliam: e (dubitanter an pr]aet̄(orium) vel off(icio)) Fink: off(icio) Marichal || 9 Marin]i Gilliam Marichal: M[arin]i Fink || 11 ] [ . . . ] [ Gilliam: Au[gu]sta[s Marichal || 12 [d(omino) n(ostro) D]eci[o] Gilliam: [D]eci[o] Fink: Deci[o] Marichal || 13 ] . . . c . . . [ Gilliam: ] . . . s i ci . . . [ Fink: Marci . . . [ Marichal

*fr. a col. I: '...1 August ...*  
*... to the headquarters...*  
*From Romullus' squadron ...*  
*...*  
*...two soldiers...*  
*... to the governor' headquarters, one soldier ...*  
*From Marinus the Younger's century, during the second consulship of Sabinus:*  
*... Dionysius, on 11*  
*August, during the second consulship of our lord*  
*Decius Augustus and the first of Gratus;*  
*Marcus ...'*

**2, 8** Some men are sent to the headquarters (*ad praetorium*) of an unspecified *praeses*, as in *P.Dura* 82 col. II ll. 7–8; and *P.Dura* 100 (just *ad praetorium*).

**6** *Mil(es)* or *mil(ites)*.

**9–10** *Pos(terioris)*. It is clear from this and other sections of the document (*fr. a col. I ll. 9–13; II ll. 5–18; fr. b col. I ll. 1–22; II ll. 17–26*) that a complex system of *eisthesis* is employed to accommodate the names of the soldiers and the related dating formulae right under the century's name. The scribe writes ʒ (*centuria*) + genitive and places a dating formula; then in the following line, the name of the soldier in *eisthesis*; then the beginning of another dating formula, which ends up in the following line, in further *eisthesis*. The entry is thus accommodated in three lines. It is not clear why one sees two dating formulae in these entries, instead of only one. The first formula might refer to the formation of the century itself and the second might be the date of enlistment of the soldier mentioned; otherwise, as Marichal notes, the first formula might represent the soldier's enlistment (as normally happens in lists), and the second formula might mark an event concerning the very same soldier, which is for us unfathomable.<sup>745</sup>

**10** For the above reasons, there was probably something before Dionysius, which is slightly to the right of where it should be; perhaps [*Ael*] or less likely, [*Aurel*].

<sup>745</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 57).

11 As customary, *d(omino) n(ostro)*.

*fr. a col. II*

|<sup>1</sup> ad l. [ ] mil. . . . [ ] . [ ]  
 |<sup>2</sup> epistulae tunc pr[ ]  
 |<sup>3</sup> -be[ ] esex anni em[ ] com-]  
 |<sup>4</sup> -pleuerunt mil X[ ]  
 |<sup>5</sup> ♀ Germani [ ] u [ ]  
 |<sup>6</sup> ] is[ ] . . . . [ ] . [ ] . . . [ ]  
 |<sup>7</sup> Aurel Maximus [ ]  
 |<sup>8</sup> ♀ Marini pr Sabino [II cos]  
 |<sup>9</sup> Aurel Malchus  
 |<sup>10</sup> ♀ Marini pos Sabin[o II cos]  
 |<sup>11</sup> Aurel Antoninus Kal I [ ]  
 |<sup>12</sup> Aemilliano II et Aq[uilino cos]  
 |<sup>13</sup> ♀ Achei Sabino II cos  
 |<sup>14</sup> Aurel [ ] . . . . [ ] . [ ] anus XIII Kal  
 |<sup>15</sup> Aug Aemilliano II et [Aquilino cos]  
 |<sup>16</sup> ♀ Germani Praesente et Alb[i]n[o cos]  
 |<sup>17</sup> [ ] . . . . ]idaocl bes[ ]  
 |<sup>18</sup> XII Kal Feb[r]

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*fr. a col. II: 1* ad . . . . . [ ] . . . . Gilliam: ad [ ] . m[i]l . . . . [ ] . . . [ Fink: ad . m[i]l . . . . [ ] . . . [ Marichal  
 || 2 . . . . . [ Gilliam: ac[ ] s[ ] ul . e tunc pr[ Fink: a s[ ] ul . e tunc [ Marichal || 2–3 fortasse  
 ha]be[r]es ex annis em[ uel ex ann(is) vel ann(o) item [ || 3 . [ ] . exauinite [ (in fine lineae dubitanter an  
 item) Gilliam: [ ] esex . . . si item[ Fink: [ ] esex . . . item[ (dubitanter an ]e sex asini item uel sex asinis  
 et ...) Marichal || 4 p . . . . . Gilliam: pl u tu . . . t Fink: [ ] pl . . . . . Marichal || 5 ♀] Fink Marichal  
 | fortasse I[ul]ius[ uel I[ul](ius)] Ius[ uel I[ ] bus[ Germani [ ] . [ Gilliam Marichal: Ger[m]an[i] [ ] . . . [ ]  
 Fink || 6 ] . [—8—] [ Gilliam: ]i [ ] [ ] . [ Fink: ] i [ ] . . . . . [ Marichal || 7 ] Aurelius Marichal |  
 Maxim . . [ edd. || 11 fortasse Ia[nuariis vel Iu[niis vel Iu[liis: I[ Gilliam Fink: Ia[nuariis Marichal || 14  
 fortasse [A]ntio[hi]anus: . . . . [ ] anus edd. | I[II] K[a]l Gilliam: II[I] K[a]l Fink: III Kal(endas) Marichal  
 || 16 Alb[ino Gilliam Marichal || 17 ] daocl . . . . . [ (dubitanter an Aure]l Daocle[i]des pro Diocleides)  
 Gilliam: ]idas cl b . . . . [ (dubitanter an Zeb]idas vel Au]idas) Fink: ]idaocl b . . . . [ Marichal

*fr. a col. II: ‘... to the...*

of the letter then ...

... six ...

? soldiers complied...

From Germanus’ century, ...

...

Aurelius Maximus

From the century of Marinus the Elder, during the second consulship of Sabinus.

Aurelius Malchus

From the century of Marinus the Elder, during the second consulship of Sabinus

Aurelius Antoninus, on ... first, during the second consulship

of Aemilianus and the first of Aquilinus

From Achaeus’ century, during the second consulship of Sabinus

Aurelius ... 19 July,

during the second consulship of Aemilianus and the first of Aquilinus

From the century of Germanus, during the consulship of Praesens and Albinus

...

January ...’

**1-4** The meaning of this section is unclear. A letter (or more than one?) is mentioned (*epistulae*), perhaps containing orders which were complied with by the soldiers: *com]pleuerunt mil(ites)*.

**8** *Pr(ioris)*.

*fr. b col. I*

1 M]ai d [n D]ecio  
 2 Aug II et Grato co]s  
 3 ] Id· August-  
 4 ]..  
 5 ] [. . . Atilio] Cosmino u c  
 6 ] mil I  
 7 d n] Decio  
 8 Aug II et Grato co]s  
 9 ] XVIII Kal  
 10 [Sept ]  
 11  
 12  
 13  
 14 ] Aug e[  
 15 ] . . . ini[ . ] [ . ] [ . ]  
 16 ] [ . ]  
 17 [9 M]arini pr Sabino II cos  
 18 Aurel Antoninus  
 19 ] dieura Pon[t]iano cos  
 20 ] Aurel Maximus XV Kal  
 21 Sep d n Decio Aug II  
 22 et Grato cos  
 23 mi]l I et in is qdp- ad hortis  
 24 ]pr mil I  
 25 ]s Peregrino cos  
 26 Si]luanus III N<sup>o</sup>  
 27 Sep d n Decio Aug II  
 28 e[t G]rato cos  
 29 ] [ . ] [ . ] ex qdp- ad opini-  
 30 -onem stip Kal Maiar·  
 31 mil [ . . . ] in is [o]r[d] I  
 32 . . . I II  
 33 reuersi sunt ex is qdp-

*fr. b col. I: 1* Decio *edd.* || **4** uidit Marichal || **5** initio lineae uestigium uidi | C[o]smino Marichal || **5-10** [probatus ab Atilio] Cosmino u(iro) c(larissimo) [co(n)s(ulare) n(ostro)] mil(es) I [(centuria) . . . , d(omino) n(ostro)] Decio [Aug(usto) II et Grato co(n)s(ulibus) [nomen militis] XVIII Kal(endas) [Sept(embres) co(n)s(ulibus) s(upra) s(cryptis) dubitanter Gilliam || **9** XIII Fink || **14** ]Aug Gilliam: ]Aug et[ Fink Marichal || **15** ] . . . ini[ . ] [ . ] Gilliam: ]ttini[ . . . [ Fink: ]ttini[ . . . [ Marichal || **16** uidit Marichal || **19** fortasse a]d rura: ] . . . ra (dubitanter an ]aieura vel ]aiora) Gilliam: ] . iera Fink | Pon[tia]no Gilliam Marichal || **20** [Ka]l *edd.* || **23** fortasse mi]l(ites) L: ] . e . n[ . ] q d p ad hor . s Gilliam: ] . et in [i]s Fink: ad hortis Marichal || **25** ] Gilliam Marichal: ] . . . Fink | . P]eregrino Gilliam || **28** [et G[rato *edd.* || **29** ] . . . q d p Gilliam: ] [ . ] ex q d p Fink: ] . . . ex Marichal || **30** [on]em Gilliam || **31** [ . . . ] [ . . . ] Gilliam: his [o]r[d] I[ Fink

*Marichal* || 32 *fortasse* dupl(icarii): ] ... II *Gilliam*: ..[.]...e] II *Fink*: ..[.]...1 II *Marichal* || 33 ]...e[.]...  
*Gilliam*: ]...e[.]...sis *Fink*: re[uer]si s(unt) *Marichal*

*fr. b col. I*: ‘... April/May ?, during the second consulship of our lord Decius  
 Augustus and the first of Gratus  
 ...the Ides of August...

...  
 ...the most distinguished man Attilius Cosminus...  
 ...one soldier...  
 ... during the second consulship of our lord Decius  
 Augustus and the first of Gratus, the Calends  
 of September...

...  
 From the century of Marinus the Elder, during the second consulship of Sabinus  
 Aurelius Antoninus  
 During the consulship of Pontianus (?)  
 Aurelius Maximus, 18 August,  
 during the second consulship of our lord Decius  
 Augustus and the first of Gratus  
 ...one soldier, including... to the gardens (?)  
 ... one soldier...  
 ... during the consulship of Peregrinus...  
 ... Silvanus, 3 September,  
 during the second consulship of our lord Decius  
 Augustus and the first of Gratus  
 ...including ... to the evaluation  
 of salaries of 1 May,  
 (?) soldiers... including 1 centurion, 2 ... from whom returned –’

1 *M]ai(is)* or *M]ai(as)*.

5 The *u(ir) c(larissimus)* Attilius Cosminus, governor of Coele Syria, also (and more extensively) appears in *P.Dura* 97, where he is styled as *consularis*, a former consul and governor of a province: see also Antonius Seleucus in *P.Dura* 64.

6, 17 The final *o*’s in words *Decio* and *Sabino* feature the same ornamental stroke seen in *P.Dura* 63 and 55.

19 One would be tempted to identify in *]dieura* the genitive of a centurion’s name; however, the sequence of letters does not match with any name attested in the cohort’s archives.

23 The abbreviation *qdp*, also appearing in *P.Dura* 82 col. II ll. 6–8, is still unclear: both *q(uondam) d(e)p(utati)* and *d(is)p(ositi)* have been proposed.<sup>746</sup>

26 *No(nas)* is oddly abbreviated: the *o* is written in smaller dimensions above the *n* and marked by an oblique stroke.

29–33 This section, which extends to the first lines of the following column (*fr. b col. II ll. 1–8*), is concerned with men sent *ad opinionem* and *ad rationem stipendii*. The syntagm *ad opinionem stipendii* also appeared in rosters (*P.Dura* 100, 101). Gilliam<sup>747</sup> – then, more diffusely and convincingly, Davies<sup>748</sup> – have argued that soldiers sent *ad opinionem stipendii* (according to the relevant papyri, normally a large party of infantry and cavalrymen) brought to some central bureau the estimates of the due payments for their unit and submitted them to authority for approval; then they brought back the exact amount of money (hence the horses and the infantry escort) and proceeded with the payment. After the payment, they would return with receipts and calculated percentages to the same authority, i.e. providing a *ratio stipendii*, for an audit. The *stipendia* mentioned most interestingly refer to two of the three months when Roman soldiers received their salary: *Kalendarum Maiarum* (*fr. b col. I l. 30*), *Septembrium* (*fr. b col. II l. 3*), and one can perhaps add *Ianuariatum* (*fr. b col. II l. 4*), thus establishing a chronological order.

<sup>746</sup> Gilliam (1950: 238; 244); Fink (1971: 184–5).

<sup>747</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 291–2).

<sup>748</sup> Davies (1969: 117–8).

fr. b col. II

|<sup>1</sup> ad opinionem peten mil III[  
 |<sup>2</sup> non secuti opinione mil III  
 |<sup>3</sup> R is qdp- ad rat' stip' Kal Sept mil IIII  
 |<sup>4</sup> R ex <h>is qdp- ad rat st[i]p Kalendarum I ..... mil II  
 |<sup>5</sup> in is [ ..... ]I, eq I  
 |<sup>6</sup> aeger remansit [ex i]s qdp ad rat  
 |<sup>7</sup> stip ..[ ..... ] ..[ ..... ] mil I  
 |<sup>8</sup> R ex is qdp- ante rat ..[ ..... ] l- [mi]l I[

|<sup>9</sup> XV Kal Octobr n· p· [[DCC]] [ ..... ]XV  
 |<sup>10</sup> XIII Kal Oct· n· p· mans[i]t  
 |<sup>11</sup> [X]I[I]I Kal Oct n· p· m[a]n[si]t  
 |<sup>12</sup> X[II Kal] Oct n· p· man[si]t  
 |<sup>13</sup> [XI Kal O]ct n p man[sit]  
 |<sup>14</sup> [X Kal O]ct n p man[sit]  
 |<sup>15</sup> [VII]II [Kal O]ct n p mans[it]  
 |<sup>16</sup> ]...[  
 |<sup>17</sup> [ . ] . . [ . ] . [ ..... ] or]d III[  
 |<sup>18</sup> s[ ..... ] eq VI[  
 |<sup>19</sup> bas[ ..... ] b . [  
 |<sup>20</sup> ..[ . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] . [  
 |<sup>21</sup> ♀ Barga ..... [  
 |<sup>22</sup> Aurel Gaianus  
 |<sup>23</sup> ♀ Marini pr Pa . [ . ] . [  
 |<sup>24</sup> Zabdas Barathe[  
 |<sup>25</sup> Octobr d n Dec[io]  
 |<sup>26</sup> Aug II et Grato cos  
 |<sup>27</sup> R ex is qdp- off proc mil III[  
 |<sup>28</sup> R ex [i]s qdp- cor . sio n[  
 |<sup>29</sup> R ex i[s q]dp- m . . . [  
 |<sup>30</sup> ]p . [  
 |<sup>31</sup> ] . [  
 |<sup>32</sup> ] . I[

- - -

fr. b col. II: 2 ..... (dubitanter an non) Gilliam: n[o]n Marichal || 3 r(euersi) Gilliam Marichal: ir Fink | <ex>  
 is dubitanter Gilliam || 4 fortasse Ianuar(iarum): st[ip(endii)] ..... Gilliam Marichal: st[ip] ..... e t Fink  
 || 7 stip [Kal ..... ] Gilliam: stip [ ..... ] . . [ ..... ] Fink: stip(endii) . . [ ..... ] . . [ ..... ] Marichal  
 || 8 fortasse ratio[nem uel rat(ionem)] . [ | ante ..... [ ..... ] [ ..... ] mi]l(ites) Gilliam: ante ad [ ..... ] [ ..... ] || II  
 Fink: rat(ionem) [ ..... ] [ ..... ] [ ..... ] [ ..... ] || Marichal || 9 DCC[ edd. || 10 XI[I]II edd. | man[si]t edd. || 11 K]al  
 Gilliam: [XI]I[I]I K]al Marichal | man[si]t Fink || 12 Ka]l Gilliam: X[II Ka]l Fink Marichal || 13 ] n· p·  
 Gilliam: mans[i]t Fink || 14 ] n p Gilliam | mans[it Fink || 15 ] n p Gilliam: V[II[II Kal O]ct Fink: V[IIII  
 Kal(endas) Oct(obres)] Marichal || 16 om. Gilliam: ] . [ ..... ] . [ ..... ] Fink: [ ..... ] . . Marichal ||  
 17 . [ Gilliam: . . . [ Fink Marichal | ] . Gilliam Marichal: ]m Fink || 18 ]q d p[ Gilliam: ]e q d p[ Fink || 19  
 b . [ Gilliam: bar[ Fink: ba [ Marichal || 20 . [ . ] . [ edd. || 21 Barg[a . . ] . [ Gilliam Marichal: Barg[a ]o[  
 Fink || 22 A[ure]l(ius) Gilliam | [G]aia[n]us Gilliam Marichal: [G]aianus Fink || 23 fortasse Pan[i]s[c-:  
 P . . . [ . ] . [ Gilliam: Pate[r]n[o] cos dubitanter Fink || 25 octobribus Marichal || 26 co[s] edd. || 28 cor . . . io [

*Gilliam*: corcosio m[il *Fink*: Corcosio [ *Marichal* || 29 R[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ *Gilliam Marichal*: r[r] ex  
i[s] [ ] [ ] [ *Fink* || 31 fortasse q]dp: ] [ *Gilliam* || 32 ] [ *Gilliam Marichal*: ]b[ *Fink*

*fr. b col. II*: ‘– to obtain an evaluation ... soldiers;

... soldiers did not follow the evaluation;

4 soldiers returned from those (?) (sent?) to account for the salaries of 1 September;

2 soldiers, including ... 12 cavalymen, returned (?) from those (?) (sent?) to account for the salaries of 1 January (?);

1 soldier from those (?) (sent?) to account for the salaries... (was) taken ill (and) remained

... soldiers returned from those (?) (sent?) before the account...

17 September: the total amount is...

18 September: the total amount is preserved.

19 September: the total amount is preserved.

20 September: the total amount is preserved.

21 September: the total amount is preserved.

22 September: the total amount is preserved.

23 September: the total amount is preserved.

...

... centurions...

... cavalymen...

From Bargas' century...

Aurelius Gaianus

From the century of Marinus the Elder ...

Zabdas son of Barathes, October ... during the second consulship of our lord Decius

Augustus and the first of Gratus.

... soldiers returned from those (?) (sent?) (from?) the office of the *procurator*;

... returned from those (?) (sent?) ...

... returned from those (?) (sent?) ...'

**1–5** *peten(dam), rat(ionem)*; this section completes what was begun at the end of the preceding column, noting those who did not go (*non secuti*) and those who returned (*reuerſi*). the word *reuerſi* ‘returned’ is abbreviated by a large *r* crossed by a horizontal or oblique stroke; in other instances (see below), two *r*’s are employed. In l. 3, the *R* is preceded by an unrecognizable sign, similar to *u*, almost floating above the horizontal stroke. L. 5 is written in smaller letters and was probably added in the interlinear space between ll. 4 and 6 after the main text was drawn up. The stipendia *Kal(endarum) Sept(embrium)* are clearly referred to. Notice the short oblique stroke, pointing upwards, employed to mark the abbreviation *rat(ionem) stip(endii)*; and the loss of final *m* in *opinione* (l. 2).

**9–15** This section lists the net number of men (*numerus purus*) for at least seven consecutive days. It is not clear why the clerks felt the need (or were ordered) to do so; it can hardly be connected with necessities of payment, as the salary for 1 September would have been already given. The rest of the document seems concerned with new enlistments in the centuries, perhaps the scribes had to signal that for seven days in September no new recruits had entered the cohort.

*fr. c*

---

|<sup>1</sup> I[  
|<sup>2</sup> ] . . diani

*fr. c: 1* ] [ *Gilliam Fink* || 2 ] . . . a . [ *Gilliam Fink*: ] diam *Marichal*

*fr. d*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ~~RR~~ is qdp officio [

|<sup>2</sup>        ]R is qdp [ . ] . [   
 - - -

*fr. d: 2* r(euersi) *Marichal* | q d p[ *edd.*

*fr. e*   
 - - -   
 |<sup>1</sup>        ] cos   
 - - -

*fr. f*   
 - - -   
 |<sup>1</sup>                                ] qd[p] . . . [   
 |<sup>2</sup>                                l]eg IIII Scy[thic-   
 |<sup>3</sup>        ad - - - stip]en Bassum . [   
 |<sup>4</sup>                                ] . . . ex i[s

*fr. f: 3* fortasse ad stip]en(dium) Bassum *uel* ad opinionem *uel* rationem stip]en(dii) Bassum: ] n . . ssum[   
*edd. || 4* ] . . . [ *edd.*

*fr. g*   
 - - -   
 |<sup>1</sup>        ] . . . [   
 |<sup>2</sup>        q]dp a[d   
 |<sup>3</sup>        ] . ant[onin-   
 |<sup>4</sup>        ] . [   
 - - -

*fr. g: 2* ]p . [ *Gilliam Fink:* ]p . [ *Marichal || 3* ] . an . [ *edd. || 4* *uidi*

*fr. h*   
 - - -   
 |<sup>1</sup>        ] Aemil[   
 |<sup>2</sup>        ] . ar . . [   
 - - -

*fr. h: 1* ]em . [ *Gilliam Fink:* ]emil[ *Marichal || 2* ] . . . [ *edd.*

*fr. i*   
 - - -   
 |<sup>1</sup>        Aure]l Diogē[n]ē[s   
 |<sup>2</sup>                                ]        Aes[on   
 - - -

*fr. i: omm.* *Gilliam Fink || 1* ] . diog . . [ *Marichal || 2* ] . es[ *Marichal*



$fr. j$   
 - - -  
 $\begin{array}{l} |^1 \\ |^2 \end{array}$ 
 $\begin{array}{l} ] \text{ Barn[ae-} \\ ] \text{ An[tonin} \end{array}$   
 - - -

*fr. j: non uidi: omm. Gilliam Fink || 2 ], n[ Marichal*

Gilliam (1950); J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 340–4 no. 83); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 352 (1975). TM 44829

Fr. (papyrus roll): 26.7x69 cm

This document was written on the *verso* of *P.Dura* 82. As with the latter papyrus, it is the result of the merger between three fragments, and consists in a large sheet from a potentially very long roll. All margins are preserved, so that one complete column is probably to be seen here. While the left portion is ridden by holes and lacks many parts of the sheet, the right part is almost completely preserved and clearly legible. As remarked in 2.5.2., the typology of this papyrus has no official name or recognition among ancient sources on the Roman army; its content is nevertheless quite clear. It contains a list of entries, each featuring the name of a cavalryman of the cohort, and information on the horse, or mare, he used to mount; or, if this was the case, a note explaining that the horse is lost. While personal names are not further specified (neither the soldier's century, nor his *turma* or any sort of rank are noted), data on the horse are given in detail: horses employed in Roman army received no name and were permanently assigned to individual soldiers, so that a particularly precise description was required for identification.<sup>749</sup> The reasons for drawing up such a document have been widely discussed. It probably served multiple purposes, including: bookkeeping within the cohort, so that information was ready for any officer who wished for them; taking account of the number of cavalrymen and the state of their mounts; and reporting to the provincial administration, so that losses could be quickly remedied.<sup>750</sup>

The dating, for internal reasons, can be calculated as AD 251, after August (cf. l. 22, referring to 31 August); Trebonianus Gallus is now Emperor and Decius and his son have only recently lost life and power in the defeat at Abritus. One ought to remark that two consular couples – Philip the Arab and his son of the same name, 249; Decius and his son Herennius Etruscus, 251 – and one consul – Philip the Arab in consulship with Titianus, 245 – are replaced by their numbers (ll. 13; 23 *III et II cos*; ll. 3; 8; 15; 16; 21 *II et I cos*) or not mentioned at all (ll. 9; 20; 22 *Tittiano cos*) because of a *damnatio memoriae* they probably endured under Gallus.<sup>751</sup>

The layout of the column is remarkable inasmuch as it was clearly planned before the columns were drawn up. The figures have most likely been written before the entries in the right edge of the intended writing frame and aligned into a straight line; when the scribe realizes his line is too long, he writes narrower and smaller letters and then is forced to conclude the entry in the next line (cf. ll. 7–8); when the soldier happened to lose the horse and the figure was no longer necessary, it has been cancelled (l. 12); eventually, at l. 1 the entry had to be modified as the soldier lost the horse, and the scribe has erased the whole line. Horizontal lines at ll. 15–17 have been employed to emphasize figures (same lines can be found in *P.Dura* 100, 101 and 104, but to mark names).

<sup>749</sup> See Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 298).

<sup>750</sup> See Gilliam (1950: 195–6); Fink (1971: 341).

<sup>751</sup> Cf. Gilliam 1952; 1956.

- <sup>1</sup> [O]gelus Malchi [eq quadrimum] er[ ±18  
 ±22 ]us albis [n f] n' f a' d prob a tunc preff XIII Kal Nouembr Pres et Albino  
 cos \* CXXV]
- <sup>2</sup> [M]alchus Gora amisit eq I[ . . . ] [
- <sup>3</sup> [Aur]el Alex[a]nd[ . . . ] e[q a]equatum [ . . . ] [ ±22 ] prob ab Attilio Cosmino tunc cos XVII Kal April III et I cos \* CXXV
- <sup>4</sup> [ . . . ] ±20 [ . . . ] ±20 [ . . . ] bimum nigrum n f a' d prob a tunc preff IIII Kal Ianuarias Tittiano cos \* CXXV
- <sup>5</sup> [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] amis[it eq
- <sup>6</sup> [ . . . ] ci [ . . . ] us Ant[on]ini amisit [eq
- <sup>7</sup> [ . . . ] b[ . . . ] A]bedsal[m]e eq cuma . . . [ ±22 ] prorostratum pedibus posterioribus albis sine n prob ab Atilio Cosmino tun(c) cos
- <sup>8</sup> XVII K[a]l April III et I cos \* CXXV
- <sup>9</sup> [ . . . ] rnabus [ . . . ] eq e [ . . . ] aru [ ±20 ] murinum n f d' et a' s' prob a tunc preff IIII Kal Ianuarias Tittiano cos \* CXXV
- <sup>10</sup> [ . . . ] [ . . . ] pio a usa eq e e p [ . . . ] ari[ ±21 ] prob a tunc preff die et cos ss ————— \* CXXV
- <sup>11</sup> [ . . . ] us Uhabalathi eq [ . . . ] [ ±19 ] probatum a tunc preff IIII Idus Septembr Aemil II et Aql cos \* CXXV
- <sup>12</sup> Aurel Bars[ . . . ] [ . . . ] s amisit eq [ ±22 ] ————— [denariis C . . . ]
- <sup>13</sup> Au[rel] B[a]sileus eq qu[adrimu]m [ ±20 ] pedibus posterioribus s n prob ab Atilio Cosmino tunc cos XI K[a]l Febr II[I] et I (c)os \* CXXV
- <sup>14</sup> A[urel] Abumarius . . . [ . . . ] [ ±22 ] russeobadium n a' d' aestimatum a Pompo[nio] Letiano u e proc Augg nn Idib April
- <sup>15</sup> III et I cos < / > \* XXXXV e quaesur \* LV
- <sup>16</sup> A[u]rel Manbogeus eq qu[a]drim[um] ±12 [ . . . ] [ . . . . . ] a Pomponio Letiano u e proc Augg nn a . . . [ . . . ] Idus Maias III et I cos  
 < / > \* CXXV
- <sup>17</sup> Item sal[
- <sup>18</sup> Barhathes Maesum eq aequ[atam] [ . . . . . ] [ . . . ] calidam s n prob a tunc preff X Kal Octobr Aemil II et [A]ql cos
- <sup>19</sup> A[u]rel Theodorus
- <sup>20</sup> Gri os G thi eq quadr[im]am bad[i]o[ . . . ] nam pedib[u]s prioris inalbis s n' signata(m) a Licinnio Pacatiano tunc duc IIII Idus Aug Tittiano cos
- <sup>21</sup> Ian [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] eq prid[i]e Kal Septembr I[I]I et I cos
- <sup>22</sup> Ba [ . . . ] e]q aequatam russeosordidam n[ . . . ] s signata(m) a Licinnio Pacatiano tunc duc III Idus [Au]g Tittiano [cos]
- <sup>23</sup> [B . . . ] ebr[ ±13 ] eq aeq[u]a[tu]m cerineum gla[ . . . . . ] n f s' probatum ab Ulpio Tertio tunc duce XV[ . . . . . ]ias III et II cos

1 [ . ] lus Gilliam | e [ Gilliam: te [ Fink: cer[ Marichal | [ f ] Gilliam<sup>1</sup> || 2 goras Fink | ami[si]t Gilliam  
| fortasse I[III] I[dus uel similia: [ Gilliam<sup>1</sup> | ] [ recognoui || 3 Alex[a]nd[er] cum Fink potius quam  
Alex[a]nd[er] cum Gilliam: Alex[and . . . Marichal | eq(uum) in lacuna Marichal | a]equatu[m . . . ] [ .  
Gilliam: a]equatu[m [ Fink: a]equatu[m Marichal || 4 [±25] [±25] bimum Gilliam: [±22] [±25] [ . ] eat  
bimum Fink: [±47] . . . bimum Marichal || 5 [ . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . ] amis[it eq Gilliam, sed  
[ . . . ] initio lineae Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . . . ] [ . . . ] amis[it eq Fink: [ . . . ] [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ]  
[a]mis[it eq(uum) Marichal || 6 fortasse Mucianus: . . . im[ . ] us Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: [ . ] im[ . ] us Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: m[o]cimus  
Fink: [ . ] ci [ . ] us Marichal | An[ton]ini edd. || 7 [ . ] b . s I[ . ] e Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: [ . . . ] [ . A]bedsal[m]e  
Gilliam<sup>2</sup> Marichal: [ . ] e i[ . ] a]bedsalme Fink | cum . . . [ Gilliam: comma[genum dubitanter Fink: cum . . . ]  
Marichal | prorus i a um Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: prorsaratum Fink || 8 Kal Marichal || 9 fortasse [Aurel] uel potius [Iul  
Ba]rnabus I[a]r[cha]ei: [ . . . ]rnab[ . ] [ . ] Gilliam, sed initio lineae [ . . . . . ] Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: [ . . . ]rnab[u]s  
[o]ga Fink: [ . . . . . ]rnab[ . ]s . . . Marichal | e [ . ] [ . ] ar [ Gilliam: ar [ . ] [ Fink: e . . . . . Marichal  
|| 10 [ . . . ] o . . . usa Gilliam Fink, sed initio lineae [ . . . . . ] Fink: [ . ] [ . . . ] o a us a Marichal  
[ . ] [ . . . ] [ Gilliam: e e [ . ] [ . . . ] [ Fink: . . . . . ] [ . . . ] [ Marichal | e[t c]os s[s] Gilliam: et cos  
ss Fink: e[t cos(ule) ] s(upra)s(criptis) Marichal || 11 fortasse C[occ]ejus: [ . . . ] us Gilliam: [ . ] us  
Fink | eq[ . . . . . ] Gilliam: e[q(uum)] [ . . . ] [ Marichal || 12 fortasse Bars[i]m[siu]s vel Bars[u]m[iu]s:  
A[u]rel Bars[ . . . . . ]s Gilliam Marichal: A[u]rel Bars[ . . . . . ]s Fink | eq[ . ] [ Gilliam: eq [e]x[ Fink | co]s  
edd. | [X . . . ] Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: [X . . . X] Gilliam<sup>2</sup> Fink: [denarii . . . X . . . ] Marichal || 13 [ . . . . . ] le . . .  
Gilliam: . . . [ . . . ]h l[eu]s Fink: . . . [ . . . ] l . . . Marichal | eq[ . ] q[ . . . . . ] [ Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: eq q[ Gilliam<sup>2</sup>:  
eq quad[rimum] Fink: eq(uum) qua[drimum] Marichal | [c]os edd. | Ka[l] Gilliam: Kal Fink Marichal || 14  
A[ . . . . . ] bu [ . ] ius [ . . . . . ] [ Gilliam: a[ . . . . . ] abumarius . . . . . [ Fink Marichal | ] russeobadium  
Gilliam Fink | P[o]mpo[nio] Marichal | I[d]ibus edd. || 15 fortasse e[t]x quaes(tur)a uel quaes(tur)is:  
et quaesur Gilliam: et e quaesur Fink Marichal || 16 A[ur]el edd. | Mambogeus [eq] Gilliam Fink |  
qu[ad]rim[um] Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: qu[ad]rim[ . m Gilliam<sup>2</sup> | . . . ]pridi]e Fink: . . . . . Marichal | [I]dus edd. || 17  
sal[ariarii] ualde dubitanter Gilliam<sup>1</sup> Mea (2012: 209–13): Sal[ nomen loci cuiusdam uel sal[vi Gilliam<sup>2</sup>:  
turma Sal[ui]ani dubitanter Marichal || 18 aequ[atam . . . . . ] [ . . . ] alidam Gilliam: aequ[atam  
±10] . . . alidam Fink: aequ[atam . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] calidam Marichal | XI edd. | Aqu(i)(lino) Marichal ||  
20 [ . ] s [ . ] [ . ] thi Gilliam: [ . ] e s adalathi Fink: [ . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . ] [ . ] thi Marichal |  
quad[ri]mam Gilliam Fink: quad[ri]ma[m] Marichal | ba [ . ] [ . . . ]nam Gilliam: badio . . . nam Fink | L[i]cinnio  
Gilliam: L[ic]innio Fink Marichal || 21 a . . . [±11] [ . ] eq [ex] Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: a . . . [±7 amis]t eq Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: Ian[±5  
amisi]t eq[ . . . ] Fink: Ian[ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . ] Marichal | pridie Gilliam Fink | Se[p]tembr Gilliam  
Fink || 22 fortasse Barn[aeus: Ba . . . [±14]q[ . . . ] Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: Ba . . . [±13 e]q Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: Ba a[±12 e]q Fink |  
aequata[m] Gilliam<sup>1</sup> | fortasse n(ota) [f(emore)] uel [a(rmo)]: n[ . . . ]s Gilliam Fink | Idu[s Au]g Gilliam:  
Idu[s Aug(ustas)] Marichal | cos Gilliam Marichal: <cos Fink || 23 fortasse [Bar]: . . . e [±14] Gilliam:  
[b . e]e [±10] . . . Fink: [B . . . ]eb [±12] Marichal | erin[ . . . ]m Gilliam: cerin[ . . . ]m Fink | gla[ucum . . . ]f  
s Gilliam<sup>1</sup>: gla[ucum n . . . ]f s Gilliam<sup>2</sup>: gla[ . . . . . ]n f s Fink: gla[ . . . . . ]n(ota) Marichal | XV K[al  
M]aias Fink

‘Ogelus, son of Malchus, lost his horse the day before... during the consulship of ... (erased: a horse, four years old ... white, brands on the right thigh and arm (erased: brands on the thigh), approved by those who were then prefects, 20 October under the consulship of Praesens and Albinus: 125 denarii).

Malchus son of Goras lost his horse on...

Aurelius ... a horse, aequatus ... approved by Atilius Cosminus, who then was former consul, 16 March, during the third consulship of Decius and the first of Herennius Etruscus: 125 denarii.

...two years old, black, brands on his right thigh and arm, approved by those who then were prefects, 29 December during the consulship of Titianus: 125 denarii.

...lost his horse...

...of Antoninus, lost his horse...

... Abdesalmes: a horse ... with protruding muzzle, white hind feet, without brand, approved by Atilius Cosminus who then was former consul, 16 March during the third consulship of Decius and the first of Herennius Etruscus: 125 denarii.

... a horse... mousy-coloured, with brands on his right thigh and left arm, approved by those who then were prefects, 29 January during the consulship of Titianus: 125 denarii.

... horse... approved by those were then prefects, in the same day and under the same consulship as noted above: 125 denarii.

... of Uabalathus: a horse... approved by those who then were prefects, 10 September during the second consulship of Aemilianus and the first of Aquilinus: 125 *denarii*.

Aurelius ... lost his horse... (*erased*: 125 *denarii*).

Aurelius Basileus: a horse, four years old... in his hind feet, without brand, approved by Atilius Cosminus, who was then former consul, 22 January during the third consulship of Decius and the first of Herennius Etruscus: 125 *denarii*.

Aurelius Abumarius ... *russeobadium*, with a brand on the right arm, appraised by the notable man Pomponius Letianus, procurator of our Augusti, 5 April during the third consulship of Decius and the first of Herennius Etruscus: 45 *denarii*, and from the *quaestura* (?) 55 *denarii*.

Aurelius Manbogeus. A horse, four years old ... by the notable man Pomponius Letianus, procurator of our Augusti ... the Ides of May under the third consulship of Decius and the first of Herennius Etruscus: 125 *denarii*.

Also ...

Barhathes, son of Maesum. A mare, *aequata* ... hot-tempered (?), without brand, approved by those who then were prefects, 23 September on the second consulship of Aemilianus and the first of Aquilinus.

Aurelius Theodorus.

... a mare, four years old ... whitish fore feet, without brand, sealed by Licinius Pacatianus who was then *dux*, on 10 August under the consulship of Titianus.

... (lost) his horse on 31 August under the third consulship of Decius and the first of Herennius Etruscus.

... a mare, *aequata*, *russeosordida*, with a brand on her left ... sealed by Licinius Pacatianus who was then *dux*, 11 August during the consulship of Titianus.

... a horse, *aequatus*, wax-coloured ... with a brand on his left thigh, approved by Ulpius Tertius who was then *dux* ... during the third consulship of Decius and the first of Herennius Etruscus'.

1 The first and most widespread kind of entry (to be also seen in ll. 3; 4; 7; 8; 9; 10; 11; 13; 14–5; 16; 18; 20–1; 22; 23) provides information on the age and physical appearance of the horse; the name and rank of the officer who had approved, or marked it; a dating formula for the approval, and the price of the animal (as in *P.Dura* 56, 125 *denarii*), perhaps to be withheld from the soldier's salary. The entries were probably quickly outdated, as they were copied by official letters attached to the horses when they entered the cohort.<sup>752</sup> In this particular entry, Ogelus son of Malchus has lost (*amisit*) his horse after the line was written, so the scribe has erased it with along horizontal stroke, and replaced it by drawing another annotation above the cancelled one. (The notation *nf* had been previously cancelled through dilution of the ink.) Some of the words used to describe the mount have been already seen in *P.Dura* 56: here, *quadrimus* 'four years old'. Abbreviations are erratically marked with medial dots, positioned after or slightly above the letter: *n · f a · d* is for *n(ota) f(emore) a(rmo) d(extro)* 'with a brand on his thigh and right forelimb';<sup>753</sup> other abbreviations in the line are *eq(uum)* – later in the document there will be *eq(uam)* – and *Pres(ente)*. The procedure of assessment of the horse referred to here is the *probatio* – through the participle *prob(atum)*,<sup>754</sup> here and in ll. 3; 4; 7–8; 9; 10; 11; 13; 19; 22 – which we already knew from *probatoriae equorum* (*P.Dura* 56; 59) and *tironum* (*P.Dura* 89, col. I l. 15); the assessors are unnamed *preff* = *praefecti* (here and in ll. 4; 9; 10; 11; 18). These have been identified by Gilliam as the *praefecti praetorio*, the only ones able to supervise the transfer of horses from other provinces.<sup>755</sup>

2 As in the preceding line (and further to be seen in ll. 5; 6; 12; 21), this is the typology of entry for those who lost their mount. It seems shorter than the others, and it probably gave not much detail on when, where and how the loss took place. Although the reasons for the loss can be many (illness, old age), scholars have suspected a period of turmoil in Syria, either because of the Persian ongoing threat or internal disorders, which would have kept the cohort busy in combat and caused the death of many mounts.<sup>756</sup>

<sup>752</sup> Davies (1969: 436–8).

<sup>753</sup> Marichal (see *ChLA* VII *ad loc.*) seems to think that at l. 1 *n(ota)* is erased and replaced by a double *n* (*nn*), meaning *n(otae)*; however, only one *n* is visible in both places.

<sup>754</sup> Medial dots always mark *prob(atum)* and *prob(atam)*; instead, the formulae *nfad*, *nfas* and *sn* overall in the manuscript tend to have small dots above their letters.

<sup>755</sup> Gilliam (1952: 229–30).

<sup>756</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 298).

3 The horse is *aequatus*, a *hapax legomenon*. The official performing the approval is a *uir consularis*, i.e. the then (*tunc*) governor of Syria (Attilius Cosminus, also in ll. 7; 13). Whereas the *praefecti* had horses transferred from other provinces, the *consularis* would have provided horses from other districts within the province.

4 The horse is *bimus* ‘two years old’.

7–8 The horse is described as *pedibus posterioribus albis* ‘with white hindfeet’, *prorostratus* – a *hapax legomenon* of uncertain meaning – and *sine n(ota)* ‘without brands’. Here the scribe probably realized he had run out of space and resumed his writing below the line.

9 The horse is described as *murinus* ‘mouse-coloured’ and *n(ota) f(emore) d(extro) et a(rmo) s(inistro)* ‘with a mark on his right thigh and left arm’. Personal names of the consuls and Roman officials tend to have their consonants redoubled: not just *Tittiano* (here and in ll. 20; 22), but also *Licinnio* (ll. 20; 22).

10 Note the abbreviation *die et co(n)s(ulibus) s(upra)s(criptis)*.

11 *Aemil(iano) II et Aquil(ino)*. As in l. 1, the scribe also abbreviates the personal names of the consuls when he sees fit. In drawing the name of Aquilinus, an orthographical slip might have occurred.

12 As in l. 1, the scribe has erased the original notation with the price at the end of the line, and replaced it with the *amisit*-type entry. The notation, most likely *CXXV*, has been erased by dilution and almost nothing is now discernible but – perhaps – the last stroke of *u*.

14–15 The horse is described as *russeobadius*, a *hapax* of uncertain meaning. A *u(ir) e(gregius)* and *proc(urator) Augustorum nostrorum* (*Augg nn*) – all inflected in the ablative case – Pomponius Laetianus (see also the following line, l. 16),<sup>757</sup> is mentioned as performing not a *probatio*, but an *aestimatio* ‘assessment’, which does not occur elsewhere, and is probably connected with the fact that the horse *aestimatus* by a *procurator* appears to be less expensive than the others: 45 *denarii*, plus 55 to be provided (or refunded) by, perhaps, a *quaestura* (*numeratorum*? cf. *P.Dura* 60, the commentary *ad loc.*, and Davies 1969: 436–42).

17 Entries after this short and enigmatic heading do not feature any price; while Marichal believed this to mean that the mentioned soldiers were veterans who were serving in the cohort after their *honesta missio* – and no longer had an official salary<sup>758</sup> – Mea once again picked up Gilliam’s discarded hypothesis (*item sa[lariarii]*) and believes all soldiers after l. 17 to be *salararii*, professional warriors in possession of a personal horse and hired by the cohort to assist regular soldiers.<sup>759</sup>

18 The adjective *calida* might mean ‘hot-headed’?

19 Oddly, in this line only a name is noted. Perhaps the scribe lacked information on the mount of this particular soldier, and the document was discarded before this data could come to him.

20 In the syntagm *pedibus prioribus inalbis*, *inalbus* probably stands for *subalbus* ‘whitish’.<sup>760</sup> The action performed here is the *signatio* (also in l. 22), which would be the second stage of enlistment, when a horse would be enlisted in the cohort after four months of training.<sup>761</sup> Notably, in both cases the action is performed by a *dux* (*a ... tunc duc(e)* ‘by him who was then *dux*’), the already seen – in *P.Dura* 128 – Licinius Pacatianus. That either this *dux* or Ulpus Tertius in l. 23 – or both? – are to be identified with a *dux ripae* attested in contemporary inscriptions (δοῦξ ῥεῖτης<sup>762</sup>) and in charge of the frontier garrison on behalf of the governor, is far from being satisfactorily argued. It may be, however, that these *duces* would have supplied mounts from the immediate vicinity, this being the main difference between them and *praefecti* and *consulares*.

22 The adjective *russeosordidus* is of uncertain meaning: maybe ‘reddish’?

23 The horse is described as *cerineus* ‘wax-coloured’ (?). The *dux* is here Ulpus Tertius; notably, he performs a regular *probatio*, instead of a *signatio* or an *aestimatio*. This may

<sup>757</sup> On Pomponius Laetianus, see Merola (2012: 35–7).

<sup>758</sup> See *ChLA* (VII: 64).

<sup>759</sup> See Gilliam (1950: 196 n. 107); Mea (2012: 212–3).

<sup>760</sup> See Gilliam (1950: 208).

<sup>761</sup> See Davies (1969: 436–42).

<sup>762</sup> Cf. Gilliam (1941: 154–5; 171).

reveal that the division between the three different procedures was not as well respected when it came to the ranks who could perform them.

**P.Dura 105** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 34 verso)

AD 251–6 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 83–7 no. 4); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 360 (1977). TM 44837

Fr. (papyrus roll): *a* (13x13.5 cm); *b* (25x15.5 cm); *d* (3x4 cm); *f* (2.5x2.5 cm); *g* (2.6x1.6 cm); *j* (4x2 cm); *k* (4.5x4 cm); *l* (4x5 cm); *m* (8.5x4 cm)

Written on the verso of *P.Dura* 95, therefore after AD 251 and before the final siege,<sup>763</sup> the papyrus consists of two larger fragments (*a*, *b*) and eleven smaller scraps (*c* to *m*); *c*, *e*, *h*, *i* are blank; *g* bears some uncertain traces. The surface of the fragments is light-brownish in colour and ridden with holes and damage to the fibre, which has been torn and ripped apart. Fr. *b* provides traces of two columns, which one can estimate to be 10–12 cm wide, and to contain 25/26 lines. In the same fragment, one can also spot portions of the upper (1.7 cm), the lower margin (0.8 cm), and the intercolumnium (3 cm). Only the presence of a continuous document on the *recto* suggests that fr. *a*, which differs in hand and layout from all the other fragments, belongs to this document.<sup>764</sup>

The papyrus preserves a small portion of what once had probably been a long roster. Fr. *a*, the most damaged of the two fragments, contains a list of hardly readable names, each marked with symbols and/or black dots, and occasionally, rank annotations (e.g. *duplicarius*). Customary horizontal and angular lines are present. Fr. *b*, better preserved and probably written by another hand, bears all the expected features of a roster, such as the indication of the century, the year of enlistment, rank annotations and full names of the soldiers. The horizontal lines before names are common; the angular ones are not attested. Unfortunately, only very few traces of the centurions and decurions then serving in the cohort are to be seen in these fragments. The presence of Romullus, who, together with Aurelius Germanus, is one of the longest serving high ranks in the cohort (AD 236 c. to at least 251, and perhaps later), is confirmed in fr. *a* col. I l. 6. Too little is preserved from fr. *b* col. I ll. 1–2 to recover the centurion's name.

fr. *a*

|               | col. I                     | col. II          |
|---------------|----------------------------|------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | ---                        | ]m[              |
| <sup>2</sup>  | ].[                        | ] ic[            |
| <sup>3</sup>  | ]-----[                    | ] . sas          |
| <sup>4</sup>  | ]-----[                    | ]Aziz[.]         |
| <sup>5</sup>  | ]— R                       | Illis . . . [.]s |
| <sup>6</sup>  | ] singul dec ● I           | Romull[u]s       |
| <sup>7</sup>  | ]                  I       | si[              |
| <sup>8</sup>  | ad pr]aetor dupl [ . . . ] | ]-----[          |
| <sup>9</sup>  | ]                  ].      | [ . . . ] . [    |
| <sup>10</sup> | ]                  dupl[   |                  |
| <sup>11</sup> | ]                  /       | ] . [            |
| <sup>12</sup> | ]                  d]upl[  | ]cellus          |
| <sup>13</sup> | ]                  ]. [    | ]i us            |
|               | ---                        |                  |

fr. *a* col. I: 1 ] . [ Gilliam Marichal || 2 . [ . . . ] . c [ (dubitanter an M)oci[mus) Gilliam || 3 fortasse ] Absas uel Them]arsas: ] . . . as Gilliam || 4 Azizu[s] uel Azizi dubitanter Gilliam: Aziz . [ Fink || 5 Ru . . . [ . . . ]s (dubitanter an Rufin[ianu]s) Gilliam: r ILLI . . . [ . . . ]s Fink: R ILLI . . . [ . . . ]s

<sup>763</sup> See Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 373).

<sup>764</sup> See *ChLA* (IX: 30–1).





fr. b col. I: **2** ——— [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] [ Gilliam: ——— ȝ Aur[el] . . . ]us[ Fink: ———  
(centurio) Au[rel Marichal || **3** [ . . . ] cos Gilliam || **4** Au[rel Gilliam Marichal: Au[r]e[ ] Fink || **6** fortasse  
[sesq]: [ . . . ] Gilliam Marichal: [chaf au] Fink | Luci[us] edd. || **9** ] n . uoc (uel ) n[ro] in commentario)  
Gilliam: ] nsapunc Fink Marichal || **10** . . . epulis Gilliam: ] . . l epulis Fink Marichal || **11** Aurel Gilliam  
Marichal | Iadda[us Gilliam: Iaddae[ Fink: Iadda[ Marichal || **12** dubitanter an Iarh[aboles Gilliam || **14**  
Albin[o edd. || **15** fortasse Ulp[i]us; Au[rel] . . ] s Gilliam: Au[rel] . . us Fink Marichal || **16** [Modest]o  
II Gilliam: m[o]des Fink: [Mo]des Marichal || **17** . . o[ ] . . [ ]s Gilliam: ] [ ]lo[ ] . . [ ]lus Fink:  
] . lo[ ] . . [ ]lus Marichal || **20** A]urel edd. || **23** Aur[el] . . u s Gilliam: aurel [b]abuius Fink: Aur[el] . . ius  
Marichal || **24** Au[r]el Gilliam Marichal || **25** ]l Fink | [ . . ] . e . l s Gilliam: ]gen . l us Fink: ]ge . . . s  
Marichal

*fr. b col. II: 15* [ Gilliam || **16** *hic nomen consulis suspicatus est Fink* || **17** si]ng[ . ] . [ Gilliam: si]ng[ul] . [ Fink: si]ng[ . ] Au[rel Marichal || **18** [ . s]ingul *edd.* || **20** *fortasse* [ex of]f(icio): of]f *edd.* || **21** . . . [ *(dubitanter an Lupo ) Gilliam: L[u]p[o Marichal || 22* Ie . [ Gilliam || **23** *fortasse* Bars[emias *potius quam* Barc[halba || 25 [ Gilliam || **26** Aurel Gilliam Marichal |*fortasse* Seren[us: Germ[anus Gilliam Fink: Ser . [ Marichal

*fr. b col. I:* ‘The century of ...  
Aurelius ..., centurion  
Under the second consulship of Sabinus:  
Aurelius Castor (*singularis, duplicarius*)  
Under the second consulship of the lord Alexander:  
Lucius Iulianus (*sesquiplicarius*)  
Under the second consulship of Fuscus:  
Aurelius Domitianus (*singularis*)  
Iulius Apollinaris  
Under the second consulship of the lord Alexander:  
Aurelius ...  
Aurelius ...  
Aurelius ...  
Under the consulship of Albinus:  
Aurelius ...  
Under the consulship of Modestus:  
...  
Under the third consulship of the lord Alexander:  
Aurelius Antoninus  
Aurelius Asclepiades  
Aurelius Valens  
Under the consulship of Agricola:  
Aurelius Babius  
Aurelius Silvanus  
... (*singularis*)’.

*Jr. b col. II: 'Aurelius ... (singularis)*  
*Aurelius ... (singularis)*  
*Aurelius ... (singularis)*  
*Aurelius ... (to the office of the procurator)*  
 Under the consulship of Lupus:  
*Aurelius ...*  
*Aurelius ... (singularis)*  
*Aurelius ...*  
*Marinus ...*  
*Aurelius ...'*

**I 5** Usually explained as *d(omino) Alex(andro)*. But Severus Alexander died 15 years before the document was drawn up, and subsequently deified.<sup>766</sup> Perhaps *d(iuo)*?

**9** The marginal annotations, drawn above and below the horizontal line referring to *Iul(ius) Apollinarius*, are not yet entirely clear; however, the name *epulae* ‘banquets’ is certainly attested, and the annotation has been interpreted by Davies as referring to special allowances to the cohort’s cavalymen for actual banquets, corresponding to the *saturnalicium kastrense* for legionaries.<sup>767</sup>

**16** *Modes(to)*.

**24** First instance of the repeated omission of *l* in *Aurel*, also to be seen fr. *b* col. II l. 26; fr. *k* l. 3; fr. *m* l. 3.

**II 17–20** The lacunae have been considered shorter than previous editors had shown, as the right portion of the fragment, a tall triangular shape, was evidently closer to the main body of fr. *b* in the original document, and has drifted away since the lacuna was first formed.

**26** The last name after *Aurelius* might be *Seren[us]*, not attested in Dura, but a feasible name for a Roman soldier.

fr. *d*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ] Pupp[.] [  
|<sup>2</sup> ] A[u]rel . . . . as . [  
---

fr. *d*: **1** ] Pupp[.] (dubitanter an Pupp[ieno cos) Marichal: ] upp[.] [ Gilliam Fink || **2** ] . . . . [ Gilliam

fr. *f*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ]——[  
|<sup>2</sup> ]————[  
|<sup>3</sup> ] off proc [  
---

fr. *j*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ]fpoc Aure[  
|<sup>2</sup> sin]gul Aure[  
|<sup>3</sup> ] [   
|<sup>4</sup> ] ————— h[  
|<sup>5</sup> ]c[  
---

fr. *j*: **1** ]fpoc[ (]f p<ro>c id est of]f proc dubitanter) Fink Marichal: ]fp . c[ Gilliam: || **3** . [ Gilliam || **4** ] . [ Gilliam Marichal | post hanc aliam lineam (o]pinio . . [ ] uiderunt Fink Marichal in frustulo huic fragmento collato, quod reperire non potui: om. Gilliam || **5** omm. edd.

When editors Fink and Marichal studied fr. *j*, it was augmented with a small scrap, on which the word *opinio* was written, and which is no longer present in the glass frame.

fr. *k*

<sup>766</sup> See, *RE* II.2 Stuttgart 1896, coll. 2527–8 s.v. ‘Aurelius’ 221 (Marcus Aurelius Seuerus Alexander).

<sup>767</sup> Davies (1968: 33).

---  
 |<sup>1</sup>           ] . [  
 |<sup>2</sup>       A]urel       o. [  
 |<sup>3</sup>       ] Aure<|> Crispi[nus  
 |<sup>4</sup>       ]               Africa[no cos  
 |<sup>5</sup>       ] C[o]cceius . . [  
 ---

*fr. k: 1 omm. Gilliam Marichal || 2 A]ur[el] . . . . o. [ Gilliam Marichal: A]ure[l] . . . . o. [ Fink || 3 A]urel  
 Gilliam: ]aurel Fink: A]ure[l] Marichal | C . . . . [ Gilliam: Cri[s]pi[nus Fink Marichal || 4 Afric[ano  
 Gilliam Marichal || 5 ] . . . . [ Gilliam: ] . . . . [ Fink: Co]cceius . . [ Marichal*

*fr. l*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup>           ] . [ . ] . [  
 |<sup>2</sup>       Aur]el Long[  
 |<sup>3</sup>       ] . or[  
 |<sup>4</sup>       ] . p[ . ]o[  
 |<sup>5</sup>       ] . [ . ] . [  
 ---

*fr. l: 1 ] . [ edd. || 2 Long[inus Gilliam || 3 fortasse pra]etor[ . ] . or[ (dubitanter an ] Cesori[nus pro  
 Censorinus) Marichal: ] o. [ Gilliam: ] . . . . tor[ Fink || 4 fortasse of]f p[r]o[c: ] . [ . . ]o[ Gilliam Marichal  
 ] . [ . ] . [ . ]o[ Fink || 5 ] . [ . ]s Fink*

*fr. m*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup>                               ] . m . [  
 |<sup>2</sup>                               ] . al . [  
 |<sup>3</sup>       ]—[—] Aure<|> Ni . . [  
 |<sup>4</sup>       ]—[—] . [ . ] re . [  
 |<sup>5</sup>       ] . eon Isidor[  
 |<sup>6</sup>       ] . . . . [ . . . . ] . . . . [  
 |<sup>7</sup>       ] s[i]ng[ul] . . . . Ia[  
 |<sup>8</sup>       ] . . . . [  
 ---

*fr. m: 1 fortasse Ge]rma[nus: ] . . [ Gilliam: ]—[—]—[—] . . . . [ Fink: ] . . . . [ Marichal || 2 fortasse ] Salm[an:  
 ] al[ Gilliam: ]ual . . [ Fink: ] . . . . al[ Marichal || 3 ]—[ . . ] . . . . [ Gilliam: —]—[—] . . . . uraenia[ Fink: ]  
 Aurel U]i . . [ Marichal || 4 ]—[—] . . . . Gilliam: —]—[—]h[ . . ]dre . . [ Fink: ]—[—]—[—] . . . . dre[ Marichal || 5  
 ]eo I . . . . [ Gilliam: ] . eon[ Isid . . [ Fink: ] . eon Isid . . [ Marichal || 6 ] . . . . [ . . . . ] . . . . [ Gilliam:  
 of]fici[ . . ] a . . . . [ Fink: ] . . . . [ . . . . ] . . . . [ Marichal || 7 fortasse Au]rel(ius) Ia[rhables: ] . g[ . . ] . . . . [ Gilliam:  
 ]s[i]ng[ul] . . . . a . . a[ Fink: ]s[i]ng[ul] . . . . [ Marichal || 8 om. Gilliam: ] . [ . . ] . [ Fink*

*P.Dura* 96 (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 36)

AD 250–6 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 148 no. 25); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 351 (1975). TM 44828

Frr. (papyrus): *a* (6x3 cm); *b* (3x4 cm)

Two scraps, light brown in colour and very small; no margin is visible. They probably come from a list of soldiers, with their ranks attached. Fr. *b* was probably after fr. *a* in the original roll or sheet.<sup>768</sup> The *verso*, published by Marichal, was employed for a different document; as for fr. *a verso*, it contains figures; fr. *b verso*, classified as Latin by Marichal, is probably Greek instead (and barely legible). The dating is purely on a palaeographical basis, and the writing is extremely close to Roman new cursive.

*fr. a recto*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ] ord· [ ]  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] sig [ ]  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] uex· A[ ]  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] mens [ ]  
 |<sup>5</sup> ] disc a [ ]

*fr. a recto*: 1 ]ord[ Gilliam Fink: ] ord(inatus)· [ Marichal || 2 ] i [ Gilliam: ] ib[ Fink || 3 uex(illifer) dubitanter Gilliam || 4 ] uidi || 5 disc [ Gilliam Fink: disc(ens) A[ Marichal

*fr. a recto*: ‘... centurion...  
 ... ensign-bearer ...  
 ... standard-bearer ...  
 ... surveyor ...  
 ... trainee ...’

**1-5** All ranks are abbreviated: *ord(inatus)*, *sig(nifer)*, *uex(illarius)*, *mens(or)*, *disc(ens)*. Both the *ensor* ‘surveyor’ and the *discens* ‘trainee’ have been already seen – incidentally, together – in *P.Dura* 89, ll. 3–9, where a *discens ensorem* is featured.

*fr. b recto*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ] ..... [ ] r sa [ ]  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] Iul· Hel [ ]  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] Iarab[o]les [ ]  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] in[ ]  
 ---

*fr. b recto*: 1 fortasse ʔ ... ord(inatus) Sal[mes: ] [ ] [ ] r [ Gilliam: ] [ ] [ ] r di[ Fink: ] [ ] [ ] r sa[ Marichal || 2 Iul· Marichal || 3 iarab[ol]es[ Fink || 4 ] Gilliam: ]m[ Fink: N[ Marichal

**2** Both *Iul(ius)* and *Hel(iodorus)* are abbreviated.

*fr. a verso*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ] I I [ ]  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] u [ ]  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] XII [ ]

<sup>768</sup> See Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 296); *ChLA* (VII: 63).

---

*fr. a verso: 1* ] . . . [ . ] [ *Marichal* || *2 uidi: fortasse* VI [

### **5.7. Uncertain dates**

*P.Dura 74* (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 21)

AD 211–51 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 398 no. 97); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 329 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 186 (1992). TM 44803

Frr. (papyrus sheet): *a* (18x9 cm); *b* (9x5.3 cm)

The two fragments, *a* and *b*, have been considered part of the same document probably on account of archive records or excavation documents: there is no absolute certainty in this respect from their content. Fr. *a* is brown and dark in colour, and there are faint remnants of letters on the *verso*; fr. *b* is lighter in colour, its ink being more vivid, and its *verso* is blank. A possible joining of them is attempted in Iovine (2021a: 181 – 3).

Palaeographical considerations, as well as the syntagm *cui praees* ('which you command' abbreviated *c p* at fr. *a* l. 4), suggest that the papyrus contains parts of an official letter, probably concerning personnel, as the 20<sup>th</sup> Palmyrene cohort is mentioned (ll. 3–4). The involved men would have been identified through their belonging to the cohort (*miles cohortis* etc.). Although at fr. *a* l. 4 one can clearly see the end of the cohort's honorific title ([ - - ]*anae*, cf. Bersanetti 1940), this title might have been referred to any Emperor between Caracalla (*Antoniniana*) and Decius (*Deciana*). Fr. *b* preserves the remnants of at least one dating formula, and the beginning of a customary greeting formula (*opto* [*te/uos domine/domini* etc.]).

*fr. a recto*

|              |                        |            |
|--------------|------------------------|------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | . [                    |            |
| <sup>2</sup> | s . u . [              |            |
| <sup>3</sup> | coh XX Pa[Im           | - - - -i-] |
| <sup>4</sup> | -anae cui praees [     |            |
| <sup>5</sup> | Decembris [            |            |
| <sup>6</sup> | -ri . [ . ]um suor[um  |            |
| <sup>7</sup> | [ . . . . . ]n mil' q[ |            |
| <sup>8</sup> | ]m[                    |            |
|              | - - -                  |            |

*fr. a recto: 2–3* fortasse Ba]ssus . [ || 2 . [ . ]o . [ Gilliam: s[a]lut[e]m[ Fink: s[ . ]o . [ Marichal || 3 P[alm(yrenorum) edd. || 3–4 -i]anae Iovine (2021a: 182) || 4 amiec . [ Gilliam: ante c . [ Fink Marichal: ante c . [ Cugusi || 5 Decembr . [ Gilliam Fink || 6 ri[ . . ] m . uor[ (dubitanter an suor[um vel tuor[um) Gilliam: ]um suor[um alii || 7 ] . mil q[ (dubitanter an ]n mil(ites) q[uos) Gilliam || 8 ] . [ Marichal Cugusi | post hanc lineam aliam lineam ( . . . ) uidit Marichal

**3–4** The name of the cohort, with its honorific title, must have occupied the whole of l. 3, and ended in the following one. For some considerations on the width of the line in the original letter, see Iovine (2021a: 182).

**7** *Mil* is abbreviated by a short oblique stroke above the last letter.

*fr. b*

|              |                     |
|--------------|---------------------|
|              | - - -               |
| <sup>1</sup> | ] . [               |
| <sup>2</sup> | ] . oss . . [       |
| <sup>3</sup> | ] Idus Ian[u]a[rias |
| <sup>4</sup> | ] . no cos. Opto [  |
|              | - - -               |



*fr. b: 1 fortasse ]Kā[1 (cum Gilliam in commentario): ] [ Marichal || 2 ]oss . . [ (c]os dubitanter) Gilliam:  
 ]os vel ]rs s . . . [ (dubitanter an co]s s(upra) s(criptis) vel coho]rs) Fink: ]oss . . . [ Marichal Cugusi || 3 I]dus  
 Ian[ Gilliam Fink Marichal || 4 ]ano Gilliam | fortasse opto [te domine uel similia: opt[o edd.*

**4** As suggested above, *opto* was written by a further hand and is probably the beginning of a closing greeting formula (*opto te domine* etc.).

*fr. a verso*  
 |<sup>1</sup>        ] . [ . ] . . sit  
 |<sup>2</sup>        ] . .

*fr. a verso: edidi*



*fr. b1*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup>       ] o [   
 |<sup>2</sup>       ] p [   
 |<sup>3</sup>       ] [ ] as [   
 ---

*fr. b1: omm. Gilliam Fink: e contrario legerunt Marichal Cugusi*

*fr. b2*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup>               ] [ ] [   
 |<sup>2</sup>               ] uidi [   
 |<sup>3</sup>       ] cum   i [   
 ---

*fr. b2: omm. Gilliam Fink || 1 ] [ Marichal Cugusi || 2 ] uidi [ Marichal Cugusi || 3 fortasse ] cum enim [:  
 ] cum ep[ (dubitanter an cum ep[istulis) Marichal: ] u [ Cugusi*

*fr. c*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup>       ] . . . [ ] . XI [   
 |<sup>2</sup>       ] . . Iustus [ ] [   
 |<sup>3</sup>       ] [ . . . . ] . . [   
 ---

*fr. c: edidi || 1 fortasse ] LXI [ uel ] XXI [*

*fr. d*

|<sup>1</sup>       ] s [   
 |<sup>2</sup>       ] uccius [   
 ---

*fr. d: omm. Gilliam Fink || 1 ] [ Marichal: ] [ Cugusi || 2 fortasse L] uccius pro Lucius: ] illius [ Marichal  
 Cugusi*

*fr. e*

---  
 |<sup>1</sup>                               ] [   
 |<sup>2</sup>       ] . . . [ ] us [   
 |<sup>3</sup>       ] us Aurel S [   
 |<sup>4</sup>       ] s [ . . . . ] [ ] [   
 ---

*fr. e: edidi*

*fr. f*

---

$$\begin{array}{l} |^1 \quad \quad \quad ] \dots l[ \dots ] r[ \\ |^2 \quad \quad \quad ] \dots s[ \dots ] \dots \dots [ \\ |^3 \quad \quad \quad ] \dots [ \dots \dots ] \dots [ \\ \quad \quad \quad - \quad - \quad - \end{array}$$

*fr. f: edidi*

*P.Dura 78* (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 45)

AD 210–30 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 415 no. 111); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 333 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 183 (1992). TM 44808

Fr. (papyrus roll): 7.3x5.8 cm

A small fragment, ridden with holes; its fibres are torn in many sections. The *verso* is blank. Only the closing greeting formula *opto te domine ... bene ualere* survives from the original document, which must have been an official letter. Since the term employed is *frater*, the sender and the recipient must have been of equal rank.<sup>769</sup> One may notice the remarkable difference of dimensions and style between the slender and elegant epistolary ancient Roman cursive featured in l. 1; and the informal, more careless and smaller one in ll. 2–4, most likely in the hand of the sender himself.

---  
 |<sup>1</sup>                   ] dm[  
 |<sup>2</sup>           [o]p[to] te fra[t]er felici[ssi-  
 |<sup>3</sup>           -mu]m multi[s] annis b[ene]  
 |<sup>4</sup>           ualere

**1** ] . . . [ *edd.* || **2** [opto] *edd.* | fra[te]r *Cugusi* || **2–3** felici[ssimum] *Gilliam Fink Marichal* || **3** mult[is]  
*Marichal*: mul[tis] *Cugusi* || **3–4** fortasse b[en]e ualere

‘... I wish you, brother, to live most happily and healthily for many years.’

<sup>769</sup> *ChLA* (VII: 22); *CEL* (II: 241).

*P.Dura 79* (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 52)

AD 210–30 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 415 no. 112); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 333 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 184 (1992). TM 44810

Fr. (papyrus sheet): 6.8x3.9 cm

A small fragment, the ink almost completely vanished, the fibres damaged and torn. Only the address in dative case and large letters on the *verso* can help determine the nature of this document, i.e. official correspondence. This Antonius might have been a commanding officer of the Palmyrene cohort. Gilliam published the *verso* only; the *recto* was published later by Marichal. On the *verso*, one can see the customary presence of a large script, imitating capital writing, for the addressee's name, and a more rapid and careless cursive, immediately below, for the name of the sender.

*recto*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ] ius . . . . [ ]us  
|<sup>2</sup> ] fidi . [ ] [ ]  
|<sup>3</sup> ] e [ ] [ . . . . . ] . . [ ]  
---

*verso*

|<sup>1</sup> ] ANTONIO [ ]  
|<sup>2</sup> ] . . . a . . . er o [ ]

*recto: 1* ] b [ ] . . . [ ] s Marichal Cugusi || *post hanc lineam duas lineas* ([ - - - ] . . . . . | [ - - - ] . ) Marichal: *duas lineas deperditas Cugusi 2* ] f Id [ i ] bu [ s ] Marichal: ] fid . . . . . [ (*dubitanter an fidus vel fiducia vel fido vel similia*) Cugusi || *3* ] eg [ . . . . . ] . . [ Marichal Cugusi

*verso: 1* A . . onio [ (*dubitanter an Antonio vel Ag[athonio]*) Gilliam Fink: A . . onio [ Marichal Cugusi || *2* ] a . . . . [ ] [ (*dubitanter an nomen scribentis vel leg*) Aug pr pr) Gilliam Fink: ] . . . a . . . . [ ] . . . [ Marichal: ] a . . . . [ ] . . . [ Cugusi | *fortasse lib[er](to) Aug(usti) . ersio uel . ercio*

**P.Dura 80** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 59)

AD 230–50 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 418 no. 115); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 335 (1975); P. Cugusi in *CEL* I 203 (1992). TM 44811

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (3.1x2.8 cm); *b* (4x2.7 cm); *c* (3.8x2.5 cm); *d* (3x2.1 cm); *e* (2.1x1.9 cm); *f* (1.8x3.7 cm); *g* (1x3.2 cm); *h* (1.2x3.5 cm); *i* (1.1x3.2 cm); *j* (1.1x3.2 cm); *k* (1.1x3.2 cm); *l* (1.2x3.2 cm); *m* (1.1x3.1 cm); *n* (1.1x3.3 cm); *o* (1.8x3.2 cm); *p* (1.6x3.2 cm); *q* (1.5x3.2 cm); *r* (1x3.3 cm); *s* (1.4x3.5 cm); *t* (2.6x3.5 cm); *u* (1.9x4.6 cm); *v* (1.7x0.8 cm); *w* (3.7x2.1 cm); *x* (2.4x0.9 cm); *y* (2.1x2 cm); *z* (2.1x0.7 cm); *aa* (0.7x0.8 cm)

The papyrus consists of 27 small fragments of light brownish colour (*a* to *z*, *aa*). Their shape reveals that they belong to the same portion of the original roll. Only frr. *a verso*, *b*, *c*, *d verso*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *j*, *u*, *v*, *w*, *x*, *z* and *aa* feature traces of ink; in frr. *u*, *v*, *w*, *x*, *z*, *aa* traces are almost impossible to understand. The dative of *tribunus cohortis* in a capital-like script (fr. *d verso*) is the only clue that allows to construe these fragments as belonging to a letter. Other fragments bear names, apparently in two columns (frr. *b*, *c*), so a list of soldiers might have been attached to the letter.

fr. *a verso*  
|<sup>1</sup> ] coh [ ]  
- - -

fr. *a verso*: ante hanc lineam tres lineas ([ - - - ] . [ - - - | - - - ] . [ - - - | - - - ] . [ - - - ]) Marichal: duas lineas ([ - - - ] [ - - - | - - - ] . [ - - - ]) Cugusi | ]coh[ Gilliam Fink

After *coh* one can see vertical strokes, as if *I* and not *X* should be read. Perhaps the cohort whose tribune is the letter's addressee was not the *XX Palmyrenorum*? In the upper margin, three letters that have been interpreted as Latin by former editors and displayed vertically as if belonging to three different lines, are more likely to be Greek letters written in a horizontal line: ]νων (Παλμυρη]νών?).

**Table 5.22** – *P.Dura 80* fr. *a verso*

| Fig. 5.46 | Fig. 5.47 |
|-----------|-----------|
|-----------|-----------|

fr. *b*  
col. I                      col. II  
- - -  
|<sup>1</sup> ] .                      Ab . [ ]  
|<sup>2</sup> ]                      [ ]  
|<sup>3</sup> ] .                      Ulpus [ ]  
- - -

fr. *b* col. I: om. Cugusi || 1 ] . Marichal

fr. *b* col. II: 1 . b . [ Gilliam Fink || 3 Z[ Gilliam Fink Cugusi: U[ Marichal

fr. *c*  
- - -  
|<sup>1</sup> M]alch[  
|<sup>2</sup> ] . Salmani [ ]  
|<sup>3</sup> ] Iarhea [ ]  
|<sup>4</sup> ]b[u]s The[marsa  
- - -

*fr. c: 1* ]lch[ . . ]s[ . ] . mani[ (*dubitanter an Ma*]lch[us] S[a]lmani [ ] *Gilliam Fink: ]lch[ Marichal Cugusi || 2 omm. Gilliam Fink: ] s . mani[ Marichal Cugusi || 3 ] . a . nfa[ Gilliam Fink: Iarhea pro Iarh«a»ea Marichal Cugusi || 4 ] . . . . [ Gilliam Fink Cugusi: ] . . . . [ Marichal*

**1–2** Here Gilliam proposes to read *M]alchus Salmani* [ as if the two names were on the same line<sup>770</sup>; although sceptical, Marichal notes that in *fr. c l. 1* ]*alch*[ the letters are smaller in size than those of the following line; they might have been, therefore, added later, perhaps by somebody who thought the name before *Salmani* was mistaken and corrected it by writing *Malchus* above the wrong name.<sup>771</sup>

*fr. d verso*

---  
|<sup>1</sup> TR]IB CO[H]  
---

*fr. d verso: tri]b edd.*

*fr. g*

---  
|<sup>1</sup> L[  
|<sup>2</sup> [  
|<sup>3</sup> Iu[  
---

*fr. g: 1 h[ Gilliam Fink || 3 fortasse Iu[l(ius): Iu[1 Gilliam*

*fr. h*

---  
|<sup>1</sup> ] . . [  
|<sup>2</sup> ]rba[  
|<sup>3</sup> ] . ag . [  
|<sup>4</sup> ] . o . ba[  
---

*fr. h: 2 ] b [ Gilliam Fink ] ba[ Marichal Cugusi || 3 ] . g . [ Gilliam Fink Marichal: ]ag . [ Cugusi || 4 ] . . b . [ Gilliam Fink Cugusi: ] . . ba[ Marichal*

*fr. i*

---  
|<sup>1</sup> ] lc[  
|<sup>2</sup> ]t . h[  
|<sup>3</sup> ]syn[  
|<sup>4</sup> ]ud . [  
---

*fr. i: 1 fortasse M]alc[hus: ]lc[ edd. || 2 ]c . . [ Gilliam Fink: ]t n[ Marichal: ]t . h[ Cugusi || 3 ] . n[ Gilliam Fink || 4 ] . . [ edd.*

<sup>770</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 269).

<sup>771</sup> *ChLA* (VII: 24).



*fr. j*  
- - -  
|<sup>1</sup>     ] *hei*  
- - -

*fr. j: 1 ]hei[ Gilliam Fink: ]lei Marichal Cugusi*

**P.Dura 93** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 41)

AD 207–36 c.

Fink (1945); R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 143 no. 22); R. Marichal in *ChLA* VII 348 (1975). TM 44824

Fr. (papyrus roll): 4.6x3.7 cm

A small scrap, where no margin is visible; on the *verso* *P.Dura* 141 (a Greek papyrus). The fragment preserves four names of superior officers (*principales*) from a list which must have originally contained far more ranks, as it is clear from the title *duplicia[ri-* in l. 6. The last name, in l. 5, has been added under the consulship of a Maximus or of emperor Maximinus; the papyrus has been dated accordingly. Ll. 7–8, as headers of new sections, are written in Roman ‘rustic’ capital. The slip *duplicarius* for *duplicarius* (l. 6) can be compared with *P.Dura* 82 col. I l. 1 *diupl(icarii)* for *dupl(icarii)*.

```

- - -
|1  ] . . [ . ] l . . . . . [
|2  ] Iulius Proculus [
|3  A]urel Theoprop[us
|4  ] Maxim[ cos]
|5  A]urel Quint[
|6  ] DUPLICI[ARI-
|7  ] . u[
- - -

```

1 ] . . [ Fink<sup>1</sup>: ] [ ] z . . . [ Fink<sup>2,3</sup>: ] . . [ . ] . . . [ Marichal || 3 th[e]marsa[ Fink<sup>1</sup>: th[e]marsa[s  
Fink<sup>2</sup>: themarsa[ Fink<sup>3</sup>: Th[e]oprop[us Marichal || 4 Maxim[o uel Maxim[ino cos Fink<sup>1</sup> Fink<sup>2</sup>: Maxim[  
Fink<sup>3</sup>: ] centuria Maria[ni Marichal || 5 quin[ Fink<sup>1</sup> || 6 DUPLICIA[R(IORVM) dubitanter Fink || 7 fortasse  
] . I[u]lius: ] . . . [ edd.

‘... Iulius Proculus  
Aurelius Theopropus  
Under the consulship of ...:  
Aurelius ...  
*Duplicarii*: ...’

**P.Dura 103** (= P.CtYBR inv. DP 38 *recto*)

AD 205–24 c.

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink, and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 149 no. 26); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 358 (1976). TM 44835

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (5x4.2 cm); *b* (11.8x4.8 cm); *c* (14.7x4.1 cm)

Three fragments (*a*, *b* and *c*), light brown in colour and ridden with holes. Despite no evident clue on how to re-join them, Fink convincingly argues fr. *b* to precede fr. *c*.<sup>772</sup> Their *verso* is *P.Dura* 91. They come from a list of cavalrymen; the names have been reconstructed by Fink and Marichal<sup>773</sup> on account of already attested names in the *turmae* of Demetrius and Octavius, particularly in *P.Dura* 101 and 101. The date has been given by Fink and Marichal according to the enlistment and possible discharge of the aforementioned cavalrymen.<sup>774</sup> Disagreements between Marichal and Fink have arisen in fr. *b* l. 3 and fr. *c* l. 4, where, nevertheless, *uab*[ appears to be unavoidable, and *ual*[ impossible. Large blank spaces are left in fr. *c* (and probably were in fr. *b*) between the soldier's name and his patronymic, or second name.

fr. *a*

---  
|<sup>1</sup> Aure[  
---

fr. *a*: 1 Aure[ vel Ahe[ vel Rie[ Fink<sup>1</sup>: Aure[<sup>1</sup> Fink<sup>2</sup> Marichal

fr. *b*

---  
|<sup>1</sup> ]i[  
|<sup>2</sup> Nisamsus] Zabdibol[i]  
|<sup>3</sup> Maccaeus T]hem[a]rsa  
|<sup>4</sup> Ulpus M]arinus . . [  
|<sup>5</sup> Didas C]occei  
|<sup>6</sup> Goremis] Iadei  
|<sup>7</sup> Iulius Germ]anus  
|<sup>8</sup> Ierhaeus B]arnaei  
|<sup>9</sup> Iarhaboles] Luci  
|<sup>10</sup> ] . . [ . ] s  
|<sup>11</sup> ]a  
---

fr. *b*: 1 *recognoui* || 2 Zabdibol[i] edd. || 3 ]h[ . . . Marichal || 4 Ma]rinus edd. | fortasse XV Marichal || 9 Ierabole] edd. || 10 ] . [ s edd. || 11 ] . Marichal

fr. *b*: '... Nisamsus son of Zabdibolus  
Maccaeus son of Themarsas  
Ulpus Marinus  
Didas son of Cocceius  
Goremis son of Iadaeus  
Iulius Germanus  
Ierhaeus son of Barnaeus  
Ieraboles son of Lucius ...'

<sup>772</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 371).

<sup>773</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 372); *ChLA* (IX: 28).

<sup>774</sup> Fink (1971: 149); *ChLA* (IX: 28).

*fr. c*  
 - - -  
 |<sup>1</sup>      Ulp[uius] Apoll[ona-  
 |<sup>2</sup>      Ma]lchus Mac[cae]i  
 |<sup>3</sup>      Siluan]us Moci[mi]  
 |<sup>4</sup>      Ogel]us Vab[alathi]  
 |<sup>5</sup>                ]us [  
 |<sup>6</sup>      ] Felix [  
 - - -

*fr. c: 1* Apoll[onas *Fink*<sup>l</sup> || *3* ]us Moci[ *Fink* || *4* Goripp]us Val[entini *Marichal* || *5* ] . [ *edd.*

*fr. c:* ‘...Ulpius (son of?) Apollona...  
 Malchus son of Maccaeus  
 Silvanus son of Mocimus  
 Ogelus son of Vabalathus  
 ...  
 ... Felix ...’

*P.Dura 114* (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 63 *recto*)

AD 207–20 c.

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 173 no. 41); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 369 (1977). TM 44846

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (25.3x8.5 cm) + *b* (5.5x4.5 cm)

Two fragments, light brown in colour, remarkably free from physical damage, such as wormholes or loss of ink or fibre; both upper (1.3 cm, probably incomplete) and lower (11 cm) margins of the main fragment (*a*) are preserved. In fr. *b*, a smaller scrap, nothing is written except on the *verso*; the *verso*'s of both fragments are the remnants of an official letter (*P.Dura* 58). Fr. *a* preserves a single column from a roster; the document seems to be complete, and to have been hastily drawn up for unfathomable purposes.<sup>775</sup> The dating is still uncertain, and mainly relies on the *verso*, which has been drawn not earlier than AD 220, providing a *terminus ante* for the *recto*.<sup>776</sup> The hasty composition of this list of soldiers can also be suggested on account of the huge number of unusual abbreviations of the names: not just *Aurel(ius)* and *Iul(ius)*, but also *Theobol(us)*, *Zabdibol(us)*, and *Zebi(da)*.

|               |                     |
|---------------|---------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  | Aur]el Zabdibol     |
| <sup>2</sup>  | Deme]trius Zaabal   |
| <sup>3</sup>  | Aure]l Mocimus      |
| <sup>4</sup>  | Za]bdibol Malchi    |
| <sup>5</sup>  | Aur]el Marinus      |
| <sup>6</sup>  | Aur]el Barneus Zebi |
| <sup>7</sup>  | ] Theobol Gadde     |
| <sup>8</sup>  | ] Iul Valentinus    |
| <sup>9</sup>  | ] Gaianus           |
| <sup>10</sup> | ]us Zebida          |
| <sup>11</sup> | ] Auidas            |
| <sup>12</sup> | ] Germanus          |
| <sup>13</sup> | ] Iulianus          |

2 *fortasse* Z{a}abal- uel V{a}abal(lathi): Vaabal(athi) *Marichal* || 3 ]l *Fink*<sup>l</sup> || 6 ]l *Fink*<sup>l</sup> || 7 ] . *uidi*

‘Aurelius Zabdibolus  
Demetrius son of Zaabal (?)  
Aurelius Mocimus  
Zabdibolus son of Malchus  
Aurelius Marinus  
Aurelius Barneus son of Zebidas  
Theobolus son of Gaddes  
Iulius Valentinus  
... Gaianus  
... son of Zebidas  
... Auidas  
... Germanus  
... Iulianus ...’

<sup>775</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 385).

<sup>776</sup> For prosopographical discussions, cf. Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 385); Fink (1971: 173); *ChLA* (IX: 52).

**P.Dura 118** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 26 *verso*)

AD 200–56 c.

R. O. Fink in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 175 no. 44); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 373 (1977). TM 44850

Fr. (papyrus roll): *a* (18.5x8 cm); *b* (9.4x0.4 cm)

The papyrus is light brown in colour; the ink is well preserved and legible. The left margin is visible. A vertical stripe, detached from the main fragment, and generally associated with it on the account of archival records, has raised doubts in previous editors about its actual belonging to *P.Dura* 118. Since there is no material clue to understand where the stripe has to be located in the surviving portion of the document, it is featured here as fr. *b*, whereas the main fragment is fr. *a*. The *recto* is *P.Dura* 121; the chronological sequence of the two documents is uncertain. On the *verso*, a list of names, with three consular dates in the middle of the document, which might be therefore also understood as a roster. Doubts about the names of the consuls have led to a general uncertainty concerning the dating of this fragment: AD 248–56;<sup>777</sup> 219–43, 242 or 255.<sup>778</sup> The featured date roughly encompasses the chronological fork of the attested Latin Dura papyri.

fr. *a*

---

|               |      |                     |
|---------------|------|---------------------|
| <sup>1</sup>  |      | ] . . [             |
| <sup>2</sup>  |      | ]us . . . b . s     |
| <sup>3</sup>  |      | ] . . anus          |
| <sup>4</sup>  |      | ] . sus             |
| <sup>5</sup>  |      | ] . ius             |
| <sup>6</sup>  | Ant] | iochus              |
| <sup>7</sup>  |      | ]anes               |
| <sup>8</sup>  |      | ]s Themarsa         |
| <sup>9</sup>  |      | ]e . to cos         |
| <sup>10</sup> |      | ]llus               |
| <sup>11</sup> |      | ]eus                |
| <sup>12</sup> |      | ] . [ . ] II cos    |
| <sup>13</sup> |      | ] Messianus         |
| <sup>14</sup> |      | ] . II cos          |
| <sup>15</sup> | ]a . | allathus            |
| <sup>16</sup> |      | ]I[ar]haboles       |
| <sup>17</sup> |      | ] s Germanus        |
| <sup>18</sup> | Iaq] | ubus                |
| <sup>19</sup> |      | ]lia . [ . ] us     |
| <sup>20</sup> |      | ] . e . [ . . ] . [ |
| <sup>21</sup> |      | ] . o               |

---

fr. *a*: **2** ]us Acibas Fink: ] . . . bus Marichal || **3** fortasse Ge[r]manus: ] . anus Marichal || **5** ]ius Fink || **6** Ant]i[o]chus edd. || **7** ]ames edd. || **8** ] . Themarsa edd. || **9** Arriano] et Papo co(n)s(ulibus) dubitanter Fink: ]et . . . o cos Marichal || **12** iii et] ii cos dubitanter Fink: ] II cos Marichal || **14** ] . II cos edd. || **15** ]adallathus (dubitanter an S]adallathus uel V]aballathus) Fink: ] . allathus Marichal || **16** Iar]haboles edd. || **17** ] . Fink: ] . . Marichal || **18** ] . [ . ]ubus Marichal || **19** ] . ia . . us Fink: ] . ia . . s Marichal || **20** ] . e . [ edd.

fr. *a*: ‘... Antiochus

<sup>777</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 391); Fink (1971: 175).

<sup>778</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 62).

...  
 ... son of Themarsas  
 During the consulship of...  
 ...  
 During the second consulship of...  
 ... Messianus  
 During the second consulship of...  
 ...  
 ... Iarhaboles  
 ... Germanus  
 ... Iaqubus'

7 Editors mainly read ]*anes*; but the supposed *m* is rather identical to the *n* which can be spotted a few lines before, in l. 3.

**Table 5.23** – *P.Dura* 118 fr. *a*: the *n*'s

|                  |                 |
|------------------|-----------------|
| <b>Fig. 5.48</b> | l. 3 ] . . anus |
| <b>Fig. 5.49</b> | l. 7            |

I would rather read ]*anes*, which would match with names such as Acrabanes, Heranes, Ocbanes, Salmanes and the like.

9 The same *n* can most probably be seen here: one might read *Adu]eñto cos*, or *Macrino Aug II et Adu]eñto co(n)s(ulibus)*, thus providing the dating formula of 218.

**Fig. 5.50**

fr. *b*  
 - - -  
 |<sup>1</sup> ] . [  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] . a[  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] . . [  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] . [  
 |<sup>5</sup> ] . o . [  
 |<sup>6</sup> ] rh[  
 |<sup>7</sup> ] . . [  
 |<sup>8</sup> ] sub[  
 |<sup>9</sup> ] sa[  
 |<sup>10</sup> ] s . [  
 |

fr. *b*: *edidi*

**P.Dura 124** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 39 *verso*)

AD 220–40 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 174 no. 43); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 379 (1977). TM 44856

Fr. (papyrus roll): 4.7x4.2 cm

The document is written on the *verso* of the papyrus, along the fibres; the *recto* is *P.Dura* 142. The papyrus is badly abraded and most of the ink has vanished; it only offers the incomplete names of two soldiers. They are referred to in the customary way, name and patronymic: the patronymics are among the most widely attested names among Durene soldiers, Themarsas (l. 6) and Zebidas (l. 3), which suggests a list of soldiers.

```

- - -
|1                ] [
|2                ] eus[
|3    ] . . . e us Zebida
|4                ] i[ . ]anus
|5    ] . . [ . ] [ . ] tha
|6    ] . . eus Themarsa
- - -

```

**2** ] . . [ *edd.* || **3** ] . . [ . . . ] Zebida *Gilliam Fink:* ] . . . . Zebida *Marichal* || **4** ] . . ianus *Gilliam Fink Marichal* || **5** ] . . [ . . . ] . . . . *Gilliam Fink:* ] . . . . [ . . . ] ha *Marichal* || **6** ] . . . . *Gilliam Fink:* ] . . . eus *Marichal*



**P.Dura 130** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 60)

AD 215–45 c.

Gilliam (1950, fr. *a*); J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 419 no. 116); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 384 (1977), *CPL* 342; TM 44863

Fr. (papyrus sheet): *a* (5.9x8.6 cm); *b* (1.5x7.5 cm); *c* (1.4x4.7 cm); *d* (1.8x6.5 cm)

This catalogue number consists of four small papyrus fragments, small and rectangular in shape, most likely clean cut from a papyrus sheet; letters are well centred within the fragments themselves. They are light brown in colour and their *verso* are blank. The first fragment is probably a label (κύλλυβος) for a *liber epistularum*, perhaps containing letters concerning horses, mounts, cavalrymen and the like. The remaining three fragments (*b-d*) might have been either labels attached to rolls pertaining to individual soldiers,<sup>779</sup> or pigeonholes.<sup>780</sup> Names are abbreviated: not just *Aurel*, but also *Zabdib(olus)* in fr. *b*. There is no clue about the dating of these fragments, which may refer to any time during the Roman military occupation of Dura; the editors' traditional dating is here maintained.

*fr. a*  
 |<sup>1</sup> epistulae  
 |<sup>2</sup> equorum e[  
 |<sup>3</sup> a[ . . . ] . [ . ] r[ . . ] . [  
 - - -

2 e[ (*dubitanter an et*) Gilliam Fink: e[ Marichal || 2-3 fortasse et [drom]a[dar]i[o]r[u]m || 3 ] . [ . . . ] . [ . ] . [ Gilliam Fink: ] . [ . . . ] r[ . . ] . [ Marichal

*fr. b*  
 |<sup>1</sup> Zabdib Maccae

Zabdib(olus) Gilliam Fink: Zabnib(olus) Marichal

*fr. c*  
 |<sup>1</sup> [Au]rel Claudius

Claudi[u]s *edd.*

*fr. d*  
 |<sup>1</sup> Aurel Ar[ch]elaus

A[ . ] . [ . ] aus Gilliam Fink

<sup>779</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 405).

<sup>780</sup> Fink (1971: 419); *ChLA* (IX: 76).

**P.Dura 133** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 66)

AD 211–17 or 235–8 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959, fr. *a–b*); Fink (1971: 433 no. 123, fr. *a–c*); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 386 (1977, fr. *a–c*). TM 78174

Frr. (papyrus roll): *a* (15.3x7.2 cm); *b* (10.8x4.9 cm); *c* (10.5x2.4 cm); *d* (2.2x2 cm)

Four fragments, light brown in colour, ridden with holes, and with wide margins, especially the lower one; no more than four lines (subscription excepted in fr. *a*) per fragment are written, so that they might come from a papyrus sheet, cut from a roll with the precise aim of drawing up an important document, from one no longer in use. The *verso* is blank. This document, though uncertain in typology, contains a few notable features. In fr. *a* l. 2, a *cognomen* of an Emperor – *Germ(anicum) maximum*, which could refer to either Caracalla or Maximinus – is written; it may have been preceded, or – more likely – followed by fr. *b* l. 2, where *Augustum* can be read in full.<sup>781</sup> In fr. *a* l. 3, *Caesaris* and *fili* appear together; it may be a further remnant, together with fr. *a* l. 2 and *b* l. 2, of an imperial title; whether one should read *filiam* or *fili* cannot be ascertained, and testamentary or dotal arrangements for the family of a veteran might also be possible. Other elements, such as two names in fr. *c*, and the probable abbreviation *imm* for *immunes* ('exempted') in fr. *a* l. 4, point to some sort of list or military document. Fr. *a* l. 5 was written by a second hand in larger letters, and might provide the traces of a subscription at the end of an official document; however, only a single name can be read, and that partially.

fr. *a*

|<sup>1</sup> ]em X . II . [ . ] . ni[  
|<sup>2</sup> G]erm Maximum . [  
|<sup>3</sup> ]m Caesaris fili . . [  
|<sup>4</sup> ] . osso . i imm III Z . [  
  
|<sup>5</sup> Ze]bida

fr. *a*: **1** uel fortasse it]em f(it) s(umma) XII vel III Noni[s: ] m . . . . . [ . ] . . . . . [ Gilliam: ]em x . . . . . [ . ] n . [ (dubitanter an xii kal april[es] Fink: ] m . . . . . [ . ] n . [ (dubitanter an III [N]on[ ] Marichal || **2** A[rabicum vel A[diabenicum dubitanter Gilliam || **3** procuratore]m uel libertu]m e.g. Fink | filia[m Gilliam: filia[ Fink Marichal || **4** fortasse ] co(n)ss(ulibus) orti imm(un)es III Ze[bida uel (centuria) Ze[bida: ] . . . . . orciimmii z[ (dubitanter an imm(un)es III Z[ ] Gilliam: ] ossopci imm . . . . . z . [ Fink: ] os . osti imm III Z . [ Marichal || **5** ] . um Gilliam: ] . . dm (dubitanter an ] . uma Fink: ] . uma Marichal

fr. *b*

|<sup>1</sup> ] . . [ . ] . [ . . ] . [ . . . . . ] . [  
|<sup>2</sup> A]ugustum exo . [  
|<sup>3</sup> ]et Aurel n . [ . . ] . [  
|<sup>4</sup> ] . p . . [ . ] . u . . i s . i

fr. *b*: **1** ] . . [ . ] . [ . . . . . ] [ Gilliam: ] . [ . ] . [ . . ] . [ . ] [ Fink: ] . [ . . ] . [ . . ] [ Marichal || **2** . . . . . [ edd. || **3** . [ . ] [ Gilliam Marichal . [ . ] g[ Fink || **4** fortasse ] op(tio) Fe[b]ruaris II: ]o . s[ . ] ua . . . . . [ (dubitanter an ]osis, ]osius, ]ores et ]auasasti vel Marini) Gilliam: ]r . ius . u . . . . . aeti Fink: ] . . . . . [ . ] ussi . i Marichal

fr. *c*

<sup>781</sup> After A]ugustum I can see exo . [, which suggests *exorare* or the like as a supplement, and that if *Augustum* was part of the imperial title, that imperial title ended there.

---  
|<sup>1</sup>      A]urel [  
|<sup>2</sup>      A]urel [  
|

*fr. c: om. Gilliam*

*fr. d*  
---  
|<sup>1</sup>      ] . . [  
|<sup>2</sup>      ]mo p . . [  
|

*fr. d: edidi*

**P.Dura 138** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 116 *recto*)

AD 230–50 c.

C. B. Welles in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 436 no. 126); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 390 (1977). TM 78178

Fr. (papyrus roll): 4x3 cm

A small fragment, ragged and ridden with holes. The *verso* contains an unpublished Greek papyrus (*P.Dura* 138 *verso*). The scrap is among those not found in room W13, ‘de provenance et de contenu indéterminés’.<sup>782</sup> The fragment probably comes from a list of soldiers, specifically a list of cavalrymen according to Marichal;<sup>783</sup> certainly the symbol of *turma* is visible, as well as traces of two columns. The dating is purely on palaeographical grounds. Notably, whereas the *r* in l. 2 is drawn in a fully developed old Roman cursive, *iu* at l. 3 is written in more squared letters. The situation recalls *P.Dura* 105 fr. *a* coll. I–II, where a *Romullus* appears (l. 6) in a mixture of capital and cursive writing.

|              | <i>col. I</i> | <i>col. II</i> |
|--------------|---------------|----------------|
|              | - - -         |                |
| <sup>1</sup> |               | ] [            |
| <sup>2</sup> | ] .           | Ṫ R [          |
| <sup>3</sup> | ] . c         | Iu [ . ] . e [ |
| <sup>4</sup> |               | ] . ri         |
|              | - - -         |                |

*col. II: 1* ] [ *uidit Marichal* || *2* A[ *Welles Fink: Ro[mulli dubitanter Marichal* || *3* ] . *Marichal* | *fortasse* Iu[l(ius)] Ṫe[ *vel Se[ . ] III . e[ Welles Fink* || *4* ]ri *Welles Fink: ] . ri . [ Marichal* | *post hanc lineam* ]——[ *Marichal*

<sup>782</sup> ‘Of undetermined content and provenance’ (*ChLA* IX: 7).

<sup>783</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 79).

**P.Dura 139** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 113 *recto*)

AD 200–40 c.

C. B. Welles in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 436 no. 127); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 391 (1977). TM 78179

Fr. (papyrus roll): 2x2.4 cm

A small fragment, ridden with holes and written along the fibres. The *verso* contains a Greek papyrus (*P.Dura* 139 *verso*). The scrap is among those not found in room W13, ‘de provenance et de contenu indéterminés’.<sup>784</sup> The presence of the symbol for *turma* ‘squadron’ suggests that the fragment might be part of a roster, a list or a probation letter (*epistula probatoria*). No precise dating is possible; the script suggests not too late a date.

- - -  
 |<sup>1</sup>     ] . u . rep[  
 |<sup>2</sup>     ] . . F . [  
 - - -

1 fortasse Iul(ius) Rep[ositus: ] . . . ep[ Welles Fink: ] . . . rep[ (*dubitanter an rec[ Marichal || 2* ] . F . Welles Fink: ] . (turma) [ Marichal | ] [ *partem aliae lineae interpretatus est Marichal*

---

<sup>784</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 7).

***P.Dura 142*** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 39 *recto*)

AD 220–40 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 432 no. 120); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 393 (1977). TM 78180

Fr. (papyrus roll): 4.2x4.7 cm

The scrap is very small and ragged, it is written along the fibres. The *verso* is *P.Dura* 124. Only two dating formulae can be seen, one after the other, which recalls military lists with subsequent dating formulae, such as *P.Dura* 95, particularly in fr. *b* col. II ll. 9–15. Although *Kal(endas) Octobr(es)* and *Nouembr(es)* are here very likely, one cannot rule out *Kal(endarum) Octobr(ium)*, as customary with reports of *stipendia*: cf. *P.Dura* 95 fr. *b*, col. II l. 4 *ad rat(ionem) stip(endii) Kal(endarum) Sept(embrium) mil(ites) IIII*. The dating is purely on a palaeographical basis.

```

- - -
|1      ] [ . ] Kal Octobr [
|2      ] XI Kal No[uembr
- - -

```

**1** *fortasse* I[I]I vel X[I]I: ] Kal Octobr[ *edd.* || **2** ] Gilliam Fink: ] X Marichal

**P.Dura 143** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 56)

post AD 221 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 432 no. 121); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 394 (1977). TM 78181

Fr. (papyrus roll): 3.7x5.3 cm

A small scrap, damaged and ragged. The text is on the *recto*, written along the fibres. The *verso* is blank. The fragmentary document of the *recto* might be part of a roster, or at any rate a military list. Dating formulae (perhaps portions of a single formula) are visible in ll. 1–2. Given that at least one of the consuls had a name ending in *-cus*, the dating can range between AD 221 (Sabinianus and Seleucus) to 258 (Tuscus and Bassus). Of course, if this is in fact a roster, the dating formula may refer not of the creation of the document itself, but to the date of the enlistment of the soldier.<sup>785</sup>

---  
 |<sup>1</sup>       ] . . Kal O[ctobr-  
 |<sup>2</sup>       ]co cos  
 |<sup>3</sup>       ] . . . . . l[ . . . ]ti co . l[  
 |<sup>4</sup>       ]ca . . e . i . [  
 ---

**1** *fortasse* ] ad vel ]ab Kal(end-): ] . . Kal *edd.* | . [ *Gilliam Fink* || **3** ] . . . [ . . . ] i o . . [ *Gilliam Fink*:  
 ] . . [ . . . ]ti co [ *Marichal* || **4** ] . . [ . ] [ *Gilliam Fink*: ] . [ . . . ] . [ . ] [ *Marichal*

<sup>785</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 410).

**P.Dura 145** (= P. CtYBR inv. DP 80)

AD 200–56 c.

J. F. Gilliam in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink (1971: 435 no. 124); R. Marichal in *ChLA* IX 395 (1977). TM 78182

Fr. (papyrus roll): 5x2.5 cm

A small scrap with an ample blank space at the top, which might be the upper margin of the original document. The scrap is among those not found in room W13, ‘de provenance et de contenu indéterminés’.<sup>786</sup> The *verso*, unpublished, contains some scattered Greek lines. On the recto, only a figure survives. Gilliam remarks that as normally the symbol for *denarii* is to the left of the number, another number may be hidden in the right lacuna.<sup>787</sup>

|<sup>1</sup>      ] LXXXI ✕ [  
- - -

dot-like traces

<sup>786</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 7).

<sup>787</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 411).



## **5.8. New fragments**

**P.CtYBR inv. DP 121**

AD 200–30 c.

Iovine (2019a)

Frr. (papyrus): measurements unavailable

The fragment, still attached to a c. 10x7 cm mudbrick, is probably referred to in Welles (1965: 28); details on these sorts of papyri findings on bricks are in Hopkins (1979: 99–101). Palaeographic comparisons (*P.Dura* 98 and 115) suggest this fragment comes from a roster, or at any rate a list of soldiers. The sequences ]*us* (which I would rather read *or*, less likely *os*) and ]*ianus* were seen by Welles.

```

      - - -
|1    ]n. [
|2    ] .cor
|3    ] . . ianus
|4    ]no cos
      - - -

```

## P.CtYBR inv. DP 23

AD 200–56 c.

Iovine (2019a)

Frr. (papyrus): *a* (23.7 x 11.5 cm); *b* (8.5 x 3 cm); *h* (10.5 x 11.5 cm)

The first two fragments are written in epistolary cursive: they might come from one or more letters. The word *uexill(arius)* (?) ‘ensign-bearer’ is probably to be seen in fr. *a* l. 9. Fr. *h*, on the contrary, seems drawn up in a bureaucratic script; the word *sing* for *singularis*, a pay grade of Roman army, can be spotted; it is followed by an *interpunctum*. If the three fragments belonged to the same document, perhaps a list of soldiers was attached to the letter(s).

*fr. a*

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> ] . . [ . . . ] . [ . . . . ] mas [

|<sup>2</sup> ] . . [ . . ] a . . . . [

|<sup>3</sup> ] . . [ . . . . ] . [

|<sup>4</sup> ] . [ . ] mil [ . . ] s [ . . . . ] . [

|<sup>5</sup> ] e . di . [

|<sup>6</sup> ] . . uba . [

|<sup>7</sup> ] . [ . . ] . [

|<sup>8</sup> ] . eb . . [ . . ] . [

|<sup>9</sup> ] uexill . . e . [

- - -

*fr. b*

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> . . [

|<sup>2</sup> e . [

|<sup>3</sup> n [

|<sup>4</sup> sin [

|<sup>5</sup> . . . [

- - -

*fr. h*

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> ] . . [

|<sup>2</sup> s]ing . [ . . . . . ] aris [

|<sup>3</sup> ] Iul [

|<sup>4</sup> ] l [

- - -

2 fortasse s]ing(ularis) I [

P.CtYBR inv. DP 16 *recto*

AD 212–30 c.

Iovine (2019a)

Frr. (papyrus): 2; 3 (measurements unavailable)

The fragments probably come from a roster, partial or complete. The names preserved on them are very common among Durene soldiers: Salmanes and Monimus. Also a consular date (AD 212) emerges from fr. 3.

*fr. 2*

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> ] . . [ . ] . . . [   
 |<sup>2</sup> ] Ṣalmanes M[   
 |<sup>3</sup> Mo]nimu[s   
 - - -

*fr. 3*

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> ]em[   
 |<sup>2</sup> ] . . [ . ] .   
 |<sup>3</sup> ] duobus A[spris cos   
 |<sup>4</sup> ] o[   
 |<sup>5</sup> ] . . [   
 - - -

**P.CtYBR inv. DP 16 verso**

AD 200–30 c.

Iovine (2019a)

Frr. (papyrus): 1 (measurements unavailable)

The original papyrus, used on the *recto* for a list of soldiers – probably a roster – was most likely turned on the opposite side, and the *verso* employed for another list of soldiers or roster: the situation may mirror that of *P.Dura* 100 and 101. Very little survives from this second list. The name Aurelius Antonius are attested among Durene soldiers.

*fr. 1*

- - -

|              |                 |
|--------------|-----------------|
| <sup>1</sup> | Aur]el An[toni- |
| <sup>2</sup> | ]. eus . . . [  |
| <sup>3</sup> | ]. [            |

- - -

**P.CtYBR inv. s.n. (box 3 folder 1)**

AD 200–30 c.

Iovine (2019a)

Frr. (papyrus): measurements unavailable

A small fragment in epistolary cursive (a letter?), probably mentioning Valerius Comazon; this, and similarities in the hand (particularly with *c*, *o* and *r* when in ligature), suggest a comparison with *P.Dura* 55.

|              |                     |
|--------------|---------------------|
|              | - - -               |
| <sup>1</sup> | Val]eri Com[azontis |
| <sup>2</sup> | ]pli .[             |
|              | - - -               |

2 fortasse du]plic[ari-

**P.CtYBR inv. s.n. (box 3 folder 2)**

AD 200–30 c.

Iovine (2019a)

Frr. (papyrus): measurements unavailable

A small fragment in epistolary cursive (a letter?), paleographically very close to the scripts in *P.Dura* 60.

|              |        |
|--------------|--------|
|              | - - -  |
| <sup>1</sup> | ] atur |
| <sup>2</sup> | ]m     |
|              | - - -  |

**P.CtYBR inv. s.n. (box 3 folder 3)**

AD 200–30 c.

Iovine (2019a)

Frr. (papyrus): measurements unavailable

The scrap contains a mention of *duplicarii* and probably comes from *acta diurna*. The figure *VI* might refer to *duplicarii*.

---  
 |<sup>1</sup>       ] dupl [...]VI [...].  
 ---



**P.CtYBR inv. s.n. (box 3 folder 4)**

AD c. 200–56

Iovine (2019a)

Frr. (papyrus): 1; 2 (measurements unavailable)

Two notable scraps in the folder: the first contains a figure and perhaps part of the inferior margin of the document; the other, written in a seemingly bureaucratic cursive; it may belong to any sort of document.

*fr. 1*

---

|<sup>1</sup> L[. .]XVI*fr. 2*

---

|<sup>1</sup> ]be[. ]e . . . i ex[

---

**P.CtYBR inv. s.n. (box 3 folder 5)**

AD 200–30 c.

Iovine (2019a)

Frr. (papyrus): 4 (1.9 x 2.2 cm)

A small scrap in epistolary cursive, perhaps mentioning *eq(uites)*.*fr. 4*

- - -

|              |        |
|--------------|--------|
| <sup>1</sup> | ] eq[  |
| <sup>2</sup> | ]orum[ |

- - -

## P.CtYBR inv. s.n. (box 3 folder 6)

AD 200–30 c.

Iovine (2019a)

Frr. (papyrus): 3 (2.7x3.2 cm); 4 (2.3x4.2 cm); 10a (10x3 cm) + 10b (5x3.2 cm); 10c (3.2x3.5 cm)

This folder contains several fragments, probably coming from different documents. Those presented here are the most legible. Fr. 3 is a small scrap written in epistolary cursive: one can spot the verb *retinui* in first person, which suggests a letter. Fr. 4 is written as well in epistolary cursive: the names Malcus – i.e. Malchus – and perhaps Maximus are visible.<sup>788</sup> Frr. 10a to 10c certainly came from the same document which originally was a list of soldiers of a roster: one can see some of the typical marginal annotations of this typology – unfortunately, no name survives. Frr. *a* and *b* probably were a portion from the same column: the distance between them is, however, uncertain. Likewise, the colour of the fibres suggests that fr. *c* fragment was not very far from *a+b* in the original roll – at what distance, one cannot determine.

*fr. 3*

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> ]rum  
|<sup>2</sup> ] retinui [  
|<sup>3</sup> ]...[

- - -

*fr. 4*

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> ] Malcūm et Max[im-  
|<sup>2</sup> ] eras [  
- - -

*fr. 10a+b*

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> \_\_\_\_\_[  
|<sup>2</sup> \_\_\_\_\_[  
|<sup>3</sup> \_\_\_\_\_[  
|<sup>2</sup> \_\_\_\_\_A[  
|<sup>5</sup> \_\_\_\_\_Si[  
|<sup>6</sup> \_\_\_\_\_A[  
|<sup>7</sup> \_\_\_\_\_A[  
|<sup>8</sup> \_\_\_\_\_Pl[

- - -<sup>789</sup>

|<sup>9</sup> \_\_\_\_\_G[  
|<sup>10</sup> \_\_\_\_\_Au[rel  
- - -

<sup>788</sup> The situation might be similar to that featured in *P.Dura* 63, where Themarsas and Hiereus are summoned in an official letter to the tribune of the cohort (letter *b*, ll. 4–5).

<sup>789</sup> The numbering of lines is continuous, because I cannot fathom how distant the two fragments were in the general layout of the column to which they originally belonged. The loss of lines between *a* and *b* cannot be quantified.

*fr. 10c*  
- - -  
|<sup>1</sup>      Becchu[f  
|<sup>2</sup>            [  
|<sup>3</sup>      \_\_\_\_\_ [  
         - - -

## P.CtYBR inv. s.n. (box 3 folder 7)

AD 220–56 c.

Iovine (2019a)

Frr. (papyrus): 1 (22x1.8 cm); 8 (2.2x4.5 cm)

This folder contains several fragments. Those presented here are the most legible. Fr. 1 probably comes from a guard roster: names of soldiers appear to be associated with figures, indicating their position in duty watches, as in *P.Dura* 107 and 108. Fr. 8 is written in a seemingly bureaucratic hand, more coherent with *acta diurna*: only two names partially survive.

*fr. 1*

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> ] prior[  
 |<sup>2</sup> ]hi Ael[  
 |<sup>3</sup> ] II . . . [ .  
 |<sup>4</sup> ] II A . [ .  
 |<sup>5</sup> ] . Iadiβe[1-  
 |<sup>6</sup> ] . do . [ .  
 |<sup>7</sup> ] fe . . . . [ .  
 |<sup>8</sup> ]us Mal[ch-  
 |<sup>9</sup> ]e . . o . [ .  
 |<sup>10</sup>  
 |<sup>11</sup>  
 |<sup>12</sup>  
 |<sup>13</sup>  
 |<sup>14</sup>  
 |<sup>15</sup>  
 |<sup>16</sup> ] . [ .  
 |<sup>17</sup> ]adm[

- - -

7 fortasse Aure[1

*fr. 8*

- - -

|<sup>1</sup> A]urel . [ .  
 |<sup>2</sup> ] . eus P[ .

- - -

## 6. APPENDIX. THE *FERIALE DURANUM*

*P.Dura* 54,<sup>790</sup> the so-called *Feriale Duranum*, is arguably the most famous papyrus from the Durene collection. Scholarly efforts on this manuscript have been exemplary, from its edition – as it stands, in papyrological terms, in a very fragmentary condition – to its commentary and interpretation. The papyrus is unique among Latin texts on papyrus, *ostrakon* and tablet from Roman Empire, and presents a number of peculiar problems, the main one being the question of who used it, whether the civilians of Dura, or the soldiers – or both, for that matter. These peculiarities prompted me to separate it from the main bulk of Dura papyri, and devote to it a chapter of its own. The present chapter contains: a physical description and editorial history of the *Feriale Duranum*; a summary of all the main bibliography on it; and a revised text, with palaeographical and critical apparatuses, translation and commentary. Though no decisive solution (if there is any) is given on the origin and the purpose of the document, the full scope of past opinions is provided to the reader, for the benefit of future scholarship.

### 1. The papyrus and its first editors.

The original roll of the *Feriale Duranum* was about 23 cm high, 120 cm long, and consisted of four columns, probably 25 cm wide, counting 28/29 lines each, and separated by irregular intercolumnia, ranging between 5 and 6 cm in width. The *verso* is blank. Col. I now measures 27.5x22.5 cm; col. II 28.5x22.7 cm; col. III 27.5x22.5 cm; and col. IV 18.2x9 cm. Apparently, before its final dismissal, the papyrus had undergone some degree of restoration, as several portions of other documents (in the form of detached fibres, sometimes still with traces of cursive writing, and glued to the *Feriale*) are still visible throughout the text.<sup>791</sup> When the papyrus first reached Yale, it was entirely scattered in 57 fragments of different dimensions, which were afterwards realigned thanks to similar shapes and matching damage; a detailed account of the reconstruction of the original roll is in the *editio princeps*.<sup>792</sup> In col. I ll. 17–9, close to the beginning of the lines, the fibre appears to be somewhat crinkled: the letter after *prid*, the left part of the *n* in *Antonino*, and the *a* in *Martis* have consequently almost disappeared. For the same reason, in col. I l. 13 the second *r* of *Febrarias* is almost invisible, but for its right lower edge. In col. III, which is composed of several smaller scraps, the scrap I3 appears to be close to G3, G4 and H1 in the online images, while its shape should require it to be aligned with I2, as in previous editions. The scrap being almost blank but for a few spots of ink, however, its misplacement poses no real threat to the interpretation of the document.

The papyrus was found, together with several other Greek and Latin papyri, in room W 13, during the 1931–2 season of excavations. News of this particular find were given in 1937 at the 5<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Papyrology.<sup>793</sup> Between 1933 and 1940, when the *editio princeps* was produced, the papyrus was carefully discussed and commented upon by R. O. Fink and his colleagues and teachers at Yale University.<sup>794</sup>

### 2. Palaeographical notes.

The alphabet of the *Feriale* is a formal script, probably meant to be publicly displayed.<sup>795</sup> As expected with Roman ‘rustic’ capital when employed on papyri manuscripts, very few parallels are available, and the standardization of this writing prevents singling out striking peculiarities. Austin points out a parallel in *PSI* XI 1183,<sup>796</sup> whose text is drawn ‘in separated strokes with frequent pen-lifts and serifs on stroke terminals’;<sup>797</sup> however, the text is very far, both chronologically and for its typology, from the *Feriale*. *ChLA* XLV 1327 fr. *b recto* is perhaps

<sup>790</sup> P.CtYBR. inv. DP 2; published by R. O. Fink in Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940); by the same in Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959) as *P.Dura* 54; by the same in *RMRP* 117; by R. Marichal in *ChLA* VI 309. TM 44772.

<sup>791</sup> Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 12–4); Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 191).

<sup>792</sup> Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 15–22).

<sup>793</sup> See Hoey (1938).

<sup>794</sup> A long list of acknowledgments is in Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 11 fn. 1).

<sup>795</sup> See Austin (2010: 190).

<sup>796</sup> AD 47–8, TM 44495.

<sup>797</sup> Austin, *ibidem*.

another possible parallel.<sup>798</sup> As for the features of the script, one must remark that letters such as *b*, *p* and *r* are constantly taller than the others and usually crowned with an ornamental stroke, in the form of a curl. All vertical strokes (particularly in *e*, *i*, *n*) have elaborated and uniform ornamental strokes at their bottom, so that many letters are impossible to distinguish if only the bottom survives. No ligatures are seen, nor is any sort of shading employed. Whenever an entry is too long to be contained in a single line, the scribe breaks it and proceeds to write on the following line, but in *eisthesis* of 3–4 letters.

### Fig. 5.51

Abbreviations, either unmarked – *Aug(ustus) n(oster) ... co(n)s(ul)* (only in col. II l. 18), *b(ouem) f(eminam)*, *b(ouem) m(arem)*, *Kal(endas)*, *Non(is)*, *p(opuli) R(omani)*, *prid(ie)* (but for col. II l. 2 *pridie*, and perhaps col. I l. 17) – or marked by a small oblique stroke, similar to an acute accent – *b(ouem) m(arem)* in col. II l. 23 – are attested. No mention can be found in the extant bibliography of some odd strokes of pen, probably made by the same pen and hand which composed the *Feriale*, but impossible to construe as any actual letter, and which can be found in the interlinear space between col. II ll. 9–10, right under the *ob* before *Circenses Martiales*:

### Fig. 5.52

Far from being interlinear corrections or additions – there seems to be no need for that in the extant text – they probably are the result of scribal slip, or were done to test the pen or the ink after the document was dismissed.

Some linguistic remarks. In the group *ii*, one *i* is always omitted (*imperi<i>*, *Luci<i>*, *Marti<i>*), as often happens in Latin papyri and as one generally expects from the known developments of Latin language. The spelling *Febrarias* instead of *Februarias*, attested in other Latin documents – cf. *SB XX* 14386;<sup>799</sup> *O.Bu Njem* 74,<sup>800</sup> 76,<sup>801</sup> 77;<sup>802</sup> and some Albertini tablets (*T.Alb.* 18, 19, 21)<sup>803</sup> – is always employed (col. I ll. 13; 14; 17). In col. II l. 7, one notices an accusative (*No[nas] Maias*) instead of the expected ablative.

### 3. The text.

At first sight the document contains a list of festivities, or rather of days where a particular festival is celebrated; hence, the name *Feriale*.<sup>804</sup> Col. I began with 1 January and ended in the middle of March. Col. II covered the period till the end of August. The deplorable state of conservation of coll. III–IV prevents us from understanding how the following months were distributed between them; col. III begins with 31 August and col. IV contains a reference to December (the *Saturnalia*). The list consists in a number of entries, each thus laid out:

- the dating formula;
- the reason of the festival, normally expressed with *ob* + accusative of the event, or *quod* + subjunctive if more details were needed;
- the celebrated personality (e.g. Neptune, Germanicus, Septimius Severus etc.) in dative case;
- finally, the material act of service to be performed during the festivities, i.e. *supplicatio* ‘prayer’ (probably including ‘distribution of drinks to the soldiers’)<sup>805</sup> or *immolatio* ‘sacrifice’ – signified by *bos mas* ‘ox’, *bos femina* ‘cow’, *taurus* ‘bull’ in the accusative case.<sup>806</sup>

<sup>798</sup> = P.Vindob. inv. L 118. First-second century AD, TM 70111.

<sup>799</sup> AD 277–82, TM 32180.

<sup>800</sup> AD 253, TM 73224.

<sup>801</sup> AD 259, TM 73226.

<sup>802</sup> AD 259, TM 73227.

<sup>803</sup> The tablets are published, with historical and palaeographical introduction, in Courtois, Leschi, Perrat and Saumagne (1952). I mention the specific tablets (18, 19, and 21) as they appear in the *editio princeps*.

<sup>804</sup> Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 27).

<sup>805</sup> Taylor (1942: 311).

<sup>806</sup> *B(ouem) m(arem)* and *f(eminam)*, always abbreviated, are understood as accusatives because of the accusative *taurum*.

This layout is unique among extant documents in referring to official cult in the Roman world.

The manuscript bears no dating formula concerning its own drafting. Locating the *Feriale* in 222–35, the regnal years of Severus Alexander – who is mentioned in the document as *dominus noster* ‘our lord’ but not as *diuus* ‘deified’ and is therefore still alive – is perhaps the safest possible solution to the problem. The *terminus post quem* of 225, first set by Fink<sup>807</sup> as immediately following the death of Iulia Maesa, who is already deified in the *Feriale*, has been questioned by Benario,<sup>808</sup> who has argued that Maesa died earlier, in 223. A *terminus post quem* of 227 has been also proposed by Fink on account of the fact that the name of Lucius Seius, father-in-law to Severus Alexander, has not been erased yet from the document, thus suggesting that he and his daughter had not yet fallen into disgrace and undergone *damnatio memoriae* when the *Feriale* was written; and since they underwent such treatment in 227, this year would turn out to be a *terminus post quem*. But this implies that in col. I l. 11 the *dies natalis* ‘birth-day’ is of Lucius Seius, which is unlikely (see commentary to col. I ll. 11–12).

Festivals certainly attested in the *Feriale* include:

1. Festivals for *diui* and *diuae*, i.e. deified Emperors and Empresses, famous Roman heroes, and for the reigning Emperor and the Severan family:<sup>809</sup> the *dies natalis* ‘birth-day’ of Julius Caesar, Augustus, Germanicus, Claudius, Aelius Caesar, Vibia Matidia, Marciana, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, one of the two Faustinae, Commodus, Pertinax, Septimius Severus, Iulia Maesa, Caracalla, Iulia Mamaea; the *dies imperii* ‘coronation day’ of Nerva, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, Antoninus Pius, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Severus Alexander; a victory against the Parthians by Septimius Severus; the *toga uirilis* ‘toga of manhood’ and the proclamation of Severus Alexander as ‘Caesar’; his first consulship.

2. Traditional Roman festivities: the beginning of the year on 1 January, the *uota* ‘vows’ for the welfare of the reigning Emperor and the eternal prosperity of Roman people, the birthday of the god *Mars*, the *Quinquatria*, the foundation of Rome, the *Rosaliae Signorum*, the *Circenses Martiales*, the *Vestalia*, the *Neptunalia*, the *Circenses Salutares*, the *Saturnalia*.

Many festivals, which were contained in the *Feriale*, remain of course completely unknown, as more than one third of the original document is now lost. Here follows a selection of the most important problems still unsolved:

- there is still uncertainty on the festival celebrated in col. I ll. 7–9. One only knows that the sacrifice was to *dea Salus* and *Mars*. Fink believes this to be the day of the *stipendia* ‘salaries’ to the soldiers and of the *honesta missio* ‘honourable discharge’ for veterans, normally celebrated on 7 January (*VII Idus Ianuarias*), which also happened to be Augustus’ *dies natalis*.<sup>810</sup> Although he cannot find any satisfactory alternative, Gilliam doubts this reconstruction: 1) on 7 January, according to the sources, after AD 200 only praetorians, *urbani* and *equites singulares* received their honourable discharge (*CIL* XVI, 135–51; 153; 155–156), and neither regular soldiers nor auxiliary troops are mentioned; 2) the *stipendia* were given in the Calends (January, March and September), nor is there any mention of the Ides in relevant sources (e.g. *P.Ryl.* II 273a<sup>811</sup> or *P.Dura* 95 recto<sup>812</sup>).

- in col. I l. 10 the *dies natalis* of a *diua* is celebrated; one can determine it was a *diua* and not a *diuus* because a *diuus*’ birthday would have required a *bos mas*, not a *supplicatio*. It seems impossible to determine whether the *diua* concealed in the lacuna (a *diua* of the Severan family, according to Hoey<sup>813</sup>) was Trajan’s wife Plotina or Hadrian’s wife Sabina – but certainly was not one of the two Faustinae.<sup>814</sup> On account of a comparison with the *Acta Fratrum Arualium* in 183

<sup>807</sup> Fink, Hoey and Snyder (1940: 22).

<sup>808</sup> Benario (1962: 196).

<sup>809</sup> The individual festivities will be commented upon below, in the commentary to the text. The same holds for the following item in the list of contents in the *Feriale Duranum*.

<sup>810</sup> Fink, Hoey and Snyder (1940: 66–73).

<sup>811</sup> TM 27910.

<sup>812</sup> Gilliam (1954: 191–2).

<sup>813</sup> Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 73).

<sup>814</sup> See Iovine (2018b: 77–8).



and 218, Gilliam believes that Sabina could have been dropped from the list of *diucae* before 218, and therefore be absent from the *Feriale*,<sup>815</sup> which would suggest, that Plotina could be a feasible candidate for this *dies natalis*. No certainty, however, can be attained.

- whereas his *dies natalis* is probably noted, there is no recognizable *dies imperii* for Hadrian, who ascended to the throne on 11 August AD 117, after Trajan's death. No definitive explanation has been given after Gilliam's.<sup>816</sup>

- in col. II l. 27 (late August) a celebration has almost completely vanished, but for a handful of letters. Fink believes this entry mentions a victory of Severus Alexander against the Parthians (AD 225–8), but there is no certain evidence.<sup>817</sup> The only data we can gather is that the celebration was probably a double one, and that the second celebration consisted of a *dies natalis*.<sup>818</sup>

- as Gilliam points out,<sup>819</sup> the *Volcanalia* cannot be found in the *Feriale*; they should have taken place on 23 August (*X Kalendas Septembres*), but no entry at the bottom of col. II seems to be able to host this celebration. The omission is allegedly odd.

- another now unfathomable celebration took place between 6 and 13 September, according to col. III l. 2, where only *Idus Septembres* can be read.

- almost nothing can be understood from col. III ll. 9–23; an entry taking place roughly between 15 October and 13 November (col. III l. 12) yields only a handful of letters.

- the same holds for col. IV, but for the mention of the *Saturnalia*.

An account of what could have been contained in the missing parts of the *Feriale* is in Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 163–4).

#### 4. The typology.

From the very beginning of its scholarly history, the *Feriale Duranum* has been usually understood as a military calendar of festivals, to regulate the religious and devotional life of the 20<sup>th</sup> cohort of the Palmyrenes. This would make it a unique document, as no other sample of such a typology of document has been found so far, most of the extant *ferialia* – for instance, the *feriale* within the *Fasti Guidizzolenses*,<sup>820</sup> the *Feriale Cumanum*,<sup>821</sup> the *Feriale Osloense*,<sup>822</sup> *BGU* II 362,<sup>823</sup> the *Feriale Capuanum*<sup>824</sup> – being exclusively devoted to civilian employment. For a full list of imperial *ferialia*, see Reeves (2004: 220–3). Fink<sup>825</sup> has remarked its being a standard document, probably issued in every camp and garrison of the Empire, free from local peculiarities and references. Probably in the wake of Augustan reforms, which aimed to stabilize and make uniform the Empire, particularly through enhancement of old Roman virtues and traditions, the Roman army as a whole (all units, no matter where) would have received a specific sequence of festivals, to be observed with little variation in years to come;<sup>826</sup> the *Feriale* we now look at would be ‘a Severan redaction of an Augustan document, and as such, at least as regards policy and motives, it tells us more about Augustus than about Severus Alexander’.<sup>827</sup>

Apart from the necessary mention of contemporary Emperors and imperial families (the Severans), the festivals contemplated by this document are some of the most traditional in Roman cult – Vesta, Neptune, Mars are among the honoured deities – or aim to celebrate dead and respected Emperors and their families: from Augustus to Germanicus to Claudius, to Pertinax and Matidia. The total absence from the *Feriale* of all the Oriental cults (Mithra, Iuppiter Dolichenus, Artemis Azzanathkona and the like) which were widespread in the Eastern legions by the third

<sup>815</sup> Gilliam (1969: 287–89).

<sup>816</sup> Gilliam (1954: 196).

<sup>817</sup> Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 153–4).

<sup>818</sup> Iovine (2018b: 74–8).

<sup>819</sup> Gilliam (1954: 195).

<sup>820</sup> *ILS* 4917, BC 31–14.

<sup>821</sup> *ILS* 108, AD 3–13.

<sup>822</sup> *P. Oslo* III 117: AD 169–76, TM 12567.

<sup>823</sup> Not exactly a *feriale*, but it details festivities honouring the Emperor: AD 215–6, TM 9139.

<sup>824</sup> *ILS* 4918, AD 387: also known as *Feriale Domnorum*.

<sup>825</sup> Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 28–9).

<sup>826</sup> Nock (1952: 193–5).

<sup>827</sup> Gilliam (1954: 183–4).

century AD has been wondered about, and explained as the resistance of the central government to barbarization in the army,<sup>828</sup> and as a proof for the existence of a concrete policy of romanization of the Empire through the romanization of soldiers. Nock has argued against such a policy, pointing out that outside the frame of the *Feriale*, the individual soldier must have had full liberty to pursue his own devotional choices.<sup>829</sup>

The fact that most (if not all) of the aforementioned events are civil festivals not obviously related to military life, has been remarked upon now and then by scholars. Already Taylor noted that the only even remotely military festival (if it was military at all) in the *Feriale* was the *Rosaliae Signorum*.<sup>830</sup> Herz, on the other hand, probably in order to solve the problem, has tried to find a military aspect in all the festivals in the *Feriale*.<sup>831</sup> Also, Fishwick has remarked that the whole scenario of the *Feriale* as a standard military calendar is in fact hypothetical; the document could have been a local product, intended only for the Palmyrene cohort.<sup>832</sup> But the traditional view of this document as a military-destined festivity list has been actually challenged only in 2004, by B. Reeves.

On the one hand, she rightly argues that no internal clue in the *Feriale* points to the Roman army, and that the assumption that this document was in any way related to it lay only on the fact that it was found together with other documents evidently connected with the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* (namely, the *P.Dura*).<sup>833</sup> Further arguments against the military nature of the document include: the presence of gods specifically attested on Severan coins, and linked to Severan propaganda, so that the *Feriale* is unlikely to be an Augustan product (*ibidem*, 63–4); the huge amount of meat employed in the sacrifices, very odd for the army (71–2); the far-from-necessary military nature of the *Rosaliae Signorum* (82–7). On the other hand, Reeves emphasizes the very close similarity between the *Feriale Duranum* and the civil *feriale* found in Theveste, dated to the Severan age, and described by Snyder.<sup>834</sup> The *Feriale Duranum*, according to her, was not a military, but a civil calendar given to local townsmen when Dura was granted the status of *colonia* by Septimius Severus; a raw copy, ready to be carved in stone,<sup>835</sup> and part of a concrete effort, to emphasize the loyalty and belonging of Dura to the Roman Empire by having the town partake in a number of typical Roman holidays, singled out for their potential relevance to the Near East and the Durene region.<sup>836</sup> This attempt at fostering loyalty from a remote outpost would be explained by the rise of a new Persian dynasty, the Sasanians, whose increasingly threatening display of strength had made Dura a pivotal element in the Eastern *limes*.<sup>837</sup>

Reeves' contribution has met with mixed reactions; both Austin<sup>838</sup> and Haynes<sup>839</sup> have doubts on the totally civil nature of the *Feriale* argued by Reeves. Lozano Gomez, though sympathetic towards this reconstruction, does not endorse it to the extent of rejecting the traditional view of the *Feriale* as a military document; the only conclusion one may be sure of, is that the *Feriale* is an official document, issued by the central government of Rome.<sup>840</sup> Another fact we may be certain of, is that the document was either originally copied in the *officium* of the cohort – nowhere else in the neighbourhood of Dura could one find scribes able to write in Latin – or copied in a provincial bureau and preserved in the *officium* itself, as it was there when the Romans left. Reeves' reassessment must be given the undisputed credit of having pointed out a soft spot in the scholarship concerning the *Feriale*, i.e. a hypothesis (the military nature of the *Feriale*) slowly becoming, one scholarly paper after another, a given fact without any solid proof. Nevertheless, one cannot find any obvious evidence of the Palmyrene auxiliaries performing the

<sup>828</sup> Hoey (1939).

<sup>829</sup> Nock (1952: 188–9; 207; 229).

<sup>830</sup> Taylor (1942: 310).

<sup>831</sup> Herz (1978: 1193–200).

<sup>832</sup> Fishwick (1988: 350).

<sup>833</sup> Reeves (2004: 51–2).

<sup>834</sup> In Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 297–317).

<sup>835</sup> Reeves (2004: 199–201).

<sup>836</sup> Reeves (2004: 137–8).

<sup>837</sup> Reeves (2004: 204–7).

<sup>838</sup> Austin (2010: 190).

<sup>839</sup> Haynes (2013: 199–204).

<sup>840</sup> Lozano-Gomez (2014: 232).

acts of devotion they were supposedly required to do according to the document, nor can one find proof of the civilian population engaged in such rituals. The *Feriale* must have served a purpose; yet, no trace is left of how that purpose was fulfilled. It might have concerned not *the* soldiers and/or *the* civilians as a whole, but only a restricted number of them, who were required to perform Roman-like rituals. The centurions and decurions of the cohort are clearly from the neighbourhood of Dura, but the tribunes have Roman-sounding names (Postumius Aurelianus, Scribonius Mucianus and the like) suggesting that they came from outside, and were perhaps more accustomed to Latin rituals and culture, than the soldiers they came to command. It also may well be, that the document was written and meant to be used on orders from the higher powers, and then very seldom or never used in the everyday practice of a remote outpost.

## 5. Text and commentary.<sup>841</sup>

col. I

|<sup>1</sup> [Kal Ianuaris. ± 42 ]  
 |<sup>2</sup> [III Nonas Ianuarias. Quod soluantur ac nuncupentur u]ota, et ob salutem  
 |<sup>3</sup> [domini nostri Marci Aureli Seueri Alexandri Augusti, et ob aetern]itatem  
 |<sup>4</sup> [impe]ri p R [Ioui Optimo Maximo b' m' Iunoni Reginae b' f' Mineruae b' f' Ioui Victori] b' m'  
 |<sup>5</sup> [ . . . . ] s [ . . . ] [ ±12 Marti Patri taurum, Marti Victori ta]urum  
 |<sup>6</sup> [Vict]oriae b' [f' ...  
 |<sup>7</sup> [ . . . . . ] Ianu[arias ± 34 ]legio  
 |<sup>8</sup> [ . . . ] uel num . . . n u [ ±29 ] b' f'  
 |<sup>9</sup> [Salu]ti b' f', Marti Patri t[aurum  
 |<sup>10</sup> V[ Idus I]anuarias. Ob nata[lem Diuae . . . . . Diuae . . . . . supp]licatio  
 |<sup>11</sup> [ Idus I]anuarias. Ob natale[m Luci Aeli Caesaris ±14 ] Luci [[Aeli [Caesa]ris]  
 |<sup>12</sup> [Aeli] Caesaris.  
 |<sup>13</sup> VII[II Kal] Febr[arias. Ob nata]lem Diui Hadriani, Diuo Hadriano b' m'  
 |<sup>14</sup> V Kal [F]ebr[arias. Ob u[i]ctori[a- ±20 Parthica]m Maxi-  
 |<sup>15</sup> -m[a]m Diui Seuer[i e]t ob [imperium Diui Traiani, Victoriae Part]hic[a]e  
 |<sup>16</sup> b' [f', D]iui Traian[o b' m']  
 |<sup>17</sup> Prid [ . . . ] [ . . . ] Febraria[s. O]b i[mperium Diui Antonini Magni supplicat]io, Diuo  
 |<sup>18</sup> Antonino M[agno] b' m'  
 |<sup>19</sup> Kal Martis. Ob cer[imo]nia[s natalicias Martis Patris Victoris, Marti] Patri  
 |<sup>20</sup> Victori tau[rum]  
 |<sup>21</sup> Prid Non[as Ma]r[tias. Ob] im[perium Diui Marci Antonini et Diui Luci Veri, D]iui Mar-  
 |<sup>22</sup> -co b'[m', Diuo Lucio] b' m'  
 |<sup>23</sup> III I[d]us M[artias. Quod] Imperator [Caesar Marcus Aurelius Seuerus Alexander im]perator  
 |<sup>24</sup> ap[pellat]u[s sit, Io]ui b' m', [Iunoni b' f', Mineruae b' f', ±16 Ma]r[ti] b' m', . . . [ . . . ]  
 |<sup>25</sup> [ . . . ]litib[ . . . . . ]aug[ ± 31 ]r aug  
 |<sup>26</sup> [ . . . . ] imp[ . . . . . ] ap[el]  
 |<sup>27</sup> [ . . . . ] s[ . . . . . ]uoda[ . . . ]  
 |<sup>28</sup> [ . . . . . ]x ma [ . . . ] t supp[licat]io [ . . . ]  
 |<sup>29</sup> [ . . . . . ]and[ . . . ]

col. I: 1 [kal(endis) ianuariis ob diem kalendarum ianuariorum supplicatio] *exempli gratia* Fink (1944: 17)  
 || 2-3 *supplevit Fink<sup>1</sup> dubitante Weinstock (1942: 128)* || 4 R[omani uidi | Iunoni reginae suppl. Fink<sup>2</sup> || 5

<sup>841</sup> The presentation of the text and the palaeographical and critical apparatuses follow the same rules outlined for the other texts in this volume. Note that Fink<sup>1</sup> = Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940); Fink<sup>2</sup> = Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959); Fink<sup>3</sup> = *RMRP*.

[...] s [edd.: fortasse Iunon]i Si[spiti pro So[spiti Fink<sup>2</sup> || 7–9 supplevit Marichal, punctum post t[aurum ponens: [VII Idus] Ianu[arias. Quod detur emeritis honesta missio cum usu priui]legio[rum], uel nume[re]n[t]ur [militibus stipendia, I(oui) O(ptimo) M(aximo) b(ouem) m(arem), Iunoni b(ouem) f(eminam), Mineruae] b(ouem) f(eminam), [Salu]ti b(ouem) f(eminam), Marti Patri t[aurum ... Fink<sup>1</sup> prohibentibus edd. rell.: locum corruptum suspicatus est Weinstock (1942: 128): de mentione legionis cuiusdam cogitavit Taylor (1942: 310): aquilae] legio[nis] uel numi[ni] al[a]e uel cum forma quadam alius pronominis, aut legio[nis] vel nume[ri] al[t]er[ius uel al[i]us[modi dubitanter Gilliam (1954: 192–3) || 8 uel nume[re]n[t]ur Fink: el num[er]u[m] n[on] [Marichal || 10 V[I Fink: V[ (dubitanter an V[I si in l. 7 [VII legeris) Marichal || 11–2 suppleuit Iovine (2018b: 66–72): ob natale[m] luci sei caesaris soceri aug(usti) b(ouem) m(arem) genio] luci [soc[er]i] aug(usti)] | [sei c]aesaris Fink<sup>1</sup>: ob natale[m] luci aeli caesaris supplicatio memoriae] luci [ae - - - -] | [aeli c]aesaris Hoey apud Fink<sup>1</sup>: ob natale[m] luci ±4 caesaris ±14] luci [s [ ] aug] | [±4 c]aesaris Fink<sup>2,3</sup>: ob natale[m] Luci ... Caesaris ±14] Luci [s [ ] Aug] | [ ] C]aesaris Marichal || 13 K]al Sanders (1941: 272) || 14 V K[a]l(endas) [Feb]rarias Fink Marichal | u[i]ctori[as] Fink: u[i]ctori[am] Guey (1948: 69): u[i]c[t]ori[as] Marichal | Arabicam et Adiabenicam et Parthica]m Fink<sup>1,2</sup>: Parthica[m] diui Traiani et Parthica]m Guey (1948: 69): et Parthica]m tantum Fink<sup>3</sup> Marichal || 15 Seue[ri] Fink: Se[ueri] Marichal | Part]hi[cae] Marichal || 17 prid(ie) N[on]as Fink: pridi[e] Nonas Sanders (1941: 272) | ±9] o diuo Fink<sup>1</sup> || 19 M[a]rtis Fink<sup>1</sup> | c[e]r[imo]nia[s] Fink || 21–2 pr non[is] ma]r[tis] Fink<sup>1</sup>: prid Fink<sup>2,3</sup>: [Prid(ie)] Non[is] Ma]r[tis] Marichal || 24 qu[od] Iovine (2018b: 74) || 24–9 [et quod a mi]litib[us] ... Aug(usti) [imp(erator) Caesar Marcus Aurelius Seuerus Alexande]r Aug(ustus) [- - - primo] imp[erator] apel[latus sit supplicatio pridie Idu]s [Martias q]uod A[lexander augustus no]s[ter] augustus et pater patriae et pontife]x max[imus apellatus s]it supp[licat]io [genio domini nostri Alex]and[ri] augusti taurum Fink<sup>1</sup>: a [militibus] ... ma[ximus Sanders (1941: 272): [quod a mi]litib[us] d(omini) n(ostri)] Aug(usti) [Imp(eratoris) Marci Aureli Seueri Alexandri Alexande]r Aug(ustus) n(oster) [primo] imp[erator] apel[latus sit supplicatio ... Fink<sup>2</sup>: [quod a mi]litib[us] imp] aug [marci aureli seueri alexandri alexande]r aug n[- - - primo] imp[erator] apel[latus sit supplicatio ... Fink<sup>3</sup> || 25 ] [ ] litib[us] Marichal | n[on] Fink<sup>1,3</sup>: n(oster) Fink<sup>2</sup>: [ ] Marichal || 26 ] [ ] imp[erator] Marichal || 27 ] [ ] s[upplicatio] Marichal || 28 ] xma[ ] Marichal | ] t[ ] supp[ ] d Marichal

col. I: '1 January ...

3 January. Since vows are fulfilled and pronounced, and for the health of our lord Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Augustus, and for the eternity of the domination of the Roman people: (offer) an ox to Jupiter Optimus Maximus; a cow to Queen Juno; a cow to Minerva; an ox to Jupiter triumphant; ... a bull to Father Mars; a bull to Mars triumphant; a cow to the goddess Victory ...

... January. A cow... a cow to Health; a bull to Father Mars...

... January. For the birthday of the deified (lady) ... to the deified (lady) ... a prayer.

... January. For the birthday of Lucius... Caesar... of Lucius... Caesar.

24 January. For the deified Hadrian's birthday, (offer) an ox to the deified Hadrian.

28 January. For the greatest Parthian ... victory (victories?) of the deified Severus, and for the accession of the deified Trajan, (offer) a cow to the Parthian victory, and an ox to the deified Trajan.

4 February. For the accession of the deified and great Antoninus, a prayer, and (offer) an ox to the deified and great Antoninus.

1 March. For the birthday ceremonies of Father Mars triumphant, (offer) a bull to Father Mars triumphant.

6 March. For the accession of the deified Marcus Antoninus and the deified Lucius Verus, (offer) an ox to the deified Marcus, and an ox to the deified Lucius.

13 March. Since the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander was proclaimed Emperor, (offer) to Jupiter an ox, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva ... an ox to Mars ... a prayer ...'

1 1 January, the beginning of the year – and perhaps, the *dies imperii* of Pertinax. Oliver believes this day to have been dedicated to *Mater Castrorum*, the patron deity of the Roman army, represented in the *Feriale* by *Iulia Domna*. The Emperor's great-aunt had apparently been bestowed the title of 'mother of the camp' (*mater castrorum*, μήτηρ τῶν στρατοπέδων) and identified as Ἀθηνᾶ Ποσειάδα in an Athenian decree not later than AD 195, and sacrifices to her had indeed been ordained for 1 January.<sup>842</sup> Fink has argued against Oliver, showing *mater castrorum* to be nothing more than a title, and not a deity in her own right; and

<sup>842</sup> Oliver (1941: 540–1).

that the *Kalendae Ianuariae* were a festival important enough to be featured in col. I l. 1, without further specifications.<sup>843</sup>

2–6 3 January: the prayers (*vota*) for the welfare of the reigning Emperor and the eternal prosperity of the Roman people. A similar formula in PLIN. *Pan.* 67,3 *uota et pro aeternitate imperii et pro salute principum*. The sacrifice was probably made to the Capitoline Triad, and to the goddess *Victoria* (cf. *CIL* XI 3780).

11–2 Aelius Caesar's *dies natalis* 'birthday', either on 13 January or some days before; this was the first heir apparent to Hadrian's throne before his premature death in 138. Direct inspection shows that he – not Lucius Seius, father-in-law to Severus Alexander – is here featured.<sup>844</sup>

13 Hadrian's birthday, on 24 January, reconstructed thanks to several sources.<sup>845</sup>

14–6 A victory against the Parthians, or *Victoria Parthica*, on 28 January, and in the same day, Trajan's accession to the throne (not his birthday, as he was born on 18 September (*PIR* V s.v. Ulpian 575). Fink is determined to see in this event the commemoration of the fall of Ctesiphon in 198, which was the final success of Septimius Severus' campaign against the Parthians and coincided with Caracalla's elevation to the throne.<sup>846</sup> Guey remarks how conveniently the Emperor would have associated these events with the beginning of Trajan's reign, for political reasons: after a full century (98–198), the happy period inaugurated by Trajan's accession would begin again, with the Severans in command.<sup>847</sup> Guey also believes that not only Severus' victory, but Trajan's too (*uictorias Parthicas*) is featured here; this is impossible to verify.<sup>848</sup> An important remark has been made by Rubin, who believes that the fall of Ctesiphon took place before 198 (as Caracalla was Augustus already in 197, and he was proclaimed so only after the capture of the Parthian capital); the victories celebrated in this entry of the *Feriale* would be, as Fink first suggested, the *uictoriae Parthica, Arabica et Adiabenica*. All the Severan triumphs and Trajan's *dies imperii* would be therefore conveniently celebrated in a single day.<sup>849</sup>

17–8 Caracalla's *dies imperii*, on 4 February.

19–20 1 March, the god Mars' birthday, or *caerimoniae nataliciae Martis patris* (cf. Philocalus' calendar in *CIL* I, p. 260, 310).

21–2 Marcus Aurelius' and Lucius Verus' *dies imperii*, on 6 March. This is puzzling, as the commonly accepted date is 7 March (*Nonis Martiis*). Fink supposes a scribal mistake.<sup>850</sup>

23–9 Severus Alexander's *dies imperii*, on 13 March. The entry is clear only on the mere proclamation (col. I ll. 23–4 *im]perator | ap[pellat]u[s sit]*); what was subsequently celebrated in ll. 24–9 (or in what way) is impossible to gather, due to extended lacunae in the manuscript. Fink believes in two distinct entries: 13 March, ll. 23–6, for the proclamation *a militibus* (the praetorians) after the assassination of Elagabalus; 14 March, ll. 26–9, granting of the titles of *pater patriae* and *pontifex maximus* to the new Emperor. This would be an act of gratitude towards the Senate, which awarded the two aforementioned titles, and had been instrumental in Alexander's accession.<sup>851</sup> Hoey,<sup>852</sup> Gilliam,<sup>853</sup> and Marichal<sup>854</sup> disagree for several reasons, including: (1) it is impossible that a single event is contained in ll. 23–6; one sees two events, the *milites* being mentioned only for the latter; (2) it is otherwise unattested in the *Feriale* that a single event is redoubled in the list of festivities; (3) if ll. 27–9 contain titles granted by the Senate, one should also see the *imperium proconsulare* and the *tribunicia potestas*, all regularly

<sup>843</sup> Fink (1944: 17–9).

<sup>844</sup> See Iovine (2018b: 66–72).

<sup>845</sup> Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 77).

<sup>846</sup> Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 77–81); Fink (1941: 81–2).

<sup>847</sup> Guey (1948: 62).

<sup>848</sup> Guey (1948: 68–9).

<sup>849</sup> Rubin (1975: 431–7).

<sup>850</sup> Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 85).

<sup>851</sup> Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 85–92).

<sup>852</sup> Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 93–4).

<sup>853</sup> Gilliam (1954: 194).

<sup>854</sup> *ChLA* (VI: 4).

given to Alexander (*SHA* Alex. 1,3; 8,1). Fink would rather have ll. 23–4 where the Senate proclaims Alexander Emperor; ll. 25–6 where the praetorians do the same; and ll. 26–9 for additional, non-crucial titles, granted probably by the Senate. All the aforementioned supplements necessarily take into account the uncertainty concerning the position of the two scraps at the bottom of col. I, which the early editors were unable to locate more precisely.<sup>855</sup> On this passage, see also Iovine (2018b: 72–4).

col. II

- <sup>1</sup> XIII Kal Apriles. Ob diem Quinq[u]a[trio]r[um] suppl[ic]atio; in X Ka[l] e]asdem supplic[ationes]  
<sup>2</sup> Pridie Nonas Apriles. Ob natale[m] Di[u]i Antonini Magni, Diuo An[t]on[in]o b' m'  
<sup>3</sup> V Idus Apriles. Ob imperium Di[u]i Pii Seueri, D[i]uo P[i]o S[eu]er[o] b' m'  
<sup>4</sup> III Idus Apr[il]es. Ob natalem Diui Pii Seue[r]i, D[i]uo Pi[o] S[eu]ero b' m'  
<sup>5</sup> X[I] Kal Maias. Ob natalem Urbis Romae [A]ete[r]nae, Urbi Romae Aeternae b' f'  
<sup>6</sup> VI [K]al Maias. Ob natalem Diui Marci Antoni[ni], Diuo Marco An[to]nino b' m'  
<sup>7</sup> No[nas] Maias. Ob natalem Diuae Iuliae Ma[esae], Diuae Maes]ae s[upplicatio]  
<sup>8</sup> VII [I]dus Maias. Ob Rosalias Sign[o]rum, suppl[icatio]  
<sup>9</sup> IIII Idus Maias. Ob Circenses Ma[rtiales], Marti Pa[tri] Ult]ori ta[u]rum  
<sup>10</sup> XII Kal [I]unias. Quod Diu]us Seue[rus] imperator a[ . . . ] [ . . . ] a]pp[ell]a[tu]s si[t]  
<sup>11</sup> Diuo Pio Seuer[o]  
<sup>12</sup> VIII Kal Iunias. Ob natalem G[er]mani[c]ae Cae[sa]ris, sup[pli]cat[i]o [me]mori[ae] Ge]rm[anici]  
<sup>13</sup> C[a]esaris  
<sup>14</sup> Pr[i]d[ie] Kal Iunias. Ob Rosalias Signorum, suppl[i]catio  
<sup>15</sup> [V] Idus Iunias. Ob Vestalia, Vest[a]e Matri supplicat[i]o  
<sup>16</sup> VI Kal Iulias. Quod dominus nost[e]r [M]arcus Aure[I]us Seuerus Al[e]xan[der] Cae]sar appe[l]-  
<sup>17</sup> -lat]us sit, et toga uirili amic[tus], Genio Alexandri Augusti taur[u]m  
<sup>18</sup> [Kal Iuli]is. [Q]uod Alexander Aug n p[r]imo cos designatus sit, supplicat[i]o  
<sup>19</sup> [ . . . ] Non [I]ulias. Ob [n]atalem Diuae Matidiae, Diua[e] Mati[di]ae suppl[ic]at[i]o  
<sup>20</sup> VI Idus Iulias. Ob imperium Diui Antonini Pii, Diu[o] Ant[o]nino b' m'  
<sup>21</sup> IIII Idus Iulias. Ob natalem Diui Iuli, Diuo Iulio b' m'  
<sup>22</sup> X Kal Augustas. Ob diem Neptuniorum, supplicatio, [i]mm[o]latio  
<sup>23</sup> [Kal Augustis. Ob] natalem Diui Claudii et Diui Pert[in]acis, [Di]uo Cla[udi]o b' m'  
<sup>24</sup> Diuo Pertinaci] b' m'  
<sup>25</sup> [Nonis Augustis.] O[b] Circenses Sa]lutares, Saluti [b'] f'  
<sup>26</sup> [ . . . ] Kal Septemb[re]s. Ob na]tal[em] M]amaea[e] Augustae matr]is Augusti nostri, I[un]o[n]i Ma]ma[e]ae  
Augustae [b' f']  
<sup>27</sup> [ ± 12 ] uo[ . . . ] o[ . . . ] lia m[ . . . ] natalem [ ± 12 ] [ . . . ]  
<sup>28</sup> [ . . . ] Kal Septembr]es. Ob [nata]le[m] Diu]ae Mar[c]ianae, Diuae Marci]an[ae] supplicatio

col. II: 1 quinq[u]a[trio]r[um] Sanders (1941: 272) | X Kal(endas) Sanders (1941: 272) || 2 A[n]tonini Fink | D[i]uo edd. || 3 [Pio S]euero [b(ouem) m(arem)] Marichal || 4 id[us] Fink<sup>1</sup> | Pi[o] uidi || 5 [XI Marichal | Romae Sanders (1941: 272): [R]omae edd. || 6 V[I] Fink | Anton[ini] edd. || 7 Maes]ae [ . . . ] Sanders (1941: 272) | s[upplicatio] uidi || 8 VI i[du]s Fink<sup>1</sup>: VI [ — — u]s Fink<sup>2</sup>: VI [ d]us Fink<sup>3</sup>: VI I[d]us Marichal || 10 Seuerus Fink<sup>2,3</sup> Marichal | a[ . . . ] edd. || 10–1 a [senatu dubitanter Fink<sup>1</sup> || 11 Pi[o] edd. || 12 Ge[r]- Sanders (1941: 272) || 14 pr[id(ie)] Sanders (1941: 272): P[ri]d[ie] Marichal | o[b] Fink<sup>1</sup> || 15 Id[us] Iunias

<sup>855</sup> A pair of fragments whose exact location is difficult to fix, partly because their surface has been severely damaged by decay, partly because the fibres of the recto of frg. 3 have a very irregular and confusing pattern at this point. Their general appearance and their content, however, show that they belong to the lower right corner of col. I. They have therefore been assigned provisionally to ll. 27–28' (Hoey, Fink and Snyder 1940: 14).

*Fink*: Id[us] Iunias *Marichal* | supplicatio *Sanders* (1941: 272) : supplicat[i]o *Fink*<sup>2,3</sup> *Marichal* || 16 Al[e]xa[nder] *edd.* | Ca[esar] *Sanders* (1941: 272) || 17 Au[g]usti *Fink Marichal* | taurum *Fink*<sup>3</sup> *Marichal* || 18 [qu]od *edd.* | Alexand[er] *Fink*<sup>1</sup> | designatus *Sanders* (1941: 272) : desig[n]atus *edd.* || 19 suppli[cat]i[o] *edd.* || 20 Antonino *edd.* || 23 n[ata]lem *edd.* | Cl[audi]o *Fink Marichal* | [m(arem)] *Marichal* || 25 [ --- ob --- ] *Marichal* | Salut[i] *Fink*: S[a]lut[i] *Marichal* | [b(ouem) f(eminam)] *Fink*<sup>3</sup> *Marichal* || 27 ] u [ . . . ] ob [ . . . ] iam [ . . . ] [ . . . ] ad [ *Fink*<sup>1</sup> : ] uo [ . . . ] mo [ . . . ] iam [ . . . ] [ . . . ] a [ (ualde dubitanter an [ Kal(endas) Septembres] quo[d uot]a ob u[ic]to[ri]am Pa[r]thicam] Augusti Alex[andri] soluantur Victoriae b f) *Fink*<sup>2</sup> : ] uo [ . . . ] aob [ . . . ] iam [ . . . ] [ . . . ] a [ (dubitanter an ] quo[d uot]a ob u[ic]to[ri]am Pa[r]thicam] Aug Alex[andri] *Fink*<sup>3</sup> : [ . . . ] uo [ . . . ] mo [ . . . ] am [ . . . ] [ . . . ] *Marichal* : ] natalem [ *Iovine* (2018b: 75) || 28 o[b] *edd.*

*col. II*: '19 March. For the day of the *Quinquatria*, a prayer; prayers on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of the same month.  
4 April. For the birthday of the deified and great Antoninus, (offer) an ox to the deified Antoninus.  
9 April. For the accession of the deified and pious Severus, (offer) an ox to the deified and pious Severus.  
11 April. For the birthday of the deified and pious Severus, (offer) an ox to the deified and pious Severus.  
21 April. For the birthday of the eternal city of Rome, (offer) a cow to the eternal city of Rome.  
26 April. For the birthday of the deified Marcus Antoninus, (offer) an ox to the deified Marcus Antoninus.  
7 May. For the birthday of the deified Julia Maesa, a prayer for Julia Maesa.  
9 May. For the rose festivals of the standards, a prayer.  
12 May. For the Circus-races in honour of Mars, (offer) a bull to Father Mars the avenger.  
21 May. Since the deified Severus was proclaimed ... Emperor ... to the deified and pious Severus.  
24 May. For the birthday of Germanicus Caesar, a prayer for the memory of Germanicus Caesar.  
31 May. For the rose festivals of the standards, a prayer.  
9 June. For the celebration in honour of Vesta, a prayer for Mother Vesta.  
26 June. Since our lord Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander was proclaimed Caesar, and wore the toga of manhood, (offer) a bull to the genial deity of Alexander Augustus.  
1 July. Since our Augustus Alexander was appointed for his first consulship, a prayer.  
... July. For the birthday of the deified Matidia, a prayer for the deified Matidia.  
6 July. For the accession of the deified Antoninus Pius, (offer) an ox to the deified Antoninus.  
12 July. For the birthday of the deified Julius, (offer) an ox to the deified Julius.  
23 July. For the day of the celebrations for Neptune, a prayer and a sacrifice.  
1 August. For the birthday of the deified Claudius and the deified Pertinax, (offer) an ox to the deified Claudius, and an ox to the deified Pertinax.  
5 August. For the games in honour of the goddess Health, (offer) a cow to the goddess Health.  
August ... For the birthday of Mamaea Augusta, mother of our August, (offer) a cow to Juno of Mamaea Augusta.  
...  
August... For the birthday of the deified Marciana, a prayer for the deified Marciana'.

1 19 March, the day of the *Quinquatria*. The celebration, originally devoted to Mars – as it opened the war season – in the third century AD appears instead to be devoted to Minerva.<sup>856</sup>

2 Caracalla's birthday, 4 April.

3 Septimius Severus' *dies imperii*, 9 April: the entry probably refers to his proclamation in *Carnuntum* (193).

4 Septimius Severus' birthday, 11 April: this contradicts previous sources, namely the *Historia Augusta* (*SHA* Sev. 1,3), according to which Severus was born on 8 April.

5 21 April, the foundation of Rome, or *dies natalis Urbis Romae Aeternae*. The festival was introduced by Hadrian and replaced the pre-existing *Parilia*.<sup>857</sup>

6 Marcus Aurelius' birthday, 26 April.

7 Iulia Maesa's birthday, 7 May.

8 An obscure festival, the *Rosaliae Signorum*, on 9 and 31 May (see l. 14). The only attempt at an explanation for this otherwise unknown event has been provided by Hoey, who argues that on these days the soldiers covered the unit's standards with roses, a traditional flower

<sup>856</sup> Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 94–6).

<sup>857</sup> Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 103–4).

in Roman festivities when it came to honour the dead (which is ruled out by Hoey for the *Feriale*) and celebrate incoming summer.<sup>858</sup> The festival would be twice celebrated as ‘a concession from the authorities to the tastes of the soldiers’.<sup>859</sup> This reconstruction relies heavily on the assumption that the *Feriale* is a military calendar, and has been quoted and endorsed by Fink, who believes the *signa* here featured are not only the legion’s standard, but any sort of *uexillum*.<sup>860</sup> Reeves convincingly argues against the military nature of this festival, which remains unclear in nature, and at any rate, not necessarily related to the Roman army.<sup>861</sup>

9 12 May, games for the god *Mars pater ultor*, or *Circenses Martiales*. This day was originally intended to celebrate Crassus’ *signa recepta* ‘received standards’ for which Augustus had an *aedicula* built and consecrated to *Mars Ultor*. Afterwards, when 1 August, normally the day devoted to Mars, began hosting Claudius’ *dies natalis*, 12 May was conveniently recycled for the warrior god.<sup>862</sup>

10–11 Apparently, Septimius Severus being proclaimed Emperor, 21 May. Due to extensive damage to these lines, this entry – which must be different from the *dies imperii* celebrated in col. II l. 3 – remains puzzling: *imperator appellatus*, but by whom, and when? According to Hoey, the celebrated occasion must have been one of the twelve imperial proclamations Severus enjoyed by the army throughout his life; namely, the fourth or fifth one, after Pescennius Niger’s defeat (194); the Eastern legions, therefore, would thus acknowledge Severus’ triumph over Niger, their former commander. Fink argues instead that the occasion must have been the Ravenna incident (193), when Severus bribed the Senate’s envoys into proclaiming him Emperor, as his soldiers already did in *Carnuntum* earlier that year; this would have later served as an official proclamation by the Senate.<sup>863</sup>

12–13 Germanicus’ birthday, 24 May<sup>864</sup>. Notice the scribe’s mistake: *Germanicae* instead of *Germanici*.

15 The celebrations for Vesta (*Vestalia*), 9 June. Yébenes suggests that this festival was actually *re-introduced* in Roman military calendars by none other than Severus Alexander himself, who would have enhanced Vesta’s cult for political reasons, namely to soothe the discontent created in this respect by his predecessors Caracalla, who violated four Vestal Virgins and had them killed, and Elagabalus, who married one.<sup>865</sup>

16–17 Severus Alexander is old enough to wear the *toga uirililis* and is proclaimed Caesar, 26 June. This is very recent history, as it happened in 221. Hoey notices how the heir to the throne was a bit too young for the *toga pura*, being not yet 13 years old (he was born on 1 October 208).<sup>866</sup>

18 Severus Alexander is consul for the first time, 1 July.

19 The birthday of Matidia, daughter of Trajan’s sister Marciana and mother of Hadrian’s wife, Sabina, 4 July.<sup>867</sup>

20 Death of Hadrian, therefore Antoninus Pius’ *dies imperii*, 6 July.

21 Julius Caesar’s birthday, 12 July.

22 The celebrations for Neptune (*Neptunalia*), 23 July.

23–24 Birthday of Emperors Claudius and Pertinax, 1 August.

25 On 5 August, the games for *Salus publica populi Romani*, or *Circenses Salutares*.

26 Birthday of the Emperor’s mother, Iulia Mamaea: this must have taken place between 6 and 30 August. In the same period must have taken place the celebrations for

<sup>858</sup> Hoey (1937: 23–6).

<sup>859</sup> Hoey (1937: 33–4).

<sup>860</sup> Fink, Hoey and Snyder (1940: 117–8).

<sup>861</sup> Reeves (2004: 82–7).

<sup>862</sup> Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 120–3).

<sup>863</sup> The full discussion is in Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 128–36).

<sup>864</sup> Cfr. Reeves (2004: 107–9).

<sup>865</sup> Perea Yébenes (2001: 350–4).

<sup>866</sup> Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940: 142).

<sup>867</sup> For Matidia’s and Marciana’s inclusion in the *diuiae* since Hadrian’s times, and the political reasons beyond, cfr. Oliver (1949: 37–8).



Marciana's birthday, as she is clearly mentioned in col. II l. 28, and the date is noted with *Kalendas Septembres*, preceded by a now vanished figure.

col. III

<sup>1</sup> [Pr]id [Kal Septembres. Ob nat]alem [Diui Commodi, Diuo] Com[modo b' m']  
<sup>2</sup> [ . . . ] Idu[s Septembres. . . . . ] . . . [ ±21 ] . . . [ . . . ]  
<sup>3</sup> [ . . . ]  
<sup>4</sup> [XIII Kal Oct]ob[res.] O[b natalem Diui Traiani et ob imperium Diui Neruae, Diuo  
<sup>5</sup> Traiano b' m', Diuo Neruae b' m']  
<sup>6</sup> [XIII Kal Octobre]s. Ob [natalem Diui An]to[nini Pii, Diuo Antonino b' m']  
<sup>7</sup> [ . . . ] Ka]l Oct[obres.] O[b natal[em Di]uae F[austina]e, Diu[ae Fau]sti[nae supp]licat[io]  
<sup>8</sup> [VIII] Kal [Octobres. O]b n[at]ale[m Di]ui Augusti, Diu[o Aug]us[to b' m']  
<sup>9</sup> [ . . . ]  
<sup>10</sup> [ . . . ]  
<sup>11</sup> [ ±11 ] . . . [ ±17 ] . . . [ ±15 ] . . . [ . . . ]  
<sup>12</sup> [ . . . . . ] No]ue[m]br[e]s. [ ±14 ] . . . [ ±13 ] . . . [ . . . ]  
<sup>13</sup> [ ±15 ] i[ . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ] d[ . . . . . ] n[ . . . ]  
<sup>14</sup> [ . . . ]  
<sup>15</sup> [ . . . ]  
<sup>16</sup> [ . . . ]  
<sup>17</sup> [ . . . ]  
<sup>18</sup> [ . . . ]  
<sup>19</sup> [ . . . ]  
<sup>20</sup> [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ]  
<sup>21</sup> [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ]  
<sup>22</sup> [ . . . ]  
<sup>23</sup> [ . . . ] K]al [ . . . ]  
 - - -

col. III: 2 [VII] *Fink*<sup>1</sup> | in fine lineae ] . . . [ tantum *Marichal* || 4 Octo]br[es] o[b edd. || 6 o[b *Fink* *Marichal* | An]t[onini edd. || 7 Kal(endas)] edd. | o]b nat[alem edd. | suppl]icat[io] *Fink* || 8 n[at]alem] edd. | Di[uo edd. || 11 [±13] [±17] . . . [ ±15] . . . [ edd. || 12 ] . . . [ . . . ] nus [ *Fink*<sup>1,2</sup> *Marichal*: ] it[ . . . ] nus [ *Fink*<sup>3</sup> | ] . . . [ . . . ] e[ *Fink*<sup>1,2</sup> *Marichal*: ] b[ . . . ] *Fink*<sup>3</sup> || 13 [±15] i[±20] n[ *Fink*<sup>1</sup>: [±15] i[±20] . . . [ . . . ] n[ *Fink*<sup>2,3</sup> *Marichal* || 21 [ . . . ] [±19] [ edd. | post hanc lineam, duas lineas dubitanter posuerunt *Fink* *Marichal* || 23 fortasse [Decembres]

col. III: '31 August. For the birthday of the deified Commodus, (offer) an ox to the deified Commodus.

... September ...

...

18 September. For the birthday of the deified Trajan, and the accession of the deified Nerva, (offer) an ox to the deified Trajan, and an ox to the deified Nerva.

19 September. For the birthday of the deified Antoninus Pius, (offer) an ox to the deified Antoninus.

... September. For the birthday of the deified Faustina, a prayer for the deified Faustina.

23 September. For the birthday of the deified Augustus, (offer) an ox to the deified Augustus.

...

October ... (1 November?) ...

...Calends...'

1 31 August, Commodus' birthday.



7. APPENDIX. THE GREEK PAPYRI FROM THE 20<sup>TH</sup> PALMYRENE COHORT.

A quick look at Fink's *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, as well as the more recent editions of *ostraka* from Roman camps in Krokodilô, Mons Claudianus and Xeron Pelagos,<sup>871</sup> will be enough to establish that not only Latin, but also Greek can be found among Roman army documents – and much more frequently than Latin, for that matter. It was normally employed for personal documents, receipts, private business, and private letters, as soldiers would have been – when literate at all – literate in Greek;<sup>872</sup> also a number of more ‘official’ documents, i.e. military lists, can be found in Greek. Among the papyri and parchments found in Dura-Europos referring to the 20<sup>th</sup> cohort of the Palmyrenes, manuscripts in the Greek language are a small percentage and of little overall relevance. As the main purpose of this monograph was to re-assess the Latin texts on papyrus and parchment among the *P.Dura*, this book will offer no re-edition or commentary on these documents. In this section I will provide a list of them and a brief commentary on their content and their relation – if extant – with other documents in the archive.

- *P.Dura* 55, letter *b*, fr. *k-q*.<sup>873</sup> Letter *a* is a copy of a Latin official letter, probably addressed to a commanding officer of the cohort, mentioning disciplinary problems among the soldiers. Letter *b* is a copy as well, but very little of its text survives, even less than in letter *a*. There is no way to clarify whether the smaller scraps *k-q* belong as well to the same Greek letter. Welles hypothesized that letter *b* was a translation – or anyway similar in content – to letter *a*; or a *cahier des doléances* to top-ranking officials from local magistrates concerning the misbehaviour of soldiers, which would have been forwarded by the officials to the tribune of the cohort, in a manner vaguely reminiscent of petitions.<sup>874</sup>

- a small number of letters in the large *liber epistularum* *P.Dura* 66 is in Greek. Like their Latin counterparts, very little of the original texts survive, and their content is almost always obscure. One can divide them into two subgroups: those where the *accepta*+date formula survives (letters *Q*,<sup>875</sup> *S*, *W*, *Z*, *CC*, *EE*, *GG*) and those where one cannot find it (letters *B*, *I*, *P*, *X*, *AA*, *KK*, *NN*, *OO*, *FFF*).

- *P.Dura* 123<sup>876</sup> is a list of names in Greek, badly preserved, written on the *verso* of *P.Dura* 104; the use of Greek has been explained by Marichal as the result of the scribe's inability to use Latin when he drew up the list.<sup>877</sup>

- *P.Dura* 126<sup>878</sup> and 127<sup>879</sup> are, like 125, sentences produced by Laronius Secundianus. It is unclear why he used Greek in this case and not Latin; perhaps it depended on the status of the actors in the trial – whether they were soldiers or civilians.<sup>880</sup>

- *P.Dura* 129<sup>881</sup> is a receipt of money for a purchase: two auxiliaries, Οὔλιος Δημήτριος and Ἀλέξανδρος Ὀροβάζου, acknowledge they have paid money for receiving some barley. Gilliam notes how this might be a document produced within the context of what in the great rosters is called *ad hordeum*: auxiliaries destined *ad hordeum* in rosters would perform such an activity and release receipts.<sup>882</sup>

<sup>871</sup> See the recent comprehensive editions in Bingen, Bülow-Jacobsen, Cockle, Cuvigny, Rubinstein and Van Rengen (1992); (1997); Cuvigny (2000); (2005).

<sup>872</sup> See le Bohec (2010) for some recent assessment.

<sup>873</sup> For details on the number and order of the fragments, see the commentary *ad loc*.

<sup>874</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 214; 216); Fink (1971: 382); *ChLA* (VI: 11; 13).

<sup>875</sup> On this papyrus see Arzt (1996).

<sup>876</sup> TM 44855, *post* AD 238–47.

<sup>877</sup> *ChLA* (IX: 67).

<sup>878</sup> TM 44869, AD 235

<sup>879</sup> TM 44861, *ca.* AD 235.

<sup>880</sup> The subscription can only be seen in *P.Dura* 126, ll. 11–4, and reads [Cεο]νήρου καὶ Κυντιανοῦ ὑπάτων πρὸ δεκαδύο [Καλανδῶν | Μα]ίων Λαρώνιος Σεκουνδιανὸς χειρίαρχος πεί[ρης] εἰκοτῆς | Παλ]μυρηνῶν Ἀλεξανδριανῆς τῇ ἀποφάσει ὑπ' [ἐμοῦ δεδο]μέ[ν]ῃ ὑπέγραψα. As remarked in 4.1.2, it is clearly a Greek rendition of the Latin formula *Seuero et Quintiano co(n)s(ulibus) | duode[c]imum Kal(endas) Maias | Laronius Secundian[us] | trib(unus) [coh(ortis) X]X Palmyreno[rum] | Alex[an]drianae s[enten]t[ia]e a [m]e datae sub[scripsi]* (*P.Dura* 125, ll. 8–13).

<sup>881</sup> TM 17235, AD 225

<sup>882</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam (1959: 403).

- *P.Dura* 132<sup>883</sup>, 137<sup>884</sup>, 141<sup>885</sup> and 144<sup>886</sup> are all part of a sub-group of papyri so small and ragged, it is almost impossible to gather any useful information from them.

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<sup>883</sup> TM 17236. The date is uncertain – as well as for all the subsequent papyri in this subgroup.

<sup>884</sup> TM 30504.

<sup>885</sup> TM 17237.

<sup>886</sup> TM 30505.

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