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# THE FLORIDA OSTRAKA

(*O. Florida*)

Documents from the Roman Army  
in Upper Egypt

ROGER S. BAGNALL

*Columbia University*

DUKE UNIVERSITY ✓ DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

1976

for  
Whitney

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## PREFACE

THE COLLECTION of Greek and Latin ostraka published in this volume belongs to the Strozier Library of Florida State University. It is a pleasure to be able to repeat here my thanks to those in that university who have helped to make the acquisition and study of the collection possible: I think especially of Charles E. Miller, Director of Libraries, who authorized the purchase and publication; the staff of Special Collections, particularly Cynthia Wise; and my former colleagues in the Department of Classics, especially Lynette Thompson and W. W. de Grummond. The photographs were produced by the Photographic Laboratory of the University.

Several friends and colleagues have discussed various aspects of these documents with me, reading part or all of the manuscript; I owe them much for their generous help: Alan K. Bowman, J. D. Thomas, Sergio Daris, and J.-M. Carrié all discussed the collection with me at the Fourteenth International Congress of Papyrology in Oxford<sup>1</sup> and by correspondence subsequently. Michael P. Speidel contributed several suggestions. Manfred G. Raschke and J. F. Gilliam read the complete manuscript to its considerable benefit. The many who have profited from Professor Gilliam's knowledge of the Roman army in Egypt will know how great my debt is. That the remaining faults of the book are solely the author's responsibility is particularly true here. P. J. Sijpesteijn has, among other kindnesses, invited me to collaborate in the publication of the Amsterdam ostraka, some of which bear on the subjects discussed here and are mentioned in the course of the book. They are to appear shortly in volume 9 of the series *Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam, ius antiquum et papyrologicam pertinentia*.

As an abbreviation for this volume I suggest *O.Florida*.

Columbia University  
November, 1975

ROGER S. BAGNALL

<sup>1</sup> Where I presented a report on the collection; a brief summary appears in the *Proceedings of that Congress* (London 1975), p.10, but is entirely superseded by the present volume. My presence at the Congress, to which this volume owes much, was made possible by a travel grant from the American Council of Learned Societies from funds provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The papyri in the collection which were mentioned in the Congress report are published (in collaboration with R. Bogaert) in *Ancient Society* 6 (1975) 79-108.

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## PART I

### Introduction

#### 1. General Remarks

IN THE FALL OF 1973 the Strozier Library of Florida State University (Tallahassee) purchased a collection of thirty-two ostraka and twenty-five pieces of papyrus. The latter are Ptolemaic orders for payment addressed to bankers, and they have been published elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The ostraka are mostly in Greek, but three are Latin, all fragments. One fake is not published here. The collection is housed in the Special Collections section of the library.

The seller was a private party in Holland, and she provided the information that the entire collection had been in the possession of her family since around the beginning of this century. With the ostraka was a slip indicating the provenance as Edfu. The purchaser was both more fortunate and more inquisitive about provenance than most buyers from dealers, since the papyri also bore a provenance (Abusir el-Melek). There is no indication if the purchase was made at the place named or rather from a dealer in one of the larger cities who supplied the information about provenance. Since, as we shall see, a source in the area of Edfu for the ostraka fits well with the contents of the documents, there is no reason to doubt the information.

Of the ostraka, one seems to be a forgery. Of the remainder, all except 26-28 seem to belong to a single find; the common characteristics which link them will be discussed at length below. The three which cannot be shown to belong are a list of names of guards (26), a receipt for money (27), and a very crudely written list of names (28). The remainder of the texts (1-25, 29-31) all appear to belong to a group of documents concerning a unit of the Roman army and the affairs of its members. They are virtually all, we shall see, written in

<sup>1</sup> R. S. Bagnall and R. Bogaert, "Orders for Payment from a Banker's Archive: Papyri in the Collection of Florida State University," *Ancient Society* 6 (1975) 79-108.

hands characteristic more of private letters than of scribally written documents, and in fact all but a few (1, 24–25) are letters, some official, some private in nature.

The masses of ostraka published in the standard collections are official documents produced by the civil administration, in the main tax receipts, transportation receipts, and lists of names; they come from Thebes, Elephantine/Syene, Edfu, and the Fayum. In general they are written in very fast hands characteristic of their periods but harder to read than the average documentary hand.<sup>2</sup> Only the fact that we have large masses of very similar texts has enabled them to be read with any confidence. But there have also been published a certain number of ostraka from quite different sources, texts which suggest that these potsherds were widely used in Egypt for many uses other than those which our largest finds happen to suggest: business documents from the Red Sea coast,<sup>3</sup> receipts given by soldiers in Nubia,<sup>4</sup> and a number of documents, mainly letters, from the upper part of Egypt and the desert area between the Nile and the Red Sea.<sup>5</sup> It is with this last group that the Florida ostraka have their closest affinities. Up to the present, however, very few of the known texts could be described as official military correspondence, even though many of the texts of this type had clear connections with the army; this is particularly true of the ostraka from Wadi Fawakhir published by Guéraud several decades ago.<sup>6</sup>

None of the ostraka in the military archive has a date preserved, and the date of year 10 in 27 does not mention an emperor. A discussion of the various aspects of the texts contributing to dating them will be necessary. The study of the nomenclature, which is an essential part of this, in some respects presupposes the conclusions of the discussion of military matters, and the reader is referred to that part of the book for these aspects.

<sup>2</sup> See the classic exposition of the manner of writing these receipts, by Cl. Préaux, *JEA* 40 (1954) 83–87.

<sup>3</sup> Such as *O.Bodl.* 1968–71, *O.Petr.* 220–304 (Myos Hormos and Berenike, but found at Coptos).

<sup>4</sup> *O.Bodl.* 2003–60 etc.; see the discussion by Cl. Préaux, *Cd'E* 26 (1951) 121–55.

<sup>5</sup> A bibliography of these can be found below in nn.6, 35, 36, 39 and 60.

<sup>6</sup> O. Guéraud, *BIFAO* 41 (1942) 141–96, with a plate; texts reprinted as *SB VI* 9017. A notable addition of a few official letters is found in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *TAAANTA* 5 (1973) 82–84, nos. 13–14 (both in Latin); his nos. 9–10 (pp.79–81), in Greek, seem to me to be official also. Cf. *BASP* 12 (1975) 135–44.

## 2. Date

The first question regarding the date of these ostraka is whether they come all from the same time or whether some may be considerably earlier than others. There appears to be no evidence to support any such division, and there is some indication that certain pieces come from approximately the same period. With the private correspondence no conclusion is possible, but the official letters are clearly from one chronological horizon. The Herennius Antoninus, decurion, who appears in 2, also appears or is mentioned in 3, 5, 8, and probably 10. We find in 3 that he is contemporary with another decurion named Tullius and a soldier named Iulius Apollinarius. It may be the same Iulius Apollinarius who appears in 4 as belonging to the *turma* of Aponius (the *turma* is not stated in 3). In 5 a *curator* Iulianus is mentioned; he probably appears in 9 as the addressee of a letter from the Tullius already mentioned. Tullius is also, I think, the author of 6. We find, therefore, that 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10 are interrelated and approximately contemporaneous. Considering the fragmentary character of many of the letters, this concentration is impressive. Only specific evidence would provide a counterargument against contemporaneity, and none is forthcoming. I will, therefore, treat the archive as a whole in discussing its date, excluding only the apparently nonarchival pieces identified above. This approach is the more valid in that the most informative texts for military affairs, where the date matters most, are precisely those which we can see are interrelated.

### A. PALAEOGRAPHY

A familiar and fundamental problem faces us in investigating the hands of the archive. The hands most nearly parallel to them tend to appear in private letters, the papyrus equivalents of our texts. But these private letters are illustrated in publications much less frequently than the more precisely datable texts, and they are in any case themselves only vaguely dated in most editions. On the whole, no one will doubt that the hands of the Florida ostraka are characteristic of the second century of our era. Many of the rather slowly made uncial letter shapes of our writers are not at all chronologically distinctive. And the sample for each of our hands is rather small. For three writers there seem to be two texts each: 2 and 8 (both letters of

Herennius Antoninus), 6 and 9 (both letters of Tullius), and 11 and 12 (both letters of an unknown decurion).

Of the examples in *P.Graec.Berol.*, 28 has some resemblance to 3, 13 and 18, particularly the last. Schubart considered it to belong to the second half of the second century. His pl. 22b (135?) is also somewhat like 18 but rather more fluent. The papyri of the third century illustrated by Schubart, on the other hand, have little in common with these ostraka, although pl. 32b (ca 200) preserves in exaggerated form some of the manner of 3 and the two texts of Tullius (6 and 9).

*P.Mert.* II 81 is of some interest; its editor compared *P.Graec.Berol.* 28, which we have cited above, and remarked that the Merton text was probably from the middle of the century because of the use of the y-shaped *eta*, to which Kenyon<sup>7</sup> gave a range of about A.D. 50 to 160 (aside from isolated examples). This type of *eta* is not in general characteristic of the hands in our archive, which, as one might expect in slower writers, favor the H-shaped *eta*, but the y-form does appear in 24.7, the list of *skopelarioi*.

The impression that the archive does not belong early in the century is reinforced by an examination of documents from the late first and early second centuries; *P.Mert.* II 66, for instance, which is dated to the early part of the century, is clearly earlier than our texts. Such dates have, of course, in themselves a certain amount of vagueness and subjectivity. If on palaeographical grounds we allow the period from 125 to 175 as possible, we will probably come as close as possible to precision.<sup>8</sup>

### B. EPISTOLARY FORMULAS

Some general confirmation for the conclusions reached about the letter forms is provided by the formulas used in the private letters. We have two examples of *πλείστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν*; this phrase is in use from the beginning of Roman rule, and of the examples collected by Exler the majority are from the first century and the earlier part of the second.<sup>9</sup> It is scarcely at all found later. On the other hand, *πλείστα χαίρειν* by itself is of little chronological

<sup>7</sup> F. G. Kenyon, *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (Oxford 1899) 44.

<sup>8</sup> Naturally very slow writers like that of 1 cannot be taken into account with even this much precision, as they tend to look much alike in any period. The hand of that piece rather resembles that of *P.Lond.* 311 (Atlas II, pl. 56), of A.D. 149, but that indicates little.

<sup>9</sup> F. X. J. Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter: A Study in Greek Epistolography* (Diss. Catholic University of America, Washington 1923) 32-33.

significance, although not many of Exler's examples which are unadorned like this are from the first century.<sup>10</sup> The sentence which follows in both of our texts with this opening, however, *πρὸ μὲν παντὸς εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν μετὰ τοῦ ἀβασκάντου σου ἵππου*, is almost exclusively found in the second century (aside from the unparalleled prepositional phrase concerning the horse).<sup>11</sup>

The closing formula is also of some interest. Of the preserved closes with any form of *ῥώννυμι*, *ἔρωω* appears in five (4, 5, 16, 17, 19), *ἔρωσθε* in two (2, 6) and *ἔρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι* in three (7, 14, 15). This last phrase is in the main characteristic of the second century and later; forming 30 per cent of the total here it points to a date in the second century but probably not toward its end.<sup>12</sup> In a sample of this size, of course, there is risk of distortion, and it would be foolish to press such conclusions harder than is warranted.

These formulas, then, confirm that we are dealing with texts of the second century, with the first unlikely and the third virtually excluded. If we are to trust the sampling, it seems that our texts are probably neither very early nor very late in the second century, a conclusion in accord with that suggested by the handwriting.

### 3. Nomenclature

The following table sets forth the evidence of the proper names of the military ostraka (the names, all but one Egyptian, of 24, 26, 27 and 28, which do not seem to be military personnel or their families, are

<sup>10</sup> Exler, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.9) 28-29; the phrase appears almost exclusively in more complicated phrases until the start of the second century, and Exler cites only two early examples of the phrase by itself.

<sup>11</sup> Exler, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.9) 107; of this particular formulation of the wish Exler cites no examples outside of the second century. H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.* (Helsinki 1956) 134, also assigns the start of this phrase to the second century. The same phrase (incompletely preserved) appears in *O.Amst.* 18.

<sup>12</sup> Exler, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.9) 70 and 135, remarks that over the second century as a whole *ἔρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι* and *ἔρωω* (with its plural) have about equal occurrence (although he notes the mutability of such statistics); the longer phrase is gradually more prevalent and continues in common use in the third century. Cf. B. Olsson, *Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit* (Uppsala 1925), where out of a considerable number of letters, virtually all of the first century, the longer phrase occurs only five times (and one of those dates from A.D. 108, no.59). Simpler forms (mostly *ἔρωω*) overwhelmingly predominate in the material of the first century.

omitted). In the first section, men are arranged by ranks; within these and in other sections, by order of appearance.

## NOMEN + COGNOMEN

NAME	RANK	OSTR.	ROLE
'Ερέννιος 'Αντωνεῖνος	<i>decurio</i>	2	writer
'Αντωνεῖνος	<i>decurio</i>	3	turma of A.
'Αντωνεῖνος	<i>decurio</i>	5	turma of A.
'Ερέννιος 'Α[γτωνεῖνος]	[ <i>decurio</i> ]	8	writer
'Αντωνεῖνος	[ <i>decurio</i> ]	10	addressee
'Απάνιος Διδυμιανός	<i>decurio</i>	5	writer
'Απάνιος	<i>decurio</i>	4	turma of A.
Κλαύδιος 'Αρχίβιος	officer	3	writer
Βαίβιος Σεουήρος	officer	13	addressee
'Ιούλιος 'Αστειανός	<i>curator</i>	4	addressee
'Ιούλιος 'Αντωνεῖνος	<i>eques</i>	3	mentioned
'Απάνιος Πετρωνιανός	<i>eques?</i>	3	mentioned
'Ιούλιος 'Απολλινάριος	<i>eques?</i>	3	mentioned
'Ιούλιος 'Απολλινάριος	<i>eques</i>	4	writer
'Ιούλιος Μάξιμος	<i>eques?</i>	9	mentioned
Mettius Val[ ]	unknown	29	writer
Domitius Serenus	unknown	29	addressee
Antonius Longus	unknown	30	mentioned

## PRAENOMEN ONLY

Πούπλις	civilian?	15	writer
Κουίντος	<i>ἵππιατρός</i>	15	mentioned

## NOMEN ONLY

'Αμάτιος	unknown	2	addressee
Τούλλιος	<i>decurio</i>	3	mentioned
[Τύλλ]ιος	<i>decurio</i>	6	writer
Τύλλιος	<i>decurio</i>	9	writer
Πομπέιος	unknown	10	writer
Σάββιος	unknown	19	mentioned
'Αντόνιος	unknown	25	contributor

## COGNOMEN (LATIN OR LATIN FORMATION)

'Ιουλιανός	<i>curator</i>	5	addressee
Βάσσο	<i>curator</i>	7	addressee
'Ηλιανός (= Αἰλιανός ?)	<i>curator</i>	11	addressee
Μάξιμος	unknown	14	writer

Μηουιανός	unknown	16	writer
'Αμμωνιανός	<i>eques</i>	16	mentioned
Πρώκλος	unknown	17	addressee
Κρείσπος	unknown	20	mentioned
Πρεῖσκος	unknown	25	contributor
Longinus	unknown	30	mentioned

## GREEK OR EGYPTIAN NAME

'Αμμωνᾶς	<i>miles?</i>	1	addressee
'Αριστόβουλος	officer	3	addressee
Παπρήνις (?)	<i>eques</i>	3	mentioned
'Ικίδωρος	unknown	4	intermediary
'Ατρίδης	<i>eques</i>	5	mentioned
Τιναρσειγής	unknown	14	addressee
Καλλέας	unknown	14	mentioned
'Αρποχράς	unknown	16	addressee
Σέντις	unknown	17	writer
Θέων	<i>eques?</i>	18	addressee
'Απολλώνιος	<i>cibariator</i>	19	mentioned
'Αλέξανδρος	unknown	22	writer
'Απολλινάριος	unknown	25	contributor
Προτόμαχος	unknown	25	contributor
UNCERTAIN			
Νεούρος	unknown	25	contributor

Leaving out of consideration those who are women, we have some 10 persons who bear nomen plus cognomen, 2 with praenomen only, 5 with nomen only, 9 with cognomen only, and 12 with a Greek or Egyptian name. Of those whose military status is assured, we find (including those in 25) 10 with two names, 4 with nomen, 5 with cognomen, 9 with Greek or Egyptian name.

It must be said first, however, that we cannot be confident that we have the full designation of any of the persons listed. Even if we leave out of consideration the fact that we do not have the praenomen for any of those with the other two names, we cannot tell whether some of those with only nomen or cognomen also had the other name(s). Even in the case of those bearing Greek names we must reckon with the possibility that they had nomina to which these names officially served as cognomina. This problem arises mainly from the character of the documents. Only official letters, and not all of them, use the fuller designation of nomen and cognomen: 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 13, 29—and

not all of these use both names for every person (for example, the decurion may be identified only by one name when his name appears only as a part of the identification of a member of his unit). As the archive contains no official rosters, we are unable to check the names of the letters against an official listing.

The official letters 2-5, however, provide some insight into the problem. Particularly interesting is 3, where the writer uses his two names, Claudius Archibios, but addresses his correspondent simply as Aristoboulos. It is unfortunate that we do not know the ranks that these two held. Four soldiers are mentioned in the letter; three of them have two names, but one has only one, and that is evidently not a Roman name but an Egyptian one. There is no evident reason for this variation except that three of the soldiers, probably all cavalrymen, had two names and one had only his peregrine name (although he no doubt had also a patronymic). In 4, the cavalryman Iulius Apollinarius uses his two names, and he gives his addressee, the *curator* Iulius Asteianus, two also.

In 5, Aponius Didymianus (surely the decurion Aponius mentioned in 4) writes to a *curator* who is called only Iulianus; same pattern in 2, with Herennius Antoninus writing to Amatios (perhaps a *curator*). We know the nomen of every decurion or possible decurion (although we have no cognomen for Tullius), but we have a nomen for only one of the curators. It does not seem likely that this consistent pattern is a coincidence.

With the rank and file it is harder to reach any sure conclusion. The following table may help to make the problem clearer:

	Definitely soldier	Probably soldier
NOMEN + COGNOMEN	4	4
COGNOMEN	2	6
GREEK NAME	7	10
NOMEN	1	3

Decurions and curators are excluded from the reckoning; the 'probably' column is inclusive of the 'definitely' one; some of the 'definitely' ones still involve a measure of judgement. The names from 29 and 30 are excluded from consideration, as some of them at least are likely to have been officers.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> This is of course uncertain, with no titles preserved; but the letters 30 and 31 appear to be official correspondence, and so also are two Latin letters on ostraka clearly written by

We have already seen that it is possible to say that not all soldiers had names in the same pattern, because 3 shows clearly some with nomen plus cognomen but one with only an Egyptian name. Despite the informality of usage in some of the other documents, we may observe that most of the Greek names are not the sort which appear as cognomina for those soldiers who have nomina, except for Apollinarius. The large body of those with cognomina, on the other hand, points to a group whose nomina are simply not given in the texts we have. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that the soldiers certainly or probably from the ranks who have only a cognomen all appear in private documents where there would be little reason to give the full name.

The ostraka from Wadi Fawakhir offer a similar pattern. One finds there many Roman names, nomina and cognomina, but most persons have only one name. Where someone uses two, it may be to distinguish himself from another holder of the same nomen or cognomen, but there seems to be little pattern. Isolated praenomina and Greek names also occur, much as in our archive.

The somewhat confused situation regarding names points to their belonging to a group to whom the traditional patterns of Roman nomenclature meant little. Guéraud remarked of his soldiers, ". . . il n'est pas aussi certain qu'ils soient vraiment des Romains. La chose est probable pour ceux qui correspondent en latin: mais nous n'avons dans cette langue que sept ostraca, dont cinq émanent d'une même personne. Beaucoup de nos hommes doivent être des Egyptiens ou des Grecs d'Egypte qui ont pris un nom romain en entrant dans l'armée."<sup>14</sup> The only writer of ostraka in Latin in Guéraud's collection whose letters are well-enough preserved to allow us to judge uses a nomen and cognomen, Rustius Barbarus; even he, however, does not give full names to his correspondent and the persons he mentions.<sup>15</sup> It will be of interest to investigate just what origin and status we may assign to those soldiers and at what date this situation can have existed.

officers: Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.6) 82-84; his no.13 is from a centurion to a prefect; in no.14 the names are lost, but the writer has sent someone to a *praesidium*, and probably the writer and recipient are both officers. See J. F. Gilliam, *BASP* 13 (1976) 55-62.

<sup>14</sup> Guéraud, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.6) 147. Cl. Préaux echoes his remarks on the names in her review, *Cd'E* 22 (1947) 153.

<sup>15</sup> Guéraud's nos. 1-5; the addressee in all is simply Pompeius; the others mentioned may be seen on the table given by Guéraud on p.144.

The history of the recruitment of the auxiliaries of the Roman army has often been expounded in outline: that these units were from the earliest imperial times recruited among noncitizens, with the exception of a few units specifically designated as *civium Romanorum*; that Roman citizens were increasingly enrolled in many of them during the second half of the first century and the second century; that more and more the *numeri* later took in much of the type of manpower originally recruited for the auxiliaries.<sup>16</sup> It is likely enough that this is true. But it is also clear that in Egypt throughout the second century the recruitment of noncitizens continued unabated and that toward the end of the century one finds a stronger Egyptian element than before.

Lesquier stated many years ago that the auxiliaries who entered the army in Egypt and were of local origin were required to belong to the class of *metropolitai*; this requirement was parallel to that by which only those who were fully Hellenized—had undergone *epikrisis*—might be given citizenship and admitted to legions.<sup>17</sup> It may well be true that this was so in early imperial times, but by the later second century it was clearly not so, as was demonstrated by Marichal.<sup>18</sup>

The nature of the change of name which a recruit might undergo is not entirely clear, despite the assumption by some that the taking of a Latin name was fairly routine.<sup>19</sup> Lesquier remarked that sometimes a recruit would take such a Latin name, often a *nomen plus cognomen*, but that he would not take the *tria nomina*, which were forbidden to all peregrines.<sup>20</sup> All the same, extreme skepticism about the likelihood of a person bearing a *nomen plus cognomen* being a Roman citizen may not be justified.<sup>21</sup> The distinction between those using

<sup>16</sup> See, e.g., J. Lesquier, *Armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (MémInst 41, Cairo 1918) 219ff [hereafter cited as LESQUIER, with page number].

<sup>17</sup> Lesquier, 224; on the legionaries, 215.

<sup>18</sup> R. Marichal, *L'occupation romaine de la Basse Égypte* (Paris 1945) 27; he gives examples of persons who came from towns which were certainly not metropoleis, in papyri of the very end of the century (now *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 39, 70).

<sup>19</sup> Lesquier, 219.

<sup>20</sup> Marichal, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.18) 31–32, concurs in Lesquier's view. See n.14 *supra* for repetitions of this view by others.

<sup>21</sup> G. Alföldy has remarked about the auxiliaries of Germania Inferior that most peregrines use an original name or a name and patronymic, and that the taking of the *tria nomina* by them was only rarely practiced. The use of *nomen plus cognomen* is in fact common among citizens: Geza Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior* (Epigraphische Studien 6, Düsseldorf 1968) 105, citing his article in *Latomus* 25 (1966) 37ff. The standard account on this subject is Konrad Kraft, *Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau* (Bern 1951) 69–81. Kraft shows (1) that citizens often used only the

*nomen plus cognomen* and those using name and patronymic is taken by Gilliam to have at least general significance even in the early third century.<sup>22</sup> For soldiers attested in the papyri, there is rarely any means of an external check on the validity of such a procedure, but even if individuals might follow peculiar patterns, there is no reason to assume that in the main the use of two Roman names is not a probable indication of citizenship.<sup>23</sup>

There does not seem to be any simple rule for determining how the Roman citizens in the *auxilia* would come by their names. Alföldy notes a tendency in earlier times for those receiving the citizenship on discharge to take the name of the reigning emperor, but this tendency declines through the second century.<sup>24</sup> Citizens on active service might well be the children of former soldiers, and we would expect a considerable proportion of imperial *nomina* in the troops. The behavior of those who took *nomen plus cognomen* on entrance, without having citizenship, is still less predictable, and the *nomen* or *cognomen* of a commanding officer might well be chosen.<sup>25</sup> Now of the rank and file in the Florida ostraka with two names, three of four are named Iulius, which quite adequately follows the pattern described; the fourth is an Aponius, and his name could point to a choice based on the *nomen* of the decurion Aponius Didymianus. We

*nomen* and *cognomen*, and that use of these names is usually good evidence for citizenship; (2) that a *nomen* or *cognomen* alone does not point to possession of citizenship; (3) that these troops were recruited in the second century increasingly from those who already had citizenship; (4) that even in Egypt these principles generally apply. Cf. *infra* n.23.

<sup>22</sup> J. F. Gilliam, "Dura Rosters and the *Constitutio Antoniniana*," *Historia* 14 (1965) 81; Gilliam thinks (p.82) that a considerable number of the citizens came from the families of veterans.

<sup>23</sup> As to Egypt, there has been much discussion of how reliable a criterion two or three names are; I cite here only I. Biezuńska-Małowist, in *Proc. IX Int. Congress of Papyrology* (Oslo 1961) 277–78, for the suggestion that veterans' sons would take Roman names even without citizenship; J. F. Oates, *BASP* 2 (1965) 60–61, on uncertainties in both directions; and H. C. Youtie, in *Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Bruxelles 1975) 737–38.

<sup>24</sup> Alföldy, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.21) 105: "Es kann wenigstens eine Tendenz nachgewiesen werden, dass in den beiden ersten Jahrhunderten der Kaiserzeit die neuen römischen Vollbürger hauptsächlich den Gentilnamen des Kaisers führten, die ihnen die *civitas Romana* gewährt hatte, dagegen nahmen die *cives Latini* eher andere, nicht kaiserliche *Nomina an*." It seems unlikely that we are dealing with anyone of Latin status in the Egyptian sources, and it may be that this fact points to the noncitizenship of most of those with nonimperial names (as well as some with).

<sup>25</sup> For example, in *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 76 (Fink's full publication of *P.Hamb.* I 39) the number of Sereni is far too large to be only happenstance, given the presence of three decurions with that name. The widespread use of Serenus probably went some way back in the unit.

do not know the *turma* to which Aponius Petronianus belonged, as that information is not given for him or for his fellow Iulius Apollinarius in 3. If, however, Iulius Apollinarius in 4 is the same, he belonged to the *turma* of Aponius Didymianus and it would be likely that the other Aponius did also, as the writer of the letter gives the name of *turma* (in neither case Aponius) for the other two *equites* mentioned but not for Iulius Apollinarius and Aponius Petronianus. If this is in fact the operative mechanism here, we probably have an example of a soldier's taking nomen and cognomen from his commander before having received citizenship. This suggestion is to some extent reinforced by the relative scarcity of the name Aponius.<sup>26</sup>

We may now turn to the examination of the types and sources of the names appearing in the records of *auxilia* in Egypt, with the intention of seeking an indication of the chronological place of the Florida ostraka. Except with a very large sample for several periods, of course, the results can be only approximate. It is nonetheless possible to demonstrate that it is very unlikely that these ostraka can belong to certain periods.

A number of texts come into question in this inquiry. I am limiting the documents discussed to those in which enough names are preserved to provide a reasonable sample. Probably the earliest is *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 38, a list for an unknown purpose, dated to the late first or early second century. Its names show fairly regularly a pattern of name plus patronymic; only a *duplicarius* (i.15) seems to have nomen and cognomen. While the scribe, transliterating into Latin, was unsure about the exact form of some names, especially in the genitive, it seems that the name plus patronymic is the standard form. The names themselves are, aside from the *duplicarius*, predominantly Greek (15, counting names and patronymics separately) and Egyptian (10), with 7 Latin and 2 Semitic. The Greek names, it must be noted, are largely of the sort common among Hellenized natives, reflecting Egyptian deities embodied in Greek theophoric names (Horigenes, Isidorus, Serapion, Ammonius, etc.). We do not know the unit involved, though it is clearly not a legion.

*P.Oxy.* VII 1022 (*Rom.Mil.Rec.* 87), an official letter of A.D. 103 listing recruits into the Cohors II or III Ituraeorum, presents a rather different picture. Six men are listed, all with the *tria nomina*. We may be

<sup>26</sup> See R. Cavenaile, "Prosopographie de l'armée romaine en Egypte," *Aegyptus* 50 (1970) 213-330, s.v.

sure that there was no official disapproval of this, whatever the status of the men, because the author of the letter is the prefect of Egypt, C. Minucius Italus. The men are: C. Veturius Gemellus, C. Longinus Priscus, C. Iulius Maximus, ? Iulius Secundus, C. Iulius Saturninus, M. Antonius Valens. Given the official prohibition against the use by noncitizens of the *tria nomina*, one can scarcely conclude anything except that these men were citizens. At ages between 20 and 25, these men are the normal age for recruits, and it is clear that these are not men transferred from a legion.

The names of *signiferi* of another cohort, the Cohors I Lusitanorum, are preserved from A.D. 117 in a group of receipts for deposits by recruits in the military treasury, *PSI IX 1063 (Rom.Mil.Rec.* 74). The following names appear: Longinus Longus, Valerius Rufus, . . . ius Maximus, C. Domitius Rufus, . . . rianus, and Quintus Herennius. These men may have risen within the ranks of the cohort or have been transferred from a legion.<sup>27</sup> The receipts are in Greek, and we may therefore suppose that these men are Greeks or Hellenized Egyptians. The centurions, on the other hand, are less likely to have risen within the auxiliary ranks, and their names may prove nothing.<sup>28</sup>

From not long after this, if we may believe Fink's dating of the handwriting, comes *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 73 (*P.Fay.* 105), an accounting of various deposits and debts of auxiliary cavalry belonging to a unit which cannot be determined. Soldiers are listed by unit, and only one name is given; evidently no more was needed for identification in this list. We can therefore say nothing about the full form of the names of these men, but the enumeration of the origin of the single names given is instructive: of those which are reasonably secure, 26 are Roman, 25 Greek and 8 Egyptian. The Roman names are predominantly cognomina, but a scattering of common nomina and even one praenomen appear. The situation is thus somewhat like that

<sup>27</sup> The usual view of the pay differentials, as set out in e.g. G. R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier* (London 1969) 92-102, would indicate that a *duplicarius cohortis* earned less than a basic legionary; there would then be no reason for moving from a legion to be a *duplicarius* in a cohort. But M. P. Speidel, *JRS* 63 (1973) 141-47, argues, on the contrary, that a *duplicarius cohortis* would make more than a legionary at the lowest level; such a position would then presumably be a promotion.

<sup>28</sup> They are, nonetheless, not particularly characterized by the use of the *tria nomina*: only for the senior centurion does the nomen appear, the others all being designated by a cognomen (Crescens, Celer, Argius, Longianus, Ta . . .). The senior centurion is Longinus Tituleius, who is depositing the funds.

in the Florida ostraka. It seems that in the case of these men they were known by one name; if any of them had nomen and cognomen or the *tria nomina*, they were commonly referred to by the cognomen. Some of the Greek names, indeed, are of the sort which commonly appear as cognomina, particularly Apollinarius.

We now return to the Cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum Equitata, the *pridianum* of which on 31 August 156 stated that it had been in Contrapollinopolis Maior since 131 (*Rom.Mil.Rec.* 64). Aside from the statement of numbers, there is a list of recruits and transfers into the cohort during the year. The recruits are the following: Philon Isiognis, Apollos Herminus, Anubas Ammon, C. Sigillius Valens, Ammonius ---, C. Iulius ---, Heraclammon Q---, Hermacis Apynchis, Cronius Barbasatis, mostly (7 of 9) foot soldiers.<sup>29</sup> The two transfers from the Legio II Traiana have nomen and cognomen, Valerius Tertius and Horatius Herennianus. From the Cohors I Flavia Cilicum comes Maeuius Margellus, and from a unit whose name is lost, C. Longinus Apollo--- and Eros E---. Finally, it is noted that Ision son of Petsiris has been promoted to *equus*. We seem, once again, to have the mixture of purely Greek or Egyptian names with a few holders of the *tria nomina* and one person with the nomen and cognomen (the transfer from the Cilician cohort), a mixture characteristic of the Florida ostraka, although the proportion of native names is higher.

The pattern has largely changed by 179, the date of *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 76, a book of receipts given by *alares* to the *summus curator* of their *ala*. One can make elaborate charts of the patterns of names found, but the dominant impression is the breakdown of the system, or lack of system, of the past and its replacement with a situation in which virtually every soldier uses two names. What the names are seems to matter little; sometimes they are on the surface nomen plus cognomen (Iulius Serenus, Aponius Germanus), but they may as well be praenomen plus nomen, praenomen plus cognomen, praenomen plus praenomen, two Greek names in succession, with the second genitive or nominative at will. Bizarre combinations like Ammonius Cassius (no.42) abound. In short, the distinctions between various types of names—distinctions already weakening earlier in the century,

as one sees in the indiscriminate use of the occasional praenomen as the main identifying name of a soldier—were almost entirely eliminated in favor of a system in which any two names might be combined to give the appearance of having a nomen and cognomen.

Much the same situation appears, although not so extremely, in the lists from the 190's, *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 70 and 39. It is not necessary to analyze these texts in detail, but the juxtaposition of Claudius Apollinarius and Eponuchos Apollinarius (it is the latter who is a *castrensis*!) in 39 is interesting. These texts still preserve some slight trace of recognition of a difference between patronymic and cognomen, perhaps due mainly to the superior literacy of their writers compared to those of the cavalrymen of A.D. 179. In comparison with most of the evidence I have cited, the Florida texts seem, on the whole, well-composed and more Roman in character than the others.

The point has perhaps been belabored, but it is important to establish the point that soldiers in the auxiliary forces in Egypt might well, as elsewhere, be either citizen or noncitizen, and that in most cases (though not all) the use of three names or even (before the last quarter of the second century) nomen plus cognomen indicates one of the citizen auxiliaries. The use of a Roman cognomen, on the other hand, proves nothing about citizenship when we do not know whether the person also used a nomen. Since even for auxiliary centurions, who may well have been promoted from the legionary ranks, the cognomen was the common mode of reference in giving names of units and often in other situations, the cognomen used for an ordinary auxiliary is not to be taken to prove that the soldier is a noncitizen who has adopted a Roman name on entry; such behavior was probably the exception. On the other hand, an examination of the papyri of the second century shows that there were many people in Egypt using Roman names, nomina or cognomina (usually not both), who had apparently no connection either with the military or with Rome and her citizenship. One other feature of the Florida ostraka which is rather striking is the almost complete absence of Egyptian names from the ranks of those who are probably soldiers. The situation certainly does not resemble that in the documents of the second half of the second century; even in *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 64, of A.D. 156, one sees a somewhat larger Egyptian presence in the new recruits (2 of 9). *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 73, which Fink dated to 120–150 on the basis of the hand, has a smaller percentage of Egyptians (8 names of 59). It is

<sup>29</sup> We find here confirmation of Gilliam's contention about the Dura forces, that one usually enlisted as a *pedes* and was promoted to *equus* only after a decade or so of service, although those with influence or ability might enter as *equites*: *Historia* 14 (1965) 78.

doubtful if this analysis can be pushed much farther, given the smallness of most of the samples.

We may turn briefly now to the specific names of the Florida ostraka, to see what chronological span is known for them among soldiers of the Roman army attested in Egyptian documents. The comparison is limited to this group so as to provide maximum commensurability in the results.<sup>30</sup>

Of the nomen-plus-cognomen combinations, only two have sufficient chronological limitation to be of interest for us, Iulius Antoninus, attested only in 85 and 126, and Iulius Apollinarius, attested from 107–179.<sup>31</sup> Aelianus is attested only once, as the former prefect of an auxiliary cohort known in Oxyrhynchus in 136. Tullius, the name of one of our decurions, appears in three examples, all legionaries (two of them centurions); one is known under Domitian and two in 157. Other names are less limited, like Herennius, Iulianus (known from Trajan to Septimius Severus), Bassus (from A.D. 11 to 198), Iulius Maximus (from the first century to ca 215) and Domitius (mostly first and second century, hardly any later). Of all these names, Iulius Apollinarius is the most decisive, because of the large number of known examples (11). The chronological range, however, does little more than confirm the conclusions reached on the grounds of palaeography and other considerations of nomenclature. A date toward the middle of the century is preferable, but a narrowing beyond about 130–170 would be hazardous.

#### 4. The Military

There is a fair amount of information in these ostraka about the military personnel and unit which they concern. To begin with the highest-ranking officers, there are two mentions of a prefect, *ἐπαρχος*;

<sup>30</sup> The figures are taken from Cavenaile's prosopography (cited in n.26); see under each name in his list for the references.

<sup>31</sup> The examples of Iulius Antoninus both come from Upper Egypt and Nubia: Talmis and Luxor. Antoninus is in general uncommon before the second century and perhaps suggests its second half, cf. H. Seyrig, *IGLSyr* VI 2784 comment. The name Mettius, found in our 29, does not appear in Cavenaile's prosopography, but of course there was the prefect M. Mettius Rufus in Domitian's reign, cf. *BASP* 4 (1967) 89–90. The conclusions drawn here are not modified by the extensive list of corrections to Cavenaile's list given in *Aegyptus* 53 (1973) 93–158.

the only comprehensible context is 5.8–9, where the decurion Aponius Didymianus, writing to the *curator* Iulianus, asks the latter to send him a particular cavalryman because the prefect has sent for him. The other occurrence of a prefect, in 12.3, comes in a fragmentary context, again in a letter to a *curator*. An indication that sending someone or something may be in question is given by *εὐθέως* in line 4. It will develop in the following discussion that we are probably dealing with a *praefectus cohortis*.

The subordinates of this prefect are, at the highest level, decurions, referred to in these Greek texts as *δεκαδάρχαι*. Three of them are known by name; we cannot tell if the decurion of 11.1, whose name is lost, was one of these three or yet a fourth. It has been demonstrated above that these three decurions were contemporaries, and that the military ostraka of this archive are from one chronological horizon. Herennius Antoninus appears, with varying degrees of preservation of the name, in 2.1, 3.3, 5.7–8, 8.1, and 10.1. The unit he commands is a *turma*. Tullius appears in 3.4, 6.1, and 9.1; the third, Aponius Didymianus, is mentioned in 4.2 and 5.2, in the latter of which he is the writer. The other letter by a decurion, 11, is in a hand not characteristic of either Tullius or Herennius Antoninus, but it is the same as that in 12. It is possible, but to my eye not certain, that 11 and 12 are both in the hand of 5, that is, of Aponius Didymianus. If not, the author may be either the fourth decurion of the cohort or the predecessor or successor of one of the others.

The only other military rank specifically mentioned is that of *ἵππεύς*, *eques*. Soldiers described as cavalrymen or who are identified as being part of a *turma*, which indicates that they are cavalrymen, are fairly numerous. Some of the private letters, too, indicate that the recipient must be a cavalryman: the phrase *μετὰ τοῦ ἀβασκάντου σου ἵππου* in 15.2–3 and 18.3–4 makes it clear that these addressees had horses, something which would be very unlikely unless they were cavalrymen. This conclusion is confirmed for 18 by the mention of the recipient's (Theon's) *galearius*, who may be sent to get barley from Theon's brother if Theon wishes. A *galearius*<sup>32</sup> is a soldier's servant, the best evidence for which comes from Vegetius, who refers to the *galearius* in one place as a type of *calo*, in another as a type of *lixa*, both

<sup>32</sup> *ThLL* s.v. notes that the mss have various readings, with *galiarius* and *galliarius* the main variants. Both of these appear in Greek texts also; cf. n.34 *infra*.

words for such servants.<sup>33</sup> There are two occurrences of the word in other texts from Egypt, but their contents do not add much to our knowledge.<sup>34</sup> The *galearius* of our ostrakon must be serving Theon largely as a groom. One may doubt, actually, if an auxiliary infantryman in the army of Egypt could have afforded a personal servant; the cavalryman, with a higher income, would find a servant more affordable and needed.

We find a bit of information also about the provisioning of the force mentioned in these ostraka. In 14.7 there is mentioned τὸ πλοῖον τῶν κιβαρίων; the *cibaria* are provisions, and they are administered by the *cibariator*, who is known both from military and perhaps also nonmilitary contexts.<sup>35</sup> In 19.3 Apollonios τὸν κιβερατον is mentioned, and it is likely that this is a bungled writing of *cibariator*. Another *cibariator* appears in 16.6.

We may inquire what sort of unit contained the soldiers and officers

<sup>33</sup> Veg. 1.10 (*lixas*) and 3.6 (*calonibus*); *ThLL* cites other late sources (glosses, grammarians) for confirmation. The Greek form γαλεάριος appears in an inscription of Olbasa in Pisidia published by G. Bean, *AnatSt* 9 (1959) 99 no.53 (text in SEG XIX 787). Bean comments, "i.e. *galearius*, helmet-maker," citing no parallels. The inscription is a dedication (εὐχή) to Herakles shown as a horseman—a natural divinity for a cavalryman's servant to worship.

<sup>34</sup> γαλιάρῳ appears in the fragmentary letter published by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 235; little can be said about the contents except that a *peculium* appears to be mentioned (the *peculium* of the *galearius*?). In 21.12 we find mentioned γαλλ[.], perhaps to be restored γαλλ[αρι-]. There is also the occurrence in *P.Lips.* 40 ii 10 (IV/V<sup>p</sup>), in which someone complains of having been beaten by γαλλιάρῳ. He is then asked (in this trial record) how many the οἰκέται were, and in line 18 it is made clear that they were slaves, not free persons. One is evidently dealing with a group of soldiers' servants spending their free time together. U. Wilcken, *Archiv* 3 (1906) 111 n.3, seems to me to be in error in thinking that *galliarus* here refers not to servants but to 'vagabonds', a meaning picked up by *ThLL s.v.* The article of Masquelez in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* I. 2, 852 s.v. *calo*, suggests that *galearii* were of a rather higher class of slave than the ordinary.

<sup>35</sup> See Cl. Préaux, *Cd'E* 26 (1951) 354-63; J. F. Gilliam, *Cd'E* 28 (1953) 144-46, argues that Préaux's text deals with a civilian, not a military situation. Cf. the conclusion of J. Röder in T. Kraus et al., "Mons Claudianus-Mons Porphyrites," *MDAI (Kairo)* 22 (1967) 155-56, that Claudianus, unlike Porphyrites, was staffed by civilian labor, arguing from archaeological and topographical evidence. Gilliam's conclusion is in turn somewhat misused by Fink, *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 78, where in introducing the Pselkis ostraka he states, "not only does the use of ostraca awaken doubt of the military character of these receipts, but also the term *cibariator*." He cites Gilliam, but Gilliam argued only that *cibariator* by itself was not a military indication in Préaux's Mons Claudianus ostrakon. There is no reason at all to doubt the military character of the *cibariator* in the Pselkis ostraka, and the use of ostraka proves nothing. In *P.Clermont-Ganneau* 2, published by A. Bataille in *Aegyptus* 31 (1951) 206-11, there occurs a *cibariator* named Ammonas who is also an ἐργοδότης at Syene in a quarry. Bataille took the *cibariator* as a sure sign of the military; but though Gilliam does not discuss this papyrus there, his conclusion may also be applicable to it.

we find here. It is apparent that a legion is excluded because the cavalrymen are in *turmae* and not in the regular centuries along with the infantry.<sup>36</sup> Of the auxiliary units, a cohort of only infantry is clearly excluded, leaving the *cohors equitata* and the *ala* as possibilities. Nothing in the internal evidence allows us to decide this question with certainty; the absence of infantrymen from this sample of documents is not probative, and a *praefectus* could command either. It will be seen later that external evidence about the units disposed in Upper Egypt in this period makes it virtually certain that we are dealing with the Cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum Equitata.

Two aspects of military life which are mentioned in our ostraka are furlough, *commeatus*, and largess, *congiarium*. The former of these is represented by 1, a pass giving Ammonas ten days' furlough plus two days for his return. We have little information about the granting of *commeatus* in the Roman army, although a few documents from Egypt mention it.<sup>37</sup> The authority for it certainly comes from the commanding officer of a man's unit, but we do not know how small a subdivision of the army would have autonomy in this respect. In *P.Oxy.* XIV 1666.14 (III<sup>p</sup>) a young man who was transferred from a legion to an *ala* was unable to stop off for a visit to the addressee of the letter because of limitations τοῦ δοθέντος [τῷ παι]δίῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος κομμάτ[ου]. That it was the prefect in this case probably reflects only the fact of a change from one unit to another. A young man in a legion at Bostra in 107 promises to come εὐθέως ἐὰν ἄρξῃται ὁ ἡγεμὼν διδόναι κομμεᾶτον (*P.Mich.* VIII 466.39); the reference is to the legate, who is also the governor.<sup>38</sup> That *commeatus* could be gotten locally is also suggested by the ostrakon SB VI 9272,<sup>39</sup> in which the writer asks his correspondent to get leave for him for the next day to go down and return (quoted in the introduction to 1). Our ostrakon does not settle who issued the permission for leave, but it confirms

<sup>36</sup> See J. F. Gilliam, *TAPA* 83 (1952) 51-55 on *Ostr. Skeat* 11, where a cavalryman in a century appears.

<sup>37</sup> On *commeatus* generally see M. Rostovtzeff, *RE* 4 (1900) 718-21.

<sup>38</sup> The document has produced controversy about which legion C. Iulius Apollinarius belonged to, most recently G. W. Bowersock, *ZPE* 5 (1970) 41-42. *P.Mich.* IX 562 shows that Apollinarius was in the III Cyrenaica in 119; unless he has changed units by then, this should also be his legion in 107 (cf. *P.Mich.* IX p.6).

<sup>39</sup> Published with commentary by P. I. Price, in *JJurPap* 9-10 (1955-56) 162 no.2; the editor remarks, "little seems to be known regarding leave in the Roman army."

that the actual issuance of the pass (which is rather crude) and hence the administration of the leave must have been done locally. Whether a commander lower than the prefect of the cohort was empowered to give furlough we do not know.<sup>40</sup>

More puzzling is the appearance of the phrase τὸ χρῆμα τοῦ κοινγαρίου in 6.5. *Congiarium* under the empire usually refers to distributions in kind or in money to the people of Rome; it is sometimes opposed by writers like Tacitus to the *donativum*, the grant made by an emperor to the soldiers.<sup>41</sup> Since the author of the letter is a decurion, writing to a *curator* about military matters, one can hardly suppose that the *congiarium* is meant strictly in the sense of 'grant to the populace of Rome'. There is, in fact, some evidence for looser use of the term to mean a grant of money to soldiers, though none of the evidence comes from a documentary source of the period of the empire, with one possible exception.<sup>42</sup> We must assume that this broader use is what we have here as well. Even so it is remarkable; Lesquier remarked that we have no evidence for donatives in our documents concerning the Roman army in Egypt, unless the *seposita* of *P.Fay.* 105 represent parts of the money from donatives.<sup>43</sup> The last half-century does not appear to have altered this situation, and the evidence of this ostrakon is therefore of some interest. It is clear, also, that we must be dealing with a donative to auxiliaries as

<sup>40</sup> There was probably no regular system for allotting furlough, to judge from the appearance of the question εἰ λαμβάνω κομιᾶτον with a host of life's other uncertainties in the *Sortes Astrampsychi*; see most recently G. M. Browne, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi* (Beitr. z. kl. Philologie 58, Meisenheim am Glan 1974) 25–26. Obviously the army's needs took precedence, and they might vary. It was not only members of the army who needed to get leave from a superior; even the *strategoï* of nomes had to ask the prefect, as we see from *P.Giss.* 41 iii 4 (*W.Chr.* 18; *CPJud.* II 443).

<sup>41</sup> See *Oxford Latin Dictionary* s.v. and for further references, *ThLL* IV s.v. On the institution of *congiarium* see M. Rostovtzeff, *RE* 4 (1900) 877; the recipients were, he says, "alle, die an Frumentationes teilnahmen."

<sup>42</sup> The *Oxf.Lat.Dict.* cites Cicero, *ad Att.* 16.8.2, where Cicero remarks that the legions would not accept a *congiarium* from Marcus Antonius; and Curtius 6.2.10, where Alexander the Great is represented as giving a *congiarium militum* to his troops. This passage, even though it refers to a non-Roman setting, is significant for the usage of the ostrakon. One may note that the *ThLL* cites *Corp.Gloss.Lat.* II 574, 42 for a gloss explaining *congiarium* as *donatio imperatoris militibus* (also V 280, 44: *erogatio vini quod accipit miles per congios*). Also cited is one document, the well-known speech of Hadrian to troops at Lambesis, *CIL* VIII 18042 fr. A 1, where in a fragmentary context appear the words *congiar[i]um accipite*. On this speech see most recently Marcel Le Glay, *Mélanges . . . William Seston* (Publ. Sorbonne, Études 9, Paris 1974) 277–83.

<sup>43</sup> Lesquier (n.16), 251.

well as to legionaries, thus demonstrating that in the middle of the second century auxiliaries did share in donatives, and perhaps strengthening thus the argument for the 25 denarii on deposit to so many names in *P.Fay.* 105 as half of a donative (retained in savings, as Vegetius says was required<sup>44</sup>).

One final subject may be considered here: the use of Greek rather than Latin, and ostrakon rather than papyrus. Scholars have in the past been suspicious on this count of other ostraka: Fink's uncertainty about the military character of the Pselkis ostraka has been quoted already,<sup>45</sup> but he is not the only one to be curious. The character of several of our texts as military and official cannot be questioned, and most of the ostraka are in Greek (similarly with the garrison of Latopolis<sup>46</sup>). The explanation, it seems to me, is that ostraka were used freely, especially by members and officers of small garrisons in Upper Egypt and the Eastern Desert, for any impermanent communication or record. Undoubtedly no one considered that the letters we have on ostraka would be part of the permanent archives of the units involved, nor that the Pselkis receipts would endure. The latter would no doubt have been summarized in a Latin document periodically.<sup>47</sup> As ephemeral records, they are written on the cheapest and most convenient material, in the more convenient language—for as we have seen, it is unlikely that many members of the auxiliaries of Egypt were recruited in the western provinces.

<sup>44</sup> *Veg.* 2.20, cited by Watson, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.27) 104–05; Watson interprets the 100 denarii on deposit in *P.Berl.* inv. 6866 (now *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 70) as half of a donative given at the accession of Septimius Severus or Pescennius Niger; but Fink argues for a different view. Watson (108–14) notes that Augustus left a donative to auxiliaries of only the *civium Romanorum* units, that Tiberius excluded auxiliaries altogether.

<sup>45</sup> *Supra* n.35: see *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 78 introd. Gilliam, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.36), writing on *Ostr. Skeat* 11, also is puzzled by the language and material. The perplexity is illustrated by the failure of Fink to take the Skeat ostrakon into account when writing (*Rom.Mil.Rec.* p.348), "for the entire period covered by this study, only two military letters have come to us complete or nearly so . . . and only half a dozen more in sufficiently large pieces to make their content reasonably clear." He did not include the Skeat ostrakon in his figures. As long as it stood in isolation, such uncertainty had some reason, but the Florida ostraka provide decisive evidence on this point.

<sup>46</sup> See *BASP* 12 (1975) 135–44 on this garrison.

<sup>47</sup> As Fink indeed concludes in the end (p.311). That so little correspondence survives, as Fink laments, is perhaps a measure of the lack of interest the army took in preserving it for any length of time. The concerns of our ostraka and those from Latopolis are mostly very trivial, largely the dispatch of soldiers to various points.

### 5. The *Cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum Equitata*

Three items of information so far determined contribute to identification of the military unit in question and its milieu: the ostraka come from Edfu; they date from roughly the middle two quarters of the second century; and they concern an auxiliary unit, either a *cohort equitata* or an *ala*. When this information is set against the fact that we know of a cohort of auxiliaries, with cavalry, stationed permanently across the Nile from Edfu starting in A.D. 131, we can be fairly certain that this is the unit from which the ostraka come.

The major source of our information about this cohort of Lusitanians is the *pridianum* of the cohort, as of 31 August 156, published by Mommsen in 1892, republished as *BGU* II 696, and now *Rom. Mil. Rec.* 64.<sup>48</sup> The opening lines define the time and place clearly: *Pridianum Coh(ortis) I Aug(ustae) Pr(aetoriae) Lus(itanorum) Eq(uitata) mensis Augusti Silvano et Augurino cos. quae hibernatur Contrapollonospoli maiore Thebaidis ex VIII Idus Iulias Pontiano et Rufin[o] cos.*

The history of the cohort before 131 is only partly known. In 86 it was in Judaea;<sup>49</sup> it came to Egypt about 105;<sup>50</sup> in 111 it was in Lower Nubia under a prefect L. Lucceius Cerialis, delimiting the boundary.<sup>51</sup> The date of 131 is our next point of reference, and the cohort was still in Contrapollinopolis Maior in the reign of Commodus, when a soldier from the cohort placed an inscription on the temple of Pan at El-Kanais (on which see below, p.35).<sup>52</sup> From that time we have no further evidence until *CIL* III 22, at which time it had moved out of the Thebaid altogether, to the Hierakonpolis opposite Manfalut, at

<sup>48</sup> References in *Rom. Mil. Rec.* 64; the document is commonly referred to as "Mommsen's *Pridianum*."

<sup>49</sup> *CIL* XVI 33; cf. Lesquier (n.16), 410-11 and 92-93.

<sup>50</sup> A diploma of A.D. 105 shows the cohort in Egypt but probably a new arrival; see Pflaum's comment, *Syria* 44 (1967) 352; text in *AÉpigra* 1968, 513.

<sup>51</sup> The inscription is quoted by Lesquier (n.16), 502; on p.92 n.2 he cites various inscriptions from Talmis (Kalabscheh) from this period which pertain to the operations of this and other units there. A papyrus of A.D. 117 records the deposits of recruits into the cohort, but the place is not recorded; it was probably in Upper Egypt: *PSI* IX 1063 (*Rom. Mil. Rec.* 74), cf. J. F. Gilliam, in *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium* 1964/5 (*Antiquitas* R.4 Bd.3, Bonn 1966) 91-97.

<sup>52</sup> *IGRR* I 1275, quoted by Lesquier (n.16), 92-93; now A. Bernand, *Le Paneion d'El-Kanais: Les Inscriptions grecques* (Leiden 1972) 59 bis. The soldier is . . . ius Crispinus, an infantryman from the century of Serenus (cf. the Serenus in 29.2).

Deir el-Gabrawi.<sup>53</sup> It is likely that the uninterrupted stay of the headquarters of the cohort at Contrapollinopolis Maior (the modern Resediyah) lasted from 131 until well into the third century.<sup>54</sup> We have no evidence on the question of whether any other unit had its headquarters at this place before 131. Nothing from the site itself, from El-Kanais, or from any other source suggests the presence of a garrison of any size at Resediyah before 131, and what we know of the whereabouts of other units suggests the contrary.<sup>55</sup>

The cohort was commanded by M. Iulius M. f. *tribu Quirina* Silvanus, from Thubursica, who had started his military career only two years before the date of the document, on 23 April 154,<sup>56</sup> with this position, his first step in a military career. The unit had 505 soldiers on the first of January (A.D. 156), including 6 centurions, 3 decurions, 145 cavalry, 18 camel-riders, and 363 infantry. During the course of the year to date there had been 9 volunteer recruits (7 infantry, 1 cavalryman, 1 camel-rider), 3 transfers from other units (all infantry), and two officers added, a centurion by commission from civilian status and a decurion who was a senior member of an *ala*. The cohort was, thus, a *cohort quingenaria*, whose strength did not vary much from the nominal number of 500. The functions of the soldiers of the unit will be discussed later.

### 6. The Garrison and Civilians

The garrison which we have examined was disposed in a main camp at Contrapollinopolis Maior and, as we shall see, in a number of

<sup>53</sup> *CIL* III 22 is the evidence; see Lesquier (n.16), 92 n.5, who discusses the *Notitia dignitatum*, which evidently by confusion places the unit at the Hierakonpolis in the Thebaid.

<sup>54</sup> Lesquier (n.16), 410-11, suggested that there might have been a break between 156 and 180, but he offered no evidence; perhaps he was thinking only of the lack of evidence between *BGU* 696 and the inscription of Commodus' reign.

<sup>55</sup> There is no recent comprehensive work; G. L. Cheesman, *Auxiliaries of the Roman Army* (Oxford 1914) app. 1, cites the evidence for the various units, some of which we know little about.

<sup>56</sup> Lines 6-10 of the *Pridianum* show us that he replaced Q. Allius Pudentillus on 23 April 154. Pudentillus appears also in *SB* VI 9227-28, an *epikrisis* document of 159, cited as former prefect. See J. F. Gilliam, *CP* 55 (1960) 177-78, for further information on Pudentillus. H. Devijver, *De Aegyptio et exercitu Romano* (*Studia Hellenistica* 22, Louvain 1975) 26-27, seems to have doubts about the identity of Pudentillus in all the documents, but I do not see on what basis. He also cites the evidence for Silvanus (p.68).

smaller detachments. The ostraka have a number of references to *curatores* and *praesidia*. The latter will be examined in more detail later, but it is clear that in general the term may refer to a garrison of any size, down to a small detachment in an isolated place. The term *curator praesidii* appears in 6.1, where it is followed by what seems to be a place name, unfortunately damaged: [. . .].*νωρειμης*. Evidently the *curator*, whose name the writer did not know or did not choose to mention, commanded a small garrison somewhere else than the main camp across from Edfu. The title *curator praesidii* has appeared in only one other text, the Skeat ostrakon.<sup>57</sup> Gilliam has shown that the *curator* is the holder of a *cura*, that is, that the position is not a rank but a description of a more or less temporary duty.<sup>58</sup> The rank of a *curator* would accordingly vary with the size of the command and the manpower resources and needs of the unit. It is likely that in general the *curatores* commanded rather small units, for they receive in these ostraka polite orders from decurions, who would have commanded some 35 cavalrymen each. Besides 6, *curatores* appear in 4 (receiving a request from a soldier in his command); 5 (ordered by the decurion Aponius Didymianus to send a soldier to him); 7 (information from a correspondent whose name is lost); 8 (fragmentary letter from a decurion); probably 9 (letter from a decurion informing the *curator* that a soldier has been sent to him); 11 (fragmentary letter of a decurion to a *curator*); 12 (probably the same); perhaps 2, where a decurion writes to one Amatios, whose title is unstated, giving an order. It is also possible that the letter 3, from someone who addresses his correspondent as *collega*,<sup>59</sup> is a letter of one *curator* to another.

Only once does a *curator* seem to reappear, and even that is not certain (Iulianus, in 5 and probably 9), in contrast with the repeated mentions of the decurions enumerated earlier. This fact may be the result of either the brief duration of the commands or the small

<sup>57</sup> TAPA 81 (1950) 110–11.

<sup>58</sup> Gilliam, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.36).

<sup>59</sup> For references to the use of this term see S. Daris, *Il Lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto* (Pap.Castr. 3, Barcelona 1971) s.v. The term is used entirely nontechnically, and it has no official standing; we cannot tell how precise an equality of position is meant here. Gilliam points out, in *Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Bruxelles 1975) 774, that in *CIL* XIII 11835 one centurion refers to another as *collega*. In *P.Hib.* II 276, Iulius Repositus describes himself as *collega* of Claudius Germanus, but no ranks are given (on this text see Gilliam, *AJP* 88 [1967] 100).

number of men in each and the large number of such commands; or both factors may play a part, more likely.

Besides the *praesidia* we hear of another type of installation (not necessarily different), the *κώπελος*, watchtower, which is mentioned in 2.4, where a decurion orders one Amatios to tell the *δεκανός* to replace the young boy in the tower with a young man. In 6 we find mention of *σκοπελάριοι*, 'watchtower guards', a term attested otherwise only in SB VI 9549 no.4.8,<sup>60</sup> of the middle of the third century. The title in lines 7–8, *δεκανός τῶν σκοπ[ελαρίων]*, shows that the *dekanos* mentioned in 2 is a *dekanos* of *skopelarioi*, since he commands men (and the boy) on duty in the tower. In 24 we have a third reference to these men in the form of a list of *σκοπ(ελαριοι) Ίσιδήου*. I take it that *Isidion* is a place-name, a sanctuary of Isis; such theophoric names were common for the minor stations guarded by the army, as we will see later. Here it is certainly the name of a *skopelos*. There are eight names preserved, but the ostrakon is broken at the foot and the total may have been larger. The names are all Egyptian; given the nomenclature of this military unit, as we have seen it, it seems very unlikely that these men formed part of the cohort, the more so as *dekanos* is unknown as a military rank in the army of this period.<sup>61</sup> Rather, it is commonly used as the designation for the chief of almost any sort of small squad for various duties such as police work.<sup>62</sup> If these are not members of the cohort, what are they? There is a possible equivalent in the *burgarii*, police furnished by the local community

<sup>60</sup> This text is an ostrakon published by J. Schwartz in "Documents Grecs de Kom Kolzum," *Bull. Soc. d'Études hist. et géogr. de l'Isthme de Suez* 2 (1948) 25–30 at p.27. Schwartz remarks (p.28), "la finale en -αριος ne peut être qu'une grécisation du latin, -arius (pour les noms de métier) et comme le latin *scopulus* correspond au grec *κώπελος*, nous avons ici la transposition du latin *Scopularius*." An informative note discusses the other words connected to *κώπελος* in meaning.

<sup>61</sup> The term appears in the later Roman army to designate the head of a tent unit, as Michael P. Speidel points out to me; cf. *Veg.* 2.8 and 2.13. But the function is not known until the fourth century, and even then one would have to equate a *contubernium* with a squadron of *skopelarioi* to argue for an equivalence. A. Bernard, *De Koptos à Kosseir* (Leiden 1972) no.59, republishes τὸ προσκύνημα Κλημεντίου δεκανοῦ, and asserts that he was a decurion. But decurions are always called *decurio* or *δεκαδάρχης*, and Bernard's documentation (none of which concerns the army) does not support his contention, which is surely incorrect. Cf. M. P. Speidel, *Gnomon* 47 (1975) 425–27. See my remarks in "Army and Police in Roman Upper Egypt," forthcoming in *JARCE* 14 (1977), for the general question of *dekania* and the *skopelarioi* here.

<sup>62</sup> See my remarks in *BASP* 12 (1975) 135–44.

for guard duties on frontiers and perhaps elsewhere.<sup>63</sup> Rostovtzeff, in discussing these, appears to waver between treating them as soldiers, *numeri*, and as civilians performing a *munus*.<sup>64</sup> Given the propensity of the Roman government for recruiting all manner of guards in Egypt from the civilian population by a liturgical system for limited terms, it seems to me rather probable that the *skopelarioi* are civilians. There is one objection to this, that most of these guard duties were carried out near home, since they were presumably carried out by a relatively nonaffluent class (especially compared to some of the higher positions) who could not afford prolonged absence. If the *skopelarioi* were assigned to guard duty in some of the stations of the Eastern Desert, there would be a very real problem. On the other hand, we do not know the exact location of the *skopelos* in question, so that it is possible that it (or they) is located in the Nile Valley or near it.<sup>65</sup>

One other indication of the army's contact with the civilian population comes in the mention of a *paganus* in 2.8. *Paganus* occurs in the Greek papyri of Egypt mainly in later centuries, and its meaning can vary; in this period we are probably to see it as meaning 'civilian', the meaning which Gilliam has demonstrated for *paganus* in the *pridionum* of this cohort.<sup>66</sup> The person in question is described as τὸν κατακαύσαντα τὰ θρύα ἐν γῆς τοῦ πραισιδίου καινοῦ, and the decurion orders Amatios (probably the *curator* of the *praesidium* mentioned)

<sup>63</sup> I am indebted to Professor Speidel for a reference to M. Rostovtzeff, *JRS* 8 (1918) 29. Speidel cites their existence as early as A.D. 138 (*ILS* 8909).

<sup>64</sup> Rostovtzeff, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.63), speaks of "corps of native troops (*numeri*) who had to defend the small forts built on the frontier," but the evidence he cites about the exemption of a community from providing *burgarii* and his explanation of it point rather to a civilian compulsory duty.

<sup>65</sup> For the various police liturgies, see N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services* (*Am.Stud.Pap.* 3, Toronto 1968) *passim*.

<sup>66</sup> J. F. Gilliam, *AJP* 73 (1952) 75-78, discussing the passage which describes a man made a centurion *ex pagano*. The point of the remark is that the man did not rise through the ranks of another unit. For references to the Greek papyri see Daris, *Lessico latino* (n.59) *s.v.* None of these occurrences is earlier than the end of the second century, and most are much later. Skeat argues that in *P.Panop.Beatty* 1.182 the word means a person who lives in the country (but who may be a citizen of the metropolis), and this meaning is reflected in the later distinction between residents of the metropolis and those of the country (e.g. *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310). In *P.Lond.* V 1674.78 (ca. A.D. 570), Bell points to a distinction between *pagani*, 'local, cantonal levies (gendarmes)' and the regular imperial army (*στρατιῶται*). It would be hazardous to look for this distinction here, four centuries earlier. On the history of the word *paganus* in Greek and Latin, see H. Grégoire, *Mélanges G. Smets* (Bruxelles 1952) 363-400, esp. 367-70, who emphasizes 'non-military' as the main sense of the word in the earlier Roman centuries.

to send the civilian to him. It is presumably the fact of a threat to a military installation which leads the officer to consider the affair his concern.

## 7. The Activities of the Garrison

Lesquier pointed out that the nature and needs of the Roman military occupation of Egypt were rather different from those of most frontier provinces. The threat of external enemies, which dominated thinking about frontier defenses elsewhere, was only a minor problem in Egypt, since after the war with the Nubians under Augustus there was scarcely any real threat to the Nile Valley from the south.<sup>67</sup> A more important external enemy, if external is the correct term, was the tribes of nomads in the deserts, particularly in the Arabian Desert between the Nile and the Red Sea. It did not require a very substantial military establishment to protect the valley against these, however. Roman troops in the Nile Valley in fact served a purpose of internal security far more than that of external defense; if this were not so we would find hardly any troops between the Delta and the Nubian border, whereas there were contingents at a number of points between.

One of the objects of the internal security provided by the army units in the valley was the protection of the quarries of building stone which lay in some cases very near the river at various points along the Nile. It does not appear that Edfu had any quarries of importance, but two places to the south of Edfu may have been of concern to the garrison there. At El-Hosch, 30 kilometers south of Edfu, there are sandstone quarries, from which some Greek inscriptions of the period of the Roman empire are known, which indicate that the quarry was being operated in the second century.<sup>68</sup> Since Edfu was the nearest garrison, it is likely that it furnished a detachment to protect the

<sup>67</sup> See Lesquier (n.16), 377ff, for this standard view on the subject of the military occupation of the Nile Valley. Newer excavations show that there was considerable activity in Lower Nubia in the imperial period, and future publications of these excavations may suggest a reappraisal; see B. G. Haycock, *JEA* 53 (1967) 107-20, for a summary of these excavations. E. G. Turner, *JRS* 40 (1950) 57-59, has argued that a papyrus published by Vogliano is a document describing an engagement between Roman auxiliaries and some sort of marauders in the desert in the latter part of the first century.

<sup>68</sup> Kurt Fitzler, *Steinbrüche und Bergwerke im ptolemäischen und römischen Aegypten* (Leipziger hist. Abh. 21, Leipzig 1910) 103-06.

operations. Another 12 kilometers to the south is another sandstone quarry, at Gebel Silsile; it is uncertain whether it was being operated in Roman times, but the Romans exploited the stone resources of Egypt vigorously, opening new quarries and reviving old ones, so that it seems likely that this one, too, was in production.<sup>69</sup> Again, Edfu would be the logical source of military protection.

If this local police work and the patrolling of two quarries were all the work of the garrison of Edfu, one would be surprised to find a sizeable garrison headquartered there. But in fact the military importance of Edfu went beyond this, principally because Edfu is the terminus of important roads into the desert, both to the Great Oasis to the west and, more significantly, into the Eastern Desert with its mines and trade routes. For this reason it has been a point of military importance in a number of periods from Ptolemaic to Arab.<sup>70</sup> In particular, the bank of the river opposite Edfu is a location of strategic significance as the terminus of the Eastern Desert routes; as *Contra-pollinopolis Maior* it was the location of the cohort mentioned above in the second and third centuries, and as *καταντικρὺ Ἄπ[όλλωνος Ἄνω]* it was the location of other military units from the time of Diocletian through the Arab conquest of Egypt and beyond. From this fact Rémondon has argued that Byzantium did not abandon control of the Eastern Desert any more than did Rome, for the site has no great significance except to a power which seeks to control the desert.<sup>71</sup> It is this desert and the activities in it which were responsible for the presence of the auxiliary cohort which we are studying, and to understand its activities and presence we must now turn to the life of the desert.

We begin with the character of life in the Eastern Desert as it

<sup>69</sup> Fitzler, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.68) 103; there is one Greek inscription which may come from the Roman period.

<sup>70</sup> See R. Rémondon, "Soldats de Byzance d'après un Papyrus trouvé à Edfou," *Recherches de Papyrologie* 1 (1961) 41-93, who discusses the military history of the area in the sixth century in great detail. See pp.68-69 for a discussion of the importance of Resediyah as one of the two key valley positions for control of the desert (Coptos is the other). Rémondon refers to the use of the routes terminating at Resediyah even by Arab travellers of the middle ages.

<sup>71</sup> For this point see Rémondon, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.70), and his introduction to *P.Apoll.* 56, with references. Resediyah was also the key point for controlling the incursions of the Blemmyes, who lived normally south of 24° N. (latitude of Aswan) into areas further to the north. See more recently on the Blemmyes in general L. Castiglione, *ZAeS* 96 (1970) 90-103.

appeared to the individual soldier. This may conveniently be divided into the travelling necessary to reach a point and the life in a point of the desert. Most of our ancient evidence concerns the latter, and most of the accounts of modern visitors to the region inform us on the former alone. The discomforts and rewards of travel through this region are described in detail, often with eloquence, by the travellers, scientists and scholars who have spent time in the desert.<sup>72</sup> Until the introduction of motor transport and then paved roads, conditions changed little from ancient times to the twentieth century. The traveller moves on camel—if he can afford to do so—or on foot, as most of the hired attendants of modern travellers have gone, and as most of the ordinary travellers of antiquity no doubt moved. The main problems are the supplies of food and water, the variability of the climate—very hot in the daytime, frequently cold at night—and the dangers to be faced from the nomads who live in the desert. Some of the conditions under which modern travellers have moved about are characteristic of those no doubt enjoyed by high functionaries in antiquity as well, Europeans who could afford large baggage trains with many native camel-drivers and the like. For them the desert is a land experienced at five miles per hour from the back of a camel. The ordinary Roman soldier probably walked. The Cohors I Lusitanorum had only 18 camel-riders out of its more than 500 men; it is likely that they were a mobile force rather than that they were the only men devoted to the desert. Horses would be very unsuited to the desert work except perhaps in cases where they were kept near a station with a good source of water; certainly they were not well-fitted to the travelling conditions of the region.

Once in a place, the ancient soldier settled down to a very monotonous life on guard duty. The stations in and around which he worked were called *praesidia*, like garrison posts elsewhere.<sup>73</sup> Those posts which served as watering-places and stages for the caravan routes are

<sup>72</sup> The most readable modern account of travel in the Eastern Desert is to be found in Arthur E. P. Weigall, *Travels in the Upper Egyptian Deserts* (Edinburgh-London 1909). This personal memoir provides a vivid introduction to the hardships and still more the joys of the author's travels. Some useful detail is to be found in W. Golénischeff, "Une excursion à Bérénice," *RecTrav* 13 (1891) 75-96.

<sup>73</sup> An inscription from the caravan station of Aphrodito (modern Wadi Menih el-Her, see p.38), records the construction *hoc loco* of a *hydreuma* and *praesidium* at the order of a prefect of Berenike: D. Meredith, *Cd'E* 29 (1954) 284-85. The term *μονή* for desert stations is also known; cf. the discussion by L. Amundsen, *O.Osl.* 22 introd. He cites a *μονή Ἰείλου*.

frequently called *ὕδρευματα* by the ancient sources.<sup>74</sup> A vivid glimpse of what a soldier on duty in the region might expect is given by the letter of Trajanic date published as *P.Mich.* III 203. The writer, Satornilos, tells his mother, Aphrodous, that he has had another male child, who has been named Agathos Daimon. Satornilos has been in Pselkis (107 km. south of Aswan, in Lower Nubia) for three months and is hoping to get away to visit his mother during the next two months. If he does not manage to do this, he says, ἔχω ἄλλους δέκα ὄκ[τ]ὼ μῆνες εἰς τ[ᾶ] πρασιδία καθήμενος μέχρει ἐς Ψέλκιν εἰσέλ[θω] καὶ ἔλθω [πρ]ὸς ὑμᾶς (lines 14–16). He asks (lines 25–26) that his brother be sent to bring his family back to his mother for the duration of his absence; they have been with him in Pselkis, which is in the valley, but they are clearly not to follow him in his tour through the *praesidia*, uneventful though he seems to expect this to be (the boredom of *καθήμενος* is unmistakable). Satornilos apparently expects to spend time in more than one such post, but he expects no action in any of them.<sup>75</sup>

Those stationed in these isolated posts were concerned above all with adequate supplies. There is enough groundwater under most of the Eastern Desert, so that water was not a major problem while one was in proximity to a station with a well. Food was more difficult, for the area would grow nothing, and all food had to come from the Nile Valley. We have clear evidence on this point from the ostraka from Wadi Fawakhir, in which the getting and sending of materials, especially foods, are a primary preoccupation.<sup>76</sup> As Préaux remarked, Wadi Fawakhir seems to have been a center of traffic between various desert establishments and the main road to the valley, with the result that it seems more animated than other such places.<sup>77</sup> For most isolated places, procuring the materials for bread, vegetables and other essentials of life was a major problem; overland transportation

<sup>74</sup> Cf. the preceding note and see below, p.37.

<sup>75</sup> On Pselkis and its strategic location at the entrance to a *wadi* with gold mines, see Préaux, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.4). The names of Satornilos' family and friends are interesting for the background of this auxiliary soldier: mother Aphrodous, wife (not legally married, presumably) Gemella, children Didymarion, Agathos Daimon, Epiktetos, friend Iulias, with a son Ioulas.

<sup>76</sup> Guéraud, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.6).

<sup>77</sup> Préaux, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.14) 152–54; she remarks, "Les préoccupations de leurs auteurs sont si banales et si simples qu'on en serait étonné, si l'on ne se souvenait que, dans les lieux les plus âpres où le pousse son intérêt, comme dans les conditions les plus tragiques où le jette le sort, l'homme parvient presque toujours à se ménager un paysage normal."

was expensive in antiquity, and the proportion of provisions consumed in bringing food to these places, compared to the amount delivered, must have been high.<sup>78</sup>

The worst problem, however, was neither food nor water nor transport but morale. Satornilos faced eighteen months of rather inactive service far from his family in a rather uninteresting series of places. The desert in modern times has lacked the settlements the ancient world established, but at the Red Sea port of Kosseir (ancient Leukos Limen) there is still a modern settlement. Weigall describes the sleepy life of this town in the first decade of this century, with a handful of Europeans having almost nothing to do, bored to distraction, waiting always for the next mail-packet as the only source of diversion.<sup>79</sup> A recently published ostrakon contains a fragmentary letter in which one man exhorts another: παρακαλῶ σε, ἀδελφε, ἐνκρατή[σ . . .] ἔωσ ἀλαγῆς.<sup>80</sup> It is likely from the texts with which this one was associated and from the mention of a decurion in it that we are dealing with a letter written to someone in an isolated post waiting until the end of his term of duty. It would scarcely be surprising that a deterioration of morale should occur under the circumstances.

There is also the more dramatic effect of the desert, panic. André Bernand has described the effects of this great solitude on the individual: much of the ancient world, away from the main settlements, was largely deserted, and the traveller or dweller might see little of other people for long periods. When this loneliness is combined with the heat and risk of wild animals in the Egyptian desert, the result is often the feeling sent by the god Pan, panic.<sup>81</sup> It is likely that the desert stations which the Roman auxiliaries manned had contingents

<sup>78</sup> See e.g. M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (London 1973) 126–27 with notes. The desert was of course worse than normal conditions of land transportation. For recent Chinese parallels see Chu Wen-djang, *The Moslem Rebellion in Northwest China 1862–1878* (Paris-The Hague 1966) 188; draft animals, unlike camels, consume a large proportion of what they carry, so that they are useless for very long trips (over 30 days). For shorter trips into the desert, they would be somewhat more practical. (I owe this reference to Manfred Raschke.)

<sup>79</sup> Weigall, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.72) 71–89. The port city, at least, unlike desert stations, might have prostitutes, cf. OGIS II 674.17.

<sup>80</sup> Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.6) 81–82 no.12. For a discussion of this text and the group with which it comes see *BASP* 12 (1975) 135–44.

<sup>81</sup> Bernand, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.52) xix–xxi. Bernand cites remarks of E. R. Dodds on solitude in Greece and invokes the peculiar aspects of the Egyptian desert (noting that one must, to perceive this at Kanais, mentally block out the modern asphalt road running from Resediyah to Dar Alam on the coast).

of no more than a few persons, and much of the time these may have been out patrolling alone. The arrival of caravans or the supervision of workers in the quarries and mines would have been the sole source of relief in the monotony and solitude. It was the hostile face of this environment, not its natural beauties, that ancient man perceived. Life in the Eastern Desert must have been unpleasant and tedious for most of those who experienced it—better for the soldiers, to be sure, than for those who worked in the mines and quarries.

It was the products of these workings that made all of the expense and suffering worthwhile for the kings and emperors who exploited the Eastern Desert, from the Pharaohs to the Romans. Foremost in the ancient mind were the gold mines located at various places in the desert. Only those of concern to the garrison of Resediyah will detain us here. There were several of these.<sup>82</sup> One was reached by the road for Barramiya which diverges from the main Resediyah-Berenike road shortly after El-Kanais; another, on the main road to Berenike, was Samut, which was probably a collection center for gold from that area. Further still along the road, after the junction with the main road from Coptos to Berenike, comes the intersection where the road for the gold mines of Sukari branches off.<sup>83</sup> These are only a few of the gold mines in the Eastern Desert, but they are three major centers of mining, and all are reached more conveniently from the Edfu area than from any other point in the Nile Valley.

Equally noteworthy in the region were the emerald mines of Gebel Zabara, which were evidently being worked already in Augustus' reign and continued to be in operation at least as late as Gallienus.<sup>84</sup> There were sources of other precious stones at various places in the

<sup>82</sup> The standard treatment of the routes connected with these mines is G. W. Murray, *JEA* 11 (1925) 138–50, esp. 145 for the mines in this region. Cf. also J. Gardner Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes II* (London 1843) 389, who talks about the road from Resediyah to gold mines at Gebel Ollagee. D. Meredith, *JEA* 38 (1952) 106, doubts that the gold mines were operated under the Romans, on the basis of what seems to me an inadequate argument.

<sup>83</sup> Murray, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.82), describes the Sukari mines as the most important gold mines of the desert in antiquity.

<sup>84</sup> See Murray, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.82) 145; Wilkinson, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.82); and Fitzler, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.68) 99–101 (also 48–49 on the Ptolemaic situation; D. Meredith, *JEA* 39 [1953] 104, expresses doubt on his interpretation). For the workings under Augustus see the next note; the evidence for the reign of Gallienus is CIG III 4839, a dedication to Isis, Sarapis, Apollo and the *synnaoi theoi* by a dedicant on behalf of himself, his family and his fellow workers; see Fitzler, 118–19.

surrounding desert.<sup>85</sup> The control of these workings was vested during the early empire in an *ἀρχιμεταλλάρχης*; the holder of this position in A.D. 11 was also a military officer: Ποπλίου Ἰουεντίου Ῥούφου χιλιάρχου τῆς τερτιανῆς λεγεῶν(ος) καὶ ἐπάρχου Βερενίκης καὶ ἀρχιμεταλλάρχου τῆς ζμαράγδου καὶ βαζίου καὶ μαργαρίτου καὶ πάντων τῶν μετάλλων τῆς Αἰγύπτου. This prefect of Berenike is a position known from other sources as *praefectus montis Berenicidis*; it appears that he had general control over the area between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea (insofar as it interested Rome) including the garrisons in it.<sup>86</sup> Our evidence is very scanty for the position after the early second century, and it may have been replaced by a *strategia* of a nome of Berenike.<sup>87</sup> At any rate, the military command of this area must have remained in the hands of one person to coordinate the various imperial activities. It is noteworthy that we have a combination of exploitation of economic resources with military command.

The *praefectus montis Berenicidis*, in the case of the inscription cited above, was a subordinate officer from a legion detached on an independent command (how typical this was is uncertain). Since he had command over troops from various units if he in fact had military control over the entire zone, he was probably responsible directly to the prefect of Egypt.<sup>88</sup> It is questionable if the prefecture need have been abolished even if the area was turned into a nome under a *strategos*, for a unified command over the far-flung operations of the army in the area was certainly essential; but evidence is simply lacking for the period from which our ostraka come.

A second motive for the exploitation of the Eastern Desert, closely related to the first, was the existence of various sources of building

<sup>85</sup> The inscription of the reign of Augustus mentions these (see below): *AÉpigr* 1910, 207; it was reread by L. A. Tregenza, "The Curator Inscription and Other Recently Found Fragments from the Wadi Semna," *Bull. Fac. Arts Fouad I Univ.* 13.2 (1951) 39–50 (*SEG* XX 670; *SB* VIII 10173).

<sup>86</sup> See Lesquier (n.16), 427–30, for an exposition of the relevant evidence. The evidence for control of the garrisons is *CIL* X 3083, which gives the title *praefectus praesidiarum et montis Berenicidis*. See also Fitzler, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.68) 130–31, on the post. For the military situation in this period see M. Speidel, "The Eastern Desert Garrisons under Augustus and Tiberius," *Cd'E*, forthcoming.

<sup>87</sup> The evidence is *P.Hamb.* I 7, which speaks of τῶν Β[ε]ρενίκης νομοῦ (A.D. 130); this is connected by Meyer, Fitzler and Lesquier with Hadrian's creation of Antinoopolis and an ambition for a rôle for it in the Red Sea trade; but all this remains clearly speculative, and no more evidence has come forth.

<sup>88</sup> See Lesquier, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.86), on this point.

stone. Some of these, like the Wadi Hammamat, had been exploited since early Pharaonic times; others were newly found and used by the Romans. Most of these, however, were found in the northern part of the desert, north of the latitude of Thebes.<sup>89</sup> They do not come into consideration here, therefore, although they produced very similar conditions to those connected with the mines: small military detachments guarding isolated areas of production and the workers there.

A third motive for the use of the Eastern Desert is the existence of several roads leading from the Nile Valley to the Red Sea, where a number of ports had existed, founded mostly by the Ptolemies. There was a considerable caravan traffic over these roads under the Romans, and it is to an examination of its significance for the Edfu area that we now turn.

## 8. The Red Sea Trade

Egyptian interest in trade with lands to the south goes back for many centuries before the Hellenistic period, but it appears to have been only in the very latest part of the Ptolemaic kingdom that anything approaching frequent trade relations as far as India was established. Under Roman rule this trade flourished, and the expedition of Aelius Gallus to Arabia under Augustus was motivated, Strabo tells us (16.4.22), partly by a hope of a share of the riches from the Arabians' trade. The ships sailed to and from India primarily from two ports of the several along the Red Sea coast, Myos Hormos and Berenike. Strabo, again, tells us (2.5.12) that in his time the trade from Myos Hormos was up to 120 ships per year; he gives much less information about Berenike, and what he does say is somewhat confusing. It appears that in his information this port played a lesser rôle than Myos Hormos.<sup>90</sup> The actual division of the trade between these two ports remains much disputed, for there is hardly any

<sup>89</sup> See Meredith, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.82) 94. The bibliography on the quarries associated with the Mons Claudianus and the Mons Porphyrites is extensive; see Bernand, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.61), and Préaux, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.35) 354-63. More recently, T. Kraus and J. Röder, *MDAI (Kairo)* 18 (1962) 80-120, and *op.cit.* (*supra* n.35) 108-205.

<sup>90</sup> At 16.4.5 Strabo describes Berenike as coming shortly after Myos Hormos as one moved South, and lying in a deep recess of a gulf. The gulf is described as made difficult by winds, rocks and reefs. In 17.1.45 a Berenike at the end of a road from Coptos is described as having no harbor but some landing places; again Myos Hormos is said to be near

evidence. The ostraka from Coptos which deal with trade through Berenike and Myos Hormos show a fairly equal division of shipments to the two ports (in the first six decades of the first century), but we do not know how accurate an indication this gives.<sup>91</sup> Most writers have concluded from Strabo's remarks that Berenike was less important, but this is not a necessary conclusion, since it is doubtful that Strabo's information was very good.<sup>92</sup>

Even if one admits that Berenike was used as much as Myos Hormos in the first century, and probably more in the second, it is clear that the main route to Berenike was that from Coptos, even though it is 40 miles longer than that from Edfu to Berenike. All of the ancient evidence, as we will see, points to the frequentation of the longer road. What is more questionable is whether the more southerly road was used at all for caravan traffic; opinions vary, without very much evidence.<sup>93</sup> Perhaps the most striking piece of evidence is that very few inscriptions of the Roman period have been found at El-Kanais, which would have been passed by every traveller over the road to Berenike from Edfu; by contrast Ptolemaic texts are common.<sup>94</sup>

Berenike. Now Myos Hormos is actually hundreds of kilometers northwest of Berenike. One may therefore suppose either that Strabo was thinking of another Berenike (which is difficult to support in the case of 17.1.45) or that he simply had a very hazy notion of the relative position of these places. The latter seems much more likely.

<sup>91</sup> See the discussion of A. Fuks, *JJurPap* 5 (1951) 207-16, on the Nikanor archive, with references; the relative numbers are analyzed on 214.

<sup>92</sup> Fuks, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.91), sees a rough equality; M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*<sup>2</sup> (London 1926) 63, thinks that Myos Hormos gained on Berenike as time went on because of the poor harbor conditions at the latter, but his only evidence is Strabo, who gives no idea of how things were changing. E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*<sup>2</sup> (London 1974) 7-8, seems to agree. But J. Lesquier (n.16), 457-58, argues the contrary, that Berenike in fact had the better harbor and provided a shorter trip up the Red Sea, sailing on which was hazardous and difficult; cf. p.420, where Lesquier indicates his opinion that Berenike became more important in the later first century. For modern descriptions of the two harbors see D. Meredith, "Berenike Troglodytica," *JEA* 43 (1957) 56-70, esp. 58-59 where he remarks that the harbor was treacherous but sheltered from the northerly winds. On Myos Hormos see Kraus, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.35) 203-05 with bibliography cited there.

<sup>93</sup> Lesquier, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.92): the Edfu road was not a public caravan route; Warmington, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.92): the Edfu road was used by camel caravans but decreasingly (he cites no evidence).

<sup>94</sup> Bernand, *Le Paneion d'El-Kanais* (*supra* n.52); there are only 6 Roman inscriptions compared to 85 Ptolemaic, and Bernand's careful study turned up unpublished texts only from the Ptolemaic period. The contrast to the situation in *Koptos à Kosseir* (*supra* n.61), where Roman texts predominate on the Leukos Limen route, is striking and probably decisive on this point; see Bernand, *El-Kanais* p.34.

Hardly any texts have been published from the rest of the Edfu route, but the significance of that fact is also unclear.<sup>95</sup>

The evidence that this route was used for caravan trade is therefore less than impressive, although Préaux points out that several routes were no doubt in use, including one from Berenike to Syene.<sup>96</sup> It is probable that goods destined for the area on either side of Edfu might travel by the road leading there, but it appears that the commerce directed to Thebes, Coptos, and the Mediterranean via Alexandria would all travel via Coptos under most circumstances.<sup>97</sup>

It remains for us to set forth the route in question, its distances and stations, in which the soldiers of the garrison of Contrapollinopolis Maior would have served, which led both to the port of Berenike and to the mines of the desert. The following table indicates the name (both ancient and modern, if both are known), location, and distance from Resediyah of each.

The stages and the ancient and modern equivalents are adopted from those established by G. W. Murray and shown on his sketch map.<sup>98</sup> The distances in *milia passuum* and, for the first five stages, in kilometers, are also taken from Murray. The coordinates have been

<sup>95</sup> Meredith, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.84) 99, notes that the Edfu road was not described by ancient authors, but asserts that it has lots of inscriptions of all periods; he may be relying on the unpublished Wilkinson manuscripts which he cited as providing plans of the forts along the route from Edfu to Berenike. The few scraps published in *Cd'E* 29 (1954) are not impressive. I have not seen other inscriptions from beyond El-Kanais on this road, and it should be pointed out that there was nothing from the remainder of the route in the inscriptions of which Wilkinson turned over his copies to J.-A. Letronne, from which the latter published the texts in the *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines d'Egypte* II (Paris 1848). In Letronne's time, in fact, Roman texts had not appeared even from El-Kanais, leading Letronne (p.241) to state that the Romans no doubt favored the other route to Berenike.

<sup>96</sup> Préaux, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.4) 154-55. In OGIS 202 (which M. Raschke considers early imperial in date) the *strategos* of the Ombite and Syene area also is the *παράλημπος* for the Red Sea.

<sup>97</sup> It would serve no purpose to enumerate here the various items which the Roman Empire imported from the Indian trade; see Warmington and Charlesworth, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.92), J. I. Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969), and, better, R. Delbrueck, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 155-156 (1955/56) [1957] 229-308, esp. 229-69 for this period. For the exports see Fuks, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.91) 212-13; he argues that most of the things listed in the ostraka were for export, including wheat, wine, drugs, rush mats, and smaller quantities of numerous other items.

<sup>98</sup> Murray, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.82) 138-50; map facing 139, and the Resediyah route on 145. Murray's work is based on a comparison of ancient sources (notably Pliny and the Antonine itinerary) with the field work of himself and others; I do not repeat his citations here.

No.	ANCIENT NAME	MODERN NAME	FROM MP	RESEDIYAH Km.	NORTH	EAST	NOTES
1		Abu Gihad	15	22			
2	Hydreuma	El-Kanais	32	45	25°0'30"	33°19'	
	tou Paneiou						
3		Abu Kreyah	62	88	24°55'	33°41'	(Qaryet Abu Midrik)
4		Samut	80	114	24°48'30"	33°54'	
5	Phalacro	Wadi Duwaiq	117	166	24°44'	34°26'	First after joining road from Coptos near Wadi Umm 'Asheira
6		Wadi Abu Qarya	131	187	24°40'35"	34°33'	
7	Hydreuma	Wadi Gemal	146	208	24°32'	34°44'	
	Apollinis						
8		Wadi Abu Higilig	166	237	24°24'	34°59'	
9	Hydreuma	Wadi Abu Ghusun	172	245	24°23'	35°03'	
	Cabalsi						
10		Wadi Abu Ghalka	178	254	24°21'	35°04'	junction Wadi Um-Qaria
11	Novum	Wadi Khashir	191	272	24°11'	35°14'	
	Hydr.						
12	Vetus Hydr.	Abu Qreiya	202	288	24°04'	35°18'	
13		Siket	215	306	23°56'	35°25'	
14	Berenike	Medinet el-Harras	219	312	23°55'	35°28'	

taken from the Survey of Egypt maps and are approximate. The spelling of modern names also follows these maps.<sup>99</sup>

The journey along this route must have taken about 9 or 10 days, almost evenly divided between the portion before Phalacro and that after. That from Coptos to Berenike, by contrast, took 11 or 12 days; from Coptos to Myos Hormos, 6-7 days, from Coptos to Leukos Limen (Kosseir) 5-6 days. One can expect a daily rate of travel of some 20-25 *mp*, and at least some of the stations seem to have been built

<sup>99</sup> For stage 1, the map used is Survey of Egypt, 1940 overprint, sheet  $\frac{34}{7}$  and  $\frac{34}{8}$ , "Idfu," 1:100,000. Stages 2-4 appear on Barramiya West (B-1), Survey of Egypt 1943, 1:100,000. This map unfortunately was compiled without the interest in Roman roads characteristic of the Eastern Desert series, and the information from it is thus somewhat less useful. Stages 5-6 appear on Survey of Egypt (1939), Eastern Desert Series, 36 ("Nugrus"); stage 7 is on map 37 ("Wadi Gemal"); stage 8 on map 40 ("Sheikh Shadli"); stages 9-12 on map 41 ("Hamata"); and stages 13-14 on map 45 ("Berenike"). These Eastern Desert maps show both ancient and modern roads, along with ancient remains. I am indebted to the American Geographical Society for the use of these maps.

with that in mind.<sup>100</sup> It can be seen that the advantage of probably two days which the Resediyah route had over the Coptos route was not of large importance, once the decision to use Berenike had been made.

The stations along the route varied in size; a typical *hydreuma* might be a square fort with rooms around the inside of the perimeter and a reservoir in the center. The walls were frequently of rubble, with the towers and gateway somewhat better constructed and larger.<sup>101</sup> The complex at Vetus Hydreuma, which controlled the approaches to Berenike, could hold 2,000 people according to Pliny, and Murray has estimated that a minimum of 250 men would be needed to hold the forts there in the event of an attack.<sup>102</sup> Most stations were far smaller than that.

The names of the stations, where we know the ancient ones, come from various sources: gods, emperors responsible for construction, age of the station, the characteristics of the location, etc.<sup>103</sup> The theophoric names are common, and the Florida ostraka mention an Aphis (3.5, 20.9) and an Isideion (24.1). The Coptos to Berenike road as a whole had one station named after Aphrodite, one after Apollo and one after Jove.<sup>104</sup>

The table of stations lists 14 places, even though we have seen that no more than ten days would be needed for the journey. Some of the stopping places are clearly much too near one another to be indicative of daily stages, while others seem rather on the far side: only two of thirteen intervals fall between 20 and 30 *mp*, the likely day's journey. Most of the intervals are smaller. Some of the stops may be intended primarily for water, others for a night's shelter. Couyat pointed out many years ago that some of the stations are not *hydreu-*

*mata*.<sup>105</sup> Golénischeff and others have recorded the spending of many nights outside, with visits to the stations often occurring during the day; a rough calculation suggests that only half of the nights *en route* were likely to be spent in the stations listed.

The roads to the mines all in some way were part of the network of which this Resediyah-to-Berenike route was the spine. Samut was, as we can see, directly on the route. The emerald mines at Siket and Gebel Zabara were reached by a road leading from Phalacro. To reach the gold mines of Barramiya one travelled northeast after leaving the main road after stage 2, El-Kanais. This main route was therefore the key to the safety not only of whatever commerce used it but also of the imperial revenues in gold and precious stones coming from the southern portion of the Eastern Desert. It was also, as we have seen, the main route for access to the portion of the desert in the latitudes between Thebes and Syene and hence for defense against the Blemmyes and other southern tribes of the desert.

<sup>100</sup> The calculations for the roads from Coptos can be found in Fuks, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.91). One may easily calculate the Resediyah-Berenike travelling time by comparison. Some confirmation is found in Golénischeff, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.72) 75-82, where he describes his journey over the route. He reached Berenike on the eleventh day, but it may be pointed out that he travelled at a fairly leisurely pace and made numerous stops to copy inscriptions or study stations; there was also a contretemps with the guides in the latter part of the trip. A caravan with no reason to study antiquities and with competent guides should find four days to Phalacro and five more to Berenike an easy pace.

<sup>101</sup> See Murray, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.82) 140 pl. XII, for the plan of a typical *hydreuma*. ILS 2483 records the building of several *lacci* (ὄρεύματα) in the desert.

<sup>102</sup> Murray, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.82) 144 n.5.

<sup>103</sup> Lesquier (n.16), 432.

<sup>104</sup> Murray, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.82) 144, lists these.

<sup>105</sup> Jules Couyat, "Ports gréco-romains de la Mer Rouge et grandes routes du désert arabe," CRAI 1910, 525-39. This was the abstract of a longer memoir promised on the Eastern Desert, but this was never realized; Couyat's material on El-Kanais was used by Gauthier, but the rest has apparently never appeared: see Bernand, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.52) 21. Another such promise, by A. J. Reinach, in BSRAA 13 (1910) 111-44, where the first part of a study of travellers appeared, was cut short by the author's death in the First World War.

## PART II

### The Texts

## 1

## FURLOUGH PASS

Inv. 27

12.5 × 10.4 cm.

The text of this pass is written in four lines in the upper half of the potsherd. All of the lines are of the same length except the second, where there was written first a horizontal bar occupying the remaining space as far as the right margin. The name of the soldier granted furlough has subsequently been written in above the bar—filling in the blank on a prepared form, that is. The lettering is distinct and neat, but clearly unpracticed; the hand of the writer of the name appears to be the same as that of the preparer of the form.

The document, as an actual leave pass, appears to be unique. It is presumably this that the soldier carried in order to prove that he was not absent without leave, in case he was questioned by someone in authority. It is therefore curious that there is no date on this pass to show from when the ten days (plus two for return, if my interpretation of line 4 is correct) were to extend. Perhaps the space left at the bottom (half the sherd) was intended for this purpose but for some reason never used. In any case the records of the unit would preserve the information for each day what the soldier's status was, if this should be needed; cf. *P.Gen.Lat.* 1 in Fink, *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 9.2m and note.

There is seemingly a reference to a document like this one in another ostrakon from a similar milieu, a letter published in *JJurPap* 9–10 (1955–56) 162 no.2 (SB VI 9272). The writer has (line 4) said *καλῶς ποιήσεις ἐς τὴν αὔριον λαβεῖν μοι κομ[ι]ἀτο(ν) καταβῆναι καὶ ταχέως ἀναβῆναι*; he then (line 9) requests *ἀλλὰ ἐπίδες σήμερον τὸ πιττάκιον ἐς τὴν αὔριον*. Our text is evidently such a *πιττάκιον*, a term which is vague in its application to all sorts of written documents. The

editor, P. I. Price, calls it here (accurately), “presumably the chit, perhaps another ostrakon, on which the permission for leave of absence was written” (p.164). The situation here probably involves a journey down (to the valley of the Nile) and up (the return, for which two days are allowed); see above, p.22, on the location of the camp, and p.19 for *commeatus* generally.

ἔχεις δέκα ἡμέρας κο-  
μιᾶτεν Ἀμμωνᾶς·  
ἔχεις δύο ἡμέρας κομι-  
4 ἀτεν καὶ σοὶ ἀπάγαθαι.

1, 3: γ. κομᾶτον 4: γ. ἀπάγεσθαι

*You have ten days' furlough, Ammonas; you have two days' furlough also to return.*

1, 3. The interchange of *ε* and *ο* was common even in Hellenistic times, cf. Mayser-Schmoll, *Grammatik* I.1 72–73. This transliteration of the Latin *commeatus* shows the common characteristic of the transliteration of *ε* by *ι* (the reverse is also common). See S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto* 18, citing several examples such as *ενάτωρ* and *κάμπιστρον*.

2. I have not seen a parallel to the use of a line under a blank, but blank forms were common enough; the most plentiful evidence concerns dike-work certificates, for which see H. C. Youtie, *CP* 39 (1944) 28–29 (now *Scriptumculae* II [Amsterdam 1973] 830–31), with a bibliography.

4. *ἀπάγαθαι* is probably a misspelling of *ἀπάγεσθαι*. The phonetic phenomena thus supposed are attested already for Ptolemaic times: Mayser-Schmoll, *Grammatik* I.1 44–45, note a tendency for replacement of *ε* with *α* in infinitives owing to confusion of tenses (e.g. *ελεύασθαι* for *ελεύεσθαι*). The dropping out of the *σ* before *θ* is not remarkable in middle infinitives (Mayser-Schmoll I.1 179), as *θ* absorbs *σ*. The sense is less obvious. *LSJ s.v. η*, gives one meaning for *ἀπάγω* (active) as ‘bring back or home’ (with literary citations). A middle use of this verb with this meaning does not appear to be attested, but our ostrakon's phrase is a plausible and correct use of the middle for this meaning: ‘to get yourself back’. The *WB* does not seem to offer any parallel.

## 2

## LETTER OF A DECURION

Inv. 4

16.8 × 11.4 cm.

In this letter, Herennius Antoninus, a decurion, gives some orders to one Amatios, who may perhaps be a *curator* (see above, p.24). The

text is complete on all sides, written in a neat hand which has an individual and practiced style. The composition is not faultless: the first sentence begins, like the third, with what seems to be intended as an elaborate predicate, but the syntax shifts with *εἰπέ* and the phrase is left dangling. The effect is achieved in the last sentence, where the phrase really is the object of the imperative.

The decurion seems concerned with a mix of military and police matters, dealing both with civilians and soldiers. Lesquier, *Armée romaine* 235-37, is the best treatment of such police work, although there is more evidence now. See *JARCE* 14 (1977) for further discussion.

- Ἡρένιος Ἀντωνεῖνος (δεκαδάρχης) Ἀματίω*  
*ν α σ α τ χ αῖ ρ ε ι ν*  
*τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Βαλανέος τὸν ἐν τῷ*  
 4 *σκοπέλω ὄντα μικρόν, εἰπέ τῷ*  
*δεκανῶ ἵνα ἀντ' αὐτοῦ βάλῃ*  
*νεανίσκον. ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ ἐνε-*  
*τιλάμην περὶ αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ.*  
 8 *καὶ τὸν παγανὸν τὸν κατακαύ-*  
*σαντα τὰ θρύα ἐγγὺς τοῦ πραι-*  
*σιδίου καινοῦ πέμψον*  
*πρὸς ἐμέ. Ἔρωσθε.*

*Herennius Antoninus, decurion, to Amatios, greeting. Since the son of Balaneus who is in the watchtower is a boy, speak to the dekanos so that he may place a young man in his stead; for I also have sent orders to him about him. And send to me the civilian who set fire to the reeds near the new praesidium. Farewell.*

## 3

## LETTER OF CLAUDIUS ARCHIBIOS

Inv. 2

12.7 × 12 cm.

This complete and stylishly penned letter, written by a scribe and subscribed by the author, is a simple notice of dispatch of two soldiers instead of two others. The author addresses the addressee as colleague but does not give his own or the other's rank. The purpose of sending the soldiers is not stated; the destination is Aphis (cf. above, p.38).

- Κλαύδιος Ἀρχίβιος Ἀριστοβούλω*  
*κολλήγγα χ αῖ ρ ε ι ν*  
*Παπρήνιν τύρμ(ης) Ἀντωνεῖνου*  
 4 *Ἰούλιον Ἀντωνεῖνον τύρμ(ης) Τουλλίου*  
*εἰς Ἀφιν ἔπεμψα Θῶθ δ' ἀντὶ*  
*Ἀπωνίου Πετρωνιανοῦ καὶ*  
*Ἰουλίου Ἀπολλιναρίου. (2nd hand) ἐρρώσθεαί*  
 8 *ζε εὔχομαι.*  
 7 *τ. ἐρρώσθαι*

*Claudius Archibios to Aristoboulos his colleague greeting. I have sent Paprenis of the turma of Antoninus and Iulius Antoninus of the turma of Tullius to Aphis on Thoth 4 in place of Aponius Petronianus and Iulius Apollinarius. I pray that you are well.*

3. *Παπρήνις*: This name does not appear in the *NB* nor the *Onomasticon*; nor is there anything like it in these works. It is equally lacking in Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischen Eigennamen*, and nothing there seems even close.

5. The sense is probably that the men dispatched were a relief shift, rather than a pair sent because of a change of plans instead of the other two.

## 4

## LETTER OF A SOLDIER

Inv. 9

10.6 × 11.6 cm.

This letter is complete except for minor damage along the lines where it has been broken and mended. The hand is rather painstaking than fluent. A soldier informs the *curator* of his garrison that he owes money in a village where he is at present and that he wants to borrow money from the *curator* in order to repay his debt. Some obscurity results from damage to the surface and apparently anomalous usage in line 6.

- Ἰούλις Ἀπολινάρις*  
*τύρμα Ἀπωνίου <Ἰου> λ(ίω) Ἀ-*  
*στειανῶ κουράτορι*  
 4 *χ αῖ ρ ε ι ν καλῶς ποιή-*  
*σις δοῦς Ἰσιδώρω*

χαλκὸν ἐπὶ ἐπέχω  
 σοι ὅ τι ἀπὸ κατοῦ

- 8 μοι πέμπεις. προεχρη-  
 κάμην ἀπὸ τῆς κώ-  
 μης καὶ θέλω ἀποδώ-  
 ναι. ἔρρωσο
- 12 τεμιώτατε.

6 γ. ἐπέ 7 γ. κατοῦ 10 γ. ἀποδοῦναι  
 11 γ. ἔρρωσο

*Iulius Apolinaris of the turma of Aponius to Iulius Asteianus the curator, greeting. Please give Isidoros copper money since I promise to you whatever you send me from your own means. I borrowed from the village and I wish to repay. Farewell, your excellency.*

1. On the transformation of *-ιος* endings into *-ις*, see D. Georgacas, *CP* 43 (1948) 243–60, who presents a phonetic explanation and abundant documentation. The soldier is perhaps mentioned in 3.

2. The Greek formula calls for *τύρμης*, but *τύρμα* is probably meant as a dative in imitation of the Latin formula. The ostrakon reads *απωνιουδ̄*. I have adopted Gilliam's suggestion that the unpracticed writer wrote *απωνιου*, then became confused (or let his attention wander) and thought that the *ιου* were the start of the *ιουλιω* he intended to write next. Since he was at the end of the line, he wrote the *lambda* above the line. It is possible that he remembered to 'write' *ιουλ(ιω)* only after writing at least the *alpha* which starts the next name. Asteianus is unattested but derived from Astius, whether that be the Greek *Ἀστέϊος* (see e.g. Kirchner, *Prosop. Att.* I, nos. 2641–42) from *ἄστν* or, much more likely, the Roman Astius, derived according to Schulze, *Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen* 131, from the Etruscan *astnei*. Astius occurs fairly commonly as both nomen and cognomen.

6. There is a broken place at the end of the line, and the letter I read as *omega* is written above the line. This is in all of the other instances of supra-linear writing at the ends of lines in this text (lines 2, 8, 10) a sign of a break in the middle of a word, but *σοι* in the next line does not favor this explanation here. It is not possible to tell if a letter is in fact missing. The meaning of *ἐπέχω* here, if that is what was written, is evidently like that of LSJ s.v. II: 'hold out, offer'; i.e., Iulius Apolinaris promises (repayment of) the loan. One might expect a future such as *ἀποδώσω*, but that is clearly not what the writer said. It is interesting that Asteianus is asked to lend not from official funds but from his own.

7. *κατοῦ*: This type of misspelling is found in, e.g., BGU I 13.22, which has

*ἀτῶν* for *αὐτῶν*. Cf. Mayser-Schmoll I.1 98–99 for the use of *κατοῦ* even in the second century B.C.

10. The spelling change in this direction seems less common than its reverse; Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen* 82, 117, gives examples and cites Mayser's remarks.

12. On the impersonal nature of the ties linking correspondents one of whom uses *τεμιώτατος* see H. Koskenniemi, *Studien* 100–02; it is precisely in semi-official letters like this ostrakon that the term occurs very frequently. Koskenniemi also notes (152) that the use of it in the vocative as here is a second-century characteristic.

## 5

## LETTER OF APONIUS DIDYMIANUS

Inv. 7

10.1 × 8.4 cm.

This letter is unusual in having a month and date at its head, perhaps in order to provide the addressee with a point of reference for the request that the cavalryman Atreides be sent in a hurry.

Φαῶφι ια

Ἀπόνιος Διδυμιανὸς (δεκαδάρχης)

Ἰουλιανῶ κουράτορι χαίρειν·

- 4 καλῶς ποιήσεις λαβῶν μου  
 τὸ ὄστρακον πέμψας  
 πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐν τάχει Ἀτρί-  
 δειν ἱππῆα τούρμης

- 8 Ἀντονίνου ἐπὶ ὃ ἔπαρ-  
 χος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔ-

[π]εμψε.

ἔρρωσο.

4 γ. ποιήσεις 6 γ. τάχει 6–7 γ. Ἀτρεΐδην  
 7 γ. ἱππῆα 8 γ. ἐπεί 11 γ. ἔρρωσο

*Phaophi 11. Aponius Didymianus, decurion, to Iulianus the curator, greeting. Please send me quickly Atreides, cavalryman of the turma of Antoninus, when you receive the ostrakon from me, since the prefect has sent for him. Farewell.*

8. The prefect of the cohort, probably; cf. p.17.

## 6

## LETTER OF A DECURION TO A CURATOR

Inv. 10

10.1 × 12.1 cm.

Enough of this letter is lost at left to make a full restoration impossible. The hand appears to me very close to that of 9, a fragmentary letter of the decurion Tullius. The present text seems somewhat more hurried and written with a pen in worse condition, but the formation of a number of letters (*o, v, ei, π, c, ζ* are noteworthy) points to the same writer despite the smallness of the comparative material provided by the small remains of 9. The assumption of this author gives us approximate dimensions of the loss at the left, and nothing in the text suggests that any of these estimates of space is incorrect. The ostrakon is complete on the other three sides.

The subject matter of the letter as a whole is obscure, but it touches on several matters, including money for *congiarium*, 'largess', and a *dekanos* of watchtower guards, who are mentioned repeatedly. Someone is evidently to be sent to the writer (line 9).

[Τύλλ]ιος (δεκαδάρχης) κουράτορι πραισιδ(ίου)  
 [...]νωρειγης vacat χείρειν  
 [...]ηται με μη διαδραμείν προς  
 4 [...] μέχρι της νομηγίας προς  
 [...] το χρήμα του κονγιαρίου  
 [καλώς ποιήσης δεσους εάν δι-  
 [...] δεκανός των σκοπ-  
 8 [ελαρίων] σκοπελαρίου  
 [πέμψαι . . . π]ρος έμέ ίνα  
 [...] τους σκοπε-  
 [λαρίου . . .] έρωσθε.

1. It appears that the *curator praesidii* is addressed by title only, not by name. See p.24.

2. I take this to be a place name, the location of this *praesidium*, but I do not know of any possible candidates among known toponyms.

3. *διατρέχω* can mean rather vaguely to go from one place to another, as in Appian, BC 1.44: Σέξτου Καίσαρος ούκ αγαρόντος χολήν διαδραμείν επί άρχαιρέσια ές Ρώμην.

8. *Skopelarioi* were previously attested only in SB VI 9549 (4).8, of the middle of the third century. The word is not registered in the *Supplement* (1968) to LSJ. See above, p.25, on these men.

9. It is not certain if there is sufficient space to restore *εὐθέως*, but some adverb of time is needed.

## 7

## LETTER TO A CURATOR

Inv. 11

9 × 8.1 cm.

The breakage of this ostrakon all along the left side has removed most of the contents (even if only a few words) of what was certainly among the more interesting texts of this collection. From the few surviving phrases an air of crisis emerges: the author (perhaps a decurion) has received a letter on ostrakon from Bassos the *curator*; he then questioned the elders (of a village?), and they replied something about having died of famine; the author asks Bassus for precision.

[. . . .] Βάσσω κουρ(άτορι) χα(ίρειν)  
 [λαβ]ών σου τὸ ὄστρακον ἔπη-  
 [ρώτ]ησα τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ  
 4 [ἀπ]εκρίθησάν μοι ἰδίῳ θα-  
 [. . . .]αι λειμῶ τεθνηκῆ-  
 [ναι.] ἀξιώ σῃ οὖν τὸ ἀκρει-  
 [βέσ. . . .] γην εἶχεν  
 [. . . ἐρρωσθαί σ]ε εἰ[σ]χομαι.  
 5 γ. τεθνηκέναι 6 γ. σε

## 8

## LETTER OF HERENNIUS

Inv. 17

4.5 × 8.8 cm.

This text is probably in the same hand as 2. Practically nothing after the salutation can be made out except the mention of the doctor in line 4.

Ἐρένιος Ἀ[ντωνεῖνος (δεκαδάρχης) --]  
 κουράτ[ορι χείρειν]  
 ἐπιδή Ἑρα[ -- ]

4 ὁ ἰατρὸς τη[---]  
 αὐτῷ εἶρη[---]  
 χευμεν. .[---]  
 εἰς ζητησι.[---]  
 8 εκτουε. .[---]  
 .....[---]

4. It is also conceivable that this is the end of *ἰπποιατρὸς*, cf. 15.3.

## 9

## LETTER OF THE DECURION TULLIUS

Inv. 13

8 × 5 cm.

Just enough of this letter survives to show that it is like 3 and 5 in dealing with the sending of soldiers. Tullius is probably the author also of 6, which seems to be in the same hand (see introduction).

Τύλλιος (δεκαδάρχη) Ἰου[λιανῶ κουρά(τορι) (?)]  
 vacat χαίρει[ν· vacat?]  
 Ἰούλιον Μάξιμον [---]  
 4 ἔπεμψα πρὸς σε [---]

1. The restoration depends on identifying the addressee with that of 5.

2. The space after *χαίρειν* could have contained the name of another person who had been sent, preceding Iulius Maximus (even without a copula, cf. 3). But 2, 3, 6, 11 and 12 all suggest that a harmonious spacing of *χαίρειν* in the second line, with whatever remained of titles, was a popular convention with these officers.

3. The name was presumably followed by an identification by *turma*; there may also have been a status designation like *ἰππεύς* (contrast 3 and 5).

## 10

## LETTER

Inv. 18

7.2 × 7.7 cm.

The placing at the start of the addressee's name here suggests a letter to a superior officer, and it is likely that Antoninus is the Herennius

Antoninus known from other documents in the archive (cf. p.17). About the contents nothing can be said.

Ἀντωνεῖνω [(δεκαδάρχη) (?)] ---  
 Πομπείος [---]  
 vacat [---]  
 4 ὑπὲρ ου. [---]  
 ψα. [---]  
 γ. [---]

1. Proper order would dictate that *χαίρειν* should come between the name of the addressee and that of the writer, thus in the latter part of line 1. But the spacing in line 3, with nothing now visible and surely some text lost at right, suggests that *χαίρειν* stood there (cf. 9.2n.). One might then suppose that nothing further was lost in line 1 after the title. The uncertainty about these lines prevents us from being confident of the amount lost in any line.

4. Perhaps *ὑπὲρ οὐ*.

5. This may be the end of *ἔγραψά σοι*.

## 11

## LETTER TO ELIANUS THE CURATOR

Inv. 16

7.9 × 6.7 cm.

The name of the decurion who wrote this letter is nearly all lost at left; the hand is a fast one compared to most in this archive. It is the same as that in 12. Much of the content is also lost, but it seems that there is an order to come, mention of a field and of a cavalryman.

[---] . . (δεκαδάρχη) Ἡλιανῶ κουρά(τορι)  
 [---] vacat χαίρειν·  
 [---] ψε μοι ἔρκου ἵνα ε-  
 4 [---] ὄν ἀγρόν αὐτοῦ  
 [---] ἐχθαι ὑπὸ ἰππέω(ς)  
 [---] ὡση οὖν τις ἔστω  
 [---] . . .

1. I have not found this name or a plausible stem elsewhere. It may be best to take it as a misspelling of *Αἰλιανός*. Interchange of *η* and *αι* is not common,

but it is found: see S. Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen* 111 n.1, and IGRR 819.15 and 823.6.

3. The first letter in the line is probably a *psi*, possibly of  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\mu\psi\epsilon$  or  $\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$ . For  $\epsilon\rho\kappa\omicron\upsilon$  probably read  $\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\upsilon$ .

## 12

## LETTER TO A CURATOR

Inv. 15

6 × 5.8 cm.

The *curator* does not appear to be one attested in another text. There are mentions of the prefect (of the cohort, probably) and of the camp. The hand is the same as that in 11.

[---]ντίω κουράτ(ορι)  
 [---] vacat χείρειν  
 [---]ψος τοῦ ἐπάρχου  
 4 [---π]έμφεις εὐθέως  
 [---].κον ἰς παρεμ-  
 [βολήν-]ος καὶ . . [---]  
 - - - - -

## 13

## LETTER TO BAEBIUS SEVERUS

Inv. 20

8.2 × 9.4 cm.

The character and subject of this letter are uncertain. The initial placement of the addressee's name, the authentically Roman quality of that name (see note to line 1), and the mention of the writer's rank all point to an official context. The word order, with  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$  following the name of the writer, reminds us of what seems to be the probable word order in 10, but what the material lost (and preserved) at the end of line 2 and the start of line 3 was, it is impossible to say. The hand is very unpracticed.

Βαιβίω Σεονήρω [---]  
 [. ]νστος ἰππέους π. [---]  
 [. . .]ρω χείρειν κ̄ [---]  
 4 [ . . . ] . . . ιου παντ [---]

[± 7].  $\bar{\alpha}$ .  $\epsilon\rho\rho\omega$  [---]

[± 8]. παντ. [---]

[± 10]. .α [---]

2 r. ἰππέως

1. On the various members of the Baebii to serve in equestrian offices in Egypt see, e.g., H. Devijver, *De Aegypto et exercitu Romano, sive Prosopographia militiarum equestrium* etc. (*Studia Hellenistica* 22, Louvain 1975) 36-37, with references.

2. At the end, a *tau* (beginning  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\mu\eta\varsigma$ ) is not possible.

3. A dative referring to the place where he was stationed? The last letter is evidently the first of two digits, probably the date on which something happened.

5. One would not expect in an official letter a long farewell clause, but the remains suggest something like 14.18-19.

## 14

## LETTER OF MAXIMUS

Inv. 6

17.3 × 15.5 cm.

This very large ostrakon, complete except for a triangular piece in the center bottom, contains a letter from one Maximus to his *ἀδελφή* Tinarsieges. Although the sherd is nearly complete and the letters almost everywhere readable, there are several passages whose meaning is obscure; these are discussed in the notes. The substance and form alike have peculiarities: the author uses a feminine participle in referring to himself in line 12; he talks of making a basket; he refers to  $\tau\eta\nu$  *λοχίαν μου* in line 8; and he plans to carry out the delivery of Tinarsieges' child. One might well suggest that the author was a woman, but the name Maximus can hardly be that of a woman, and the tone of the entire letter seems to me more likely to be that of a husband reproaching his wife for her neglectfulness in failing to tell him when the baby is due. The reference in line 16 to Tinarsieges' brother also seems to point to some responsibility which the nearest male relative would need to discharge in the husband's absence. It seems to me very likely that Maximus is a soldier (the name was common in the Roman auxiliaries) who is stationed at some distance from his family, such as was common practice; see above, p.30.

- Μάξιμος Τιναρσιεγέτι τῇ ἀδελφῇ πλείεστα  
 χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντός ὑγιαίνειν·  
 εἴαν ἔλθῃς εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας σου τοῦ τεκῖν, γράψον μοι  
 4 εἶνα εἰσέλθω καὶ τὴν λοχίαν σου ποιήσω, ἐπὶ οὐκ οἶ-  
 δά σου τὸν μῆνα. χάριν τούτου προέγραψά σοι, εἶνα  
 καὶ εὖ προλάβῃς καὶ γράψῃς μοι εἶνα εἰσέλθω ἐν  
 τῷ πλοίῳ τῶν κιβαρίων εἶνα καὶ γὰρ μίνω ἐχόνομά  
 8 σου καὶ τὴν λοχίαν μου ποιήσης. σοὶ γὰρ προσέχω ὅτι  
 ἐχόνομά σου μενάω τεκῖν. εἴαν μὴ πέμψῃς ἐπ' ἐ-  
 μέ οὐ χάριτάν μοι ποιεῖς. ἔμελλον σοὶ πέμψαι  
 ἀγγία εἰς τὴν λοχίαν σου· χάριν τούτου οὐκ ἀπέστια  
 12 εἶνα εἰσερχομένη ἐνέγκω καὶ δύο μάτια θερμίων.  
 ὁ φέρων σοὶ τὸ ὄστρακον συνστρέφει [. . .] πρὸς ἐμέ. διὰ αὐτοῦ  
 μὴ ἀμελήσης γράψαι περὶ τῆς κατ' οἰκίας ἀπο-  
 γραφῆς. ἐφώνησάν σου τὸ ὄν[ο]μα καὶ οὐ προσ-  
 16 ἐφώνησαν. ἔγραψα οὖν τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου ἄνω  
 εἶνα καὶ τὸ ὄνομά σου προσδῶ σινεσσειτην.  
 ἀσπαζόμεθά σε καὶ Καλλέαν καὶ τοὺς  
 ἐν οἴκῳ πάντες κατ' ὄνομα. πέμψον μοι  
 20 φύλλα ὡς εἰς < > σφυρίδιον καὶ ποιήσω σοὶ  
 αὐτὸ ἐπὶ ὄν[ο]μα . . . ]ιωδω.  
 [ἐρρῶ]σθαί σε εὖχομαι.

3 γ. τεκῖν. 4 γ. ἐπέι. 7 γ. μίνω. 8 γ. σου ποιήσω.  
 9 γ. μενάω. 11 γ. ἀγγεία. 12 γ. εἰσερχόμενος, δύο.  
 13 γ. συνστρέφει. 15 γ. προσεφώνησαν. 19 γ. πάντας.

Maximus to Tinarsieges his sister, many greetings and in everything good health. If you are coming to your days of giving birth, write to me so that I may come and perform your delivery, since I do not know your month. I wrote to you in advance for this reason, so that you might also act in advance and write to me so that I would come in the provisions-boat, so that I also might remain with you and perform your delivery. For I advise you that I will wait with you for the birth. If you do not send (word) to me you do me no favor. For I was going to send you jars for your delivery; for this reason I did not send them, that I might bring them when I came and two matia of lupines. The man who is bringing you the ostrakon is returning to me; do not neglect to write by way of him about the house-by-house census. They called your name and they did not call it again (?). I wrote to your brother, therefore, upriver, so that he might turn in your name . . . I greet you and

Kalleas and all those in the house by name. Send me leaves as for a small basket and I will make it for you. . . I pray for your health.

4. λοχεία ποιέω is evidently equivalent to λοχεύω, used of the person (normally a midwife) delivering a child (see LSJ s.v. ι.2). The WB gives no parallel for a man delivering a child, and one must presume that we are not dealing with LSJ ι.3 meaning, 'practice couvade', which is applied to a man. The phrase λοχεία ποιέω does not seem to occur in the papyri at all. B. Helly and J. Marcillet-Jaubert, ZPE 14 (1974) 252-56, discuss the epigram at Lambesis of a doctor specializing in obstetrics, showing that the delivery of children was not an exclusive specialty of women.

7. κιβάριον is cited by LSJ Suppl. (1968) from P.Lond. III 1159.8 (p.112), which is not a specifically military context, and in the plural from IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1.92.10. On ἐχόνομα see the remarks of H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* II (Amsterdam 1973) 805-09.

8-9. Normally προσέχω means 'pay heed to' someone or something, but here it appears to have a sense of 'advise'. I take μενάω as a falsely formed future of μένω in a transitive sense (see LSJ s.v. ιι), but I do not know whether we are to supply an article ("I will await the birth") or a cé ("I will wait for you to give birth").

10. χάριταν: The appearance of third declension accusatives with final -αν is common in papyri of the period, and χάρις had an accusative χάριτα as early as Herodotus (see LSJ). What is interesting is the use of this form along with the form χάριν, fossilized in its adverbial use (lines 5 and 11). On the consonantal form with nu see F. T. Gignac, *Proc. XII Int. Congr. Pap.* (Toronto 1970) 145 with n.61.

11. ἀγγία (ἀγγεία): cf. P.Oxy. VI 992 (A.D. 413): 'Ιουλιανὸς Δωροθέω· παρασχού Μαρίαν γυνῆ Πεκολαρίω οἴνο[ν] δι(πλοῦν) α ἐν λοχίαις αὐτῆς.

12. The feminine participle must be a mistake for masculine if my interpretation is correct. The μάτιον is fairly well-attested as a measure of volume; several examples occur (some transliterated into Latin) in the Wadi Fawakhir ostraka: no.1, perhaps wheat; 2, salt; 12, onions; 20, half-mation of grain; 21, mustard. Of θέρμιον, LSJ remark that as a diminutive of θέρμος (lupine) it is "condemned by Thos. Mag.," but WB I cites papyrological examples.

13. I do not know what the two letters after συνστρέφει can be. There is apparently not room for καί.

17. The sense of the latter part of this line is obscure to me. Both subjunctive and infinitive are possible after ἴνα, see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (Athens 1973) 321-23. One can thus envisage προσδῶσιν (προσδῶσειν) as a possible alternative to the reading given.

20. σφυρίδιον: a basket made of reeds is mentioned in P.Teb. I 120.77, but material is rarely specified elsewhere, the contents of this utility article being

the main concern. Perhaps a cradle is planned. In line 21 we should perhaps understand ἐπεὶ οὐ [. . .] ἰωδω, with a verb at the end, but I do not see what it would be.

## 15

## LETTER OF PUBLIUS TO HIS SON

Inv. 5

16.9 × 8.9 cm.

There is no mention of military rank in this text, but the mention of the addressee's horse makes it virtually certain that A--- was a cavalryman; the remark that there was no meat for sale, apparently where the son was located, also points to an isolated spot which is likely to have been a military outpost.

- Πούπλις Α[. . .]ω[ι] τῶι νίῳ πλείστα χάρειν  
καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἰγναίν[ει]ν μετὰ τοῦ ἀβασκάντου  
σου ἵππου. ἐπεμψά σοι διὰ Κουίντου ἱπποιατροῦ τὸν  
4 ἀνδρόμαχα καὶ τὴν ὄρνειθαν ὑλήαν ἡψημέ-  
νην ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔνει κρέας πωλούμενον. ἐὰν  
χρήζεις χαλκοῦ . . γράψεις μοι καὶ πέμψω σοι  
μετὰ οὐ ἐὰν εὕρω ἀνθρώπου ἀσφαλοῦς.  
8 ἐρρώσθαι σε εὖχομαι μετὰ τοῦ ἀβασκάν-  
του σου ἵππου.

3 ἱπποιατροῦ ostr.

Publius to A--- as his son many greetings and in everything good health, with your horse whom the evil eye does not touch. I sent you via Quintus the veterinarian the andromax and the boiled wood-bird, since there is no meat for sale. If you have need of copper, you will write to me and I will send it to you with whatever safe man I may find. I pray for your health with your horse who is safe from the evil eye.

1. The unread portion here and in some other places is covered with a dark smudge.

2-3. There seems to be no published parallel to the phrase τοῦ ἀβασκάντου σου ἵππου. References in the papyri to ἀβάσκαντος are virtually all to people, although sometimes the vague word οἶκος is found. *P.Mich.* VIII 473.14 offers τὰ ὑμῶν {β}ἀβάσκανταν, interpreted by the editors as τὰ ἡμῶν (sc. ὑπάρχοντα) ἀβάσκαντα, thus seemingly referring to all things both animate and inanimate.

Perhaps the best indication of the near-humanity ascribed by these horse-soldiers to their valuable mounts is SB I 1022.6 (IGRR I 1342), from Talmi (Kalabschek): τὸ προσκύνημα Ἰουλίου Κρίσπου ἱππέος τούρμης Λουκίου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ Λοιγινῶτος καὶ Κρονίωνος καὶ τῶν ἀβασκάντων παίδων αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀ[ὐτοῦ] ἵππου. Cf. also Bernand, *Koptos à Kosseir* 127: Ὀρχῆς Κεφάλωνος χαλκεύς, τὸ προσκύνημα Λοιγίνου ἱππέος καὶ τοῦ ἵππου αὐτοῦ. The use of ἀβάσκαντος about horses was, of course, by no means otiose, as the spells laid on horses show: A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris 1904) Index III (I am indebted to Robert Daniel for calling this to my attention). See *O.Amst.* 18.

4. Neither of these animals seems to be known. It seems probable to me that ἀνδρομαξ is also a fowl, but neither it nor the ὄρνις ὑλήα is to be found in D'Arcy Thompson, *Lexicon of Greek Birds*. Professor W. G. Arnott suggests to me that ἀνδρομαξ, 'man-fighter', might be the crane, the legend of whose fight with the pygmies was well-known. Arnott remarks that since woodlands are not part of the Egyptian scene (certainly not in this area!) it is hard to see what is meant by a wood-bird. There is, however, a reference to bird-hunting in the ostrakon from Wadi Fawakhir published by Guéraud as 14, lines 7-8. On the accusative form ὄρνειθαν see the note to 14.9. The adjective ὑλήαν is to be viewed as a misspelling of ὑλαίαν rather than as an iotacistic form of the ὕλιος quoted by LSJ *Suppl.* from a fifth-century B.C. Locrian inscription (where the context is by no means clear). See the remarks of L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the post-Ptolemaic Papyri* I.1 (London 1945) 3ff, on the essential identity of the sounds ειο, ηο, εο and αιο, and the incorrectness of assuming from variant spellings the existence of a variety of adjectival endings. Palmer does not, however, include ὑλαῖος in his list of -αῖος adjectives (p.19), where the similarly formed λιμναῖος figures.

5. ἔνει: This is evidently a variant of ἐνε, the form from which derives Modern Greek εἶνε, 'is'. Whether our form is the product simply of interchange of ε and ι plus iotacism or reflects a stage along the development that led to the modern form, it is hard to say. On the history of the word see A. N. Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar* (London 1897) 250 §985. Since κρέας is not restricted in meaning to meats other than fowl (see LSJ), it seems clear that the lack of meat for sale is a problem where the son is located, not where the father lives.

## 16

## LETTER OF MEVIANUS TO HARPOCHRAS

Inv. 3

13.5 × 10 cm.

The subject matter of this letter is purely personal, but the mention

of a cavalryman and a *cibariator* (see above, p.18) makes it clear that the persons are in a military environment.

- Μηουιανός Ἀρποχράτι χα(ίρειν)·  
κομίμαι παρὰ Ἀμμωνιανοῦ  
ἰππήξ τὸ πορφύριν ὀλκῆς  
4 τρεῖς στατήρες ἐσφραγισμένον  
ἡγορασμένον (δραχμάς) ἰθ. πέμψω  
σοι διὰ τοῦ κιβαριάτορος  
τὸ ἐρίδιον.  
8 ἔρωσσω.  
3 γ. ἰπέως, πορφύριον 7 γ. ἐρίδιον  
8 γ. ἔρωσσο

Mevianus to Harpochras, greeting. Get from Ammonianus the cavalryman the purple, three staters in weight, sealed and purchased for 19 drachmas. I will send you the bit of wool by way of the *cibariator*. Farewell.

## 17

## LETTER OF SENTIS TO PROCLUS

Inv. 1

15 × 9.9 cm.

The somewhat unpolished style and the vivid—if at times less than clear—expression of this letter give Sentis to us as a personality. She is probably the unwedded ‘wife’ of a soldier on duty in some outpost, anxious for his return (more anxious than he?).

- Σέντις Πρώκλω τῷ ἀδελ-  
φῷ χαίρειν· καλῶς ἐπύ-  
ησας, ἀδελφε, δούς Ἀγχοῦβι  
4 τὰ δύο κολοφώνηα, καὶ γρά-  
ψον μν περὶ τοῦ ναύλου καὶ  
εὐθέως σοι πέμψω. οὐκ ἔπεμ-  
ψά σοι, ἀδελφε, κρέας ἵνα  
8 μὴ ἀποτάξωμαί σοι.  
λοιπὸν ἐρωτῶ σε, κύριε,  
δόξασόν με καὶ ἔρχου  
μετὰ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος.  
12 εὐφρανθῶμεν.  
ἔρωσσο.

Added at the left side, perpendicular to the above:

- μη οὖν ἄλλως πυή-  
σις ἀλλὰ ἡ φιλεῖς  
16 με ἔρχου [[. . .]]  
εὐφρανθῶμεν.

2 γ. ἐποίησας 5 γ. μοι 6 γ. σοι  
7 γ. σοι, κρέας 8 γ. σοι 11 γ. Αἰθίοπος  
12 γ. εὐφρανθῶμεν 13 γ. ἔρωσσο 14 γ. ποιήσεις 15 γ. εἰ

Sentis to Proclus her brother, greeting. You did well, brother, in giving the two *kolophonia* to Anchoubis; also write to me about the passage-money and I will send it to you at once. I did not send you meat, brother, so that I might not bid farewell to you. Therefore I ask you, sir, show respect (?) to me and come with the Ethiopian. Let us be happy. Farewell. (At the side) Do not do otherwise, then, but if you love me come. Let us be happy.

4. κολοφώνιον: A measure typically used of wine (or vinegar). Wilcken (WO I, p.765) has demonstrated its equivalence to the *keramion*, and O.Stras. 653 confirms that a *διπλοῦν* equalled two *kolophonia*. With this fact and the assumptions that a *ἀδρόχωρον* was equal to a *διπλοῦν* and a *πρωτόλινον* to 2 *διπλᾶ*, the sum in this text in fact works out to the 382.5 stated, contrary to Viereck's statement that the sum was 382. I do not understand the remarks of A. Segrè, *Metrologia e circolazione monetaria degli antichi* (Bologna 1928) 506, whose reference, date and figures all are erroneous.

8. The common meaning of *ἀποτάσσομαι* in Hellenistic and Roman texts is ‘bid farewell’, as in BGU III 884.42–43: *πρὶν οὖν ἀπέλθης πρὸς Χαϊρήμονα, ἀνά(βαινε) πρὸς με, ἵνα σοι ἀποτάξωμαι*. The only sense that is reasonable is that Sentis fears that Proclus will die from bad meat, although this seems a curious way to express it. The other meanings given by LSJ for the middle are close to this: ‘have done with, get rid of, give up, renounce, commit suicide’ (τῷ βίῳ).

10. *δοξάζω* poses a problem I cannot solve. It can mean ‘think, imagine’ with an accusative of thing thought or supposed; this seems to be mainly a philosophical use and does not seem to extend to thinking about people. The papyri, in common with later Greek texts in general, offer a meaning of ‘glorify, extol, magnify, praise’. WB I and Supplement offer only three examples (all with this meaning), but the word is common in religious texts: see W. Arndt and F. Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Cambridge and Chicago 1957) s.v., with such citations as P.Graec.Mag. II 7.501 (addressed to Isis): *δόξασόν με, ὡς ἐδόξατο τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ σου Ὁσροσ*. It is hard to suppose that this technical religious sense is meant by Sentis; perhaps we

are to suppose that she means a weaker version of it, 'show me respect' or the like.

11. Ethiopians were, like other peoples of the fringes of the Roman Empire, enslaved in relatively small numbers after the end of the Republic. The evidence is cited by W. L. Westermann, *Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia 1954) 97 and n.18, relying in part on M. Bang, *RömMitt* 25 (1910) 229-30, 246-47. The opportunities afforded to the Romans for contact with the Ethiopians by the Roman military presence in northern Nubia, especially in the Dodekaschoinos after the Augustan settlement with Candace, are discussed by F. M. Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1970) 110; cf. his list of Greek and Latin names borne by Ethiopians, pp.18-21, and his remarks on Ethiopian slaves, pp.184 and 186 with notes.

12. *εὐφραίνω* can have a variety of strengths; perhaps the closest parallel to Sentis' usage here is *P.Mich.* VIII 465.46, *ἐρρωσθαί σε [εὐχομαι καὶ] εὐφραίνεσθαι*; cf. lines 23-24 of the same text: *ἐρωτῶ [σε τῆ]ν κυρίαν μου . . .*. *χωσ καὶ ἰλαρῶς εὐφραί[ν]εσθαι*.

15. Perhaps this afterthought suggests that Sentis was worried about being abandoned. That Sentis is a woman cannot be doubted, even though the name is previously attested only in *P.Mich.* IV 223, 224 and 225 for men. The prefix *Σεν-* in the Greek rendering of Egyptian names is ambiguous, as it can represent either *sn-* (brother of) or *t-šrt-n* ('daughter of'), apparently vocalized at this time approximately *tshen-*.

## 18

## LETTER TO THEON

Inv. 8

8.6 × 9 cm.

The recipient of this letter was evidently a cavalryman, as he has a horse (*ἀβάσκαντος* like the one in 15, *q.v.*) and a servant, *galearius* (see above, pp.17-18).

[. . . . . Θ]έωνι τῷ ἀδελφῶι  
[πλείεστα] χαίρειν· πρὸ μὲν παν-  
[τὸς] εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν με-  
4 [τὰ] τοῦ ἀβασκάντου σου ἵππου.  
οὐχ εὐρον τῶν φέροντά σοι  
κριθῆν. ἐὰν θέλῃς πέμψον  
σου τὸν γαλεάριον καὶ λάβη.

5 γ. τὸν 7 γ. γαλεάριον

--- to Theon his brother, [many] greetings. Before all I pray that you are well, with your horse who is free from the evil eye. I did not find someone to bring the barley to you. If you wish, send your servant and let him get it.

## 19

## LETTER TO A MOTHER

Inv. 12

11.4 × 5.9 cm.

Not a great deal can be made of the contents of this letter, in which a man, or perhaps a boy off in the army at a young age, writes to his mother with various bits of information and some requests, mostly involving money. The restorations offered in lines 5-8 may give the entire line width, but the remarks seem abrupt if so.

---  
[---] εἶσι . . . λως περί σου  
[---] . ἰζήτησας πασητωνιασε  
[---] . ησε δὲ Ἀπολλώνιν τὸν κιβέρα \`τορ/  
4 [---] . . . ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ γέγονε, διὸ  
[--- ἐρω]τῶ σε, κυρίη μήτηρ μου, ἀνα . . . .  
[--- ο]ὐκ ἔχι πῶς ἵς ἐμέ δαπανήση  
[--- μή] ἄλλως ποιήσης ἐὰν μή ἵς εὐχῆ[ν]  
8 [--- γρά]ψον Σαλβίω ἵνα δῶι μοι (δραχμὰς) δ  
[---] τὸν κιθῶνα. vacat ἔρρωσσο.

3 γ. Ἀπολλώνιον 5 γ. κυρία 6 γ. ἔχει, εἰς  
7 γ. εἰς 8 γ. δῶ 9 γ. ἔρρωσσο

3. This is probably a bungled attempt at *cibariator*. One might (less probably) read *κιβερά\`τορα*.

5. The photograph is somewhat clearer at the end than the original; *ἀναβῆναι* looks possible but not certain.

## 20

## PRIVATE LETTER

Inv. 28

7.7 × 8 cm.

Not a great deal can be made of this letter, of which a large portion is evidently missing at the right (and perhaps at both top and bottom

as well). There are the usual greetings and instructions about the disposition of 60 *keramia*, 30 of which are to go to one destination, 30 to another (Aphis).

-----  
 αρ. [- - -]  
 Κετιςις στρεφ[- - - ἀς-]  
 πάζομαι τὸν πα[τέρα ( ?) - - -]  
 4 Ἄρτεμιδο . . . [- - -]  
 καλῶς ποιήεις ε. [- - -]  
 κέραμα ξ' ἵνα λ ε[ίς - - -]  
 ἄλλα λ εἰς Ἄφιν . [- - -]  
 8 ρωσιν ζ' κούφων μο[- - -]  
 γνωιστουκουκαλου[- - -]  
 καινοῦ ἀκέντητα [- - -]  
 ἵνα . . . φακαα . . . [- - -]  
 12 δας ἀσπάζομ(αι) Κρεῖςπ[ον - - -]  
 ὅτι ἄλλας τομεστ[- - -]  
 οὐκ οἱ δύο μεν . [- - -]  
 -----

2. Corrected from or to *Κετιςις*. Neither appears in the *NB* or *Onomasticon*.

4. The remains do not suggest Ἄρτεμιδωρος.

7. Ἄφισ appears also in 3.5; cf. above, p.38.

8. Perhaps [πλή]ρωσιν ζ' κούφων; LSJ s.v. *κούφος* 1.6 gives attestations from the third to sixth centuries for the noun *κούφον* (sc. *κεράμιον*) meaning an empty jar.

9. Perhaps *γνωῖς τοῦ σου καλου-*, although I do not see what sort of syntax this would entail.

10. *ἀκέντητος* ('needing no spur, unpricked, flawless') is curious here, but all context is gone.

11. Perhaps *φακά*.

## 21

## PRIVATE LETTER

Inv. 19

8.9 × 10 cm.

The amount lost at left cannot be determined, but it is unlikely to have been more than 8–10 letters, since only two words or so can have

stood in line 1 or line 2 before the existing text. The usual subjects are found: purchase of something, probably the fodder of line 4, a request for supplies, and travel.

[- - -]. τῷ ἀδελφῷ  
 [- - -] χαίρειν  
 [- - -]. ci ὅτι ἡγόρακα  
 4 [- - -]α χόρτου. ἐρωτῶ  
 [σε - -]. oc τά μοι φορτία  
 [- - -]ν ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ κα-  
 [- - -]. ω τῆς ἀσθενίας  
 8 [- - -]ξ]ξελθεῖν. οἶδας ὅτι  
 [- - -]τ]ῆν οἰκίαν σου δα-  
 [- - -]. ο πλῆος οἶδα  
 [- - -]ον κομι-  
 12 [- - -]. γαλλ. [- - -]

4. I take *χόρτου* to be the end of the first sentence after the greeting; what precedes is probably a quantity.

8. I take it that a sentence ending with *ξ]ξελθεῖν* expressed the writer's inability to go out to do something because of his illness (line 7).

10. Mentions of river travel are fairly numerous in the archive; the form *πλῆος* in place of the neuter *πλοῖον* which is expected is somewhat embarrassing. We may be dealing here with the provisions boat mentioned in 14.7.

11. *κομι[ατον]* or a form of *κομιζω*?

12. Perhaps *γαλλι[άριος]*.

## 22

## LETTER OF ALEXANDROS

Inv. 14

6.1 × 7.5 cm.

Ἄλέξανδρος [- - -]  
 καλῶς ποιήεις [ε - - -]  
 ἐμοὶ (δραχμὰς) κβ (γίνονται) [- - -]  
 4 [. .]. πρὸς ἐμ[έ - - -]  
 χω( ) μετὰ τη[- - -]  
 κομίσω . . . [- - -]  
 ἀσπάσαι εἰς. [- - -]

4. The first two letters are simply not visible, though no surface is lost.
5. I take a curving vertical stroke after  $\chi\omega$  as a mark of abbreviation.
6. The letters are clear enough, but not enough of the word survives to verify a reading; perhaps  $\kappa\lambda\eta$ .

## 23

## LETTER OF ANTO[N --

Inv. 29

6.3 x 8.7 cm.

- 'Αντω[ν - ± 16 -]  
 πλείστα χα[ίρειν· πρὸ μὲν παντὸς εὐχο-]  
 μαί σε ὑγιαίν[ειν - ± 14 - ἐρω-]  
 4 τῶ σε, ἀδελφε, [- ± 19 -]  
 . . εις παγαν[- ± 19 -]  
 ἄπαξ δις συν[- ± 18 -]  
 σοι μέχρι τοῦ . [- ± 16 -]  
 8 σοι αὐτὰ συν[- ± 19 -]  
 βράκιον [- ± 21 -]  
 τῆς τε[- ± 22 -]  
 σκ. [- ± 23 -]

5. Probably  $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$  or  $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ .

9.  $\beta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$  or  $\beta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\alpha$ , the Latin *bracae*, 'breeches', has occurred a fair number of times in papyri. There is some uncertainty about whether to use the plural or the singular for one pair. *Stud.Pal.* XX 245.22, *P.Ryl.* IV 627.33 and *P.Gen.* I 80.6 all use the plural, but all are lists in which the word is followed by a numeral (3, 2 and 2, respectively). A singular occurs in *SB* VI 9570.6, again an inventory of clothing. All of these texts come from the fourth century or later, as does a further example, *P.Apoll.* 104.17.18.

## 24

## LIST OF WATCHTOWER GUARDS

Inv. 25

9.6 x 9 cm.

This list of *skopelarioi* preserves the names of some eight Egyptians; it is broken off at the bottom, and the total may well have been larger. See above, p.25, for the function of these men.

- σκοπ(ελάριοι) 'Ισιδήου  
 Πατωγγι( ) νεό(τερος) Πεκύσιος  
 Πατόμιο(ς) Παχνο( )  
 4 'Αμενραῦς Πατάσιο(ς)  
 'Απονο( ) . . ( ) Παῶς  
 'Αρχύσιο(ς) Τιθοῆς  
 Κασόρις Καμήτιο(ς)  
 8 Μεσουήριο(ς)  
 Τουχεῶς  
 ..[. .]. [. . . .]

1. Nothing like 'Ισιδήου is attested as a personal name, although Isis-compounds are common. It is more likely that this is a place-name, 'Ισιδεῖον equivalent to 'Ισιεῖον, a shrine of Isis.

2. Πατωγγι( ) seems to be unattested.

3. Πατόμις is not listed by the *NB* or *Onomasticon*, but *O.Bodl.* 2390 has a *Πατομεῶς*, and other names of the same stem are listed in the onomastica.

4. 'Αμενραῦς is not attested, but the *NB* cites 'Αμενρῶσις and the *Onomasticon* 'Αμενρῶρις and 'Αμενροῦ.

5. An 'Απονο( ) son of the same appears in *P.Stras.* 249(f)i.5. Above this line, and above line 9 again, appears a symbol consisting of a very wide and wavy horizontal line, with a short vertical stroke descending from its middle. It is somewhat reminiscent of the sign for *dekanos* in the Theban ostraka, but formed rather differently and not, as there, placed in the margin. A meaning of *δεκανός* would be very much in place in a list of *skopelarioi*, certainly, as these chiefs are mentioned in 2.5 and 6.7.

6. 'Αρχύσις is attested in the examples in the *NB* and *Onomasticon* only for the Ptolemaic period.

7. The *NB* cites *Κασόρ* from *P.Lond.* II 417.3 (p.299), regarding it as equivalent to *Χαῦρις*.

9. Τουχεῶς does not appear to be attested.

## 25

## LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Inv. 26

9.2 x 7.2 cm.

This text seems, in its upper part, to preserve a list of names each followed by  $\epsilon\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\nu$ , evidently an indication that the person in question

had given. Given for what purpose, we do not know. The last line of the upper portion makes no sense to me. It is followed by a line drawn across the sherd and several more lines of text, after which the ostrakon is broken. I can make no sense of the scanty remains of the lower text.

-----  
 [Π]ροτόμαχος ἔδοκεν  
 Ἀπολλινάρις ἔδοκεν  
 Ἀντόνιος ἔδοκεν  
 4 Πρέϊσκος ἔδοκεν  
 Νεοῦρος ἔδοκεν  
 ἀψειανμειν . . εαν

-----  
 [ . . . ] . ου ιαδο .  
 8 [- ± 10 -] εχειεμοι  
 [- ± 13 -] . ( ) . μουση  
 -----

1-5 r. ἔδωκεν 6 ἔμειν ostr.

1. *Πρωτόμαχος* is cited by the NB and *Onomasticon* only from Ptolemaic texts.

5. No name *Νεοῦρος* appears to be attested, nor any variant spelling of it.

9. The first (partly) preserved letter is above the level of the line and hence probably marks an abbreviation.

## 26

## LIST OF GUARDS

Inv. 23

8.3 × 9.5 cm.

This is a straightforward list of six names with a totalling at the bottom. The first line designates it as a list of guards for the month of Epeiph, if the reading is right. The names are predominantly Egyptian, and the hand is a more nearly standard documentary one than the slower scripts in most of the texts in this collection. The list bears a resemblance thus to the Theban *dekania* lists, a fact whose significance I will deal with in JARCE 14 (1977).

φύλ(ακες) μηνὸς(ς) Ἐπειφ  
 Δημήτριος(ς) Τιθοῖνος

Πανα . ( ) ὀμ(οίως) μη(τρός) Ταννέω(ς)  
 4 Ἀρνήσιος(ς) Ὠρο(υ) Ἀρνήσιος  
 Πακάφθιος(ς) Πατώτου Πετρήσιος(ς)  
 Πακάφθιος(ς) Πετταρπρήσιος(ς) Ἀγαθοῦ  
 Παορβ( ) Καμήσιος(ς) ὀμ(οίως)  
 8 (γίνονται) ς

1. Despite the beginning stroke from the left, which extends to the edge of the sherd, there is no real reason to think that there has been any breakage. It is possible that there was some and *νυκτο-* or *ἡμερο-* was present. There seems to be an extra stroke, perhaps of ligature, in what I take as a *lambda* here.

7. The onomastica list a number of names beginning in *Παορ-*, but none with *beta* as the fourth letter.

## 27

## RECEIPT FOR MONEY

Inv. 22

6.4 × 6.9 cm.

The hand of this text is a fast, second-century scribal hand. The receipt is probably private in nature, lacking the elaborate formulas characteristic of the official receipts of the period. What the first two lines contained besides names, if anything, is uncertain.

[ . . . . ] εμμουθ . .  
 . . πασας α Ψάιτος(ς)  
 ἀργ(υρίου) δραχ(μὰς) ὀκτώ  
 4 (γίνονται) η . (ἔτους) ι Φαρμούθι .

1. The letter following *theta* seems not to be an *iota*—there is too much up-swing. It is possible, then, that *theta* ends one name, abbreviated, and a *phi* begins another; but there is no visible sign of abbreviation.

2. I am unable to suggest what the first part of this line signifies, although all of the writing is clear.

## 28

## LIST OF NAMES

Inv. 24

8.5 × 8 cm.

The writer of this short list, the purpose of which is unknown, was

the slowest of all the *βραδέως γράφοντες* represented in this archive. Of the names, those in lines 2 and 4 are unattested elsewhere, while those in 1 and 3 are variants of common names that normally have *nu* before *theta*.

Ψευμάθε\ος/  
 Θαρσασκενχου  
 Παμώθεος  
 4 Πυληταυ νίς  
 4 r. υίός

3. The scribe appears to have smudged his first attempt at the final letter of line 2 and then to have written the *upsilon* immediately below at the end of line 3.

## 29

## LETTER FROM METTIUS

Inv. L1

11.6 × 8 cm.

We have only the upper left corner of this letter; at right we are missing part of a name and perhaps a title; in line 2, perhaps a greeting. The hand is elegant.

Mettius Val [---]  
 Domitium Serenu[m ---]  
 isen [---]  
 -----

## 30

## FRAGMENT OF A LATIN LETTER

Inv. L2

6.5 × 6 cm.

It is not certain how much is lost from this text; it is certainly incomplete at left, but the right edge appears to be intact. Above and below there may be some loss, but there is little way to judge it; there was surely at least (perhaps also at most) one more line at the bottom, perhaps ending to the left of the present break.

-----  
 [---]. . . . .  
 [---] ioap . . . XV Kal(endas)  
 [---]. n . . .  
 4 [--- An]toni Longi item  
 [---]. misi loco Longini  
 [---] valere te  
 -----

5. This phrase points to the contents' being a typical informational letter on the disposition of soldiers.

6. Some phrase such as *valere te opto* is expected.

## 31

## FRAGMENT OF A LATIN LETTER

Inv. L3

3.8 × 6.9 cm.

There was probably one line, containing names, above that which is now the first. The third line indicates that here again we have a letter giving information of the dispatch of a soldier or soldiers.

-----  
 [---] ! salut[em ---]  
 [---]. trem eius. [---]  
 [---] dimisi in pr[aesidium (?)]  
 4 [---]. bus b. [---]  
 [---].  
 -----

2. Perhaps *fr]atrem*.

3. Cf. the ostrakon discussed by J. F. Gilliam in *BASP* 13 (1976) 55-61.

## INDICES

(Words in Indices 1-4 are not repeated in Index 5. Abbreviations: s.=son, f.=father, g.=grand-, t.=turma.)

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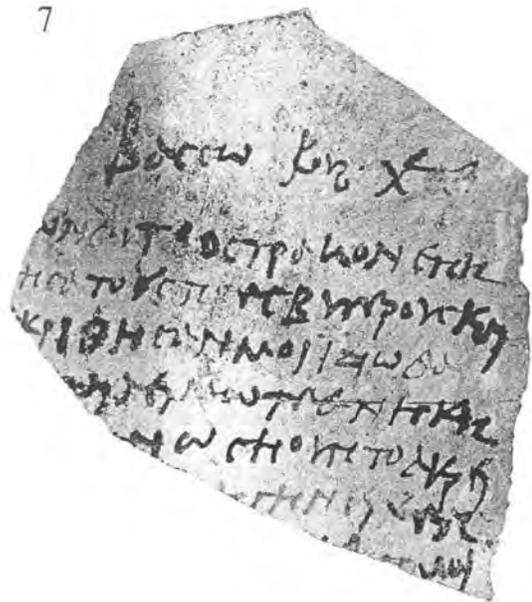
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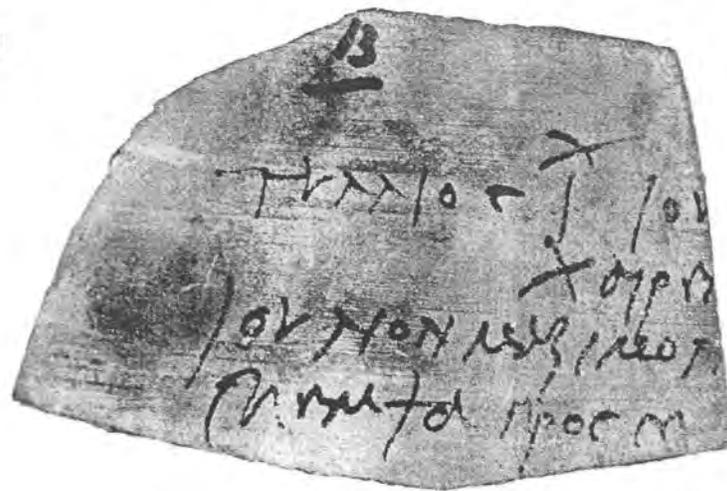
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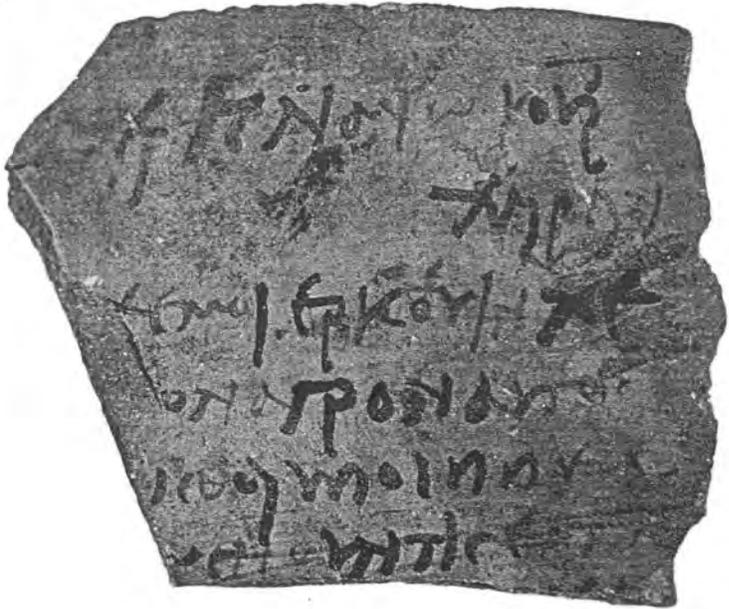
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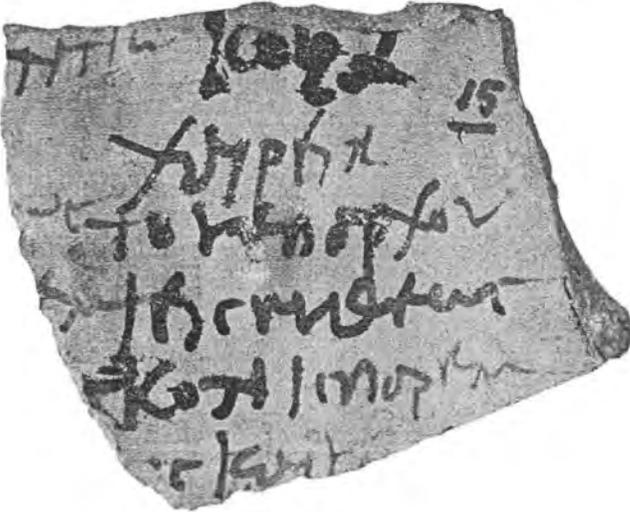
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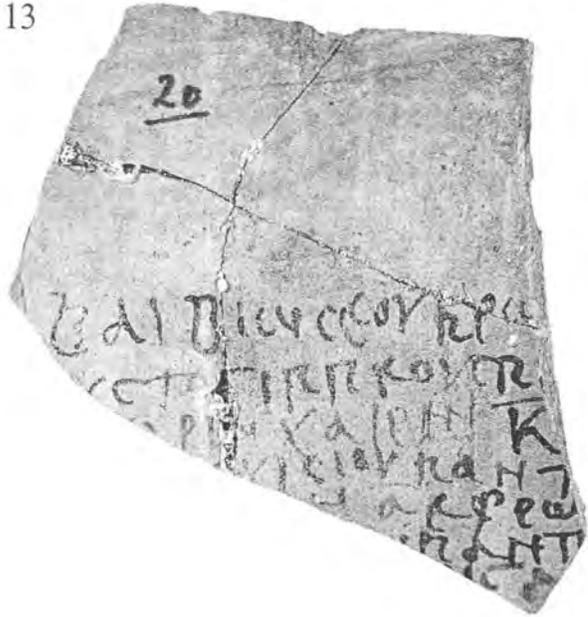
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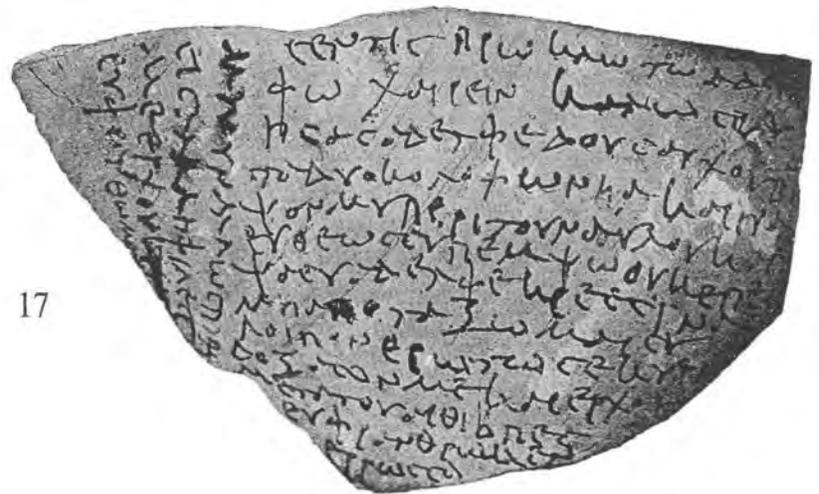
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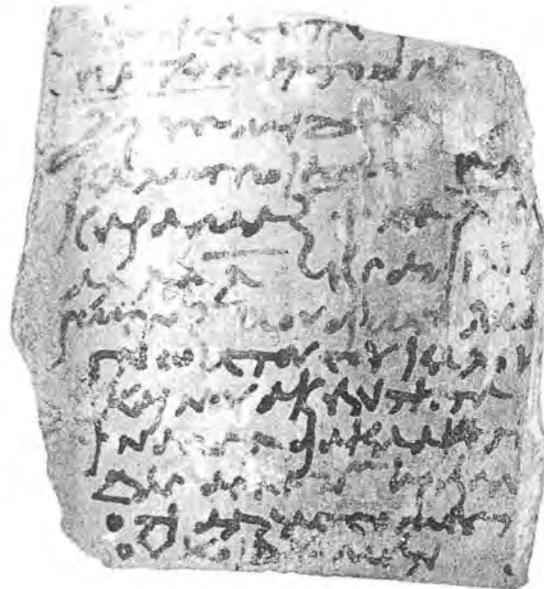
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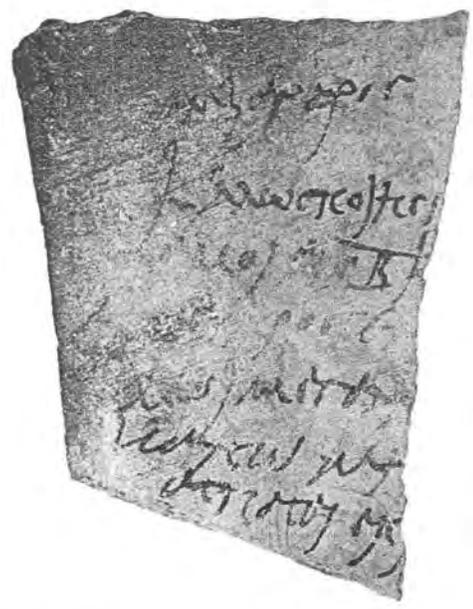
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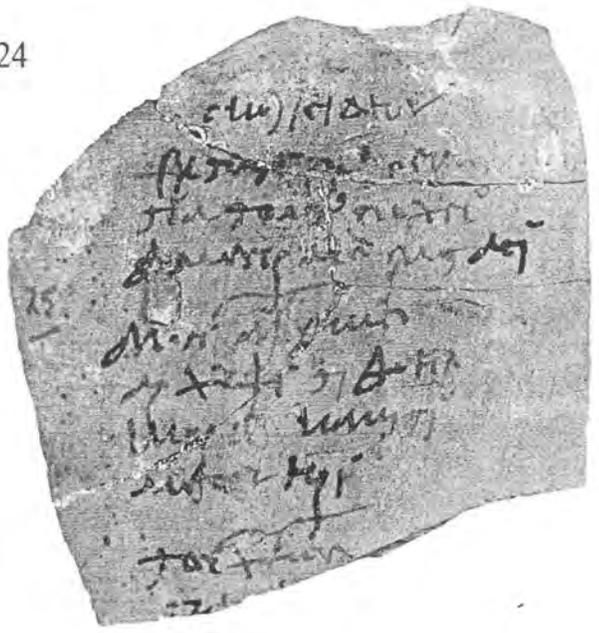
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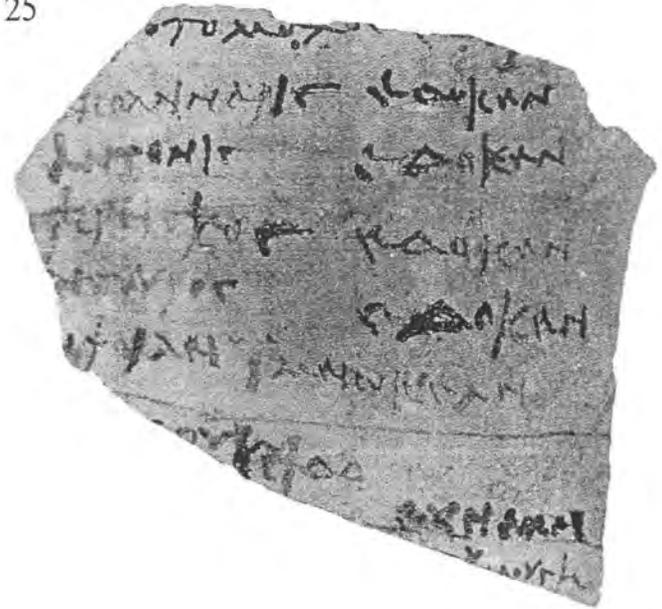
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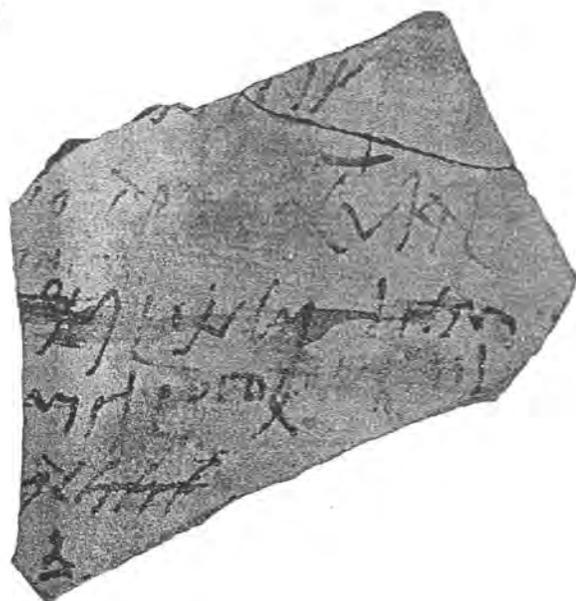
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