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The Deposita of an Auxiliary Soldier

(P. Columbia inv. 325)

Many papyri from Roman Egypt may have little direct value for students of Roman Germany¹. Others, in substance or form, at least suggest what has been lost with the complete disappearance here of the countless thousands of official and private documents on papyrus that each year, in Germany as elsewhere, recorded and made possible administration and much of the pattern of daily life. Some have a more immediate relevance. In particular, we may assume that military clerks prepared precisely the same kind of documents each day in posts along the Rhine as in those along the Nile². Despite the great diversity in origins and local conditions, we may assume too that the peculiar status of soldiers would have had its effect in their personal affairs everywhere. The situation recorded in the text which will be presented here occurred whenever a soldier died and his accounts were settled, and in all provinces the procedures followed must often have been much the same.

P. Columbia inv. 325 is in the Special Collections of Columbia University in New York. It is one of a large group of papyri bought in July, 1925 from Dr. Kondilios by H. I. Bell (now Sir Harold Bell) for a consortium consisting of the British Museum, the University of Michigan, and Columbia. The text was written in Thebes, but it is unknown and quite uncertain where it was found; most of the other papyri purchased with it came from the Fayum³. Its date is December 29, A. D. 143.

The document is identified as a diploma by its scribe, and the plates will make its form quite clear (Fig. 1). It is a double document; that is, the same text is written out twice. The Upper or Inner Text is in a smaller hand and occupies less space. It was folded six times, and then wrapped and tied securely with a cord, which was sealed at intervals on the verso. Pieces of the cord may still be seen attached at the upper right-hand corner and below the Upper Text to the left. Two of the seven seals, each with a bit

¹ This paper, substantially in this form except for the notes, was presented at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn on May 31, 1966 and in the library of the Römisch-Germanische Kommission in Frankfurt two weeks later. I wish to thank my hosts, Professors H. von Petrikovits and W. Krämer, and the others present for a stimulating discussion and kind reception.

² A familiar example is the pridianum, BGU 696, edited by Mommsen, *Ges. Schriften* VIII 553-566.

³ Notably a large number of Zenon Papyri, but also others of the Roman period. Conceivably the optio for whom the receipt was prepared took it to the Fayum on being discharged.

of cord, are also still preserved⁴. The signatures of the witnesses appear on the verso, at the point where each had placed his seal (Fig. 2).

The purpose of such documents is obvious. They provided one text which could be conveniently examined and a second which, attested and secured against tampering, could be opened before a competent authority if occasion arose. Many examples of double documents of various forms are known from areas where Greek and Roman Law were current, and earlier in the Near East; probably the most familiar to most students of the Roman Empire are the military diplomata⁵. The Inner Text, despite its authority and importance in case of dispute, tends to become negligently prepared or greatly abbreviated. Here, however, the Inner Text gives essentially as full and careful a version as the Outer; this is also true of other texts from Egypt which were drafted by or for soldiers⁶. There is, however, somewhat more abbreviation, and small omissions and differences in wording will be observed. Twice interlinear additions of omitted phrases occur (lines 3 and 10). Presumably the Lower Text was written by the librarius who was responsible for drawing up the document in proper form.

The plates make a detailed description unnecessary. The sheet of papyrus was approximately square (ca. 26 x 25,5 cm). The upper part, at least in outer dimensions, remains intact; it was doubtless found still folded and sealed. Where the folds coincide with the lines of writing, however, there is much damage and reading becomes difficult. Part of the rest of the sheet may at one time have been folded around the sealed portion for at least two or three turns, but it was more exposed and is mutilated and badly damaged. Some fragments were separated when the purchase was made and later reattached⁷. The margins are small: ca. 0,8 cm above, 1,0 cm below, 1,0–2,5 cm at the left; the limited space reserved for the Upper Text made necessary its more narrow margins as well as a small hand. Each text begins with a large letter projecting to the left.

In content, the document consists essentially of a receipt written in the third person, which may be described as an objective homologia. Semphasies, from the village of Thmonebu in the Hypselite nome, the mother and heiress of Ammonius, who had died while serving in a cohors II Thracum, acknowledges that she has received from the procurator designated in her son's will various sums collected from the unit's headquarters. A detailed accounting follows, and a renunciation of any other claims is expressed in common formulas. As usual, the place and date of the transaction are given, and in addition the name of the librarius responsible for its form. In the Lower Text one finds also the subscription in the name of Semphasies and the statement of her son and kyrios Psenosiris that he had written it on her behalf. Of the seven witnesses whose seals and signatures appeared on the verso, the first five were soldiers, the sixth is not yet identified, and the seventh was Psenosiris⁸.

⁴ These are the seals of the third and fourth witnesses. The impressions are too indistinct for me to identify, but the second may represent a standing figure.

⁵ See e. g. Mitteis, *Grundzüge* 77–78; C. B. Welles, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report V 1* (New Haven 1959) 14; *CIL XVI* pp. 149–150; for some general remarks C. Préaux, *Actes du X^e Congrès International de Papyrologues* (Warsaw 1964) 243.

⁶ E. g., PSI 729 = Cavenaile, *Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum* 186 (A. D. 77) and P. Rylands 612 = P. Mich. 434 (second half of second century), on which see the comments of R. Marichal in his edition, *ChLA IV* 249.

⁷ The separated fragments begin with line 17.

⁸ The number of the witnesses suggests Roman influence, though it may be objected that the seventh appears not really as a witness but as the representative of the party giving the receipt.



1 P. Columbia inv. 325.

Upper part: Scriptura interior. – Lower part: Scriptura exterior.

Though a more thorough and more expert study of individual phrases might prove rewarding, the form and phrasing of the receipt do not appear to present much that is really novel or striking as regards the law of Greco-Roman Egypt. For a student of the Roman Army, however, the document is instructive in several respects. We have no other text of this character and content.

To begin with the unit, a *cohors II Thracum* has long been known to have been stationed in Egypt at least as early as 167⁹. Our papyrus shows that it was there in 143, and had arrived long enough before that date for Ammonius to have been recruited and to have served some time¹⁰. A new military diploma which will be published

⁹ J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Cairo 1918) 95–96.

¹⁰ On the perhaps doubtful assumption that several years would have been necessary to accumulate the sums credited to him at headquarters.

shortly, moreover, lists the cohort as already a part of the Egyptian garrison in 105¹¹. There is no point in attempting here to trace its earlier history, except to note that it may be the cohorts II Thracum stationed in Judaea in 86¹². At least four equites are among the witnesses named on the verso, a fact which confirms that the unit was a *cohors equitata*¹³.

The text was drawn up ἐν τῷ Οὐφείῳ πρὸς τῇ παρεμβολῇ (lines 11, 28). Oupheion, to use this spelling, was the great temple of Luxor and the surrounding quarter¹⁴, in this period no longer part of a great capital but a distinct village. The existence of a Roman camp at Luxor was already known, and the cohort itself is named in a Theban ostracon of 167 and specifically at Luxor in an undated inscription¹⁵. Quite probably it was at Luxor or in the region for most of the second century. There appears to be no evidence to show precisely where its camp was¹⁶. But it seems likely that we should think of a Roman camp, with a bath attached¹⁷, standing within sight of the temple. Even in decay Thebes was a strategic point and a potential center of unrest, and had a garrison throughout the Roman period¹⁸.

To turn from the exotic setting to the substance of the document, the deceased soldier's mother acknowledges receipt of τὰ συλλεγέμενα ἐκ πριγκιπίων: (*bona*) *collecta ex principiiis*¹⁹. In the subscription they are termed, more informally, his *deposita*. Altogether they amount to 235 denarii and 14½ obols, a substantial sum for an auxiliary soldier or an Egyptian villager²⁰. They are listed under four headings. First, there is a depo-

¹¹ For knowledge of the diploma and permission to cite it, I wish to thank M. Henri Seyrig and M. H.-G. Pflaum. It will appear in *Syria*.

¹² CIL XVI 33. It should be noted that E. Birley thought the cohort in Judaea 'better transferable to Syria': *Journ. of Rom. Stud.* 27, 1937, 34.

¹³ Lesquier concluded that the cohort was *equitata*, but it is uncertain whether the text that he cites should be referred to this unit.

¹⁴ H. Kees, RE V A 1557–88 and Suppl. VII 789–91. The name in its Greek form appears chiefly in ostraca, and new instances may be found in O. Bodl. II and O. Brooklyn 72. On the meaning of the name see also K. Sethe, Berlin Abh. 1929, No. 4, 15–16. Because of his deserved authority, it should be noted that Lesquier was mistaken in taking Ophion and its variants to be Karnak.

¹⁵ Wilcken, Ostr. 927 and CIL III 12074. A number of other receipts for deliveries may be connected with the cohort.

¹⁶ Excavations of the area immediately around the temple revealed fortifications of the time of the Tetrarchy. See G. Legrain, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 17, 1917, 49–75; G. Daressy, *ibid.* 19, 1920, 159–175 and 242–246; P. Lacau, *ibid.* 34, 1934, 17–46; P. Jouquet, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Or.* 3, 1935, 233–238. Earlier Roman buildings are not likely to have been well preserved, or even to have attracted much attention from some scholars working at Luxor. Luxor is certainly not Touphion, as Daressy suggested in his second note cited above, but it is difficult for me to judge the grounds for placing a Roman camp where he does at one period or another.

¹⁷ The bath is mentioned in the ostracon cited in n. 15 and in several others in which the cohort is not named. It is identified in Wilcken, Ostraca 901 and 1259 as the bath τῆς παρεμβολῆς Οὐφῶν (spelled Οὐφῶν in 1259).

¹⁸ For a general sketch of Thebes in its much reduced state during the Greco-Roman period see A. Bataille, *Chronique d'Égypte* 26, 1951, 325–353. For troops stationed there at various periods, see Lesquier, *L'armée romaine* 409–410. It continued to have a garrison in the Late Empire.

¹⁹ For the phrase a close and contemporary parallel is found in the will of an *equus alaris* who appointed a *procuratorem bonorum meorum castrensium ad bona mea colligenda et restituenda . . . matri heredis mei . . .* The text may be found in Arangio-Ruiz, FIRA, III, 47 and Cavenaile, CPL 221 (A. D. 142).

²⁰ For some of the questions involved in the economic status of soldiers and veterans see the recent paper of G. R. Watson, in: *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der Alten Welt II* (Berlin 1965) 147–162. On denarius as a term of account cf. e. g. PSI 1063 and *Beiträge zur Historia-Augusta-Forschung* III 93, n. 9.



2 P. Columbia inv. 325. Signature on Verso.

situm of 100 denarii. In character this must be the same as the *deposita* of this amount found in the accounts of auxiliary soldiers in P. Berlin 6866, written about fifty years later²¹. This depositum appears to be a fixed sum regularly withheld, at least in some periods, from an auxiliary soldier's pay as a kind of forced savings. Secondly, credited to in armis is the smaller figure of 21 denarii, 27¹/₂ obols. We know that soldiers in the Empire were charged for weapons and armor issued to them until at least the Third

²¹ The Berlin papyrus is most fully discussed by R. Marichal, *L'occupation romaine de la Basse Égypte* (Paris 1945). For the text see also Cavaenale, CPL 122 and S. Daris, *Documenti per la storia dell'esercito romano in Egitto* (Milan 1964) no. 35.

Century²². The procedure in the case of such government issue seems to be that prescribed amounts were paid by the soldier, or withheld from his pay, which later might in whole or in part be credited to his account when the equipment was turned in, as for example at discharge, at death, or on transfer. The procedure was essentially the same when government mounts were assigned to a cavalryman²³. A soldier might also acquire pieces of armor or equipment privately; no doubt such items had to pass inspection, as did of course government issue periodically to check maintenance and condition. Pieces of armor bearing several names are well known²⁴. Most presumably are standard equipment issued through the unit to a series of soldiers in turn. Others are likely to have been personal property. The sum allowed to Ammonius' estate for his arma seems quite modest; we have considerably higher figures for the equipment of auxiliary soldiers in Egypt²⁵. Perhaps some of his armor was privately acquired and was not included in the records of the principia. The appraisal and accounting were minute and careful; apparently a half obol was deducted for a dent or the like.

The third item is papilio, 20 denarii. Our sources state that soldiers were charged for tents as well as for their armor²⁶, and evidently the same procedure was followed for both. The payment in effect was a sort of deposit which might be returned in part or in whole in certain circumstances. The round figure here suggests that the whole amount may have been recovered. Army tents were shared, regularly by eight men, and the 20 denarii may represent an eighth of the total on deposit for the tent of a contubernium. It is not easy to see how one soldier could have some distinct part of the tent in his possession, though perhaps the possibility should not be ruled out. One might not expect that a soldier stationed at Thebes would have had much occasion to use a tent. Perhaps it was traditional equipment issued everywhere without regard to local needs, on the assumption that troops should be prepared to take the field. But the Egyptian garrison was not merely a police force, and aside from occasional campaigns small detachments were constantly being sent out on missions and detached duty; possibly tents were taken along from time to time. Incidentally, this seems to be the earliest securely dated appearance of papilio in Greek or Latin²⁷.

²² Most notably from Tacitus, Ann. I 17: . . . *hinc vestem arma tentoria*. Cf. also P. Fayum 105 (late second century), with Marichal's notes in ChLA III 208.

²³ See P. Dura 56 and 97 (A. D. 208 and 251).

²⁴ See especially R. MacMullen, Amer. Journ. Arch. 64, 1960, 23–40, who discusses the provision of arms and armor at various periods. An instance of weapons obtained privately is found in P. Mich. 467 (early second century).

²⁵ In P. Fayum 105 = ChLA III 208 Dionysius is credited with 103 denarii for arma, apparently on turning them in. In P. Fouad I 45 = FIRA, III 121 = CPL 189 an eques alaris borrows privately 50 denarii in pretium armorum. To be sure, cavalrymen in the alae had more expensive armor than those in cohorts.

²⁶ More precisely, Tacitus does (above n. 22).

²⁷ In P. Mich. 214 = Sammelbuch 7247 (ca. A. D. 296) Paniscus asks his wife to bring τὰ σκεύη of his tent to Coptos from the Fayum. There is mention of a papilio in a second letter, P. Mich. 216 = Sammelbuch 7248. From other items listed, it is clear that if Paniscus is not a soldier, we still have pieces of military equipment here. Other references to papiliones, both presumably involving military supplies, are found in Sammelbuch 1 (third century) and P. Fuad I Univ. XXIX (on p. 55) (fourth century). The present text shows that papilio was established in military language by 143, a fact of some interest for those attempting to date Hyginus. According to Lambertz, RE XVIII 978–979, the earliest occurrences of the word in Latin are in Tertullian, ad mart. 3 and in the Acta frat. Arvalium of 218; obviously this assumes a later date for de munit., wrongly in my opinion. For the tents of the Roman army see James McIntyre and I. A. Richmond, Cumberland and Westmorland Transactions, New Series, 34, 1934, 62–90 and Richmond, Papers Brit. Sch. Rome 13, 1935, 12–13.

The last item is second in size only to the depositum: 93 denarii, 3 obols. As yet I have not been able to read the heading, which is longer than that of the others; it is preserved only in the Upper Text and is damaged there because of a fold. Possibly it is more miscellaneous in character, comprising more than one source of credit. I have looked without success for terms one might expect in a soldier's accounts, particularly viaticum and seposita²⁸.

The document of course records merely one step in the disposition of Ammonius' property. He had drawn up a will, no doubt following Greek forms current in Egypt, in which he designated his mother as his heiress. The will named a procurator whose specific and exclusive duty was to collect Ammonius' depositum and other credits from the principia²⁹. A second procurator was also named, who may have assisted the first and who presumably would have taken his place if death or other eventualities made it necessary³⁰. Small legacies were provided for both of them, for which receipts may have been obtained. Ammonius may well have had other property to dispose of, including perhaps something inherited from his father³¹. The usual formalities would have had to be carried out, in effect probating and recording the will³². In collecting the sums belonging to Ammonius' estate from the principia various steps again would have been necessary. The procurator would surely have had to give a receipt for everything turned over to him³³, and more than one was probably required; the signifer was in charge of the depositum but others presumably were responsible for the arma and papilio³⁴.

It is very likely that a procurator bonorum castrensiū was commonly designated in soldiers' wills, ad bona colligenda, especially when the heirs were civilians. Certainly to do so should have helped to avoid difficulties. Military accounts were complicated, and the status of armor and tent money for instance must have been obscure to most civilians. It would have been in the interest of morale to see that the rights of a soldier's heirs were protected³⁵. The present document is purely private in form, and

²⁸ In P. Fayum 105 the three categories in soldiers' accounts are deposita, seposita, and viatica. In viatico appears regularly also in P. Berlin 6866. One might suppose that something would be due to Ammonius from his current stipendium, but we do not know how an incomplete pay period would be handled. Again, we can only conjecture what happened to his clothing, personal possessions, and the contents of his purse.

²⁹ Compare the provision in the will of Antonius Silvanus, cited above in n. 19; Cavenaile provides a bibliography of the discussion.

³⁰ I assume that his position is similar to that of an heres secundus. Only Iulius Silvanus is mentioned in lines 3 and 17. Later on, however, Semphasies renounces any claims against both of them (lines 10, 25).

³¹ His father is not mentioned as an heir, and may have been succeeded as Semphasies' husband by Numerius.

³² R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* 2^d (Warsaw 1955) 202–203.

³³ Compare the receipts in PSI 1063 and P. Mich. 435.

³⁴ Presumably the arma were received by an armorum custos, who doubtless had his records and forms. One acts as a witness in P. Fouad I 45, cited above in n. 25. Vegetius II 20 states that signiferi were in charge of deposita; cf. also Suet. Domit. 7 and PSI 1063. For their office and the strong room see A. von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres* (Trier 1895) 13–15; I. A. Richmond, *Arch. Aeliana*, 4th Ser., 21, 1943, 165.

³⁵ Pescennius Niger is supposed to have given assurances that money deposited by soldiers would be returned to their heirs in the event of their death, SHA, Pesc. Nig. 10, 7. The source is dubious, but the problem was real. One hardly needs Pliny's statement that in auditing the accounts of alae and cohorts he found foedam avaritiam as well as neglegentiam, Ep. VII 31. In a private letter a mother appears to be preparing to obtain the deposita of a son who has died, P. Mich. 514 = Daris, Docu-

was drawn up outside of the camp. But those involved in one way or another in the preparation of the receipt were very well qualified for such a task. A librarius, a clerk at unit headquarters, drew it up. Iulius Silvanus, the deceased's procurator, was his optio and thus second in command of his century. As an optio he would have been familiar with military accounting and the procedures that applied in such a situation as this³⁶. The signifer of the century was one of the witnesses; as is well known, signiferi were in charge of deposita³⁷. At least four and probably five other soldiers were witnesses. Needless to say, even with the most elaborate precautions fraud was still possible, but great care was taken here to make sure that everything credited to the deceased in the unit's accounts was turned over to his heiress. It seems a reasonable assumption that the army would have encouraged such procedures and that in their essential elements they were those followed throughout the Empire³⁸.

26 × 25,5 cm

P. Columbia inv. 325

A. D. 143

Scriptura interior

- 1 Ἐπὶ τῶν παρόντων καὶ σφραγισάντων μαρτύρων τὸ δίπλωμα τοῦτο, Σεμφασίης Βουχέως τῶν ἀπὸ Θμονεβοῦ τοῦ Ὑψηλ(εῖτου)
- 2 νομοῦ, μήτηρ καὶ κληρονόμος Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου στρατιώτου) μετηλλαχότος ἐκ σπειρο(ας) β̄ Θράκ(ων) (ἐκατονταρχίας) Κλαυδίου, μετὰ
- 3 κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς υἱ[ο]ῦ Ψενοσεῖρις Νουμειρίου, ὁμολογεῖ παρειληφέναι παρὰ Ἰουλίῳ Σιλουανῶ ὀπι(ωνος) (ἐκατονταρχίας) Κλαυδίου ἑπιτρόπου κατὰ διαθήκ(ην)
- 4 τοῦ μετηλλαχότος Ἀμμωνίου τὰ συνλεγέντα ἐκ τῶν πρινκιπίων, ὧν ἔστιν τὸ κατ' εἶδος· δηποσίτου μὲν [δ]ηνάρια
- 5 ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑν ἑξήμισι δηνάρια εἴκοσι ἐν ὀβολοῦς κξ̄ (ἡμισυ) καὶ παπυλιῶνος (δηνάρια) εἴκοσι καὶ ὠν. [.] . . . [.] . ρ . . [.] ἡμενων
- 6 δηνάρια ἑνεήκοντα τρία ὀβολο(ύς) δεκάπεντε (γίνεται) τὰ συλλαγέντα δηνάρια διακόσια τριάκοντα πέντε ὀβολο(ι) δέκα τέσ-
- 7 σαρες ἡμισυ, ἐξ ὧν ἐξέκρουσθη ληγάτα αὐτῶ Σιλουανῶ δηνάρια δεκάπεντε ὁμο(ίως) Φλαυίῳ Μηουιανῶ β̄ ἐπιτρόπῳ
- 8 δηνάρια δέκα. λοιπ[ορ]αφί(α) ἐλείφθη δηνάρ[ι]α διακόσια δ[έ]κα [ὀ]βολο(ι) δέκα τέσσαρες ἡμισυ, ἃ ὁμολόγησεν παρειληφέναι
- 9 ἢ Σεμφασίης παρὰ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Σιλουανῶ καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον κατέλιπεν ὁ Ἀμμώνιος παρ' ἑαυτῆ ἔχειν καὶ μηδὲν
- 10 ἐνκαλεῖν τοῖς δηλουμένοις ἐπιτρόποις περὶ μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς ἀγράφου ἐγγράφου ἀπὸ τοῦ προ-
όντος χρόνου ἕως τῆς ἐνεστῶσης μήτε αὐτὴν μήτε
- 11 ἕτερόν τι[να] περὶ αὐτῆς, τὸν δὲ ἐπελοισόμενον ἢ ἐνκαλέσαντα ἐκστή[σι]ν τοῖς ἰδίῳις
δαπανήμα[σ]ιν. ἐπράχθη ἐν τῶ Οὐ-
- 12 φειῶ πρὸς τῆ παρεμβολῇ διὰ Μάρκου λιβραρίου. (ἔτους) ξ̄ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου
Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ
- 13 Εὐσεβοῦς Τῦβι β̄.

menti 36 (third century). No details are given, except that in her case there were fixed days for recovering them.

³⁶ Optiones appear in P. Mich. 435 = Daris, Documenti 37 (second century), where they appear to be accepting receipts for legacies and inheritances. Questions of readings and interpretation remain. An optio is also found in the ostraca from Pselcis taking receipts for wheat (and occasionally wine) issued to individual soldiers. Presumably they were in charge of the accounts. See C. Préaux, *Chronique d'Égypte* 26, 1951, 133 and, for some examples, Wilcken, *Ostraca* 1128-32, 1134-41, 1143-44.

³⁷ Above n. 34.

³⁸ The attention paid to the testamentum militare illustrates the interest that emperors might take in such matters.

Scriptura exterior: 2nd hd.

- 14 Ἐπὶ τῶν παρόντων καὶ σφραγισάντων[ν] μαρτύρων τὸ δίπ[λ]ωμα τοῦτο, Σεμφασίης Βου-
χέως [τ]ῶν [ἀ]πό
- 15 Θμονεβοῦ τοῦ Ὑψηλείτου νομοῦ, μήτηρ καὶ κληρονόμος Ἀμμωνί[ο]υ τοῦ [Ἀ]μμωνίου
στρατιώτου
- 16 μετηλλαχότος ἐκ σπειρ(ας) β̄ Θράκ(ων) (ἐκατονταρχί(ας) Κλαυδίου, μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς
υἱοῦ Ψενοσεῖρις Νομερί[ο]υ) ἴμο-
- 17 [λογεῖ παρειληφέν]αι παρὰ Ἰουλίου Σιλουανοῦ ὀπιτιῶ(νος) [(ἐκατονταρχί(ας) τῆς α]ὐτῆς
ἐπ[ιτρο]πό[ου] κα[τὰ] δια[θήκην] τοῦ]
- 18 [μετηλλαχότος Ἀμ]μωνίου τὰ συλλαγέντα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν πριν[κιπ]ίων, ὧν ἐστ[ι]ν τὸ
κατ' εἶδος διηπο-
- 19 [σίτου μὲν δηνάρι]α ἑκατὸν καὶ ἰν ἄρμις δηνάρι[α] [εἴκοσι ἐν ὀβολο]ῦς ἧμισυ καὶ . . . [.] . . [.] .
20 [-ca. 20-] . . [-ca. 30- δηνάρι]α ἐ[νε]νήκοντα τ[ρι]α
- 21 [ὀβολο(ύς) δεκά]πεντε, (γίνεται) τὰ συλλαγέντα δηνάρι[α] διακόσια τριάκοντα] π[έν]τε ὀβολοῖ
δέ[κα τέσ]σαρες
- 22 [ἡμισυ, ἐξ ὧν ἐξεκρούσθη] ληγᾶτα αὐτῶ Σιλουανῶ δηνάρι[α] δεκάπεν[τε] ὁμοίως Φλαουίω
Μη[ο]υιανῶ
- 23 [β̄ ἐπιτρο]πῶ δηνάρι[α] δέκα. λοιπογραφία ἐλείφθη δηνάρι[α] δι[ε]κό[σι]α δεκά ὀβολοῖ δέ[κα]
τ[έσ]σαρες
- 24 [ἡμισυ ἂ ὧ]μολόγησεν παρειληφέναι ἢ Σεμφασίῃ[ς] παρὰ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Σ[ι]-
λ[ο]υ[αν]οῦ καὶ εἴ τι ἕτε[ρον]
- 25 [κατέλι]πεν ὁ Ἀμμωνίος παρ' ἑαυτῆ ἔχειν καὶ μηδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν
ἐκ [.] [.] τοῖς δηλ[ο]υ-
- 26 [μένους ἐπιτρο]πῶς περὶ μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς ἀγράφου ἐνγράφου ἀπὸ τοῦ προόντος χρό[νο]υ
[μέχρι] τῆς
- 27 [ἐνεστώσης ἡμέ]ρας μήτε αὐτῆς μήτε ἕτερόν τινα περὶ αὐτῆς τὸν δὲ ἐπελευσόμενον
[ἢ ἐ]ν [κ]αλέ-
- 28 [σαντα ἐκστήσει]ν τοῖς ἰδίους δαπανή[α]σι[ν]. ἐπράχθη ἐν τῷ Οὐφ[ε]ί[ω] πρὸς τῇ
παρεμβολῇ διὰ]
- 29 [Μάρκου λιβραρίου]. ἔτους ζ̄ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριαν[οῦ] Ἀντωνείνου
Σεβαστοῦ]
- 30 [Εὐσεβοῦς Τύβι] β̄. (3rd hd.) Σεμφασίης Βουχέως μετὰ κυρίου ἐμοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ψε[νο]σεῖρις
Νομερίου]
- 31 [ἀπέχω πάντα τὰ] ἐμοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀμμων[ί]ου δηπ[ό]σιτα μετὰ τὰ ἐκκρο[υ]σθ[έν]τα ληγᾶτα
δηνάρι[α] εἴκοσι]
- 32 [πέντε (γίνεται)] δηνάρι[α] διακόσια δέκα ὀβολοὺς δεκατέσσαρες ἡμι[σ]υ, (γίνεται) (δηνάρι[α]
σι ὀβολο(ι) ἰδ̄ (ἡμισυ).
- 33 [ca. 6- Ψενο]σίρις Νομερίου υἱὸς τῆς προκειμένη[ς] Σεμφασίους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
ἀγραμμάτου]
- 34 [ἔγραψα τὴν] γραφὴν κύριος καὶ ἐσφράξισα.

Verso (Signatures)

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 1 | Σουλπίκι[ος]
(ἐκατονταρχί(ας) Ἀντω[| |
| 2 | Αὐρήλεις Μ[
τούρμης Α . . . [| 5 [|
| 3 | Λοῦκις Ἀκύλας σημαιαφό[ρος]
(ἐκατονταρχί(ας) Κλαυδίου ἐσφράγισα | 6 . . . [.] . [.] [|
| 4 | Iul(ius) Apollonius eques t[ur]ma
. . li signavi | 7 Ψενοσί[ρις] Ν[ο]υ[με]ρίου
[.] . [.] . [.] . . [.] . |

T r a n s l a t i o n

U p p e r T e x t :

Before the witnesses who are present and who affixed their seals to this diploma, Semphasies daughter of Boucheus, of Thmonebou in the Hypselite nome, mother and heiress of Ammonius son of Ammonius, a deceased soldier of the cohors II Thracum century of Claudius, having with her as guardian her son Psenosiris son of Numerius, acknowledges that she has received from Iulius Silvanus optio in the century of Claudius, procurator by will of the deceased Ammonius, his property collected from the principia, as follows: depositum 100 denarii, in armis 21 denarii and 27¹/₂ obols, papilio 20 denarii, (category not read) 93 denarii and 15 obols, the total collected being 235 denarii and 14¹/₂ obols. From this there have been deducted as legacies for Silvanus 15 denarii and for Flavius Mevianus, second procurator, 10 denarii. A balance remained of 210 denarii and 14¹/₂ obols which Semphasies acknowledged that she had received from the above mentioned Silvanus, and if Ammonius left anything else, she has it in her possession and has no claim against the above named procuratores about any matter whatever unwritten or written from time past up to the present day, neither herself nor anyone about her and will repel anyone bringing proceedings or making claims at her own expense. Done in the Oupheion near the camp through Marcus, librarius. The 7th year of Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Tubi 2.

L o w e r T e x t (lines 30-34):

I, Senphasies daughter of Boucheus having with me as guardian my son Psenosiris son of Numerius have received all the deposita of my son Ammonius, after the deduction of legacies of 25 denarii, 210 denarii and 14¹/₂ obols (*written out and in figures*). I, Psenosiris son of Numerius, son of the above Senphasies, as her guardian wrote on her behalf since she is illiterate and affixed my seal.

S i g n a t u r e o n V e r s o

1. I, Sulpici[us cognomen], century of Anto[---, sealed.]
2. I, Aurelius M[---], turma of A[---, sealed.]
3. I, Lucius Aquila, signifer, century of Claudius, sealed.
4. I, Iul(ius) Apollonius, eques, turma of . . li, sealed.
5. [---] turma [---.]
6. (*Unread traces of ink*)
7. I, Psenosiris son of Numerius [--- sealed.]

C o m m e n t a r y

1. Semphasies is not in Preisigke, Namenbuch. The name begins with the prefix Sen-, common in feminine names, and for the second element one may compare Phesies; see also J. Vergote, Les noms propres du P. Bruxelles inv. E. 7616 = Papyr. Lugd.-Bat. VII, 1954, 18, no. 122. For her father's name Preisigke lists only Bouchis in one occurrence (O. Strassburg 569, Thebes or at any rate Upper Egypt). Papyri from the Hypselite nome are rare, and the names may have been distinctively local and seldom

found elsewhere. Thmonebou also appears to be unknown. The Hypselite nome lay just south of Assiut, in the northern part of the Thebaid.

3. Numerius, presumably the Latin name, is not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*. It was no doubt brought to Egypt by soldiers; a legionary centurion with this name is found in CIL III 6627 (Coptos, late Augustus or Tiberius). The order of Semphasies' two husbands is uncertain. In any case, both may have been dead at the time of the document.

4. Before ἐκ τῶν the Lower Text adds αὐτοῦ. The principia is the headquarters building. This is a technical term which would have been employed in any military post. In the Greek papyri it is found in BGU 140 (A. D. 119) and Wilcken, *Chrest.* 41 (A. D. 232). For the administrative rooms adjacent to the sacellum see e. g. I. A. Richmond, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th. series, 21, 1943, 165. Depositum is found in this Greek version also in PSI 1063 (A. D. 117).

5. The phrase in armis brings to mind *inarmatio* in P. Geneva 45 = Wilcken, *Chrest.* 464 = P. Abinn. 2 (A. D. 344). This is translated by the most recent editors as 'inventory of equipment'. It would probably be more misleading than helpful to list the readings that I have considered at the end of the line.

7. It is not uncommon to find the term *legatum* borrowed in Greek papyri; for some comments on its use see V. Arangio-Ruiz, *P. Mil. Vogliano II*, 84. To judge from his name, Flavius Mevianus may have been a second or third generation Roman citizen, as is true of the *optio*; if so, they are likely to be members of military families serving in the *auxilia*. For the function of the *procurator secundus* see above n. 30.

10. The Lower Text has the expected ἡμέρας after ἐνεστώσης, but it is omitted probably for brevity, not as a lapse.

11. *L. ἐπελευσόμενον, ἐξοτήσειν.*

18, 21. *L. συλλεγέντα.*

19. At the end of the line, one cannot read simply *παπυλιῶνος* as in line 5. The letters may be μ.ϩ[.]ν [.] with a long, curving line after the lacuna. It is clear that restorations of the Lower Text based on the Upper may not be exact in detail.

25. A phrase not in the Upper Text follows ἐγκαλεῖν. Presumably it is formulaic, but I have not identified it. The first letters may read εχ.τε, suggesting ἐκατέρω.

1st. signature. Sulpicius appears three times in Lesquier's *prosopography*, *L'armée romaine d'Egypte*, p. 547, once as the name of an auxiliary soldier. Sulpicius Similis, prefect of Egypt 107–112, may be one source of the name. Because of the date the centurion is rather more likely to be Antonius rather than Antoninus.

2nd. signature. Aurelius is worth noting as a soldier's gentilicium at this date.

3rd. signature. Lucius is found as a soldier's gentilicium in Roman Egypt; see Lesquier, *op. cit.*, p. 539.

4th signature. Perhaps the decurion's name may be read as *Iuli*. It will have been observed that these four witnesses, as well as the two *procuratores*, have names which are Roman in form. It may be suspected that most came from families of veterans, with a tradition of military service.

7th signature. The traces in the second line may all come from ἐσφράκισα.