The Anastasian Military Decree from Perge in Pamphylia: Revised 2nd Edition

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Introduction

The fragments of the Anastasian inscription were recovered from Perge following an excavation trench dug near the northern fountain. For the most part, these fragments (ca. 810 pieces) were unearthed in the excavations directed by Arif Müfid Mansel in 1974, with a further 40 fragments found during excavations in 1981/2 directed by Jale İnan.¹ The classification and partial restoration (Slab B) of ca. 850 fragments was made by İsmail Kaygusuz in the early 1980’s. Since he worked with Denis Feissel in Paris during 1985-1986, a number of photos and squeezes of the inscription have been preserved in the Centre d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance (Collège de France). The archiving work on the monument was conducted by Sencer Şahin, who undertook the task of publishing the inscriptions from Perge from 1986 onwards, and the squeezes and the documents of his works are preserved in the Centre for Mediterranean Languages and Cultures at Akdeniz University. Şahin reported these inscriptions contained the decree of the Emperor Anastasius, which he legislated in order to remove corruption concerning promotions and salaries in the army.²

The fragments of this inscription have been stored in the Archaeological Museum of Antalya since they were discovered. Although excavations at Perge have proceeded continuously, to date no new fragments have been recovered. However, it is certain that there remain today many lost fragments, as, for instance, at the beginnings of each of the lines between 2 and 53 of Slab A, there are missing fragments containing 8-17 letters, while there are almost no fragments that can provide the left edge of Slab A (see below fn. 3). So, it is probable that many fragments, in particular those belonged to the

¹ İnan 1983, 17-18.
left edge of Slab A remain buried in the area of the find spot. When re-investigation of the fragments was initiated by the author, the fragments of Slab B and C untouched for 20 years were almost entirely separated from each other. Although, the combining of the pieces together was carefully undertaken, yet there remain ca. 90 inscribed fragments still unmatched.³

In total, two preliminary reports (English and Turkish) and a book (Turkish), which contains the first edition of the inscription and from which most of this English edition is produced through translation with revisions, were published by the author⁴, and although a small part of the inscription remains missing today, the text provides a rich content in terms of Roman/Byzantine Army, law and linguistics. Nonetheless, since the inscription is unique to its own context, the sources of references are naturally limited.

I. Inscription Bearers

A. The use of Slabs

The inscribed faces of slabs of A and B are finely polished without any decorative element, while there are frames carved on their reverse sides. The slab C has the same frames on its inscribed face, while its reverse has been left in a rough unfinished state.

The inscription spread over three slabs is carved on a fine white thinly cut marble, the thickness of which varies between 0.7 cm and 4 cm. The colour of the surface is today usually darkened due to its past exposure to both fire and deposition. Although the reverse faces of these slabs are polished and decorated with regular frames, there are doubts as to whether the reverse faces of these inscribed slabs were also visible when the inscription was erected. This does not seem probable, as these slabs cannot stand independently, without being mounted upon a wall side by side, due to the slab’s thinness. In the course of their use, these thin slabs may have been employed in the construction of parapets in

³ For these fragments see below pp. 209-212 and also Onur 2014, 203-215.
⁴ Onur 2012a; Onur 2012b; Onur 2014.
the housing of parapet-supports,\(^5\) and subsequently these slabs were used as inscription-bearers. The reverse face of the parapets, slabs A and B, were polished for inscriptions and their framed faces (the front face for parapets) became the reverse face of the inscriptions. However, for the other slab, the front of the parapet face of slab C was preferred for the inscription, with only the left side of its surface smoothed for inscribing. However, the right side of the frames, in the space between which the abbreviation of ANN(ONA) fits, seems to have been left to provide guidance in the alignment of the annona numbers. All of these indications show the slabs employed were actually spolia, only subsequently inscribed.

1. The Placement of the Texts on the Slabs

Slab A contains a translation of the Emperor’s speech (sermo), Slab B the translation of the army commander’s (magister militum) order, while Slab C (notitia) contains a list of titles/ranks, their quota of men and their annual salaries. It is obvious that this is an example of high status, high quality, epigraphy from that epoch. This is shown to by the fact that the letters are carefully carved, resembling a typeface font on fine white marble; the context is divided into three sections; there is good order between the lines; and the consistency in inscribing the texts on Slab A and B and their equity in the total number of inscribed lines, 71.

Between slabs A and B there is no difference in the font of the letters and their inscribing and also in leaving equal spaces from the edges, which shows these divisions of the inscription were positioned after careful calculation and were inscribed by the same hand at the same time. The texts of slab A and B are similar - except for their beginnings and ends and the line numbers of the sentences, which are usually of the same content - and correspond to each other on both slabs. Although the lines are usually in order, it can be observed that abbreviations (e.g. A.12, A.61, B.23, B.52, B.66) and the downsizing of the letters or ligatures, for example placing letters on top of another (e.g. B 44), were applied to the text when necessary. It is probable that the lines of the texts on the paper given to the inscriber of the text were longer and the inscriber necessarily employed these methods in order to preserve the order on the paper and to adjust the alignment of the lines in both texts.

The average number of characters per line on Slab A is 47, with the number of characters in each line varying from 40 (e.g. l. 15) to 53 (e.g. l. 55); while the average number of characters per line is 51 on Slab B and the number of characters vary from 42 (e.g. l. 20) to 55 (e.g. l. 57).\(^6\) No change in letter size was applied, according to its relative hierarchical position,\(^7\) namely there is no difference in letter size between the letters of the imperial sermo (Slab A) and the letters of the order of the army commander (Slab B) in terms quality and size; they are just carved on the different slabs.

It can be seen that the beginnings of the texts were carved more equally,\(^8\) as the letters and the spaces between them are slightly larger than the rest. The space between the lines vary between 1-1,5 cm on

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\(^5\) A similar situation can be observed in placement of the marble slab bearing the inscription carved in honour of Flavius Philippus, praefectus praetorio per Orientem (344-351) in Perge. This large slab was most probably placed in the housings opened between the supports, upon which the letter of Constantius II concerning Philippus was put up, on the western foot by the Hadrian’s Gate’s, on its side facing the city. For more information, see Şahin 2015, 177-186.

\(^6\) For instance, if the restoration in l. 60 is correct, the number of characters reaches to 68.

\(^7\) E.g. Feissel (2004, 291) indicates such an approach in the Justinianic inscription from Didyma.

\(^8\) The first abbreviation mark is seen in l. 12 of Slab A.
Slab A and Slab B, while on Slab C this space can be up to 3.5 cm. Although the letter sizes vary in general, the letters P and Φ are carved taller than are the other letters, as was standard. The number of the lines where the last word in the line continues onto the next line are 29 on Slab A and 32 on Slab B.

2. The Technique of Inscribing Employed

a) Characteristic Letters

As was mentioned, only one letter font was employed for the entire inscription. In the cutting of the Greek letters Σ and Ε they are not cornered but rounded except on two occasions (A 42 and 64) when they are cornered due to ligature. The horizontal bar of the letter A is always straight except for one occasion where it was cut angular (A 11, Fig. 3a). The middle line of H is usually placed high. Θ is circular and its middle line connected to the edges. The crosslines of K are usually short. The crosslines of M and N do not start and end at the points of vertical lines, but are distanced from them. O is circular. The points of the vertical lines of Π are distanced from the points of horizontal lines. P represents a narrow form and its bottom point is usually finished at a level lower than most of the other letters (Fig. 3b), like Y, Φ (Fig. 3c) and Ψ. Ω is in a cursive form (Fig. 3d).

b) Abbreviations and Ligatures

Abbreviated words are employed many times, being one of the most common features of Late Roman and East Roman (Byzantine) inscriptions. There are various marks indicating abbreviations in the inscription. The most usual is the mark waving downwards from the right bottom of the letter (Fig. 4a). For instance, the word καί is found 24 times on slab A, 15 of which are abbreviated in this manner, except for those restored by the editor, while on Slab B the same word is abbreviated likewise in 34 of 43 occurrences. This mark was also used for other words. Another type of abbreviation was the horizontal line placed above the row, which was used twice (A 56, B 23; Fig. 4b). The abbreviations are varied on Slab C. The most common is the horizontal waving marker above the letters, usually abbreviating the word annona (Fig. 4c). Another marker is waving upwards from the right top of the letter and it usually abbreviates titles, ranks or grades. (Fig. 4d). γίνεται/γίνονται that refers to the sum after calculation is abbreviated as Γ(φι) (Fig. 4e), a sign which can also be observed on papyri. The dots over the letters are usually for diacritics, but in one instance, over a letter N in A 16, it seems to have been utilized for abbreviation (Fig. 4f, see the explanation below on p. 152).

Ligatures were widely used, mostly in order to make room for more letters. The most common are the ligatures between the letters M, N and H; also on two occurrences of Σ, where it was cornered (Fig. 4i). In addition to these common uses, Ο is often used to combine the diphthong of OY, sometimes this combination is placed over T to derive τού (Fig. 4g). In Slab C, O is placed over Π to form ἀπό (Fig. 4h).

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9 Blanchard 1974, 10 (PHamb. I 12 18 209-210° – pl. 5) and s. 14 (PLond. III, 267, 1012 37 633° – pl. 95); Oikonomides 1974, 142 and Plate III.
c) Diacritics and Punctuation

Inscriptions with diacritical marks are rarely found, but can be observed here as single or double dots over the vowels. These dots usually serve to indicate spiritus asper: in the example of ἡ ἡμετέρα in A 7, a single dot was placed over the feminine nominative article H (Fig. 5a). Similarly, a single dot is over the Y in the examples of τὸ ὑμέτερον in A 28'de, ὑπό in B 30, ὑποτεταμένα in A 29 and B 31, αὕτοι in B 25, ύφεξελθίν in B 41, ὑμετέρα in B 61 and 68, and ὑφίστασθαι in B 71 (Fig. 5b). The examples of double dots are over I (Fig. 5c): while it denotes rough breathing in A 31 and A 46 as ἵνα, it was placed in B 20 for ἰδίων, a word that is not with rough breathing. This mark in this case might point to spiritus lenis, if so it would be the sole example of it. On the other hand, the double dot was placed over the letters of I displaying the number 10. There are no punctuation marks, except for the colon where the section concerning promotions ends in l.41 of Slab B (Fig. 5d: ύφεξελθίν·).

d) Colouring the Letters

As an important technical feature, it can be observed over almost the whole surface that the letters were coloured. On the inscription the odd lines are light and alternate with the dark even lines. The white thin sediment in the carved letters of the light lines indicates the former presence of colour pigment and its support, probably in this condition due to exposure to high temperature in a fire. It is known from the letters preserving a red/orange colour that the forms of the letters containing these
white remnants were once coloured in red. Taking the differences between the lines in alternating colours, it is understood that the odd lines were red, while the letters of the even lines may have been in blue, green or black,\textsuperscript{10} there is no remnant of pigment or of its support visible to the eye today in the letters of even lines.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig6.png}
\caption{The differences between the lines and the remains of paintwork}
\end{figure}

c) Comparison with other Anastasian Edicts

Similar edicts issued by Anastasius were discovered in Qasr El-Hallabat and Bostra of Arabia (see below fn. 12), in Ptolemais and Taucheira of Pentapolis, Cyrenaica (see below fn. 13). The letters are cut slightly more carelessly compared to the edict from Perge. But in general, the cutting of the letters and sizes are similar, except for some differences in the form of letters \(\Lambda, \Delta, \), probably due to local characteristics. The inscription of Apollonia is the most carefully inscribed among the other copies of this edict and is the only one which is on a marble slab, like the one in Perge. There are some other inscriptions thought to date from the reign of Anastasius. These are from Aphrodisias (Ovacık Adası, see below fn. 15) and Corycus in Cilicia (see below fn. 14) and both were similarly carved on marble slabs and their letter font type closely resembles this edict from Perge. The edict of Abydus, concerning the regulations in passing the Hellespont and dating from the reign of Justinian was also carved on slabs (see below fn. 18), as was frequently the case in antiquity.

\textsuperscript{10} On colouring the inscriptions and the colours employed see Larfeld 1907, 205-7 (contains examples representing the use of different colours in the same inscriptions); Klaffenbach 1966, 48; McLean 2002, 13; Roueché 1989, 98 nr. 61 (An example thought to date from the reign of Anastasius, the letters of which are coloured red); see also Duggan 2016.
Dimensions (cm):
H: 210
L: 89
D: 4.3-0.7
Lh: av. 2.5
Fig. 8) Slab B

Dimensions (cm):
H: 210
L: 87–89
D: ca. 1,5 (unmeasurable)
Lh: av. 2,5
Fig. 9) Slab C

Dimensions (cm):
H: 214
L: 92
D: 3,5-1,5
Lh: av. 2,7
II. The Document

The inscription records an ordinance concerning the military adjustments made by Anastasius I (491-518 A.D.). In this respect this imperial decree can be taken as a rescriptum. The rescript was promulgated by the magister militum for the related units following the issuance of this decree by Anastasius. The imperial decree is qualified as θ(ε)ία (sacred) and σωτηριώδης (saviour) in the ordinance of the magister militum and described as it was sent from the supreme court (καταπεμφθεῖσα) and it is προλόμπουσα “shining forth” (B 5-6). This decree is presented as a series of precautions concerning the protection of the rights and the payments deserved by the soldiers, who were being deprived of promotions, traditional payments and the bounties of retirement, despite the fact that they should have been given them.

The basic reason for these problems was corruption, such as bribes, seizures and favouritism in the scholae (of ranks) and some other units. These malpractices, which had almost become tradition, had unfortunate consequences amongst the soldiers and in consequence army units incurred losses in terms of their quality and quantity. Anastasius fixed, through the issuance of this decree, the numbers of men of units of a certain size, together with stating how many men should be in each rank, and how much should be paid to each man. The three parts of this inscription are as follows:

SLAB A) The Greek translation of Anastasius’ Latin sermo (Ἑρμηνία τοῦ θίου σέρμωνος): 214 fragments are combined. The length of the text is 71 lines and it presents the current situation in the military units and the regulations against corruptions. The text is defined as an imperial sermo.

SLAB B) The Greek translation of the magister militum’s Latin precept (Ἑρμηνία τοῦ προστάγματος τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου στρατηλάτου). This slab was restored by İsmail Kaygusuz from the team headed by Jale İnan, with wrong fragments and some pieces remain missing. The magister militum, whose name is not given, presented the situation in conformity with the text of Slab A and promulgated the imperial precautions against the malpractices and corruptions that are mentioned in Anastasius’ sermo.

SLAB C) Notitia: The notice (Γνῶσις ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀννωνῶν ὑποτεταγμένων τῷ θίῳ σέρμωνι): 142 of the fragments are joined together. On this slab, a gnosis (notitia) in accordance with the imperial sermo in Slab A is recorded. It lists the numbers of men and their payments rank by rank. This makes this slab unique. Except for the numbers in the last rows that contain the payments for the munifices, clerici and deputati, all of the numbers are intact. Gnosis here refers to a salary list with the numbers of men. It is organized in 5 columns: The first column is for the names of titles, ranks or grades, the second lists the number of men per rank, the third column the payment per man of the related rank, the fourth column records the sum of the addition of second and third columns (number of men × payment per man). The last column contains the amount of aerariae annonae which denotes convertible cash payments. This gnosis is referred to in both Slab A and B.

A. Similar Documents

The military decree of Anastasius is a good example of the rare documents that record an official process and which contain the texts of different authorities. The dossier includes the imperial sermo (σέρμων/sermo) containing a disposition (διατύπωσις / dispositio / forma), the precept (πρόσταγμα / praeceptum / editum) of the magister militum and finally a notice (γνώσις / notitia) recording the numeric values of title/rank/grade groups in rows of abstracted information (βρέβια). Even though this inscription was discovered in Perge, there is no toponym and this shows it was a general imperial
decree, probably for the legions stationed in Pamphylia at that time. Although, it is known that Anastasius rejuvenated and strengthened the army, there are no similar examples of this document discovered to date, although there are some texts that can be employed for comparative purposes in the examination of the Perge inscription.

1. Epigraphic Documents

The closest examples to that found at Perge were discovered in Arabia and Cyrenaica. These inscriptions contain texts of other parallel laws issued by the same emperor. The inscriptions from Arabia were found at Qasr El-Hallabat (Jordan), Bostra (Syria) and Jerusalem, where a small fragment was discovered, all containing the same text and might be dated to 491/492 A.D. according to Feissel. We learn from these inscriptions that the payments of annona and capitus due to duces and to other officers were rearranged, that the promotions of the officers were regulated and that the transfer of appointments through sale was prohibited. The examples from Cyrenaica concerning frontier troops regulate issues such as the distribution of payments by officers and for fair treatment in matters of promotion and retirement. These edicts do not contain any date. Apart from these military edicts, there are more inscriptions dating from the reign of Anastasius. An example from Corycus (Cilicia) has a civil context and is similarly carved on a marble slab. Another example comprising two fragments is also dated to the reign of Anastasius based upon its similarity with the Corycus example and from its letter style. However, the content of these inscriptions remains obscure.

There are some other military inscriptions dating from different periods which this inscription to some extent resembles. An inscription from Mylasa (Caria) begins with the word ἑρμηνεία and records an imperial decree from the reign of Theodosius II, followed by a precept of the comes sacrarum largitionum. In another inscription from Casae (Asartepe, Gündoğmuş), which is dated to the reign of Zeno by Feissel, there is a process given in three stages: firstly the letter of emperor in response to the petition by the city, secondly the circular of the magister officiorum and lastly an edict resulting from the first two texts. Another example, from Abydus, contains a law and tariff concerning the passage through the straits of the Hellespont, dating from the reign of Justinian (or Anastasius as some think, see below fn. 18) which resembles the Perge inscription in terms of its fine formulation,

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11 For example, see below fns. 220-221 for the praises by Procopius of Gaza and Priscianus of Caesarea.

12 Qasr El-Hallabat (Jordan), PPUAES III A 2, 24-41, no. 20; Marcillet-Jaubert 1982; Bostra (Jordan): IGLS XIII 9045-9046; for a short commentary see Shahid 1989, 131-133; Jerusalem: Clermont-Ganneau 1896, I 103-106; Feissel 2010 (A small fragment belonging to this same edict).

13 Apollonia: IApollonia, p. 309-312, no. 37; SEG XXVII 1139; Ptolemais: Pacho 1817, 178-9; CIG 5187; Haenel 1857, 281; Krüger 1865, 291; Waddington 1868; LBW III/6 1906; von Lingenthal 1879; Froehner 1880, 319 no. 289; Oliverio 1932, 135-163; SEG IX 356; Taucheira: Oliverio 1932, 135-163; SEG IX 414.

14 CIG 8619; LBW III/5 1421; MAMA III 197. Le Bas and CIG dated the inscription to the reign of Zeno (457-474 A.D.), while Keil and Wilhelm in MAMA dated it to the reign of Anastasius.


16 CChrAM 241-242 (= IMylasa 611-612). Dated to between 408-450.

17 Bean-Mitford 1970, 51.31; Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, nr. 5 s. 139-143; Bean and Mitford dated the inscription to the reign of Leo with reference to a law in the code of Justinian (12.59.10). However, Feissel stated that it dates from Zeno’s reign, see Feissel 2004, 288 and 303, and Feissel 2016 (the new edition of this inscription).
in some technical phrases and in its paleographic features. Another inscription dating from the reign of Justinian and forming an example of a legislative procedure contains a precept in response to the petition by the Justinianopolitans (1st April 533), an extract of the official report by the praefectus praetorio per Orientem (2nd April 533) and a notice of the governor of Caria.

2. The laws in the Codices

The juristic aspect of this military edict is also of remarkable importance. Even though this article does not investigate in depth the whole juristic concept embodied in this inscription, it finds its place amongst other known similar laws and their juristic potential. Judicial compilations (codices) are crucial in terms of understanding the matter at issue and in determining the juristic aspect of these documents from Perge. In this respect, the Codex Theodosianus published in 438 A.D. and the Codex Iustinianus of 529 A.D., which is of more importance for the reign of Anastasius, are the basic reference guides. It is not clear if the decree in the Perge inscription was restricted to some legions stationed around Perge and if it was not applicable to all units in the Roman army (cf. below p. 168). To date, no other trace or examples concerning this edict have been discovered in any other place. On the other hand, in none of the 68 laws of Anastasius, 15 of which are related to military and to fiscal affairs, is there a hint concerning the law recorded in the Perge inscription. Those laws containing the fiscal and military reforms of Anastasius in the code of Justinian, which are important for placing the Perge inscription within its proper context, are: 1.42.1-2; 12.35.18; 12.37.16; 17, 18, 19; 12.49.12 and 12.54.5.

B. The Transcription

Epigraphic sigla used in this edition:

Square bracket: For letters, which cannot be read or did not survive and are restored by the editor.
Angular bracket: For letters omitted by the carver and added by the editor.
Brace: For letters carved excessively and subtracted by the editor.
Double angular bracket: For letters carved erroneously and substituted by the editor.
Underdot: For letters, the traces of which survive but cannot be read clearly.
Round bracket: for the expanded part of abreviated words.
Upper case: For letters that can be read clearly on the material but cannot be construed.
Curved under line: For ligatured letters.
Dot in the square brackets: The number of dots represents the number of missing letters.
Dash in the square brackets: represents the approximate carved field that cannot be read and restored.
For the blank fields in the inscription.

18 Mordtmann 1879, 307-311; von Lingenthal 1879, 312-315; OGIS II 521; IChrAM 4; Callu 1982; Dagron 1985, 451-455; Durliat – Guillou 1984, 581-598; Zuckerman 2004, 93-96 (commentary); Haarer 2006, 217-220. The inscription was dated to the reign of Justinian by Mordtmann, to the Anastasius period by von Lingenthal with Callu and Dagron following this dating, but Zuckerman dated it to the reign of Justinian. Haarer, who does not mention Zuckerman’s dating, dated it again to the reign of Anastasius, stating that it was probably connected to the commercial rights returned to the Cilicians after the Isaurian war.

19 Feissel 2004.

20 Cod. Iust. 1.29.4, 1.42.1-2(?), 6.21.16, 10.16.13, 10.19.9-10, 10.27.1-2(?)-3, 11.1.1-2(?), 12.1.8, 12.35.18, 12.37.16-17-18-19, 12.49.12, 12.54.5.
1. Slab A: *Sermo Anastasii* / The speech of Anastasius

[Ἕ] Ἑρμήνια τοῦ θίου σέρμων·

[Ὑ] τῆς πολιτίας τὴν φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εἰσχύει μετὰ τῆς προσεύχης, ὡς καὶ κατὰ τὸ χρῆσιμόν καθοδισσον(εώς) τι[σι]ν[π]ράσεως, ὡς καὶ ψυχὴαρπαγής πρόφασιν παρέχεσθαι, ὅπερ καὶ τις τῶν ἀλλών 

καὶ τοὺς βαθμοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς στρατίας πάλες καὶ ἄχρι τινῶν φυλαθῶν συνήσταται καὶ κατὰ τὰ τὸν λυσιτελοῦντος τῆς πολυπληθία τῶν ἰδίων συστρατιωτῶν τοὺς τόπως, ὅποτε φανερὸν ἐστὶν τὰς ὑμετέρας προκοπὰς καὶ τοὺς βαθμοὺς καὶ τὰ τῆς πάλες καὶ ἄχρι τινῶν φυλαθῶν συνήσταται καὶ κατὰ τὰ τὸν λυσιτελοῦντος τῆς πολυπληθία τῶν ἰδίων συστρατιωτῶν τοὺς τόπως. Ὁπότε φανερὸν ἐστὶν τὰς ὑμετέρας προκοπὰς καὶ τοὺς βαθμοὺς καὶ τὰ τῆς πάλες καὶ ἄχρι τινῶν φυλαθῶν συνήσταται καὶ κατὰ τὰ τὸν λυσιτελοῦντος τῆς πολυπληθία τῶν ἰδίων συστρατιωτῶν τοὺς τόπως, ὅποτε φανερὸν ἐστὶν τὰς ὑμετέρας προκοπὰς καὶ τοὺς βαθμοὺς καὶ τὰ τῆς πάλες καὶ ἄχρι τινῶν φυλαθῶν συνήσταται καὶ κατὰ τὰ τὸν λυσιτελοῦντος τῆς πολυπληθία τῶν ἰδίων συστρατιωτῶν τοὺς τόπως.

[προκόπ]τοι κ(ai) ὁμοίως ἐν τῷ παρόντι κατὰ τὰν δύ[ν]αμιν τῆς
[συντελεσ]θείσης μάτρικους κ(ai) εἰς τὸν ἐφεξής χρόνον[v] ἢ ποσότης

[κομίζοντο] μήτε οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ὄντες ἑλάττωσιν, ἢ[ν] [μηδὲ ο[ἱ δρα-]

[τες] τὰς προλεχθὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἐκτελέ[τιν], ἢ τέλοντες συνχωρο[ν]ται[ai]
[ἡ μθ ]θ]έλοντες ἀνανκαζό[ντε εἰς τὸ πλὴρωσε τὰς αὐτὰς ὑπηρε[σίας], πά-

[ἀρμόζουσα[v ἐπιλογὴν προχρι[ες]θαί θεσπίζομεν, οὗτω [δ]ηλαδή ήσ-
[τε τοῦ δ]ρακωναρ(ίων) τῶν κ[υ]νδ[υ]ων ἀριστερῶν τῶν δρακώνων, τός
[πριν]κι[π]αι, το[ὺς δ[ε] ἀριματούρους κ(ai) κόρνικας κ(ai) τούβικας κ(ai) βουκινάτορας

[κινδύνω τοῦ κ(ai)υποδύκτορος ἀρ] ’[ο]ι ασθήπτοτε σχολής καθ[η]στάνε, τοῦ(ν)
[χρόνων πληρώσωσιν τῆς διετίας, [τ]ῶ[ν ὄρναμεντον [ἄ]ποτε[τ]θεμέ[νων],
[ἑν] τῷ ἀριθμῷ δὲ τῆς υμετέρας καθοσιώσεως [τὸν ἀρχ]ο[ρ]ικός ὑμενον

[αὐτοὶς βαθμὸν ἥχοντων κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς [μάτρικος,].] Ἰνα μὴ τοι-
[σ]υνιστρατεύστε, ἀγνοθήθι παρ’ ὕμων τοῦτον τὸν θινό σέρμω[ν][appa
[ἐξεπεμφαίναν, δι’ οὗ τῆς προνοίας τῆς ὑμετέρας εὔσβειας τῆς περὶ[ν][μῶν]

[ἐπὶ πλὸν γνωσθῆθης κ(ai) μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱρήνης τῆς κοινῆς καταστάσεως]
[κάμιν, ἢ ὑμετέρα καθοσιώσας σπουδάση, σοῦδενός ὡς ἐπ’ ἄδηλον κ(ai) ἀβ[ε]-
[βεον τὴν ἑλπίδα τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατίας καρπὸν τοῦ λοιπὸν ἀθυμού[ντος]
[οὗτε ἀνβίτιονα ἢ δυνατοί τινος πρὸς βλάβην ιδίαν ύφορο[μένου].]

[Διὰ [γάρ] ταύτην τὴν ἐτίαν κ(ai) ἢν μὴ τι παρὰ τὰς ὑμετέρας [διατάξεις]
[τῇ τομῇ] ῥα τινῶν προθέσει ἐπιχρι[θ]η, πεντ[ἡκόντα λιτρῶν τοῦ]
[χρυσόο] ζημίαν τοὺς κατὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων [βασιλικῶν διατάξεις-
2. Slab B: Praeceptum Magistri Militum / The precept of the army commander

Προσήν[ία τοῦ] μ[εγίστου προστάγματος τοῦ ἐνδ[οές] (οτάτου) στρατιάς τοῦ Δισκ[άπλου]. Ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Αναστάσιος, ὁ εὐσέβ[έστατος] το[ς καὶ]
[ά]τηττος βασιλ[εύς], τῇ ἀόκνω αὐ[τοῦ ἐνθυμήσει τῆς]


8 βαθμοίς καὶ[μήτοι] πολιτίς καὶ τῆς ἑρ[έας καθοσιώσεως] βασιλεύς, τῇ ἀόκνω αὐ[τοῦ ἐνθυμήσει τῆς]

12 καθαστάτας καὶ τοῖς κακοθεαλίας[παρατιτρωσκομένος] στρατιῶτες τῶν δικαίωμάτων καὶ πενίᾳ καθεστάτ[α] τῶν θεσπισθών τοῖς[πλήθους]

16 καθαστάτ[α] τοῦ χρησίμου [τοῦ] πλήθους τῶν δικαίωματος καὶ τῆς δικαίωματος στρατιωτικῶν τῶν καταστάσεως, ὁ εὐσέβ[έστατος] καὶ


τε ἢ τὸ ὀδῆ τὸ τοῦτο τὸ πρόσταγμα ἡ ὑμ. 148
κ(αὶ) ὑπὲρ τῆς λυσιτελίας . . . . . . ΙΝ τὸ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς λυσιτελίας τῆς ὑμετέρας καθοσιώσι ἐπεξελθῖν ἔλθωσιν, πρὸς τῷ τούτου, καθὼς π[ρὸ τῆς] ἐκ τῶν τελευτέων καθὸ τὰς αὐτὰς λιτοσθῆς, ἁρμ[όζοντ(ας) καὶ κορνίκας καὶ]
60 ἀριθμὸν τὸν γεγενημένον αὐτῷ βαθμὸν κρατῶν δεσ...
3. Slab C: Notitia

† Γνώσις ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀννωνών

υποτεταγμένων τῷ θίῳ σέρμοιν·

Τριβούνος τοῦ ἄριθμου

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Υρδ.</th>
<th>ἀνδρ. κ’</th>
<th>ἀπὸ ἀνν. η’</th>
<th>Γ† ἀνν. ρξ’</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ἀὐγ.</td>
<td>ἀνδρ. κ’</td>
<td>ἀπὸ ἀνν. ζ’</td>
<td>Γ† ἀνν. ρκ’</td>
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<td>ἀπὸ ἀνν. ε’</td>
<td>Γ† ἀνν. ρν’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φλαβ.</td>
<td>ἀνδρ. κ’</td>
<td>ἀπὸ ἀνν. δ’</td>
<td>Γ† ἀνν. σμ’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ἀνδρ. μ’</td>
<td>ἀπὸ ἀνν. γ’</td>
<td>Γ† ἀνν. υκ’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Σιγνιφ.</td>
<td>ἀνδρ. ι’</td>
<td>ἀπὸ ἀνν. γ’</td>
<td>Γ† ἀνν. λ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>λ’</td>
<td>ἀπὸ ἀνν. η’</td>
<td>Γ† ἀνν. ιε’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Βούκυνατορ.</td>
<td>ἀνδρ. ι’</td>
<td>ἀπὸ ἀνν. β’</td>
<td>Γ† ἀνν. κ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σιγνιφ. Κληρικοί καὶ δηποτά τοῦ ἄριθμου</td>
<td>ο’</td>
<td>ἀπὸ ἀνν. δ’</td>
<td>Γ† ἀνν. σι’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πρέκωρ</td>
<td>ἀνδρ. ι’</td>
<td>ἀπὸ ἀνν. β’</td>
<td>Γ† ἀνν. ρκ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λιβράρ.</td>
<td>ἀνδρ. θ’</td>
<td>ἀπὸ ἀνν. ε’</td>
<td>Γ† ἀνν. σκ’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Μούνιφ.</td>
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<td>ἀπὸ ἀνν. β’</td>
<td>Γ† ἀνν. λ’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Θυτικ.</td>
<td>ἀνδρ. η’</td>
<td>ἀπὸ ἀνν. β’</td>
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<td>Θυτικ.</td>
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<td>ἀπὸ ἀνν. β’</td>
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<td>Ροκτ.</td>
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<td>ἀπὸ ἀνν. β’</td>
<td>Γ† ἀνν. λ’</td>
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<td>ἀνδρ. ι’</td>
<td>ἀπὸ ἀνν. β’</td>
<td>Γ† ἀνν. ιε’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The recurring abbreviations: ἀνδρ. = ἄνδρ(ες); ἀπὸ ἀνν. = ἀπὸ ἀνν(ωνών); Γ† ἀνν. = γίνεται / γίνονται / γινόμεναι ἀνν(ωναι); ἔξ ἐράρ. ἀνν. = ἔξ ἐράρ. ἀνν(αι) ἀνν(ωναι).
Even though the use of such as θαραβούντες (A 3), ἐλάττονα (A 46), ἄηττητος (B 3, B 62 gen.), ἥπτονα (B 49) might indicate Attic origin, there are many examples for ν, which is written instead of γ-νασι: ἐπιτυχάν (A 15), συνὐχρονται (A 49), συνὐχροντε (B 52), ἀνανάκαζοντε (A 50), but in one instance γ-νασι is written in the classical form ἀναγκάζοντε (e) (B 52). These features were the mainstream variant of Greek orthography by the epoch.

1. Orthography

a) Wrong writing (on the paper) or wrong cutting (on the stone) of letters:
A for Y, ΣΑΝΒΕΗ = σ(ψ)γβέ (A 40); A for Δ: ΑΑΛΗΩ = ἀ(δ)ήλω (B 9); ΑΙΑ = ἀ(δ)ιά (B 18); O for Θ: ΣΥΝΗΟΙΑΝ = συνή(ό)ιαν (B 14); C for E: ΜΑΚΙΣΤΕΡΟΣ = μα(ε)ίστερος (B 55); X for Α, ΧΥΣΙΤΕΛΕΣ = ἄλγςιςιτελές (B 66); TA for ΘI, ΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΝΕ = κα(θ)ιστάνε (B 58).

Most of these errors might have been resulted from a misreading of majuscule script suggesting that the copy of the text given to the stonemacher was probably written in majuscule.

b) Incomplete cutting:
[πρόνοιητκωτάτως (A 32); συν(β)ένιν (B 11); τοῦ(το) δὲ (B 44); (ἀρματοῦρο ἢ) (B 50).

c) Interchange of vowels and diphthongs:
The two major interchanges are i for ει and ε for αι (see below). Sometimes o is employed for ω: λεγεόν (B 10), λεγέον (B 12), λεγέονας (B 30); although the word καθοσοῳμένος might be morphologically correct (if accepted as καθοσοῳμενος in Med. Pres. Part.), the use of this word in other inscriptions and literary texts is always given as καθοσοῳμενος (Med. Perf. Part.) indicates the first omikrons of this word in the inscription (B 12 καθοσοῳμένος; B 29 καθοσωμέ[νω]γ) should be understood as omega.21 In two words ει is employed for i: εἰσιχεῖ (A 2) and είναι (B 49). H is always used correctly.

d) Corrections:

21 For instance, IMylasa 947; Bean-Mitford 1970, 51 no. 31, B 31 and C 12; IGerasa 377; Iust. Nov. 144.15, 229.20, 510.24t, 513.21t, 762.20, 784.3, 786.10, 786.13, 787.12, 787.14, 790.6, 790.22, 790.29. See also Gignac 1976, I 180-234 for the related interchanges of vowels.
In Text A, the diphthong αι is used unchanged in 242 of 43 occurrences, while ει 23 of 43.

Text B: l. 1 ἑρμηνεύει l. 2 πολιτείας l. 5 θείας l. 6 καταπεμφθείσις; θεσπίζουσι l. 7 γενναοτάτων l. 8 παρενεπεσείν l. 9 παρέχεται l. 10 ταῖς λεγεών ταῖς l. 11 δικαιοσύνης καθεστώσας συνβαίνειν l. 12 λεγεώνων; καθώσιμενοις; στρατίωταις l. 13 στρατείας l. 14 φυλαχθεῖαι; συνήθειαις l. 15 καθεστάναι l. 16 κακοθελεῖα; ἴθυσθείας; στρατείας l. 17 καιρόν; στρατείας l. 18 πλείονος l. 25 συνήθειαν l. 26 ἐνθυμεῖαι l. 27 οἰκείους; παρατέμενει l. 28 θυσιγμένηια l. 29 ἐνθυμομένηια l. 30 λεγεώνας l. 32 θείας; διατυπώσει; παρακαλουθεῖν l. 34 θείας l. 35 θείας l. 36 θείας; οἰκεία διαμένειν δυνάμει l. 39 παριέναι l. 40 ἀκολουθεῖν; στρατεῖαν l. 41 ἀποτίθεισαι; τελευταίας; συμβαίνειν ὑπεξέλθειν l. 43 συντελεσθείσης l. 45 ἐκάσταις σχολαίς; προλεχθεῖσαι l. 46 θεία διατυπώσει; ἀμείωτος; φυλαχθεῖ l. 47 τελευταίας; ἐκφωνηθείσης; θείας l. 48 πλείονα l. 49 ἵνα l. 51 προβαίνονσιν; ἀνεπιτήδειοι l. 52 συγχωροῦνται; αναγκαζόνται l. 53 πληροῦν l. 54 προχειρίζεσθαι l. 58 καθεστάναι l. 61 εντρέχεια; θείαν l. 62 λυσιτελεῖας l. 63 προσενεχθεῖσαι; θεωδώς; παραφυλάξαι l. 66 καθοσιώσει l. 67 συντελεσθεῖσαι l. 68 ἐνθυμηθεῖσαι; καθοσιώσαται l. 69 θεία l. 70 καταθεῖναι; στρατεῖας l. 71 ἐκπίπτειν.

In Text B, the diphthong αι is used unchanged in 123 of 35 occurrences, while ει 35 of 59.

Text C: l. 2 θείω.

2. Syntax, Restorations and Explanations
The similarity between these two texts is a most helpful factor in the restoration of the texts. Except for their beginnings and endings, the texts are organized entirely in a semantic harmony. Both texts often construct the same statements in different words and word orders. So, the textual restorations of missing parts are fulfilled mostly through comparing one text with the other.

a) Text A
L. 2 – [Τῆς πολιτίας: Although contextually corresponding words such as εὐσεβεία (piety), εὐκοσμία (order) might be suggested for the restoration, the word πολιτία (state) mentioned in l.14 of Text B seems to be the most convenient, since the corruption in question is considered a threat to the survival of the state.
L. 3 – [τού θεοῦ βοήθησαν: Suggested by D. Feissel. It is also possible to restore this section as [ἀρχέαν συν]ήθαν basing upon the phrase [. . .κατὰ τὸ] ἀρχαῖον ἐθος in the Anastasian inscriptions from Arabia (see above fn. 12).26 Instead of ἀρχέαν, παλεάν having the same meaning is also possible.

23 ἐλεεὶς[ν] (A 22); εἰδί (A 54).
24 καὶ (B 2) l δυνάσθαι (B 7) l ἐπιστράτευμα (B 17) l κομίζεσθαι (B 22) l κομίςουσι (B 24) l στερηθῆναι (B 25) l παραπέμπθαι (B 26) l ἐκφωνηθῆναι (B 30) l γεγενηθῆναι (B 31) l παρακόμποι (B 34) l ψηφίσασθαι (B 35) l ἐκδικάσθαι (B 71).
25 [ἐνθύσησει (B 3) l ἐλεείνῳ (B 24) l διακόμποι (B 52).
26 For instance, Maurice, Strat. 12. B, pref. 5-6: Πρὸς ἀρχαῖαν ... τάξιν καὶ καταστάσιν στρατιωτικῆν.
L. 3-4 – ὑπογ[ρ]α[φέντα τὰ πρ]άγματα: If the traces at the end of l.3 is taken as ΥΠΟΓ.Α this restoration seems probable and there may be several different suggestions for the ending of ...άγματα, such as τά γάμματα.27


L. 8 – ἥ ἡμετέρα [με]γαλ[ί]ο[της θέσσιοσ]εν: the verb θεσπίζω is preferred based upon l.6 of Text B: (Ἀναστάτος) θεσπίσε κατηκώσε.

L. 8-9 – πρ[οκοπάς . . .]: προμουτίονας employed in l.13 of Text B does not fit in the space, so it is restored as προκοπή, the Greek word for promotoio.

L. 12 – [ποικίλων]: The restoration is based on l.15 of Text B.

L. 13 – [χάριν τ]ινῶν: Suggested by D. Feissel. The word ἡδυπάθια could have been preferred because it is used likewise in l.16 of Text B. But it exceeds the space. Another possibility might be χλιδή or χλίδημα, the synonym of ἡδυπάθια, as its number of letters is less, but these words do not appear in the inscription in the expected sense for this restoration; κατά[ά] πόνους: Suggested by D. Feissel. The word καμάτους stands in l.16 of Text B for this word. Another possibility might be καταπονήσις (= καταποννήσεις), which carries the same meaning, but since it is not reported in the epigraphical documents, it does not seem convenient for the restoration.

L. 16/17 – ἐν νε[ά[ᾳ ἡλικία]: There is a dot over the second N (see above p. 16). There are examples of similar expansions.28 In that case, the letter E after N seems to be extra. It is also expected from the text that it should be either νεωτέρα or νεωτερική as an adjective for ἡλικία, because in l.19 of Text B the related section reads “ἐν ν[εωτερική] [Η[ή]λικία]”. But these restorations cannot fit in the lacuna.


L. 28-29 – τὸ ὑμέτερον τάγμ[α ὑπὸ ὡρισμ]ένην τάξιν γενέσθαι ἐψηφισάμεθα: The parallel statement in l.31-32 of Text B is given as τὰς στρατιωτικὰς λεγεῖνας ὑπὸ τάξιν στατοῦτον γε[ν]σθαι ἐ[ψηφίστo]. τὸ ὑμέτερον τάγμα refers to that in ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ καταλόγῳ in l.7 of Text A and to τὰς

27 It is also possible to suggest different restorations from the letter traces: e.g. ὑπὸ τὰ ι[άμπρα τὰ τ]άγματα, ὑπόταχ[θέντα διατ]άγματα, ἀποταχ[θέντα τὰ τ]άγματα or ... ἀλλάμματα for the second part. But none of these suggestions conforms semantically with the textual flow and provides a satisfactory meaning. In Text B, that there should be no confusion in the ranks of soldiers is phrased “μηδεμίαν δύνασθαι τῶν γεννεο(τάτων) στρατιωτῶν τοῖς βαθμοῖς ἀμφιβολίαν παρενπεσῖν / for no ambiguity could occur in the ranks of the brave soldiers”. In Text A the situation is given as “... ἀγματα τὰ ὑμετερα ἄνευ τινος εἰνε συνχύσεως / that your ... ἀγματα should be without any confusion”. So ...ἀγματα here might have been a word synonymous with βαθμός. In this concept tάγμα might be suggested, but the use of this word in the inscription is associated with the military unit (Text A, L.28-29: τὸ ὑμετέρον τάγμα [α ὑπὸ καθεσταμένην τάξιν γενέσθαι ἐψηφισάμεθα]. τάγμα was used in the sense of position/class, e.g. CIG 4412 = ISide I 208, TEp 6: τάγματος βουλευτικοῦ; POxy. 10.1252.2.24: ...τὸ τάγμα τὸ τῶν γυμνασιάρχων..., however there is no occurrence of τάγμα in the exact sense of βαθμός (ordo).

28 Avi-Yonah 1940, 88. For instance Ν = ν(εώτερος) CIG 3169.
στρατιωτικὰς λεγεῖνον in Text B. The surviving part “…ἐνη τάξιν” should correspond to ὑπὸ τάξιν στατοῦτον in Text B. The word στατοῦτον, originally Latin statutum meaning “law; decision; determination; statute”,29 is not found in Greek inscriptions, however it appears in the novels of Justinian.30 So, the restoration should be done with a participle that gives the same meaning as στατοῦτον. The semantic and morphological equivalent of statutum (Pass. Perf. Part. Neut. Sing. from statuo) is ἑσταμένον from ἵστημι. So, here καθεσταμένην (Med/Pass. Perf. Part. Fem. Sg.) from καθίστημι giving a stronger juristic sense would have been better. But this word does not seem to fit in the lacuna, so ὑπὸ ὡρισμένην, which covers almost the same sense, is preferred.

L. 30-31 – τὴν μάτρικα τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ψηλο[τάς]τρατηγικῆς ἐξουσίας γεναμένην: The magistracy mentioned here is that of magister militum, either of praesentalis according to the location of Pamphylia or of per Orientem. There are examples of στρατηγικὴ ἐξουσία meaning “the authority of military commanding” in earlier times31 and in the sixth century by Ioannes of Gaza32, the grammarian and poet. Further evidence is from the Anastasian edict from Arabia (see fn. 12), which reads τοῦ ἐνδοξότατος στρατηγοῦ τῆς Ἑω (l.31) and then mentions the same authority as τῇ εἰρεμένῃ στρατηγικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ (l. 35).33

L. 32/33 – ἀλλὰ διηνέκεια: Obviously the redactor seems to have switched from the singular ἐπράχθη in l.32 to the plural ἐχοίεν; χρόνου κύκλοις: The parallel in Text B is l.33: χρόνου διαστήματι. Based on this temporal meaning and space for the missing section, κύκλοις is preferred.

L. 36 and 46 – The restoration of the verbs in the optative mood between these lines is based upon προκόπη in line 41. However, the use of the optative in this period is usually unexpected.

L. 39 – [παρίοι]: Suggested by D. Feissel.

L. 40 – οἷς τελευτῆσε σὺνβέη: ΟΙΑΤΛΥΤΗΣΑΝΒΕ (perhaps as οἷα τελευτῆσε σὺνβέη) on the stone, but this is syntactically not correct.

L. 54 – ὀπτίονας τῶν ἀννων, αἵ ἐν τῷ ἐίδι ῥογούνται: the word εἶδος usually meaning “shape; appearance” was employed for payments in kind (ἐν ἐιδῷ) as distinct from payments in cash (ἐν

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29 LSLD s.v. statuo, II.F.3; Lact. 2, 16, 14: Parcarum leges ac statuta; 1, 11, 14: statuta Dei et placita; 7.25.8.
31 For example, in a Hellenistic inscription from Klara: τοὺς δὲ κατοικοῦντας τὴν πόλιν ἠλευθέρωσε κατεγγυήσεων καὶ στρατηγικῆς ἐξουσίας, τῆς ἐπαρχείας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτονομίας χωρισθείσης (IKlara p. 63-66; SEG 39 1244).
32 Ioan. 2.1-2: Ο λόγος στρατηγικῆς λαβὼν ἠλευθέρωσε κατεγγυήσεων καὶ στρατηγικῆς ἐξουσίας, τῆς ἐπαρχείας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτονομίας χωρισθείσης (IKlara p. 63-66; SEG 39 1244).
33 PPUAES III A 2, 24-41, no. 20, frg. 24-26; Feissel 2010, 128.
χρυσῷ / ἀργύρῳ) from the 3rd century A.D. onwards. A similar use can be found in an Anastasian law in the Codex Iustinianus (12.37.19: ... μὴ λαμβάνειν τὰς ἀννόνας αὐτῶν τὸν ὅποιηματοφύλακα ἐν εἴδει διὰ τὸ μὴ φθείρεσθαι). In Text B, this detail is not given, but only [ό]πτιόνας κινδύνως t[α]γ γρηγορίας.

L. 64 – καταστά[σεως]: Suggested by D. Feissel.

L. 66 – τοῦ λοιποῦ (scil. χρόνου).


b) Text B

L. 1 – Ἐρμη[ία τοῦ] μ[εγίστο]υ προστάγματος: The adjective μέγιστον of the word πρόσταγμα is restored based upon the lacuna. Even though this use was not prevalent in Late antiquity and not seen in inscriptions, there are earlier uses. But the word πρόσταγμα in the inscription of Casae dating from the reign of Zeno (see fn. 17) similarly has the adjective of μεγαλοφυές. There is also "μεγίστη κέλευσις" in a Justinianic law in the Code.

L. 9 – ἅλῳ: ΑΑΗΛΩ on the stone. The second A might have been converted into Δ, a correction made through paint.

L. 11 – συνβένι: ΣΥΝΕΝΙΝ on the stone. Even though it looks as Act. Pres. Inf. of συναινέω meaning "I consent; I trust", this use does not fit here in terms of meaning and syntax. So, συνβένι in l.7 of Text A fits more correctly in terms of meaning and syntax, since the sentence requires a finite verb.

L. 14 – συνηθήμα: ΣΥΝΗΟΙΑΝ on the stone. The middle stroke of Θ might later have been drawn through paint.

L. 18 – Ά[δ]ία: ΑΙΑ on the stone. The first A might have been converted into Δ by a correction made through paint.

L. 24-25 – There seems to be a mistake in the construction of the phrase τῶν κεχρεωστημένων αὐτῶν στερηθῆναι tīn συνήθων, since the verb στερέω is used with the genitive, and the accusative tīna συνήθων was placed in the syntax erroneously. The related section in l. 23-24 of Text A reads "τῶν κεχρεωστημένων στε[ρηθῆναι συ]νήθιων".

L. 40-41 – ὑφεξελθῖν (<- ὑφεξέρχομαι) seems morphologically to have been written wrong, since the π is not to be aspirated. It is possible to observe similar aspirations of π or τ but rarely. For example, the π in ὑφεξαίρει is turned into φ in some forms of ὑφεξαίρει, but this is related to the rough breathing in the root verb αἵρεω; the syntax of whole statement ἤ τοὺς τὴν τελευτάνην ἡμέραν...
συνβένιν ύφεξελθίνων is wrong. This should have been ἢ ὡν τὴν τελευτέαν ήμέραν συνβένι (= συμβαίνει) ύφεξελθίνων as the correct syntax.

L. 42–46 – There seems to be an incoherency in the sentence between these lines. It is understood that a word like ποσότης meaning “amount” is missing in this sentence compared to the parallel in Text A reading: ἢ ποσοτής [τῶν στρατευόμεν]ων πλησιές τὸν πάντα ἀριθμὸν κ[αι] ... έν τέξ ἐκάστης σχολῆς κατὰ τ[ὴν]ν καταγραφ[ίαν] γ[νῶσιν] ἀμφότερος φυλαχθέν. The sense should in any case be that the number of soldiers in the units should not be reduced.

L. 46: γνῶσιν ἕτη θία ...: ΓΝΩΣΙΝΘΙΑ on the stone. NI after γνῶσιν seems a mistake and an article is required for θία διατυπώσι.

L. 46–49 – A subject-verb disagreement seems to have occurred in the sentence between these lines (τοὺς τελευτέους ... αὐτοὺς ... κομιζέσθωσαν). In order for it to be correct, either τοὺς τελευτέους and αὐτοὺς in accusative form should be taken nominative, or the imperative form κομιζέσθωσαν should be taken infinite. A μήτε seems to be absent before αὐτοὺς in l. 49. So probably the most plausible approach to the sentence is taking the accusative words τοὺς τελευτέους and αὐτοὺς nominative (μήτε οἱ τελευταίοι ... μήτε αὐτοὶ ... κομιζέσθωσαν / “neither those in lower ranks ... nor they ... should appropriate for themselves”), based upon the flow of the text and the syntax.

L. 49 – Εἶνα = Ἴνα

L. 50 – (ἀρματούροι ἢ): According to l.46–48 of Text A, which reads: ... ἵνα [μήδε οἱ δρακωνάριοι] ή οἱ ὀπτίοι ή οἱ ἀρματούροι ή οἱ κορνικε[ς] ή τού[βικες | ή βουκινάτορες], this addition is necessary. ἀρματούροι are mentioned also in the notitia. So these officers seem to have been omitted by the scribe of the text or the cutter of the inscription and an addition may have been inserted through paint perhaps by squeezing this text between the lines.

L. 53 – πληροῖν = πληροῦν

L. 55 – μαίστερος: ΜΑΙΣΤΕΡΟΣ on the stone. The middle line of the first C was probably added later in paint.

L. 58 – καὶ (θὸ)στάνε: ΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΝΕ on the stone.

L. 60 – τὸν γεγενεῖν αὐτῷ βαθμὸν: suggested by D. Feissel.

L. 66 – ἤντινα {ΙΧ}: ΝΤΙΝΑΙΧ on the stone, perhaps συντελεσθῖσαν ἤντινα ἶχ’ (ἔχω, Act. Ind. Impf. 3. sg.), but the meaning of this is still unclear within the sentence.

L. 67–68 – restorations are suggested by D. Feissel.

L. 69 – εἰδε[ής]: suggested by D. Feissel.

L. 70–71 – For the restorations of these lines, the related parts of the customs inscription from Abydus and the inscription from Hadrianopolis. The Abydus inscription (see above fn. 18): ... εἰ δέ τις [τολμήσει παραβῆναι ταύτα, θεσπίζομεν αὐτὸν] στρατιάς ἐκπίπτιν κ[αι] ...... ποιηή ύπο]βάλλεσθαι,....
from Hadrianopolis (Feissel – Kaygusuz 1985, 399): … οὐ μόνο(ν) δὲ τούτο ἄλλα (καὶ) περὶ αὐ(τ)ήν τὴν ζωήν κινδυνεύσει; αὐ[τῆς τῆς ζωῆς κίνδυνον υφίστασθαι: suggested by D. Feissel.

c) Text C

In recurring abbreviations, “ἐξ” before ἐράρ. ἄνν. has been suggested as “ἐξ (ὧν)” by D. Feissel.

L. 3-4 – τριβοῦνος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ... tribus numeri ... tribunus minor. They commanded legions in the late Empire. In the earlier periods, the tribunus was called χιλιάρχης / χιλίαρχος or λοχαγός in Greek. According to Aemilius Macer and Vegetius, they were responsible for the discipline and for the inspection of the soldiers and units.

In the list, there are two tribuni: τριβοῦνος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ (tribunus numeri) receiving 24 annona and τριβοῦνος μικρός (tribunus minor) receiving 10 annona. Such a distinction was mentioned by Vegetius, who wrote that the “Tribunus maior is appointed through the sacred letter with the Emperor’s judgement. Tribunus minor arrives by actual work”. Jones stated that Vegetius might have meant vicarius, who appears as the senior officer of the unit, or the representative of the senior tribune.

L. 5 – ὠρδ(ινάριοι) / ordinarii. According to Vegetius “Those, who lead the ordines in battle, (for they are the first) are named ordinarii”, “Thus the ten centuriae of the first cohors were directed by five ordinarii” and “Those who fight in front of signa, around signa and in the first line are called principes (i.e. ordinarii or principales)”. John the Lydian reported ταξίαρχοι (“commanders of the corps”) as the Greek translation of ὀρδινάριοι. They were also called ἑκατόναρχοι (“commanders of a hundred men”) in Greek. Thus they basically seem to have been the centuriones commanding the centuriae, which were the main divisions of the units.

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39 Mason 1974, 163-164; Whately 2015, 866.
40 Iust. Dig. 49.16.12.2; Veg. 2.12.
41 It is also shown in a papyrus that a tribunus received 24 annonae, see SB XX 15168 (= SB VI 9499 = PMil. 2.70): τῷ τριβοῦνῳ κδʹ, τῷ ἀκτουαρίου ιβʹ, τῷ πριμικηρίου ϛʹ, τῷ πρεσβυτέρου αʹ. Even though it is dated to the 4th century by the editor, Mitthof (II 2001, 514) finds it unconvincing.
42 Milner (1993, 36-37 fn. 1) gives the following comment: “i.e. in the unit. The distinction probably refers to that between the late-Roman legionary commander (tribunus) and his vicarius, who might also call himself tribunus with reference to function if he stood in for the tribune, although he was normally the primicerius of the unit. Cf. Jones, 675.”; Veg. 2.7: Tribunus maior per epistolam sacram imperatoris iudicio destinatur. Minor tribunus peruenit ex labore.
43 Jones 1964, 643, see also in the “Notes” pp. 208-209, n. 158 for the references concerning tribunus and vicarius; see further comments in Rance 2007, 399-401.
44 Veg. 2.7: Ordinarii dicuntur qui in proelio (quia primi sunt) ordines ducent.
45 Veg. II.8: Sic decem centuriae cohortis primae a quinque ordinariis regebantur.
46 Veg. II.15: Sed ante signa et circa signa nec non etiam in prima acie dimicantes principes vocabantur (hoc est ordinarii ceterique principales). For this last section in brackets Milner (1993, 47 fn. 4) makes the following note: “The bracketed text may be a marginal gloss that has become interpolated. V(egotius) or a scholiast mistakes principes for principia or principales Cf. 11.7 for principia = principales.”.
47 Lyd., mag. 1.46.4.2.
48 Mason 1974, 163.
Cagnat and Sanders stated that ordinarii were a special group amongst the centuriones; Mommsen and Stein thought that common centuriones were ordinati, while ordinarii were the primi ordines. Grosse stated that the first five centuriones in the first cohors were ordinarii. This matter was discussed thoroughly by Gilliam, who, opposing the equation of ordinarii and primi ordines, concluded that there was no difference between ordinati and ordinarii and they were simply centuriones. Drew-Bear, who inferred a difference between ordinati and ordinarii through a Diocletianic inscription mentioning the military career of Aur. Gaius and the posts of centurio triarius and centurio ordinatus, asserted that Gilliam’s conclusion cannot be correct. One of the most recent researches made into this matter is that of Janniard. The points where he does not agree with Gilliam are as follows: 1) Centuriones, who were charged for a special duty out of the unit, were entitled differently (e.g. frumentarii, regionarii); 2) centuriones were also called supernumerarii in the inscriptions and papyri; 3) If the terms ordinarius and ordinatus were generic titles defining centuriones, it becomes difficult to understand the need to express them as centurio and the survival of the terms centurio, centurio ordinarius and ordinarius in the sources into the 6th century A.D. Janniard opposed Gilliam also through the papyri. Further, he revised an inscription, which was employed by Gilliam as a proof positive for the separateness of ordinati and primi ordines, and concluded that the inscription cannot clearly enlighten the problem concerning this term and that ordinarii were the officers fighting in the front lines, as Vegetius recorded, and these, also called ducenarii, commanded two centuriae.

In the inscription from Perge there are recorded 20 ordinarii. If they were commanding two centuriae, as Janniard believes, we then see a unit numbering ca. 4000 men, which is difficult to justify not only due to the shortage in the number of munifices, clerici and deputati in the inscription but also due to the incompatible number of optiones, signiferi, vexillarii and imaginiferi, whose number were given as 10 per each. A papyrus lists 8 ordinarii in a cohors of the 6th century and records the highest rank as primicerius (the general of the tribunus) and one as adiutor (accountant of the unit) amongst these ordinarii.
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L. 7-10 - Αὐγ(ουστάλιοι), Αὐγ(ουστάλιοι) ἄλλ(οι), Φλαβ(ιάλιοι), Φλαβ(ιάλιοι) ἄλλ(οι) / Augustales and Flaviales. These titles, which appear in the inscriptions and papyri and which seem somewhat abstruse due to the lack of sufficient evidence, were described only by Vegetius, who recorded "Augustales are called those who were added to ordinarii by Augustus; and Flaviales were added to legions by Flavius Vespasianus as the second Augustales."

The only conclusion from these sentences of Vegetius is that Augustales and Flaviales were in the same category with ordinarii. It is stated that the name of Flaviales does not originate from the dynasty of Vespasianus, but from the Flavians, who ruled the empire in the 4th century A.D., namely from Constantine’s dynasty. The title of Augustalis is mentioned in the inscriptions from Laodiceia (Pisidia).

A papyrus dating from the 4th-5th centuries A.D. contains a letter of soldier named Psekaros, an Augustalis from unit of Cuntanes, sent to his brother Paphnutios. At the end of this letter, Psekaros mentions schola Augustalium as his new step in promotion (καὶ ἀποσχόλος αὐγουσταλίων εἶμαι).

Similarly, in a papyrus dating from ca. 530 A.D., a Flavius Ioannes is recorded as a flavialis. Thus it is understood that these were the stages in promotion leading to ordinarii after spending the required time and having the requirement of merit. In the inscription from Perge the situation is complicated, since the groups are of different numbers and pay. Augustales are presented in three groups, the first group is 20 men and each received 6 annonae, the second is 30 men and each received 5 annonae and the third is 70 men and each received 4 annonae.

L. 11 – σιγνιφ(έροι/αι) / signiferi. These were the officers who held the standards (signa) of the centuriae, in which they were charged. John the Lydian gives its Greek translation as σημειοφόρος. They were the accountants of the centuriae and Vegetius wrote a detailed account on them and he reported that they were called draconarii in his time. He presented their number as 10 in the early

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57 Veg. 2.7: Augustales appellantur qui ab Augusto ordinariis iuncti sunt. Flaviales item, tamquam secundi Augustales, a diuo Vespasiano sunt legionibus additi.

58 Keenan 1973, 45-46; Milner 1993, 37 fn. 5.


60 PRossGeorg III 10.21-24: σὺν θεῷ ἴδε {ειδε} καὶ ἀποσχόλος {καποσσχολος} αὐγουσταλίων {αγουσταλίων} εἶμαι {ημε} καὶ μετὰ τὰ πάσχα {πασσχα} καταλαμβάνω {καταλαμβανω} ὑμᾶς {η σας} ἄρη {ἐὰν θ}έλῃ ὁ θεός.

61 BGU II 369: … ἀμφότεροι [ὁρμώμ(ενοι) ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρσινοείντων πόλεως ἀπὸ ἄμφοδο(υ) Περσέας [ὑπογράφοντες ἱδία] χειρὶ Φλ(αουίῳ) Ἰωάννης πλασινιάσκω ἀριθμοῦ [τῶν καθοσιεψιών] Ἐλεφαντί(νης). Ἐπαναληψήμον ἕνωσεν τῷ παραχώρησίῳ χ(αίρειν).

62 All the attestations for flavialis are assembled in Palme 2012.

63 Lyd., mag. 1.46.4.3: σιγνιφέροι, σημειοφόροι.

64 Veg. 2.20.

65 Veg. 2.7: Signiferi qui signa portant, quos nunc draconarios uocant.
imperial army and one was for each cohors. Their remarkable role in accountancy is recorded in a papyrus dating from 205 A.D. The 10 signiferi given in the list in the Perge inscription were each in charge of 10 centuriae of the unit.

L. 12 – ὀπτιό(νες) / optiones. They were the commanding officers who were in rank immediately beneath the centuriones. Vegetius and John the Lydian, who recorded its Greek equivalent as αἱρετοὶ or γραμματεῖς, associate the ancient origin of the word with the verb optare and αἱρεῖν (“to choose”), denoting that centuriones used to choose their optiones themselves.67

There were several duties and grades for an optio in the early imperial army. Each centuria in the legions and auxiliaries had an optio, called optio centuriae or optio centurionis, who used to command the centuria in the absence of the centurio. Those who waited for promotion to become centurio were called optio candidatus, - spei, - ad spem or - ad spem ordinis. According to the Perge inscription, one of the important tasks of the optiones in the late empire was the distribution of annonae in the unit.68

This task is explicitly stressed in Text A, l.53-54: … τοὺς δὲ ὀπτίονας τῶν ἀννωνῶν, αἵ ἐν τῷ εἴδι ῥογεύονται (“the optiones of annonae, which are distributed in kind”). The provision of annonae for soldiers and of capitus for the horses was the responsibility of the office of praefectus praetorio. The distribution was executed through the vicarii of dioceses and duces or comites of the provinces. Then, annonae were taken from the horreum by the praefectus horrei, who was in the post of decurio who handed it over to the actuarii or optiones in order for it to be shared amongst the soldiers.69 According to Jones, who collected the legal evidence up to 472-3 (CJ 12.49.9), actuarius and optio were not soldiers and they were in different grades and the actuarius was above the optio.70 However,Procopius mentions a regimental optio, named Gezon, playing a very prominent role in combat in 540; this man is explicitly described as a ‘soldier’.71 Actuarius and optio appear together in various laws.72 A

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67 Veg. 2.7: Optiones ab adoptando appellati, quod antecedentibus aegritudine praepeditis hi tamquam adoptati eorum atque uicarii solent uniuersa curare; Lyd., mag. 1.46.4.4: ὀπτίωνες, αἱρετοὶ ἢ γραμματεῖς.
68 Grosse 1920, 194.
69 Jones 1964, 459.
70 Jones 1964, 626 and in the “Notes” p. 190 n. 38.
71 Proc. bell. 4.20.12-18: Γέζων ἦν τις ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις πεζὸς, τοῦ καταλόγου ὀπτίων, εἰς ὅν αὐτὸς ἀνεγέγραπτο· οὕτω δὲ κατιδόντες οἱ ὄπισθεν πολλῷ θορύβῳ τε καὶ ταραχῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους ἐχώρουν; cf. also Proc. bell. 3.17.1.
72 For instance, Cod. Theod. 7.4.24 (398 AD): …si quod amplius actuarius vel optiones accepisse constiterit…; 8.7.22: …actuarii quoque thymelae et equorum currulum, suarios etiam et optiones per omnes regiones urbis constantinopolitanae et alia omnia…; Cod. Iust. 10.22.3: …nisi forte aut curialis aut quicumque apparitor vel optio vel actuarius vel quilibet publici debiti exactor…; Cod. Iust. 1.42: … τοῦ ἀκτουαρίου καὶ τῶν ὀπτιώνων…
different name for *actuarius* also occurs as *subscribendarius*, while its Greek equivalent is ὑπομνηματόφυλαξ.73 *Optio* was probably also called *annonarius*.74

L. 13-14 - οὖερεδ(άριοι), οὖερεδ(άριοι) ἄλλ(οι) / veredarii. The title originates from veredus, a species of fast horse. These horses were used in communication and field reconnaissance. So *veredarii* were mounted officers commissioned with these tasks.75 The *Munitionibus castrorum* ascribed to Hyginus and probably composed in the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. mentions a project, which was presented to the emperor for the construction a new headquarters and in which 800 Pannonian *veredarii* was proposed.76 The title is given to two groups in the inscription of Perge, the first being of 50 men, while the second was of 225 men, who were probably candidates for the first group.

L. 15 – β[η]ξιλ(ά)ρ(οι) / vexillarii. These officers held the *vexillum*, the flag of the relevant unit. A *vexillum* was used in various units, including infantry detachments with special tasks and detachments consisting of veterans.77 John the Lydian gives its Greek translation as δορυφόροι.78 Their number is 10 in the inscription.

L. 16 – ἰμαγινιφ(έροι?)/ imaginiferi. They were shown as Ἰμαγινιφ(έροι?), which might be a scribal error. The reading perhaps should be Ἰμαγινιφ(έροι?). According to Vegetius, *imaginifer* or *imaginarius* was the officer who carried the portraits of the emperor.79 These portraits could be in relief or paintings. John the Lydian listed the Greek equivalent as εἰκονοφόροι.80 Their number is 10 in the inscription.

L. 17 – λιβράρ(ιοι) / librarii. They were the officers amongst the administrative staff of the units and they were most probably responsible for the filing and for the archives of various official documents. Vegetius reported that they kept the records concerning the accounts of soldiers in books.81 Clauss gives the following description for this title: “Clerk in officium of a military unit. Some of them had special areas of responsibility as a bookkeeper and accountant”.82 The title of *librarii* does not exist in the sources after the 3rd century A.D., except in this inscription, which might have mentioned it anachronistically. There are only 2 *librarii* numbered in the list.

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73 Cod. Theod. 7.4.1: subscribendario et optione gladio feriendis; Cod. Iust. 12.37.19:… ὑπομνηματόφυλαξ καὶ ὀπτιώνων…; Jones 1964, 190. fn. 38.
74 Jones 1964, 626 and 190, fn. 38.
75 Grosse 1920, 106.
76 Hyg., mun. cast. 30: Datos itaque numeros, qui infra scripti sunt, sic computabimus: legiones III, vexillarii CI)DC, cohortes praeatoriae III, equites praetoriani CCCC, equites singularis imperatoris CCCCL, alae miliares III, quingenariae V, Mauri eqites DC, Pannonii veredarii DCCC, classici Misenates D, Ravennates DCCC, exploratores CC, cohortes equitatae miliariae II, quingenariae III, cohortes peditates miliariae III, quingenariae III, Palmyreni D, Gaesati DCCCC, Daci DCC, Brittones D, Cantabri DCC, centuriae statorum II.
77 DGRA pp. 1044-1046, s.v. Signa militaria.
78 Lyd., mag. 1.46.4.5: βηξιλλάριοι, δορυφόροι.
79 Veg. 2.7: Imaginarii vel imaginiferi qui imperatoris imagines ferunt.
80 Lyd., mag. 1.46.5.1: ἰμαγινιφ(έροι), εἰκονοφόροι.
81 Veg. 2.7: Librarii ab eo, quod in libros referunt rationes ad milites pertinentes.
L. 18 – μήνσορ(ες) / mensores. These were those who measured the field for several purposes. In a military context, according to Vegetius, they measured and organized the field for the tents, but those who decided on where the camp should be set up were the metatores. John the Lydian also indicates a distinction between these two, while there seems to be no difference between them in the code of Theodosius. They were also charged with the duty of finding accommodation for the soldiers, who would stay or stop for a time in settlements. They used to find the houses and write down the names of the guest soldiers on their doors. Erasing these names was punishable. Their number recorded in the list is 3.

L. 19 – τούβικ(ες) / tubicines. Tubicen played the tuba, which was a straight trumpet made of bronze and according to John the Lydian it was for the infantry. Vegetius (II 22) recorded that tubicines called the soldiers to battle. They number 4 in the inscription.

L. 20 – κόρνικ(ες) / cornicines. Cornicen played the cornu, which was a horn with silver embossment, later it was made of brass. Its Greek translation is given as κεραύλης by John the Lydian. According to Vegetius (II 22), cornicines made signa (thus signiferi) move. They number 8 in this inscription.

L. 21 – βουκινάτορ(ες) / bucinatores. Bucinator played the bucina made of brass. John the Lydian reported that they were the buglers of the cavalry units, while Vegetius (II 22) wrote that it was associated with high command and that bugles were blown when the emperor was present to command the army and when a soldier was executed. They are recorded as 2 men in the inscription.

L. 22 – πρέκωρ / praeco. It is not given as πρέκων, which can be seen in late lexica and its Greek equivalent is κῆρυξ. Praeco usually means a “crier”. He is also known from the civil administration. The task of giving the announcements of the decisions taken and calls for meetings of the troops was given by the praeco.

L. 23 – ἀρματονῦρ(οι) δυπλάριοι / armaturae duplares: The Armatura was the officer who trained the soldiers in weaponry. According to Vegetius the armaturae who were paid double, were called

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83 DGRA p. 750 s.v. Mensor.
84 Veg. 2.7: ...Metatores qui praecedentes locum eligunt castris. Beneficiarii ab eo appellati, quod promouentur beneficio tribunorum ... Mensores qui in castris ad podium demetiuntur loca, in quibus tentoria milites figant, uel hospitia in ciuitatibus praestant.
85 Lyd., mag. 1.46.4.6: μήνσωρες, προμέτραι ... μητάτωρες, χυρομέτραι.
86 Cod. Theod. 7.8 (De Metatis); Th. Nov. 25 (De Metatis).
87 Cod. Theod. 7.8.4.
88 Lyd., mag. 1.46.4.7: τουβίκινες, σαλπισταὶ πεζῶν.
89 DGRA p. 358, s. v. Cornu.
90 Lyd., mag. 1.46.4.9: κορνίκινες, κεραύλαι.
91 Lyd., mag. 1.46.4.8: βουκινάτωρες, σαλπισταὶ ἱππέων.
92 πραίκων· κήρυξ (Zon.1572; Hesych. pi.3187).
duplares, while the ordinary ones were called simplares. There are no simplares listed in the inscription from Perge, but semissales, who were paid one and half (see below). John the Lydian listed ἀρματῶρα πρίμα (armatura prima), which may refer to armaturae duplares. Their number is 20.

L. 24 – βενεφικ(άριοι) / beneficiarii: Vegetius recorded that the beneficiarii were promoted through beneficium of tribuni. The word beneficium can often be found in Roman law with the meaning of “favour” or “privilege”. Although beneficia bestowed on soldiers by tribuni are not known in detail, freedom from some duties or the bestowing of honour were probably amongst them. John the Lydian stated that they were engaged in the service of veterans. They number 4 men in the inscription.

L. 25 – τορκ(ουᾶτοι) σιμισ(σάλιοι) / torquati semissales: They are named after the torques/torquis, which was a helical and usually gold ornament worn around the neck and which was originally worn by Persians, Galatians other Asiatic and North European tribes. Vegetius gave them in two groups, the duplares and the simplares, and stated that the torques worn by the torquati were a reward for bravery and those who won this honour were sometimes paid double. John the Lydian described them as “collar wearers, those who wear torcs”. Their number is given as 136 in the inscription.

L. 26 – βρακ(χιᾶτοι) σιμισ(σάλιοι) / bracchiati semissales. Like torquati, they were also named after an ornament called the brachiale (armilla) worn on the wrists or upper arm. This bracelet, called ψέλιον in Greek, was one of the favourite ornaments of the Persians. John the Lydian described them as βραχιᾶτοι, ἤτοι ἀρμιλλίγεροι, ψελιοφόροι. Thus, another name for group was armilligeri with the meaning of “armilla wearers”. This ornament was also a reward like the torques and was given to those who showed success. The number of these soldiers recorded in the inscription is 256 and each was paid one and a half annona. See also below fn. 99.

L. 27 – ἀρματοῦρ(οι) σιμισ(σάλιοι) / armaturae semissales. This group of 20 armaturae were paid one and half annona. John the Lydian defined them as ἀρματοῦρα σημισσάλια, ὁπλομελέτη μείζων.

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93 Veg. 2.7: …Armaturae duplares qui binas consecuntur annonas, simplares qui singulas; see also 1.13.
94 Lyd., mag. 1.46.5.3: ἀρματῶρα πρίμα, ὁπλομελέτη πρώτη.
95 Veg. 2.7: Beneficiarii ab eo appellati, quod promouentur beneficio tribunorum.
96 DGRA p. 201, s.v. Beneficium.
97 For a detailed work on beneficiarii see Nelis-Clément 2000 and also its reviews Rankov 2002 and Pierre 2002.
98 Lyd., mag. 1.46.4.17-18: βενεφικάριοι, οἱ ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ τῶν βετερανῶν τεταγμένοι.
99 DGRA p. 1140, s.v. Torques or Torquis; see also Speidel 1996; the evidence for the late Roman military use of torcs is now assembled and discussed in Mráv 2015.
100 Veg. 2.7: Torquati duplares, torquati simplares; torques aureus solidus uiritus praemium fuit, quem qui meruisset praeter laudem interdum duplas consequebatur annonas.
101 Lyd., mag. 1.46.4.19-20: τορκουᾶτοι, στρεπτοφόροι, οἱ τοὺς μανιάκας φορούντες.
102 See LSLD s.v. Brachialis; OLD s.v. Brachiale.
103 LSJ s.v. ψέλιον.
104 Lyd., mag. 1.46.4.21.
105 Lyd., mag. 1.46.5.4.
L. 28 – μονίφικ(ες) / munifices. A munifax was a soldier who received 1 annona, who was given some duties and obligatory work called munera.106 Hence John the Lydian called them munerarii.107 Vegetius recorded that they were responsible for all kind of work, including even the transport of wood and fodder for the camp.108 Most of the soldiers were munifices or milites gregarii.109 This was the first step in the profession of soldiering. Unfortunately, the number of munifax has not survived on this inscription. However, the number of their annona is partly preserved as ?59 as the last two digits (see more on p. 187).

L. 29 – κληρικοί κα[ι] δηπο/(υ)τά / clerici et deputati. Clerici were responsible for the religious activities in the army.110 They possibly had tasks concerning the depravities causing injustices. Their inclusion in the army can be traced back to Constantine the Great. Clerics in the army are attested in several sources. An inscription of 446 A.D. from Petra records a priest together with a troop during the consecration of a church111 and this priest probably belonged to that military unit.112 Deputatus was a generic label applied to soldiers who were ‘seconded’/’assigned’ to a diverse range of special or technical assignments. They were appointed in the units for the provision and repair of daily needs such as weapon, uniforms etc., since the public production and sale of weapons were prohibited, they were registered in the units in order to carry on their craft.113 But in Maurice’s Strategicon the δηπο(υ)τάτοι are medical orderlies, who rescue wounded men from the battlefield.114 Unfortunately the numbers related to clerici et deputati are also lost. However, the number ?73 on a fragment (Fig. 10, on p. 187 below) might have belonged to them (see more in p. 187).

D. The Translation

1. Text A: Sermo Anastasii / The speech of Anastasius

The translation of divine speech:

Believing confidently that the custody of the state has consisted in your strength with the help of God, in order that especially your appropriated arrangements should be without any confusion and not afforded anyone an opportunity for sale and swindling against the advantage of your devotion, (a situation) which occurs particularly in your unit, our majesty decreed. (7) Since it is clear that your promotions, ranks and terminations of service, (which are arranged) in accordance with the ancient tradition preserved until these days, have somehow become estranged and (11) each from various and diverse scholae get the higher ranks according to corrupt solicitation, cunning and the...
favour of some people, but not through merit, labour and terms of military services and not in the
determined period for appointment, (15) but a few certain men, in a very short time of service and
at a very young age and yet amongst the lower grades, (acting) against the welfare of the majority,
get their fellow soldiers’ positions, which are joined to their termination of service. But the majority
and almost all of them, who were worn out by heavy labours, before their liberty is given to them,
and exposed to a piteous death, were deprived of the customary rewards indebted, and those who
survive worn away under destituteness and transmit this misfortune of poverty to their progeny. (26)

So, having been justly moved by such an injustice, which we consider the more serious, since it is
committed against you, our fellow soldiers, we decided that your unit should be placed under a fixed
order in accordance with the brevia, the order and the matrix, which comes from the highest military
authority, (31) subsequently so that what was accomplished foresightedly should not be impaired by
oblivion, but they should have perpetual firmness. We decided, then, through this divine disposition
that the same order should last in all conditions permanently, not to be cancelled in any way, any
means and any time, (36) so that each from the least and lowest ranks would pass into forward ranks
and each one, following those serving in the army before himself, would advance to the posts of
them, who had either left the service or somehow happened to die following these and in like manner
at the present time according to the capacity of the matrix made up and for the next time the amount
of those in service should fill the whole unit and in each schola (the number) should be preserved
undiminished in conformity with the prescribed notice below and (44) so that neither those who are
in the least ranks, as (was happening) before this edict, could receive a larger quantity of annonae,
nor those, who are in front of them, less; (46) in order that draconarii, optiones, armaturae, cornicines,
tubicines, bucinatores, who obtained such titles even though they are unfit to fulfil the said
services, will not be permitted when they wish or will not be forced when they do not wish to fill the
same services, (51) since every sort of corrupt solicitation and sale are inactive, we decree that suita-
ble men should be appointed in accordance with the fitting option, in such a way that
 draconarii
should be placed under the responsibility of magister draconum; optiones of annonae, which are dis-
tributed in kind, under the responsibility of principia; armaturae, cornicines, tubicines and bucinato-
tores under the responsibility of the campidoctor from whatever type of schola; (57) magistri dra-
conarii, after fulfilling the specified two year term under this service, should remove the ornament,
while in the unit of your magistracy they shall have the rank allotted to themselves in accordance
with the capacity of the matrix. (60) In order that those we established for the advantage of yours, oh
most brave fellow soldiers!, should not be neglected by you, we have sent to you this divine sermo,
through which the care of Our Reverence to you becomes even more known, and your devotion will
be eager to work (65) in favor of the peace of the public order, since no one should lose hope of gain
from military service as if it were an uncertain and unreliable profit of the future, suspecting of nei-
ther corrupt solicitation nor the power of someone to give harm to oneself. (68) Because of this rea-
son, in order that nothing could be set upon contrary to our arrangements, with the ill intention of
some, we decreed that those who act against our royal arrangements will be inflicted the fine of fifty
pounds of gold [𐃲].

2. Text B: Praeceptum Magistri Militum / The Precept of the Army Commander

Translation of the most illustrious army-commander’s order

(2) Anastasius, most religious and invincible ruler, providing for the advantages of state and of your
devotion through his resolute consideration, by means of this decree which has been dispatched to
us and shines forth, agreed to legislate in order that no uncertainty should fall on the ranks of the
bravest soldiers and that the military expenses should not offer to anyone occasions for sale or usur-
pation in secret dealings, as happens especially in the legions which are established under our justice, since it is clear that proper promotions, ranks and terminations of service belonging to the same devoted soldiers from the same legions, which are regulated in accord with the custom preserved since time immemorial to the present, became an estranged fashion, and (15) each man from various and diverse scholae obtain the higher ranks by the corrupt solicitation, cunning and luxurious self-
indulgence of some people, not in accordance with (their own) labours, duration of service, merit and the time ordained (for appointment), (18) but some men who are conspicuous and few, within a quite short period of military service and while they are too young, as they are still among the newly recruited soldiers, appropriate the posts of fellow-soldiers and their retirement bounties, placing themselves in opposition to the advantage of majority. (22) (At the same time) a large part, almost all, of those who are worn out by their long (years of) labour and probably vanquished miserably by death before having being awarded their retirement, are deprived of even a customary payment due to them, the survivors, on the one hand, are exposed to the trouble of poverty and on the other hand transmit this misfortune of destitution to their households. (27) Accordingly, the Imperial Serenity moved due to these matters, taking seriously the whole unfairness, desired and possibly contrived against devoted soldiers, decided that the military legions should be under statute disposition, in order (31) to become acquainted with the same imperial decree in accordance with the brevia arranged below and in order that what has been promulgated providently cannot be annulled by oblivion in the passages of a certain time, but let it have eternal power. (34) Accordingly, by this divine and forthshining {divine} constitution (Anastasius) agreed to be decided that this divine disposition should be maintained in its own power in all conditions, being violated by no case, no contrivance and on no occasion. Thus, each man from the lower and rear ranks shall advance to the higher ones and each one shall follow the men enlisted before himself and switch to the posts of those, who either set military service aside or whose last day happens to have elapsed (=died). (41) In a like manner, those who follow them shall pass to their posts, in order that on the one hand, at the present in accordance with the capacity of the matrix established, on the other hand in due course the quantity of those in service in the catalogue of the whole unit and in each schola should be preserved undiminished in conformity with the prescribed notice and arranged below in accordance with the divine disposition. (46) Those in lower ranks, as obtained before this divine savior decree was promulgated, shall not receive a greater amount of annonae (and) those of the preceding men a lesser (amount of annonae). (49) In order that draconarii, optiones, armaturae, cornicines, bucinatores advance into scholae obtaining such titles and those who are unfitted to accomplish such duties will not be permitted when they wish to or will not be forced when they do not wish, in order to fill up the same services, (51) since every sort of corrupt solicitation and sale are inactive, Imperial foresight decided that suitable men shall be assigned in accordance with the fitting option (54), in such a way that draconarii should be placed under the responsibility of the magister draconum; optiones under the responsibility of the principia; armaturae, cornicines, tubicines and bucinatores under the responsibility of the campidoc-
tor from whatever type of scholae; the magister draconum, after fulfilling the same two-year term, should remove the ornament, and obtain the rank assigned to him in the unit. Therefore, your skill understanding this precept and this divine and savior decree of our most religious and invincible master (who issued this) for your devotion’s advantage, shall attend to watch so as to secure those ordained divinely from all fear forever, without being violated in any case, on no occasion, by no means at all.
(l.65) We ordered that this register surpassing [in order to provide for?] the advantage for your devotion and anything accomplished for the benefit of each soldier should be declared [through N.N., our] scriniarius [to] your devotion, whereas she (= your Devotion) knows that the same divine and saviour disposition writes that insolents not only pay the fine of fifty pounds of gold, but also be driven out of military service and to risk his life.

3. Text C: Notitia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NM</th>
<th>APM</th>
<th>TA (NM x APM)</th>
<th>Ad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tribunus Numeri</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribunus Minor</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Augustales (1)</td>
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<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustales alii (2)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustales alii (3)</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaviales (1)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaviales alii (2)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Signiferi</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Optiones</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Imaginiferi</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praeco</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Armaturae Duplares</td>
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<td>Munifices</td>
<td>[ -59]</td>
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<td>-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerici and Deputati</td>
<td>-73 (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Abbreviations: NM = Number of men; APM = annona per man; TA = Total Annona; Ad = Adaeratio

III. The Content of the Law

A. The Construction of the Text and the Formation Process of the Law

Both the imperial decree and the ordinance of the army commander were formed anonymously. If l.2 of Text B were lost, it would be difficult to determine to which emperor this decree belonged, since
the texts are without any personal name and date or any clue that would indicate identity. This re-mains the case for the ordinance of the *magister militum*, the name of whom or any other information relating to his person was not recorded (for the probable names see below p. 181-183).

This inscription contains texts which are parts of the same legislation and follow each other, but which belong to different authorities and were given hierarchically. The first text is the σέρμων (speech / *sermo*) of the emperor, which contains a statutory διατύπωσις (disposition / *dispositio*); the second is the text of a πρόσταγμα (precept / *praeceptum*) belonging to the στρατηλάτης (army commander / *magister militum*) and is grounded on the imperial sermo; the third contains a γνώσις (notice / *notitia*) in which the abridged numerical informations (*brebia*) concerning the related military unit are presented. Documents of this type are rarely discovered. There are partially similar cases in the other Anastasian inscriptions, though they do not contain hierarchical partitions. For instance, the decisions of Anastasius in the inscriptions from Cyrenaica were promulgated by the dux and a γνώσις was attached at the end of the inscriptions (see above fn. 13). The Justinianic (or Anastasian) inscription from Abydus is also followed by a γνώσις (see above fn. 18).

Another similar military inscription in terms of its construction was found in Casae (see above fn. 17). The first part of this inscription is the imperial letter written in response to the petition from Casae, the second part is the ordinance of the *magister officiorum* and the third is an edict deduced from the first two. There is also another epigraphic example, from a civil authority, found in Justinianopolis (Didyma). This includes the imperial decree of Justinian given in response to the petition made by the Justinianopolitans (1st of April 533 A.D.), the extract of the official report by the prefect of the East (2nd of April 533) and the notice of the governor of Caria (see above fn. 19), consequently presenting the process of hierarchical stages. Another similar triplet survives from Mylasa (see fn. 16). Another relevant example might be the θεῖος πραγματικὸς τύπος of Justin I in 520, which contain some parallels in the interaction between the emperor (in Constantinople) and the *magister militum* (in Antioch) regarding a matter of military discipline.115

1. The Reasons for the Decree and its Chronological Progress

Even though there is no precise information concerning the process of legislation, based upon some hints from the texts and the general known procedures, its probably stages are as follow:

(1) Anastasius issued a διατύπωσις (*dispositio / forma*) announced in his θείος σέρμων (*divinus sermo*), in which he included all the corruption together with the resolutions taken against these malpractices. This statutory *sermo* constitutes the backbone of the process. The most important part, which was made subsequently is the list given on Slab C under a notice and generated from the muster rolls (*matrices / μάτρικες*), which was generated by the pretorian prefecture and which contained the names and the annual payments of the soldiers. This list presents the ordering of the title/rank groups, their quota of men and the amounts of *annona* due to them in the abridged forms (*brebia / βρέβια*). It was attached to the new disposition of Anastasius as an announcement under a notification (*notitia / γνώσις*).

(2) In the third stage, Anastasius’ *sermo* was read to the related audience, as he addressed the soldiers as ὦ γεννεότατοι συνστρατιῶτε! / *fortissimi commilitones*! (A 61-62) and as the *magister militum*
phrases that the disposition was sent (καταπεμπθεῖσα) to him as a divine order (B 6 and 35) characterised as θεία διατύπωσις (divina/sacra dispositio) or θεία διάταξις (divina/sacra constitutio) and a "shining forth" (προλάμπουσα)\textsuperscript{116}.

(3) Anastasius ordered that the decree should be declared to the military units by the magister militum through a mandatum / epistula which is lost, but which was probably in Latin.

Although it is unknown if this decree and its attachments were also sent to other units apart from those in Pamphylia, the phrase “[ἐν τῷ ὑμε]τέρῳ καταλόγῳ συνβεν” in l. 6-7 of Text A might show that the primary recipient was the unit the headquarters of which was in Perge. On the other hand, the phrase of the magister militum “ὁπερ μάλιστα ἐν τὺς λεγεόντος τέκς ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετ[έρας] δικεοδοσίας καθαστώτες συν(β)ένι” in l. 10-11 of Text B asserts that the decree was not sent to a particular legion, but to the legions, the types of which are not clarified.

That the texts are given in translation and that Text A does not begin with the name and titulature of the emperor, contrary to the custom in traditional imperial letters, likewise that the identity of the magister militum is not given in Text B corroborate that these texts were cut in the stone from a translation made by local hands, not by the secretary at the court.\textsuperscript{117} Further, the mistakes in the texts (see above p. 151-156) reduce the possibility that the Greek translations might have been made by professional hands in the court in Constantinople.\textsuperscript{118}

2. The Promulgation and Announcement of the Decree

Although the possible stages of the whole process are given above, it is not possible to see all process and all of the official steps in the inscriptions. Even though Text C was presented in the last slab as the final part, it should have been already generated before the completion of Text B, which stood as the last part. This because in Text B the magister militum states “κατὰ τὴν προλεχθῖσαν καὶ ὑποτετα-γμένην γνῶσιν” (B 45-46) referring to the γνῶσις (the title of Text C), and which confirms that γνῶσις was already prepared prior to Text B.

The official documents upon which these texts were based remained with the recipient or were placed in the archive of the related institution. So, while the claim of merit, disposition, mandatum or epistula and the notice were kept in the court archive at Constantinople, the copies of the disposition and the notice which were sent from Constantinople were archived in the headquarters of the recipient units (in this case at Perge). It is clear that there were many documents and correspondence related to this course of legislation procedure.

B. ο θιος σέρμων / divinus sermo (Imperatoris) / Divine Sermo (Text A)

Since the untranslated Latin word sermo, the title of the Text A, defines, together with θιος /divinus a sermon or speech made by the emperor himself, this text has a special importance. There is no other

\textsuperscript{116} The Latin word for προλάμπω is praefulgeo and in the Justinianic inscription from Didyma it indicates that the statutory text stood at the beginning of the whole legislation and the other processes were fulfilled following it: Qua(e) lec(ta sunt) in antel(atis) praefu(ige)n(t) (see Feissel 2004, 299.145 and for the explanation see there p. 305).

\textsuperscript{117} For similar translated texts see below p. 143, 0, IMylasa 611 (ἡ ἑρμηνεία τοῦ θείου τύπου) and 612 (ἡ ἑρμηνεία τοῦ δευτέρου τύπου); IChrAM 314 (Bilingual).

\textsuperscript{118} Feissel (2004, 301) explains the increase in mistakes made towards the end of the text from Didyma as due to the local orthography.
known epigraphic example where this word is employed as such. That it was left in the Latin and written in Greek transliteration publicises the importance of this word, which was obviously well established in the Greek official terminology. However, the inscription bears the characteristics of a θεία ἐπιστολή in terms of its written form (for instance see l. 2; l. 5 etc).

The text starts directly with the sermo itself without giving any information from the owner-emperor. But in the original text, such a section would be expected. Apparently this section was not needed for the inscribed version. The sermo was formally addressed to the soldiers and their officers, who must have been in some way mentioned in the lost introductory formula. There are some examples which can help as to how the introduction by emperor was recorded on the papyrus roll:


— Corycus (see above fn. 14), Anastasius: Αὐτοκράτωρ Κ(ῆ)σαρ Φ[λάβιος Ἀναστάσιος] εὐσεβής νικητής τροπαιοῦχος ἀεισέβαστος Αὔγουστος Λεοντ[ιι — — —].

— Didyma/Justinianopolis (see above fn. 19), Iustinianus: Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Αὔγουστος Φλ. Ἰουστινιανὸς νικητής, τροπαιοῦχος μέγιστος, ἀεισέβαστος λέγει.

There is a titulature for Anastasius in Text B: L.2-3. [Ὁ] δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἀναστάσιος, ὁ δισπώτατος καὶ ἀήττητος βασιλέας.

1. ή θία διατύπωσις / divina dispositio (Imperatoris) / divine disposition

Emperor Anastasius announces a διατύπωσις (dispositio) in his sermo. The word διατύπωσις, generally referring to a “formation” 119, took on the meaning of “regulation; disposition” from the 4th c. A.D. onwards.120 The use of the word became prevalent in 5th and 6th centuries A.D.121 and it can be found

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Gephyra 14, 2017, 133-212
in abundance in the Corpus Iuris Civilis. Maurice alludes to κατὰ τὴν γενομένην διατύπωσιν, ‘in accordance with the former ordinance’, apparently referring to a previous imperial enactment regulating procedures for soldiers’ servants and allowances. While διατύπωσις refers to a legal disposition, it is observed in the inscription that different words were also employed for the same disposition. The word τύπος (forma) was preferred in l.45 of Text A (καθάπερ πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ τύπου...), while διάταξις (constitutio) was used in l.35 of Text B (προλαμπούσης θίας διατάξεως...), though it was also used in different places in the inscription. The aim of these uses was apparently not to indicate different documents, but perhaps different stages of the same document or just to present the richness in language with synonyms of the same disposition. Even though Text A literally has the qualification of a reply to the soldiers demanding merit, the writers of both texts, who regarded its statutory feature, presented it as a διατύπωσις/dispositio (A 34; B 5, 32, 36, 46, 48, 63, 69). The Latin word dispositio is to be taken as meaning an official disposition of the high administrative bureaucracy (see for example Cod. Iust. 11.43.11 12.37.16pr). Both Text A (l. 33-36) and Text B (l. 32-37) state its statutory nature by phrasing that this resolution should remain permanent.

The documents in the form of (θία) διατύπωσις/διάταξις/τύπος were usually addressing a general situation and they were recorded as permanent regulations. Namely, this regulation was not issued to remove a temporary problem, nor did it have a limited local target, but a constitutionally permanent disposition targeting a general audience. The local decrees or the decrees serving to a particular aim are usually collocated with the adjective πραγματικός. The legal definition of an another Justinianic law in an inscription from Isinda or Lagbe is given as θεία ψῆφος (sacer apex), probably since the decision was taken by Justinianus and Iustinus together. However, the words διατύπωσις and διάταξις were used together in the same sentence in Text B. According to this sentence, διάταξις appears to be the reason for the protection of διατύπωσις in a statuary form (B 34-36: διὰ τῆς θίας τοιγαροῦν κ(αὶ) προλαμπούσης θίας διατάξεως ψηφίσασθαι κατηξίωσεν [τὴν θίαν] διατύπωσιν)

122 Iust. Nov., 270.7-9 (5th-6th c. A.D.): διὰ τὸ καὶ υποκείσθαται τῇ διατυπώσει τοῦ τῆς θείας μνήμης Ἀναστασίου τὸ μέτρον τῶν εἰς ἔκαστον συστήματος εἶναι προσηκόντων λεκτικαρίων; 506.20-23: ὑποκείσθω τοῖνυν, καθαπέρ εἰπόντες ἑρθόμενοι, ή ἡμέτερα διατύπωσις τῶν ἡμῶν τῷ νόμῳ, ἡ διὰ τοῦτον ἀποκείσεται ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῆς σῆς ὑπεροχῆς ἅμα τῷδε τῷ νόμῳ πρὸς αὐτὴν καταπεμπόμενον; 593.9-13: βουλόμεθα γὰρ διὰ θίας τοιγαροῦν κ(αὶ) προλαμπούσης θίας διατάξεως ψηφίσασθαι κατηξίωσεν [τὴν θίαν] διατύπωσιν

123 Maur. strateg. 1.2.11.1-3: Χρὴ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς τὰ φαμίλιαρκα λαμβάνοντας πάντως παθὰς ἐαυτοῦς ἐπινοεῖν ή δούλους ἡ ἕλευθερους κατὰ τὴν γενομένην διατύπωσιν...

124 For instance: Ephesos 217: τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν θείων διατάξεων...; Iust. Nov. 506.20-21... ἡ ἡμέτερα διατύπωσις τῶν ἡμῶν τῷ νόμῳ...; Iust. Nov. 691.13... θείας γὰρ ἡμῶν συστήματος διατάξεως τῆς θείων...; Iust. Nov. 79.29-30... τῇ θείᾳ ἡμῶν διηγορευμένων διατάξεως...; Iust. Inst. 2.6.14: Nostra autem divina constitutio, quam nuper promulgavimus...; Cod. Iust. 1.27.1.43 (Iustinianus):...quam cohortalibus, per hanc divinam constitutionem statuimus, tua magnitudine...; 11.43.11 (Anastasius): Divinam dispositionem ab inclitae recordationis principe theodosio super his...; 12.37.16pr (Anastasius): Per hanc divinan dispositionem iubemus eos, quibus ex officio tuae sublimitatis militarium meritorum seu cuiuslibet praestationis committitur ergatia...

125 For instance, Didyma (Feissel 2004): τοῦτον τοῦ θείου πραγματικὸν τύπον...; Mylasa (IChrAM 241; IMylasa 611): τοῦτον τοῦ θείου πραγματικοῦ τύπου...; Ephesos (IEphesos VII 2, 4133A): θείω πραγματικῷ τύπῳ...

126 IChrAM 314.
πᾶσιν τρόποις ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ διαμένιν δυνάμι, cf. A 34-35). On the other hand, the word τύπος employed in Text A (A 45: καθ’ ἀπερ πρὸ τοῦ τοῦ τύπου) might be a term that contains all of the documents on these three slabs.

2. Textual Analysis

The texts of A and B are almost the same in content and ordering except for their beginnings and endings. The text of the magister militum in Slab B follows completely the imperial disposition in Text A, even to the line numbering which is quite close. So the construction of the disposition will not be presented in detail again during the analysis of Text B below. Even though the language and the construction appear to be complicated, the divisions of the text can be inferred:

a) Title (L.1)

The title of the document given between christograms, as it was characteristic of Late Roman/Byzantine inscriptions, is “the translation of the divine sermo”. The author of the text remains unknown until Text B mentions Anastasius, since the anonymous formula of ἡ ἡμετέρα μεγαλειότης ἐθέσπισεν is used instead of a traditional introduction such as Αὐτοκράτωρ ... ὁ δεῖνα λέγει or Αὐτοκράτωρ ... ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖν χαίρειν (see above p. 166). It is clear that the decree was prepared in Latin by the secretary of the court. It is probable that this anonymous statement emerged during the translation of the text. That Anastasius issued the decree in Latin is not because the recipients understood Latin, but because of maintaining the traditional usage of Latin for official affairs. It was translated into Greek, since the edict actually concerned problems in the eastern armies and were sent to those soldiers who mostly spoke Greek. While the official language in the western part of the empire would always remain Latin, the use of Greek in the East for the formal procedures became frequent from the end of 4th century A.D., though the military terminology seems to have been kept in Latin, and with the increase in 5th-6th centuries A.D. it reached to an official level when the Emperor Heraclius officially held the title of basileus, also the official language of command and exhortation in the Roman army in the East remained Latin alone until the early/mid 7th century. However, John the Lydian, who wrote in 6th century A.D., presents the case of Cyrus of Egypt, who was praefectus urbi in 426 and praefectus praetorio between 439-441, as an unfortunate situation, because he issued the decrees in Greek. In this period, many laws were issued in Latin, as can be observed in the codices, but the novellae of Justinian were mostly in Greek.

b) The Reasons for the Decree (l. 2-25)

Anastasius leads into the matter with an introductory sentence emphasizing the importance of the stable state tradition and points out that this tradition is under the custody of the army and consequently that corruption in the army threatens the survival of the state (τῆς πολιτίας τὴν φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ εἰσχύει μετὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βοήθιαν συνεστάνει θαρροῦντες). He then gives the corrupt practices in order. Imperial legislative power took the action (L.7-8: ἡ ἡμετέρα μεγαλιότης ἐθέσπιζεν

129 Lyd., mag. 2.12.2.
The word μεγαλιότης (maiestas / "majesty") is an imperial attribute and usually refers to either the greatness of the emperor or to his power.

L. 3-8: Here Emperor Anastasius asserts that the soldiers were deprived of their rights of promotion and their retirement bounties due to malpractice in the army, and so they were unable to fulfil their basic duties. Then he reports that he prepared this disposition because of the malpractice experienced in the legions, the headquarters of which were at Perge in that time, saying ἐν τῷ ύμετέρῳ καταλόγῳ συνβέν. This statement creates the impression that the informant of the emperor was not directly the maltreated soldiers themselves, but was another authority (a tribunus or the magister militum?) on their behalf. Two main demands concerning the situation of these soldiers can be inferred as follows:

a) The processes such as rank, promotion and the duration of service should be practised in accordance with the law and should not be violated (l.3-4: ὑπογραφέντα τὰ πράγματα τὰ ύμετερα ἄνευ τινὸς εἶνε συνχύσεως).

b) Consequently, bribery, corrupt solicitation and extortion should cease (l. 5-6: μή … τισιν πράσεως ἢ καὶ ύφαρπαγῆς πρόφασιν παρέχεσθαι).

Two main factors are important in the legal measures taken: πράσις and ύφαρπαγή, on which it would be useful to provide some explanations:

ἡ πράσις: It basically means "sale", the Latin of which is venditio. It refers to the sales of military positions by certain officers to those who were ready to pay for them. These sales are not only made through corrupt practises, but also through a certain system laid down by the laws.

ἡ ύφαρπαγή: This word is a derivation from the verb ὑφαρπάζω meaning "snatch away from under; take away underhand, filch", and was not widely used. A similar form of the word can be seen in a Justinianic inscription as συναρπαγή, and it appears as obreptio in the Latin part of the same

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130 E.g. ACO II 1, 2, 59, 14-15: ἐν ὧι ἔργωι ἀξίως καὶ δικαίως μεγαλαυχεῖ ἡ ύμετέρα μεγαλειότης, ἥτις πιστῶς καὶ κυρίως προενόησεν; ACO II 1, 3, 87, 42-44: Εἰ προστάτει ἡ ύμετέρα μεγαλειότης, ἕξομεν διδασκαλίας ὑφαρπαγῆν ὑποβαλεῖν; ACO II 1, 1, 7, 6-9: Δεσπότηι ἐμῶι Οὐαλεντιανῶι αἰωνίωι αὐγούστωι Θεοδόσιος … δεδήλωται παρὰ τῆς σῆς μεγαλειότητος ἐν τῶι αὐτῶι ὕφει τῶιν γραμμάτωιν; Cod. Theod. 8.5.39: …quam editis causis nostra maiestate consulta utendi…; Cod. Iust. 1.11.5: …nostra maiestas voluit pervenire…; Cod. Iust. 1.14.12: …maiestas imperialis permitis….

131 See LSJ s.v. πράσις.

132 See LSJ s.v. ύφαρπαγῶ.


134 IChrAM 314.

135 Obreptio is mentioned in the codices with a meaning closely associated with crime, e.g.: Cod. Iust.1.31.2: Nemo agentum in rebus ordinem militiae atque stipendia praeventat, etiamsi nostri numinis per obreptionem detulerit indultum; 5.8.1: Quidam vetusti iuris ordine praetermissio obreptione precum nuptias.
inscription. However, Schoell and Kroll translated the verb ὑφαρπάζω as abripio in the novels of Justinian.136 But the verb subripio (or surripio) seems to be more suitable, both morphologically and semantically. So, the word best fitting to the meaning of ὑφαρπαγή is probably subreptio.137 What actually the word implies is the seizure of positions through contrivances mischievously arranged.

L. 8-25: After the aims he clarified at the beginning, Anastasius describes the predicament. He points to three important cases of injustice, as the following:

1) προκοπαί (promotiones / “promotions”)
2) βαθμοί (ordines / “ranks”)
3) τὸ πέρας τῆς στρατίας (finis militiae / “termination of military service”)

These three points are the elements, which were expected to be fulfilled according to the old tradition preserved until those days (l. 9-10: κατὰ τὴν πάλε καὶ ἄχρι τινῶν φυλαχθῆσαν συνήθιαν), but are unfulfilled due to the corruption of the system (l. 10-11: ἄγνωστο γεγενῆσθαι). The criteria predicted on the appointments in accordance with this old tradition are three: ἀξία (digna / “merit”), κάματοι (labores / “toils; labours”) and χρόνοι (tempora / “durations” in service). Further, the appointments were made at a determined time (ἐν τῷ ὡρισμένῳ χρόνῳ). But, as the inscription reads, malpractises arose through the abandonment and corruption of the tradition. These corruptions were motivated by ἀνβιτίων (corr. ἀμβιτίων, a Latin word, ambitio, ambitus / “corrupt solicitation”), πονηρία (nequitia / “fraud”) and ἡδυπάθια (delectatio / “luxurious self-indulgence”).

Ambitio or ambitus, according to the dictionary of Lewis & Short, originally meant “a going round”, but also “the going about of candidates for office in Rome, and the soliciting of individual citizens for their vote, a canvassing, suing for office” and “an unlawful striving for posts of honor, or canvassing for office; esp. by bribery”.138 This was a very old habit in Rome or in any society having the elements of election, a habit for those who seek ways of being elected through corrupt practises such as corrupt solicitation, influencing and bribery.139 Even though many laws140 were issued against ambitio/ambitus, it could never be stopped. It became almost a traditional practise in all branches of the

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136 Iust. Nov. 126.10-11: γάρ πράγμα μόνη τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ δεδομένον πειρύτω τις ὑφαρπαγήν,… (trans.: Si enim causam soli imperio et fisco datam temptaverit aliquis ariperet,…).
137 For instance: Cod. Theod. 8.4.28: …militiam armatam per subreptionem vel illicitum patrocinium transferit …; 10.3.7: …subreptio ista vacueret et illat valeat,…; 11.23.3: quae quibusdam cuniculis et subreptionibus impetrata noscuntur…; Cod. Iust. 5.8.1: Si quis igitur contra hanc definitionem nuptias precum subreptione meruerit; 5.8.2: nec si per subreptionem post hunc diem obtinuerit; 1.14.5: …decretum officium advocationis per subreptionem adriper…; 10.16.7: In fraudem annonariae rei ac devotionis publicae elicitum damnabili subreptione rescriptum manifestum est vires non posse sortiri circa omnes iguitur paratque illationis forma teneat; 11.10.3: …et qui subreptione quadam declinandi operis ad publicae cuiuslibet sacramenta militiae transierunt…; 11.43.5: qui rescriptum per subreptionem elicitum suscipere moliuntur proponenda…; 11.43.9: …sive sacris apicibus per subreptionem impetratis…; 12.25.4.4: ne quid ex his quae statuimus aliqua subreptione violetur.
138 See LSD, s.v. ambitio and ambitus.
139 For detailed information see DGRA, p. 100-101, s.v. Ambitus; DAGR, p. 223, s.v. Ambitus.
140 There are many laws against this practise and many laws on different themes mention it as a bad practise: Cod. Iust., 9.26.1 (Ad legem Iuliam de Ambitus); Cod. Theod., 1.29.6, 1.6.12, 10.1.17, 10.3.7, 11.13.1, 11.29.6, 12.1.118, 12.1.129, 12.1.14, 12.1.143, 12.1.152, 12.1.159, 12.1.161, 12.1.86, 12.1.94, 13.10.8, 13.5.19, 14.3.20, 6.14.2,
imperial service in the Late Roman Empire. Ambitio was also used with the meaning of “trick, intrigue” in the religious terminology. According to Priscian, Anastasius managed to end bribery in the army (see below fn. 221).

The term πονηρία (nequitia / “fraud”), which is given as κακοθελεία (l. 16) in Text B, defines a contrivance by the officers, who run a mechanism to transfer the posts to whom they wish. So through this, posts were allocated to those who bribed or had influential contacts. These officers, who had the authority and position to appoint men to the vacant positions, led a luxurious life (ηδυπάθια / luxurious self indulgence) by means of this income and continued this practise systematically in the army.

The number of soldiers who could afford this or had influential contacts, were not many and the positions mentioned became vacant when one was dead or one finished the duration of service. So only a few certain (l. 15-16: φανερούς τίνας καὶ ὀλίγους) men could get such chances. Since these men were not promoted based upon their merit, labours and duration of service, they could demand the posts through the corrupt ways mentioned above, when they were quite young and of a low rank (l. 15-16: ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ τῆς στρατίας χρόνῳ καὶ ἐν νέᾳ ἡλικία καὶ ἐτὶ μεταξύ τῶν τελευταίων ὄντας) without having undertaken serious tasks and obtained experience. So, these could appropriate the posts, that should actually have been given to his deserving fellow soldiers, for themselves (l. 18-19: τῶν ἰδίων συνστρατιωτῶν τοὺς τόπους ἐαυτοῖς προσπορίζειν), ignoring the rights of majority.

This circumstance brought grief to all the remaining men, who formed the major part of the units (l. 20-21: τῶν πλιόνας καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας) and who pinned their hopes only on the rightful legal procedure. Because those who had completed the duration of service and had obtained the right of promotion, had to wait as the vacant positions were given to others; and they had to continue their heavy duties during this waiting period. These men were usually left for dead (l. 22-23: ἑλεεινῷ θανάτῳ πρὸς τὰ τάξια ζῷον αἰσχθείν), as they were broken by long-term heavy duties (l. 21: μακροῖς καμάτοις καταπονηθέντας) and deprived of the traditional bounties (l. 23-24: τῶν κεχρεωστιμένων στερηθῆνε συνηθείων).

The word συνηθεία, the Latin equivalent of which is consuetudo, is employed in several places in the inscription and it does not always carry the same meaning. In the Anastasian inscriptions from Pentapolis (see above fn. 13), this word appears in the notice attached to the end of the document (Γνῶσις τῶν μετὰ τὰ ἐπτάετες εἰς μίωσιν τῶν συνηθειῶν τυπωθέντων) as fixed payments (sportulae). This word is used in the inscription from Abydus (see above fn. 18; γνῶσις συνηθειῶν ἕς παρίχον ὑπό

141 ACO II 1,2, s. 57, 35-38: …εἰ μᾶλλον τῆς ταπεινικῆς ἀρετῆς σπουδάσει ἕπερ τῷ τῆς ἀμβιτίων πνεύματι φυσήθη…; 4-5:…εἰς ἀφορμὴν ἀμβιτίων ἑκλογὴν…; s.58, 24-28: ὡδὲν πράττει μᾶτιν ὡδὲ ὅγυνον καὶ ἐμβιτίωνυνεν ὡδὲ ἐτίθη ἐπὶ ἑαυτῆς ἱδία ἐστίν…; s.59, 22-23: ὁ τῆς ἐιρήνης τῆς πολιτικῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸν ἐπιβολὴν τεθεμελιωμένην ἀμβιτίωνος πάλιν ἐπισχέσις ταράττει; s.60, 21: …θέλων κοσμοῖσθαι ἂν ἀμβιτίων ἐκτείνεσθαι…; 26-29: …ότι καὶ πάσα ἀμβιτίων ἐκτείνεσθαι…; s.62, 18: ἐμβεν δὲ ἢ ἀναιδῆς ἀμβιτίων ἐπιθυμηθῶ…; s.63, 9-12: …ἡπερ τῆς ἰδίας ἀμβιτίων ἠμοιοεσθῆ…; I 1,1, 111, 30: …καὶ τοῦτο προστατῆθη ἔξ ἀμβιτίων…; Hesych., alpha.3502: ἀμβιτίων· ἐπιπτείνουν παρεκβάλλειν τινὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐξονομαίς; Suda epsilon.1532: Ἐξ ἀμβιτίωνος· ἐκ περιδρομῆς τι πράττων παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις.
étων εἴκοσι και εἴκοσι δύο τῶν στενῶν οἱ ναύκληροι / the notice of sportulae, which the ship masters gave 20 and 22 years ago for the straits), with the meaning of “additional taxes”. On the other hand, in two places in the Corpus Iuris Civilis, it means “additional payments”. Thus, the use of συνηθεία mentioned above seems to be different from that of the Pentapolis inscriptions and resembles its use in the Code of Justinian (below fn. 143). This meaning can also be observed in the papyri. In A 10 and B 14 it means “tradition; procedure; routine”, while in other uses it means “bounty”.

Those, who managed to survive, became miserable in destitude (l. 24-25: περιόντας ὑπὸ ἐνδίας κατατάσσεται) and give their families nothing but poverty (l. 25-26: τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ τὴν ἀτυχίαν τῆς πενίας παραπέμπει), since even their rights on retirement were extorted.

c) Enactment of the decree and the notitia attached (l. 26-36)

L. 27-32: In this section, it is emphasized that this disposition is a statutory provision. It is decreed that the military units in question should be brought under control through a new regulation (l. 28-29: τὸ ὑμέτερον τάγμα ὑπὸ ὡρισμένην τάξιν γενέσθ αι ἐψηφισάμεθα), because of the offenses committed against the soldiers. In order to practise this law, it is required that the βρέβια, τάξις and μάτριξ be obeyed. The word βρέβια, the singular form of which is βρέβιον (or βρεουίον 145) and which is brevis or breviarium in Latin, generally means: “list, inventory; a brief, document; summary; accounts; abridgment, abstract, epitome”. It usually denotes the lists presenting abridged or summarized information and it appears in the inscriptions with similar meanings. Two short Greek laws

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143 Cod. Iust. 3.2.4…μήτε δὲ συνηθείας λαμβανέτω…; Iust. Nov. 678.5-7…μήτε δὲ συνηθείας ὀνομάζειν ἢ ζητεῖν, ἅσπερ τυχόν τινες τῶν προηγησαμένων εἰς οἰκεῖον κέρδος ἀδίκως ἐπενόησαν…
144 SB 7336.13 (3rd c. A.D.) and 7369.25 (6th c. A.D.); PLond. 1.113.3.11 and 3.1036 (both from the 6th c. A.D.)
145 For instance, CPR V 10.13:…τῷ ὑποτεταγμένῳ βρεουίῳ…; PAbinn. 67: βρεουίον σίτου καὶ κριθῶν ἀπὸ [χειρογράφων κώμης Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως…;
146 See LSJ s.v. βρέβιον; GLRB sv. βρεουίον (p. 318); PG L s.v. βρέβιον (p. 305); LSLD s.v. breviarium; LBG s.v. βρέβαιον.
147 Athan., c. Ar. 71.5.3-7: γινώσκων αὐτοῦ τὴν πανουργίαν ὁ μακαρίτης Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπῄτησεν αὐτὸν βρέβιον, ὧν ἔλεγεν ἔχειν ἐπισκόπων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων καὶ ἐν περισσῶς τὰς τιμὰς τῶν ὀψωνίων ἐν τοῖς βρεβίοις, τὰς τῶν πενήτων σφετερισάμενοι χρείας; 72.11-13: …περισσῶς τάχα τις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων “τὴν τοῦ λόγου καταλείψας διακονίαν,” βρεβίοις σχολάζων ὀψωνίων…
ascribed to Anastasius in the Code of Justinian are related to the brebia which should be sent to the civic and military offices every four months.\textsuperscript{149} These documents contained the financial income of every quarter, and were sent to the office of praefectus praetorio by the provincial governors, tribuni and vicarii. They also showed how much tax had been collected, how much of it had been used and how much remained.\textsuperscript{150} In the inscription from Casae (see above fn. 17) is a word formed as “βρεβιατικά”\textsuperscript{151}. Bean and Mitford report that the meaning of this word is unclear and such a word appears neither in Latin nor in Greek sources, and they propose it carried the meaning of “letters patent”.\textsuperscript{152} Feissel associates the word with royalties or gratuities (sportulae, συνήθεια) related to a benefit.\textsuperscript{153} There is also another word, βρεβιάτωρ\textsuperscript{154}, mentioned in the novels of Justinian and this word denotes the official, breviator, who composed the βρέβια or braviarium.\textsuperscript{155} Since the word is accompanied with “arranged below” (τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα βρέβια) in the inscription from Perge, it clearly points to the information in the notitia (γνώσις) on Slab C. This notitia lists the numbers and the payments to each rank/grade groups termed scholae. In the inscription the word γνώσις is always used in the singular while the word βρέβιον is always employed in the plural. If the list in this notitia is singular – in fact, we have only the one list – it becomes somewhat difficult to understand why βρέβιον is employed in the plural form. In such case it would be expected that there were more lists, which might have been sent to various units. So, although these two terms (γνώσις and βρέβια) refer to the same list (Text C), they do not carry the same meaning. Apparently, γνώσις, or notitia in Latin, means a notice in general, while βρέβια points to its content. The use of βρέβια in the plural form can be based upon the fact that each title/grade group (schola) in a row was considered a βρέβιον, since it is probable each information related to each group in the notitia on Slab C is abridged data deduced from a muster roll (μάτριξ) probably containing the detailed lists of the units. These breves were to be sent to the office of the praefectus praetorio by the magistri militum yearly and by the duces in every four months. Such documents also existed in the civil administration as well.\textsuperscript{156} Although the word τάξις used after βρέβια expresses a general naming given to the regulations in a military context, here it should denote a special prescript, which perhaps contained the stages of execution of the law.

Another technical expression is μάτριξ, matrix or matricula in Latin. This word refers to the master register of a unit, which contained the lists of the relevant information concerning the soldiers. It was used in several inscriptions in this context (see above fns. 12-13). John the Lydian translated matrices

\textsuperscript{149}Cod. Iust. 1.42.1 and 2.

\textsuperscript{150}Jones 1964, 405.

\textsuperscript{151}Bean – Mitford 1970: …ὑπὲρ τῶν καλούμενων βρεβιατικῶν διάκρισιν ἔξησαν…(A.4), …οἱ μὲν τὰ καλοῦμενα βρεβιατικά κομιζόμενοι…(B.7), …τῶν τὰ βρεβιατικά ὁποιαὶ λαμβανόντων τὰ παρεχόμενα πρώην ἐκεῖνα… (B.10), …ἐκ τῶν βρεβιατικῶν…(B.16), …τὰ καλοῦμενα βρεβιατικά… (C.7, 12, 13), …ἐκ τῶν πολλάκις εἰρημένων βρεβιατικῶν… (C.14), …ἐκ τῶν πολλάκις εἰρημένων βρεβιατικῶν… (C.15), …ἐκ τῶν πολλάκις εἰρημένων βρεβιατικῶν… (C.16).

\textsuperscript{152}Bean – Mitford 1970, 58.

\textsuperscript{153}Feissel 2016, 688-690.

\textsuperscript{154}Iust. Nov. 506.29-31: ἵνα μήτε αὐτοῖς ἐξήσσων ἐκ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν διατεταγμένων.

\textsuperscript{155}See LSLD s.v. breviator.

\textsuperscript{156}Jones 1964, 451.
as ἀπογραφαὶ τῶν καταλόγων ("master-lists of the registers"). The official who was responsible for these lists, was called the *matricularius*. These lists presented the names and grades/ranks of the men or staff in an establishment or military unit and was also employed for roll call. Since the μάτριξ in the Perge inscription is given with the description of ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς υψηλοτάτης στρατηγικῆς ἐξουσίας γεναμένη (the muster roll generated through the sublime authority of the magister militum, l. 30-31), it should be the muster register, which was made by the office of the *magister militum* and contained the details of the numbers and the pay of the men registered in the unit (see above p. 153).

The text then emphasises that this disposition should remain in force and not to be neglected and also by practising this disposition, it aimed to ensure firstly that each soldier could rightfully advance from lower ranks to higher ones, and secondly that each of them could be appointed to higher positions once they had become vacant, or after that the one who outranked him had completed the relevant period of service or had died.

d) General provisions concerning promotion and pay (l. 36-60)

1) “The number of men in military service shall be filled currently and for the future in accordance with the capacity provided by the *matrix* and the number of men in each schola shall be kept up to strength” (l. 41-44).

This sentence shows as one of the main problems that the quota of men in some units were not filled, while on paper the unit appeared to be at full strength. The aim of the officers through this malpractice was to obtain profit by holding the posts for those who will pay for them or by reporting the deceased or missing men to the central authority as if they were still in service, in order that their pay, which continued to be sent to the unit, could be pocketed. This was a prevalent practise in antiquity, especially in the Later Roman World. On the other hand, as the result of *ambitio* and *venditio*, since the positions in the higher ranks were held for purchase by certain men, there were an accumulation of men who were waiting in the lower ranks for promotion.

2) “Neither those in the lower ranks shall receive *annonae* more than they should, nor those in higher ranks less than they should, as was the case prior to this law” (l. 44-46).

Obviously, before this law was issued, some men in lower ranks received more than they deserved, while some soldiers in high ranks were unable to receive the pay that they deserved, due to malpractices such as bribery and corrupt solicitation. But it is not clarified how these were practised.

3) “*draconarii, optiones, armaturae, cornicines, tubicines, bucinatores*, who obtained such titles, even though they are unfit to fulfil the said services, will not be permitted when they wish or will not be forced when they do not wish to fill the same services” (l. 46-50).

This part together with the following section records a regulation concerning some ranks, which were filled by those who had special training and skills. *Draconarii* (δρακωνάριοι) were the officers, who were standard-bearers stationed in/near the front rank of a unit and went into combat.

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157 Lyd., mag. 3.2.2: …καὶ ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας, τῆς τῶν προμοτῶν λέγω, ἕτερη καὶ νῦν αἱ λεγόμεναι μάτρικες, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπογραφαὶ τῶν καταλόγων, μνήμην ἀναφέρονται… “And still even to this day the so-called matrices, namely, ‘master-lists of the registers,’ make mention of this designation, I mean that of the promotae.” (translation from Bandy 1983, 133-135).

158 Lyd., mag. 3.66.4: …μάλιστα τῷ λεγομένῳ ματρικούλαρῳ, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῶν καταλόγων φύλακι…

159 Lib., or. 2, 37; Synes., epist. 130, 132; Lib., or. 47.31-33; Them., or. 10. 136b.
bravery, so they were selected amongst those soldiers who fulfilled some important tasks and were rewarded with torques.\textsuperscript{160} \textit{Optiones} (ὀπτίονες, see above p. 159) were responsible for the \textit{annona} and were expected to have experience and skill in financial calculations. \textit{Armatura} (ἀρμάτουροι see above p. 161) held the task of giving weapon training to the soldiers, and were also in charge of weapon production and repair. \textit{Cornicines} (κόρνικες), \textit{tubicines} (τούβικες) and \textit{bucinatores} (βουκινάτορες) were the trumpeters of the units and they of course needed musical skills (see above p. 161) in order to transmit the orders.\textsuperscript{161} Consequently, these officers were to be selected based on certain criteria and the inscription indicates that even such posts were exposed to corruption.

The Greek words for \textit{cornicines}, \textit{tubicines} and \textit{armaturae} do not seem to have been built in accordance with their Latin forms. The Greek words for \textit{cornicines} (sing. \textit{cornicen}) and \textit{tubicines} (sing. \textit{tuubicen}), are not κορνίκινες and τουβίκινες\textsuperscript{162} (compatible singular forms of these can not be inferred), but κόρνικες and τούβικες (sing. κορνίξ and τούβιξ). This use is also known from later sources.\textsuperscript{163} Mauricius, in the 6\textsuperscript{th} c. A.D. used the word \textit{toubátωρ} for \textit{tubicen}.\textsuperscript{164} The word \textit{ármatóúroı} (sing. \textit{ármatóúroś}) employed for \textit{armaturae} could be formed as \textit{ármatóur} or \textit{ármatóur}, which are attested in several inscriptions\textsuperscript{165} and in literary sources\textsuperscript{166}. John the Lydian employed the word \textit{ármatoúra}.\textsuperscript{167}

4) "since every sort of corrupt solicitation and sale are inactive, we decree that suitable men should be appointed in accordance with the fitting option, in such a way that \textit{draconarii} should be placed under the responsibility of the \textit{magister draconum; optiones of annonae}, which are distributed in kind, under the responsibility of \textit{principia; armaturae, cornicines, tubicines and bucinatores} under the responsibility of the \textit{campidoctor} from whatever type of \textit{schola}" (l. 50-56).

The word \textit{principia} is a general term defining the foremost ranks, the front line of soldiers.\textsuperscript{168} This term can be identified with \textit{primi ordines} or perhaps \textit{primores}.\textsuperscript{169} \textit{Principia} is mentioned together with...

\textsuperscript{160} Speidel (1985, 286) stated the \textit{draconarii} were chosen from amongst those soldiers who were rewarded with collars.

\textsuperscript{161} See more in Rance 2015b and Janniard 2015b.

\textsuperscript{162} Lyd., mag. 2.146.4.7-9: τούβικες, σαλπισταὶ πεζῶν. βουκινάτωρες, σαλπισταὶ ἱππέων. κορνίκινες, κεραύλαι.

\textsuperscript{163} Phil. An., anep. phil. 2.438.10-11: ...καὶ πανδούριον, τὸ νάδιόν τε καὶ σάλπιγξ, καὶ κορνίκες; Theoph. Con., Chron., 182.1-2: Ἰουστινιανὲ αὐγουστε· τούβικας. ἀδικοῦμαι, μόνε ἀγαθέ, οὐ βαστάζω, οἶδεν ὁ θεός; 185.15-16: Ἰουστινιανὲ αὐγουστε· τούβικας. κύρε, σώσον Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ θεοδώραν τὴν αὐγούστα; 249.28-29: Λανστασία αὐγούστα, τούβικας, δόσσω, κύρε, οὐς ἔκελευσας βασιλέειν.

\textsuperscript{164} Maur. 12.8.22.6.1-3: Ὅτι δεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχειν τουβάτορας τε καὶ βουκινάτωρας. 52.533-534.4: ἄμα τῷ βανδοφόρῳ καὶ μανδάτορι καὶ καμπιδούκτορι καὶ τουβάτορι.

\textsuperscript{165} EG 4, 510, 3.A.1 (Iulia Concordia, 6\textsuperscript{th} c. A.D.): ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Στεφάνου σινάτορος σχολῆς ἀρματοῦρω(ν); IThrace, 86e (Thrake, Panion): [Π]Πέτρος στρατιότης καὶ ἀρμάτωρ.\textsuperscript{166} Maur. 12.8.7.1.3: βουκινάτωρας· ἀρματόουρος· σαμιάτορας·

\textsuperscript{166} Lyd., mag. 1.46.5.3-4: ἀρματοῦρα πρίμα, ὀπλομελέτη πρώτη, ἀρματοῦρα σημισσάλια, ὀπλομελέτη μείζω

\textsuperscript{167} See LSLD s.v. \textit{principium}.

\textsuperscript{168} Grosse 1920, 112.
tribuni by Ammianus Marcellinus. Vegetius (II.7) equated this word with principales milites – an equivalence drawn that is incorrect according to Milner. This group of soldiers were the officers, who received their orders directly from the tribuni, and their subordinates. They should actually be the centuriones, who were the highest officers in the centuriae, since they were responsible directly for the options.

Campidoctor was the officer responsible for the training and exercises of the soldiers, e.g. drill instructor. He was hierarchically right after the master centurio. He trained the soldiers, dealt with their organization in the camp and stood in an important position in battle array. In the early inscriptions they appear only in association with praetorian units and to the end of 6th c. only in the infantry. It is understood from the Perge inscription that armatura, cornicines, tubicines and bucinatores were under the responsibility of the campidoctor of the unit, apparently supporting the position of Rance, who concluded that there was one campidoctor, who was one of the senior non-commissioned officers, in the unit and this was not a rank but a post. An inscription from Laodiceia Combusta records these officers could be ranked under the title of ordinarius.

5) “The magistri draconum, after completing the duration of two years, shall remove their ornaments and shall pass to the title provided to them according to the capacity of the matrix” (l. 56-60).

The magister draconum was probably the chief of the draconari. He was ranked just below the tribunus and centuriones. However, it is not known if he directed the draconarii on the battlefield. He might have also been the officer responsible in the schola of draconarii in order to determine who should be included in the schola. This title is recorded in an inscription from Prusias ad Hypium (...μαγίστερος δρακώνον...), but Ameling reports that this title is unclear and that the owner of tomb might have been in charge of the schola draconarium. Speidel, who compared this inscription to a passage from Prudentius, thinks that the magister draconum and the magister signorum are identical. In any case, magister draconum was responsible for the draconarii. The description in the inscription of Perge may give some hints to his occupation. Firstly, according to the list there are ten signiferi (see above p. 158) indicating at least ten centuriae. According to Vegetius those who in the past were termed signiferi were called draconarii in his

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170 Amm. 12.3.2: praesentibus Iovianorum Herculanorumque principii et tribunis; 25.8.16: cum tribunis principis militum.
171 Milner 1993, 36 fn. 3.
172 Grosse 1920, 126-127; For a detailed information on the campidoctores see Rance 2007, 401-407.
175 IPrusias, nr. 120: υἱὸς γενάμενος Γεωργίου, | τοῦ λαμπροτάτου σχολαρίου καὶ μα|γίστερος δρακώνον, | καὶ Εὐφη|μίας. ἐτελιόθι μην(ὸς) ηʹ Νοεμβρίου.
176 Peristephanon 1.33-34: Caesaris uexilla linquunt, eligunt signum crucis | proque ventosis draconum, quos geriebant, pallis | praeruent insignire lignum, quod draconem subdedit. ... | (64-65) Ite, signorum magistri, et vos, tribuni, absistite, | aureos auferte torques, sauciorum praemia! | clara nos hinc angelorum iam vocant stipendia.
177 Speidel 1985, 284-287.
time. These signiferi recorded on Slab C, consequently were probably the draconarii mentioned in texts A and B, from which it is inferred that the magister draconum used to head the scholae of draconarii. This connection is clearer in Text B: (l.49-51) μηδὲ οἱ δρακωνάριοι ἢ οἱ οπτίονες ἢ οἱ ἀρματούροι ἢ κόρνικες ἢ τούβικες ἢ βουκινάτορες εἰς τὰς σχολὰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνόματα λαχντες προβέβηναν … (l.55-58) ὅστε τοὺς δρακωναρίους κινδύνου τοῦ μαγίστερος τῶν δρακ[ώνων] … καθιστάνε… Secondly, the draconarii in Prudentius’ poems, who became Christians, demanded that their magistri signorum and tribuni should remove their golden collars (torques). In the inscription of Perge it is stated that the magister draconum had a decoration (τὸ ὀρνάμενον / ornamentum) representing his dignity. This decoration was probably the golden collar as Ammianus Marcellinus stated that each draconarius had a golden collar. In the inscription of Perge, it records that the magister draconum shall pass to the next rank removing this decoration after the specified two years of service.

e) Protection of the law and new regulations (L.60-67):
In this section Anastasius, addressing the soldiers in the vocative case (ὦ γενναιότατοι συστρατιώται), expresses the fact that the imperial power all the time looked to maintain the well-being of the army and demands that soldiers should trust in this for the protection of peace and harmony (ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰρήνης τῆς κοινῆς / pro communi pace). The last sentence of this section reads, οὔτε ἀνβιτίωνα ἢ δυναστίαν τινὸς πρὸς βλάβην ἰδίαν ὑφορεῖ μένου (l. 67) showing that some soldiers tried to find supports through unjust treatments resulting from corrupt solicitation (ἀμβιτίων), and the influence of others (δυναστεία).

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178 Veg. 2.7: Signiferi qui signa portant, quos nunc draconarios vocant.
179 Amm. 20.4.18: torquem quo ut draconarii utebatur.
180 Γενναιότατος has been used as an adjective indicating the positions of soldiers from the 2nd c. A.D. into Late Antiquity. Hornickel 1930, 4; Herod. 4.7.7.3-4:  …ὑπὸ τῶν γενναιοτάτων στρατιωτῶν…; Pass. Perp. 21.: γενναιότατοι στρατιώται Κύριλλ., Reg., 69.684.17-18: …καὶ οἱ σφόδρα γενναιότατοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν…. Chr. Pasch. 717.7-8: …τούς εὐρεθέντας ἐξωθεν τῆς πόλεως ἑρπετους γενναιοτάτων στρατιώτων…; Leon Diak. 82.3-4: …καὶ μετὰ λεγεώνος γενναιοτάτων στρατιωτῶν… The word appears in the other Anastasian inscriptions with the same meaning (see fns. 12-13). The soldiers that this adjective described were defined as καθωσιωμένος (B 11-17).

The word συστρατιώται was employed by the emperors with the meaning of “fellow-soldiers”. For instance, Titus: …νομίζων δὲ ὁ Τίτος ἐγείρεσθαι … “ὦ συστρατιώται, λέγων, τὸ μὲν παρακελεύειν… (Ios., bell. Jud. 6.33-34); Commodus: ὁ Κόμμοδος ἀπήντησε τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπόθετο “τὶ τάδε, ὥ συστρατιώται; τί βουλόμενοι πάρεστε;” εἰπότων δὲ αὐτῶν “ἐκκομεν” (Cass. Dio 72.9.3.2-3); Severus Alexander: …ἐβουλόμην μὲν, ἀνδρές συστρατιώται, τοὺς συνήθεις πρὸς ψύχας ποιεῖσθαι λόγους (Herod. 6.3.1.2-1). In 457 AD Leo used this word, when he came to throne, see Cons. Porph., cer. 411-412: αὐτοκράταρος Καῖσαρ Λέων νικητὴς ἀεὶ σεβαστός ὁ Θεός ὁ παντοδύναμος καὶ ἡ κρίσις ἡ ὑμετέρα, ἰσχυρώτατοι συστρατιώται, αὐτοκράτορα με τῶν Ῥωμαίων δημοσίων πραγμάτων ἐυτυχῶς ἐξελέξατο. This use can be observed in the later centuries as well, e.g. Sphrant., Chron. 414.24 : …γενναιότατοι συστρατιώται… (15th c. but which refers to the 8th c. A.D.).

181 An incident can be found in Iust. Nov. 268.23: …ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης…
f) **Sanctions (l. 68-71):**

At the end of the law is the statement concerning punishment for violators. Those, who trespass the imperial regulations (…) τοὺς κατὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων βασιλικῶν διατάξεων τολμηροτέρους (…)\(^{182}\), shall be sentenced to pay a fine of 50 pounds of gold, that is ca. 3600 *solidi* or approximately 600 *annonae*.

This disposition should have been sent to the *magister militum*, who with some additions (i.e. dismissal from military service and death penalty), promulgated it to the soldiers at his disposal, as a πρόσταγμα in the style of his person and office.

**C. τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ στρατηλάτου / praeceptum magistri militum (Text B)**

Since the content of the disposition in Text A is included entirely in the precept (text B) and its commentary has already been given above, only the style, composition and official procedures that differ from Text A will be addressed here.

1. **The precept and its author (πρόσταγμα and στρατηλάτης)**

   It his text (B), the disposition legislated in the *sermo* of Anastasius was promulgated in a form of a πρόσταγμα. The Latin equivalent of this word appears as *decretum*\(^{183}\), *pragma* (originally Greek)\(^{184}\), *mandatum*\(^{185}\) and more usually *praeceptum*\(^{186}\). The official meaning of this word did not undergo any important change in meaning from the Hellenistic period onwards and in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. It was usually the term employed for the ordinances issued by army commanders.\(^{187}\) The author of the precept is the army commander, who was characterised as ἐνδοξότατος (gloriosissimus) at-tached to the title στρατηλάτης, which usually means a general commanding an army.\(^{188}\) This word was employed for the *magister militum*, who was the highest military authority in Late Antiquity. In this inscription, no information is given either as to who this *magister militum* was, nor which armies were under his command. So, it is difficult to identify him through the inscription. However, except

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\(^{182}\) The example for this restoration is IChrAM 314: …κατὰ τῶν ἡμε[τέρων] βασιλικῶν ψήφων…

\(^{183}\) Iust. Nov. 113.28.

\(^{184}\) Iust. Nov. 114.19 and 478.7.

\(^{185}\) Iust. Nov. 746.20.

\(^{186}\) Cod. Theod. 1.6.11: *nihil sibi intra urbeam agendum praesumat executio militaris, ac si quid erit forte praeceptum, in notitiim prius urbanae veniat praeffecturae quae aut completur congrua iuri mandata aut contra ius imposita depellat*; Cod. Iust. 12.8.1: *Si quis indebitum sibi locum usurpaverit, nulla se ignoratione defendat sitque plane sacrilegii reus, qui divina praeccepta neglexerit*.


\(^{188}\) See LSJ s.v. στρατηλάτης, GLRB s.v. στρατηλάτης.
for those who were in charge after 500 A.D.¹⁸⁹ there are two names amongst the *magistri militum*¹⁹⁰ known to have been present in the East in the early reign of Anastasius, as the most probable ones. Theophanes Confessor informs us during the war of 492 A.D. against the Isaurians in Kotiaion, Ioannes Scytha (*magister militum per Orientem*) and Flavius Ioannes (*magister militum praesentalis*) were in command of the imperial armies.¹⁹¹

1) Ioannes Scytha¹⁹², *magister militum per Orientem*, 483-498 A.D.: He was the *magister militum* or *comes rei militaris* for Illyricum in 482 A.D. In 483, Zeno appointed him the *magister militum per Orientem* replacing Illus. Malalas presented him as στρατηλάτης in 484.¹⁹³ He probably held this title until 498.

2) Flavius Ioannes¹⁹⁴, *magister militum praesentalis*, 492-499 A.D.: He was the *magister militum* of the praesental armies in the East between 492 and 499 A.D. Anastasius issued an edict addressing him on January ¹⁴ 492 (Cod. Iust. 12.35.18) and there it is recorded that in 492 he was on the borders of Pamphylia and Isauria commanding the praesental armies. Theophanes reported that he marched to Claudiopolis (Mut) commanding the troops of the “guards” in order to rescue Diogenianus who was being besieged by the Isaurians.¹⁹⁵ Malalas presented him as στρατηλάτης πραισέντου during the Isaurian war.¹⁹⁶ In a papyrus dated 499, he appears as ὁ ἐνδοξότατος καὶ ὑπερφυέστατος στρατηγός.¹⁹⁷


¹⁹¹ PLRE II 1290-1291 (fasti).

¹⁹² PLRE II 602, s.v. Ioannes Scytha 34.

¹⁹³ Malalas 389.4-5: καὶ γνοὺς Ζήνων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεμψε βοήθειαν πολλὴν καὶ στρατηλάτην Ἰωάννην τὴν ἱδίαν τοῦ Σκυθῆνι.

¹⁹⁴ PLRE II 617 vdd., s.v. Fl. Ioannes qui et Gibbus 93.


¹⁹⁶ Mal. 393.12-17: Ο δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας ὅτι συνάγονται οἱ Ἰσαύροι εἰς τὴν ἱδίαν αὐτῶν χώραν τυραννίζοντος, εὐθέως ἐπιστάτηκε καὶ ἐπολέμησεν αὐτοῖς στρατηγοῖς Ἰωάννην τὴν ἐπίκλην κυρτόν, στρατηλάτην πραισέντου, καὶ Διογενιανὸν τὸν πατρίκιον, τὸν συγγενέα τῆς Αὐγούστας, καὶ ἄλλους μετὰ πλῆθους Σκυθῶν καὶ Ἰούθικῆς καὶ Βεσικῆς χειρός.

¹⁹⁷ POxy. 1959 (29 Aug 499 A.D.): ὑπατείας Φλ(αουίου) Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) καὶ ὑπερφυεστάτου στρατηγοῦ.
The province of Pamphylia, which was administratively in the diocese of Asiana under the praefectus praetorio per Orientem in late antiquity, was probably within the area of responsibility of the magister militum praesentalis II in the 5th century A.D. according to the Notitia Dignitatum.\(^{198}\) It is also possible that this region might also have been under the magister militum per Orientem, since it is known from an Anastasian law of 492 (Cod. Iust. 12.35.18) that some praesental troops were stationed in the East, within the area of responsibility of the magister militum per Orientem. Although the province of Pamphylia, which was not on the frontiers, had consular status at least into the period of the Notitia Dignitatum (ca. 400 A.D.), it had good conditions to accommodate the troops and it was geographically in a conveniently close location for the Isaurians. From the regulation of Leo in 472 A.D. (Cod. Iust. 12.59.10) onwards, Pamphylia had been governed by a comes (rei militaris) of a consular rank.\(^{199}\) It can perhaps be inferred that the legionary troops in Perge were not based there permanently, they were there for specific purposes (e.g. the Isaurian War) and there is no evidence to indicate that a permanent legionary unit was stationed in Perge. But the existence of a comes rei militaris in Pamphylia shows that he was commanding some permanent units in his region. Neither texts A and B nor historical accounts can provide exact evidence as to the identification of the magister militum and the type of the units he commanded. Perhaps, the numbers on Slab C might help towards the understanding of these matters (see below p. 186).

\[2. \text{Textual Analysis}\]

The construction of the text is quite close to text A, except for its beginning and ending. Its Greek appears somewhat less careful than the first text in terms of its syntax and copying procedure.

\[a) \text{Title (L.1)}: \]

The text was originally composed in Latin by the magister militum and it was then translated into Greek.

\[b) \text{The reasons for the precept (L.2-27)} \]

In the first two lines is the name Anastasius with his titulature (ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἀναστάσιος ὁ εὐσεβέστατος καὶ ἀήττητος βασιλεύς / dominus noster Anastasius pii ssimus et invictus imperator).\(^{200}\) This information is the only direct evidence for the dating of the inscription to the reign of Anastasius and this new disposition was dispatched to the office of the magister militum (πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταπεμφθίοσ).

L.11-27: In this section, where promotion, ranking and the termination of service are addressed, the same soldiers (cf. Text A) are described as καθωσιωμένοις (devotus, devotissimus; τοῖς αὐτοῖς καθωσιωμένοις στρατιώτες).\(^{201}\)

\(^{198}\) Jones 1964, See Map IV; Not. Dig. Or. II (administrative divisions), Or. VI (military divisions).

\(^{199}\) Feissel 2016, 707 and 719-722.

\(^{200}\) For the titles and their Latin forms see Hornickel 1930, 1 (άήττητος) and 14 (εὐσεβέστατος).

\(^{201}\) Hornickel (1930, 18) stated that these soldiers were the front line troops, their commanders below tribunus, as was understood from their title of γενναίοτατος.
c) The enactment of the decree and the notitia attached (L.27-37)
The magister militum presents the decisions taken by the imperial serenity, ἡ βασιλικὴ γαληνότης / serenitas / tranquillitas imperialis and states it aims to remove any kind of ill-treatment of the καθοσιωμένοι soldiers, by bringing the legions under the legislative act (ὑπὸ τάξιν στατοῦτον). The word στατοῦτον, which was originally statutum (see above p. 153) in Latin, actually means "legislation, regulations etc." is employed without translation, as appears in the novels of Justinian (see above p. 153 and fn. 30).

d) General provisions concerning promotion and pay (L.38-60; for the explanation concerning the content see pp. 177-180)

e) The protection of the law and the new regulations (L.60-65; for the explanation concerning the content see pp. 180-181)

f) Presentation of the law (l. 65-69)
In this section the scriniarius might be understood to represent the person who was responsible for presenting the decisions for the soldiers (ἐνφανισθῆνε διὰ τοῦ δείνα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου σκρινιαρίου). Scriniai could be found in several stages of both civil and military service. The most well known are those who worked in the financial departments of the prefectura praetorio. The scriniarius in Text B appears to have been from the staff of the magister militum and he was sent to the unit. There are many examples of scriniarii employed in military units.

203 For a detailed account on scriniarii see Jones 1964, 450 and 589; see also Lyd., mag. 3.38.

in Latin, usually appears in the context of lists concerning payments.\(^{205}\) originally it did not necessarily have such a meaning. A γνώσις could serve as the aim of several notifications. For instance, in an inscription belonging to a monastery the daily routine operations were listed under this same title.\(^{206}\) In an example from Sardis, a γνώσις that was generated by Christians contains the list of “infidel and miserable Greeks”.\(^{207}\) This word was also used to denote the key (list of symbols/terms) to a diagram.\(^{208}\) In the inscriptions from Pentapolis and Abydus pay or sportulae were listed in the γνώσις attached.\(^{209}\) The γνώσις in the inscription from Perge contains a list of titles/ranks/grades, their numbers and salaries. In this list the abridged basic information concerning each group is given in rows (βρέφια).

1. Titles/Ranks/Grades

In this list all of the names are given in their Latin original forms, as was case for the titles given in texts A and B. This situation seems somewhat contrary to our current knowledge. These titles do not appear in the literary sources for the contemporary units. Vegetius, who wrote probably during the reign of Valentinian II (375-392 A.D.), and similarly John the Lydian, who wrote during the reign of Justinianus (527-565 A.D.), stated that they presented the ancient legionary structure.\(^{210}\) However this inscription from Perge also contains a similar structure, but with differences in titles and in their sequences.\(^{211}\) Thus the Perge list confirms that the chain of command of the Early Empire remained almost unaffected.

Although no lists similar to that of the inscription from Perge have been found. There are some accounts which present hierarchical statements and have no real relevance to the Perge edict. The first is Hieronymus’ metaphoric response to the opinions on demons, angles and souls (386/7 A.D.).\(^{212}\) In his narrative, Hieronymus employs someone who was relegated from tribunus to tiro and he counts this relegation in the sequence of tribunus, primicerius, senator, ducenarius, centenarius, biarchus, circitor, eques and tiro. A similar sequence is in part included in a law sent by Leo to the magister officiorum Patricius in the code of Justinian, ducenarius, centenarius, biarchus, circitor, eques (Cod. Inst. 12.20.3). A pragmatic sanction sent by Justinian to the magister militum per Orientem Belisarius contains the pay scales of the frontier troops under the duces in Africa on the basis of rank/grade (Cod. Iust. 1.27.2). According to this statement in the Justinianic law the titles under the duces were:

\(^{205}\) For instance, Dagron 1985, 451-455 (Abydus inscription).

\(^{206}\) IChCrete 59 (Girit, Bobia – 4th-5th c. A.D.): γνώσις τ[ῶν διατυπωθέντων] καθ’ ἑκάστην [ημέραν…].

\(^{207}\) ISardis VII, 1.19 (Sardis - 531-534 A.D.; = IChrAM 324): γνώ(σις) τῶν διατυπωθ(έντων) ἤτοι κ(αὶ) ἐξω- ριθέντων ἀνοσίων κ(αὶ) μυσερῶν Ελλήνων.

\(^{208}\) For instance, Maur. strateg. 3.1, 5, 7; 12.A.1.

\(^{209}\) Pentapolis (see above fn. 13): § 13 Γνώσις τῶν μετὰ τὰ ἔτη τε[τρά]τα [ἐτῶν] ἕτοι κ(αὶ) ἔξω- ριθέντων ἀνοσίων κ(αὶ) μυσερῶν Ἑλλήνων.

\(^{210}\) Veg. 2.7 (… antiqua ordinacione legionis exposita …); Lyd., mag. 1.46.

\(^{211}\) For comparison of these three sources see Onur 2012b; Onur 2012b, 33

\(^{212}\) Hier. Joh. 19: Volo quod dico, manifestius fieri: finge aliquem tribunitiae potestatis suō vitio regradatum, per singula militiae equestris officia, ad tironis vocabulum devolutum, numquid ex tribuno statim fit tiro? Non; sed ante primicerius, deinde senator, ducenarius, centenarius, biarchus, circitor, eques, dein tiro; et quamquam tribunus quondam miles gregarius sit, tamen ex tribuno non tiro, sed primicerius factus est.
the *adsessor, primicerius, numerarius, ducenarius, centenarius, biarchus, circitor* and *semissalis*. Although this list resembles that of Hieronymus, in the Justinianic law the civil servants *adsessor* and *numerarius* are given while the *tribunus* and *senator* recorded in Hieronymus’ list are missing.213 These titles and sequences barely resemble those recorded in the inscription from Perge, since they represent new-style hierarchy introduced during the Tetrarchy, i.e. in *auxilia palatina* and *vexillations*. The unit in Perge edict is a *legio*, either *comitatensis* or perhaps *palatina*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>TITLE/RANK</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>TITLE/RANK</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Tribunus Maior</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Librarii</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Tribunus Minor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Mensores</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ordinarii</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Tubicines</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Augustales</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Cornicines</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Augustales alii</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Praeco</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Flaviales</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Armaturae Duplares</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Flaviales alii</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Beneficiarii</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Vexillarii</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Clerici and Deputati</td>
<td>[?73]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. The Numbers and the Unit

The unit concerned is the *legio*, as is explicitly mentioned in Text B (l.10, 12 and 30). But the inner divisions cannot be directly deduced. Although there seems to be the possibility of defining the type of legion and its inner structure through the titles/ranks and numbers given, this becomes difficult and a definite conclusion seems to be impossible to reach due to deficiencies in the pertinent evidence, both in the sources and in the inscription itself.

Even though for the legions Ioviani and Herculiani established by Diocletian it is accepted that they comprised around 6000 men in each, the opinion that the division of these legions, composed of 5000-6000 men, resulted in the increase in the number of legions, which subsequently comprised 1000-1200 men each, was first put forward by Mommsen and has been followed by other scholars.214

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213 Jones (1964, Notes 194, n.58) thought that the *numerarius* in Justinianic list might have been of the rank of senator.

214 Mommsen 1889, 215; Grosse 1920, 34; Parker 1933, 187 (krş. Nischer 1923); Várady 1961, 367; Hoffmann 1969, 4; Williams 1985, 209; Nicasie 1998, 23-24 ve 67-74, özl. 73; Lee 1998, 214; but Jones (1964, 681) indicates that it cannot precisely be concluded that the the number of soldiers in frontier legions was reduced by Diocletian; see also Duncan-Jones 1978; 1990, 110-117; Coello 1996, 37-42 (He scrutinized the opinions of both Jones and Duncan-Jones on the subject); Elton (1996, 89-90; 2007, 279) considers this number might be from the mid forth century A.D., cf. Elton 2006, 333.
In any case, the legions of field armies contained between 1000-1200 men in the fourth century.\textsuperscript{215}

The size of the unit in the inscription of Perge cannot be deduced because the last lines containing the numbers of munifices, perhaps clerici and deputati are deficient, missing or perhaps have been restored incorrectly by the editor. Even though the number of these is uncertain, the minimum total number is 1172. But this number should certainly be increased, since the last two digits -59 concerning munifices in the line 28 and its hundreds (perhaps even thousands too) should be considered within this total. Further, there is a fragment on which remains -73 as the last two digits of a number (Fig. 10 and below p. 212, no. 83), most probably for the clerici and deputati. It is unclear however if this number relates to the number of men or to the amount of their pay. So these numbers actually represent a unit larger than 1200 men.

3. Pay

The payments recorded in the list are in kind and in cash, with the former being the bulk of the pay. The payments were basically in kind with some of it commuted into cash (adaeratio) given in solidus (nomisma). As can be seen in Table 1 below, it is observable that the ratio of adaeratio differs within titles. There is no division, either in kind or in cash, for the three at the top (tribuni and ordinarii). It may indicate that there was no restriction in commuting for these officers. The rest are shown with the adaeratio. Each group of Flaviales (1), Flaviales alii (2), signiferi, optiones and veredarii (1) are permitted to commute 1,5 aeraria annona, while the groups of semissales ½ aeraria annona and all the rest are permitted to commute 1 aeraria annona. We do not have this information concerning the munifices, clerici and deputati.

Table 1) The possible calculation details deduced from Slab C. The table shows the details of pay separated in kind and gold. The bold characters are directly from the inscription and grey backgrounded fields are the general totals in the inscriptions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE/RANK</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>ANNONA PER MAN</th>
<th>ANNONA PER TITLE/RANK GROUP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AK</td>
<td>TAK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AG (TAK/NM)</td>
<td>(TAK x NM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribunus Numeri</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribunus Minor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinarii</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustales (1)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustales alii (2)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustales alii (3)</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaviales (1)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2,5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaviales alii (2)</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signiferi</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optiones</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veredarii (1)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veredarii alii (2)</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vexillarii</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imaginiferi</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Librarii</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{215} Várady 1961, 367; Nicasie 1998, 73.
E. Dating

The precise date of the inscription cannot be established from the inscription itself, since there is no direct evidence of either a date or of a personal name for a prosopographic work. However, dating may be possible through observing developments during the reign of Anastasius. Malchus claimed that the corruptions concerning the sale of offices reached its peak during the reign of Zeno, and this practice gave the highest military and administrative posts to the Isaurians. When Anastasius came to the throne in 491 A.D., as the "Roman-born and Christian" as considered in contrast to Zeno, he first drove away the Isaurians from the capital. However, this action ignited a war against the Isaurians that continued for seven years. In the battle of 492 A.D. in Cotiaeum, the imperial armies were quite large and were supported by both Goth and Hun troops. It is not certain if this disposition in the inscription of Perge was issued before or after this battle, but it should be considered as being amongst the economic reforms which he made, one after another until 498, when he commuted the ration allowances, uniforms and weapons into cash. Procopius of Gaza wrote about the strength and the quality of the soldiers in Anastasius' army. Similarly, Priscianus also mentioned...
these soldiers and praised the victories of Anastasius. In any event it should have been issued before
the Persian War began in 502 A.D., as the army by this date was quite professional and substantially
enlarged. By this date the army was quite effective and it was filled with local volunteers at this time
due to the attraction and the security a military career provided. Procopius referring to this war noted
with some exaggeration that “such a large army was not gathered before or after this war”, as Joshua
Stylites also describes the largeness of this army. Anastasian laws concerning annona in the Code
of Justinian also date from before 496 A.D. Further, the 15th indiction mentioned in the Anastasian
inscriptions from Arabia suit the years 491/492 A.D. Therefore, the decree in the inscription from
Perge most probably dates from the early years of the reign of Anastasius.

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for anything actively, and as Homer said, attendants of Ares: not as (was) before, weak and aged, quivering at
the dangers, and fearful with us, being especially in need of the saviour”.

Prisc. laud. Anast. 204-205: Tirones forti numeros nunc milite complent | Veraque non pretio, sed robore
signa merentur. (“Recruits now swell the army ranks with strong soldiers and their bravery not bribery earn
them true standarts” (translation: Coyne 1988, 65)); For the praise of the victories in the reign of Anastasius
see there lines 50-130.

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I. Anastasios’un Pamphylia-Perge’de Bulunmuş olan Ordu Fermanı: 2. Edisyon

Özet


Yazıtta değinilen ana konu bir lejyondaki askerler ve bu askerlerin, bulundukları birimler ve schola’larında gerçekleşen yozlaşmalar ve mevki satış nedeniyle geleneksel ödemelerden, emeklilik ikramiyelerinden mahrum bırakılışlarıdır. Ayrıca, ölmüş ya da kayıp statüündeki askerlerin isimlerinin birim kayıtlarından çıkarılmadığı ve bunların kadrolarının rüşvet ya da torpille gelen niteliksiz ve yetersiz kimselerce doldurulduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Buna uygun şekilde ferman bu yoz uygulamaları karşı önlemler getirmektedir. Anastasios lejyon içerisinde her bir unvan/rütbe grubundaki asker sayısının takip edilmesini ve bu sayıların belirtilen miktarda tutularak, birimin gerçek asker sayısının her zaman tam olmasını emretmektedir.

C lehvasındaki listeye göre, ilgili lejyondaki askerlerin toplam sayısı 1550-1600’den aşağı değildir. Liste içerisinde eşren unvan/rütbe adları şu şekildeki: tribunus numeri, tribunus minor, ordinarii, augustales (1), augustales alii (2), augustales alii (3), flaviales (1), flaviales alii (2), signiferi, optiones, veredarii (1), veredarii alii (2), vexillarii, imaginiferi, librarii, mensores, tubicines, cornicines, bucinatores, praeco, armaturae duplares, beneficiarii, torquati semiwalles, bracchiati semiwalles, munifices, clerici ve deputati.

Anahtar Sözcüklər: I. Anastasios; Geç Roma Ordu; Geç Antik Dönem; yozlaşma; askeri ödemeler; adaeratio; annona.

The Anastasian Military Decree from Perge in Pamphylia: Revised 2nd Edition

Abstract

This article contains a revised version of the inscription from Perge containing a military decree of Anastasius I. The fragments of this inscription were unearthed in 1974 during excavations at Perge. The inscription was discovered in about 850 fragments in an area to the south of northern fountain on the southern slopes of the acropolis. Today these fragments are preserved in the storage rooms of the Museum of Antalya. It contains an imperial sermo, an enactment of a magister militum, both translated from Latin into Greek, and a notitia concerning the number of soldiers in a legio and their respective salaries in kind and in cash.

The main issue addressed in the inscription concerns the soldiers in a legio and that they have been deprived of their customary payments and retirement bounties on account of corruption and the sale of posts within the unit and its constituent scholae. In particular, that the names of the deceased or of missing soldiers had not been removed from the regimental records or their positions had been filled by unqualified or ineligible men who had obtained these posts through either bribery or influence. Accordingly, this edict aims to impose measures against these corrupt practices. Anastasius
orders that the actual numbers of soldiers holding each grade in the *legio* should be investigated and any shortfall was to be rectified and it was to be maintained at a full complement in accordance with the schedule of grades and *annonae* provided.

On the basis of research on Text C, it seems that the total number of men listed in the schedule is no less than 1550-1600. The titles included in the list are *tribunus numeri*, *tribunus minor*, *ordinarii*, *augustales* (1), *augustales alii* (2), *augustales alii* (3), *flaviales* (1), *flaviales alii* (2), *signiferi*, *optiones*, *veredarii* (1), *veredarii alii* (2), *vexillarii*, *imaginiferi*, *librarii*, *mensores*, *tubicines*, *corniciones*, *bucinatores*, *praecox*, *armaturae duplæres*, *beneficiarii*, *torvati semissales*, *bracchiati semissales*, *armaturae semissales*, *munifices*, *clerici* and *deputati*. Additionally, there are also some other titles/grades/posts mentioned in the text A and B as follow: *principia*, *draconarii*, *magister draconum* and *campidactor*. Even though some parts of the inscription are today missing, the surviving text contains valuable information in respect to later Roman history, the army, the legal system, and for linguistics.

*Keywords*: Anastasius I; Later Roman Army; Late Antiquity; corruption; military pay; *adaeratio*; *annona*.
Fig. 12) Slab A, l. 21-41
Fig. 17) Slab B, l. 39-56
Fig. 20) Slab C, l. 12-22
THE UNMATCHED FRAGMENTS

(The scale of the pictures is ½ of original size. The measurements are given as Length × Height × Thickness in cm)

The fragments, which most probably belonged to Slab A or B

1) 8.5 × 4.6 × 1.8
2) 6.2 × 5 × 0.3-0.4
3) 7.6 × 3.6 × 1.3
4) 6.3 × 7 × 0.5-0.6
5) 6.5 × 4 × 1.5
6) 7 × 6 × 2.5
7) 8 × 6.7 × 1.7
8) 5.1 × 4.7 × 1.5
9) 4.5 × 8 × 1.8
10) 4.7 × 4.7 × 1.6-1
11) 5.6 × 4.7 × 1.4
12) 5.4 × 4.1 × 1.4
13) 5.2 × 4.5 × 1.5
14) 5.4 × 4.9 × 1.5
15) 3 × 5 × 1
16) 4.1 × 4.1 × 1
17) 6 × 5.3 × 1
18) 7 × 4.5 × 1.6
19) 5 × 4.7 × 1.4
20) 4.7 × 5.3 × 1.6
53) 4 × 3 × 1.6
54) 5 × 3,3 × 1.4
55) 4 × 4,4 × 0.8
56) 3,5 × 3,3 × 1.5
57) 4,3 × 3.6 × 1.6

58) 2,8 × 2,3 × 1.4-1.1
59) 4,5 × 2,4 × 1.5
60) 3,6 × 2,7 × 1.5
61) 3,3 × 4,1 × 1.7
62) 5,8 × 6,4 × 1.6

63) 2,6 × 4,5 × 1.5
64) 2,3 × 2,5 × 1.4
65) 2,5 × 3,5 × 1
66) 3,1 × 2,1 × 0.5
67) 4 × 3 × 1.8

68) 3,7 × 1,7 × 1.2
69) 3 × 3,5 × 1
70) 2,7 × 3 × 1
71) 2,7 × 3,9 × 1.4
72) 3 × 3,7 × 1,1-0.9

73) 2,6 × 2,3 × 1.4
74) 3,3 × 3 × 1.2-0.8
75) 3 × 3,2 × 1
76) 2,7 × 2,2 × 1.4
77) 3 ve 1.4 ve 1.3

78) 3,6 × 2 × 1.2
79) 3,2 × 5,5 × 1.8
80) 5,5 × 6,2 × 1.8
81) 3,3 × 3 × 1.3
82) 3 × 2.5 × 2.5
The fragments, which most probably belonged to Slab C

83) 11 × 10,5 × 1,6
84) 8,1 × 7 × 1,6
85) 3,8 × 5 × 1,8
86) 6 × 7 × 1,5
87) 6,5 × 8,6 × 1,7
88) 5 × 5 × 2
89) 6,5 × 7 × 3,5